

MIGRATION PROCESSES **IN** ARMENIA



Dr. Gevork Poghosyan

0(47.925)
P-82

Հ. Գևորգյանի քննարկ
N80

MIGRATION PROCESSES IN ARMENIA

SECOND EDITION

Dr. Gevork Poghosyan

Yerevan 2003

ANNOTATION

The book is published by the resolution of Scientific Council of Institute of Philosophy and Law of Armenian National Academy of Sciences

G. Poghosyan - Migration processes in Armenia
Yerevan, 2002, 178 pages

The results of scientific researches in migration sphere are presented in this book, which were mainly realized with the assistance of Armenian Sociological Association.

The book is addressed to NGOs working on migration issues, sociologists, demographers, philosophers and to those, who are interested in migration problems.

Translation: *Lukas Welser*
Zara Ohanjanyan
Disighn and Layout: *Karen Asatryan*

ISBN 99930-51-70-5

© *Institute of Philosophy and Law
of Armenian National Academy of Sciences*

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION	4
MIGRATION PROCESSES IN SOUTHERN CAUCASUS	5
ARMENIAN MIGRATION AND A DIASPORA: A WAY OF LIFE	15
CONDITIONS OF REFUGEES IN ARMENIA	35
AN ARMENIAN'S LIFE IN ARMENIA	49
BACK TO HOMELAND (ARMENIAN RETURNEES FROM GERMANY)	82
OUTFLOW OF PROFESSIONALS	116
MIGRATION PROCESSES IN ARMENIA	125
SELECTED GROUPS OF MINORITIES IN ARMENIA AND NAGORNO-KARABAKH	129

INTRODUCTION

The works of different years are reflected in this book, which have been realized by the Armenian Sociological Association lead by G. Poghosyan in migration sphere. Most of the conducted researches were summarized in reports and were published in different scientific journals and publications, in different languages. In the present book they are translated into English and published with corresponding references. Several articles are prepared specially for this book and are published for the first time. Scientific articles, collected in this book, reveal the developments of migration processes in Armenia and in the region, give information about the conditions of Armenian migrants in Germany, as well as about those people, who return to their homeland. We hope that the articles published in this book will more or less reflect the picture of migration processes in Armenia.

MIGRATION PROCESSES IN SOUTHERN CAUCASUS

The end of twentieth century is characterized by several global tendencies, which mostly determine the geopolitical picture of the world. These tendencies are established and described long ago in works of historians of present times. These tendencies became particularly apparent in the second part of the century.

The first tendency is the de-colonization of previous big and small empires. In this case those governmental formations are destroyed and broken down, which were established under force and according to the previous regime. The process of break up of those multinational, state formations sometimes reaches the small ethno-state unit. The first tendency is popular well enough and it appeared, especially after Second World War. The historical processes of world de-colonization and destroying of big empires are accompanied with the establishment of new national countries.

The second tendency is the process of establishment of new independent countries. After the period of the Second World War on the map of the world 55 new countries appeared. In the result of de-colonization new independent national countries were formed in the world, which existed before as the domains in the structure of bigger state formations. Revolutions, wars, civil conflicts and political crisis and overturns encourage the reconstruction of administrative borders. Instead of them, as a rule, several mono-national countries or countries with one prevailing ethno-confessional population can be established.

The former Soviet Union was divided into fifteen independent national countries. This tendency is still applied at present times. The 21st century should witness the collapse of several big states, which nowadays are torn by various types of inner conflicts: national, racist, religious, political. Several states are collapse and instead of them others are formed. The common thing for all of them is the tendency of formation of national states, which appears to be one of the global characteristic peculiarities of our era, together with the strive for liberalization and democratization.

The third global tendency is the tendency for unification of the independent countries in bigger multilateral unions and agglomerations.

The apparent example of this tendency is the formation of European Union. The principles of unification, here, are on volunteer base and are built for the mutual interests, general profit and for the strengthening of regional security. This new form of unification is directly opposite to include counties in the union not voluntary - till the collapse of the empire and de-colonization, by forming independent countries, to another form, to a higher level of the unification. From not voluntary to voluntary acknowledged choice - to sum up that is the the spirit of the global changes of the end of 20th century.

Together with these global tendencies in Caucasus the peculiar and specific process of depopulation and mono-ethnization are going on. Caucasus changes its historical traditional appearance.

The basic historical changes within the last decade of the ending century, not only for Armenia, but also for Southern Caucasus, appear to be three fundamental changes:

- depopulation
- mono-ethnization
- marginalization of the society

During last ten years the historical event in Caucasus brought to serious consequences.

The first very important consequence of the processes in Caucasus turns to be its depopulation. In the middle of 90s nearly 3,5 million people left Caucasus. The main reason, which provoked such a huge wave of migration - the big reduction of working places, economical crisis and great decrease of the level of life in three countries of Southern Caucasus. They became big exporters of labor forces and qualified specialists. The export of labor resources, the flow of economical active population in a big scale has subjectively changed the social demografic structure of the society in these countries.

A special Conference of UNHCR held in Geneva on May 30, 1996 was devoted to the problems of migration and refugees. Currently, a vast scale of migration and refugees in CIS countries causes concern not only of some definite countries but also of Europe and America. The flows the former USSR become a reality, and it should be considered, whether we want it or not.

The history showed that huge migrations are usually the consequence

of wars or natural disasters. They used to make a big number of people displace and resulted in new cataclysm.

The history of Armenia has a lot of examples of mass migration, while migration flows were mostly focused outside of the country. Meanwhile there are also cases of the repatriation. The most famous repatriation took place after the Second World War, in 1946. More than a thousand (80 000) Armenians moved to the Soviet Armenia from the Near East, Iran and Turkey.

Today, 50 years later, many of those repatriates have left for America and Europe. They couldn't adjust to the Soviet environment and were just expecting a suitable chance to leave the country. They were a kind of social-political migrants.

In a course of last 7-8 years several migration streams appeared in Armenia. Catastrophic earthquake of 1988 caused death of 25.000 people resided in northern part of Armenia. Tens thousands houses and buildings were destroyed, about half million people remained without shelter. The first days after the disaster an evacuation of people from the disaster zone was organized. A part of the population was settled in rest houses and hotels within the republic. About 130.000 people were displaced to the countries of the former USSR. Besides that, about 70.000 people left the country on their own and settled down outside of Armenia. It was evacuation and temporary displacement of the population, meanwhile about 25% have not come back yet, and it seems they are not going to.

"In end of 1997 300.000 victims of Spitak earthquake in Armenia and 20.000 victims of natural disasters in Georgia still remained without places of their constant inhabitation In the beginning of 1998 there were nearly 100.000 not volunteer displaced people in CIS countries. More than the half of them (57%) are in Armenia." (See, Migration of Population in CIS Countries: 1997-1998. Published in 1999, Geneva, p. 18).

This was the first migration stream followed the natural disaster.

The second stream was a result of Karabakh conflict that caused Armenian- Azerbaijani war. After bloody battle within the territory of Azerbaijan, in Sumgait town, Kirovabad, afterwards in Baku, hundreds thousand Armenians escaped to Armenia and Russia.

360.000 refugees from Azerbaijan in a course of 1988-1990, later about 75.000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh, followed by 6.000 refugees -Armenians from Abkhazia victims of conflict in Georgian territory. Moreover, internally displaced persons appeared in Armenia - about 78.000 residents of border with Azerbaijan regions. They had to leave their native places which became the scene of battle and frontier wars.

"In the end of 1997 in CIS countries 1 790 000 displaced people were counted 35% of them are the victims of Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict because of Nagorno-Karabakh, 15% - victims of Georgian - Abkhazian and Georgian - Oseen conflicts" (See, Migration of Population in CIS Countries: 1997-1998. Published in 1999, Geneva, p.17). On the whole, nowadays in Armenia nearly 200.000 internally displaced people (IDP) were counted, 100.000 of them - in the result of earthquake, 20.000 - in the result of landslides and floods (so-called ecological migrants) and 78.000 - in the result of Azerbaijan bombing of border villages.

Thus, the international conflict and the war have become reasons for the second vaster migration flow that touched the frontier states and the whole region. After the genocide of 1915 it was the second by its amount flow of Armenian- refugees of the 20th century. Here we speak about refugees only, who left their houses, possession, savings gained in a course of many years. Many of them escaped without even suitcase or purse.

Finally, the third stream of migration in Armenia started in hard winter of 1991-1992. It was a time of hard energetic crisis, when people had electricity only one-two hours a day. Apartments had no gas and fuel used to enter the republic. There were cases when some lonely people were found dead in their apartments due to the cold and hunger. More than 80% of industry and transport didn't function. Hundreds thousand people became unemployed. Armenia was experiencing its hard economic crisis. Once more thousands Armenians moved to abroad.

According to independent experts, approximately 700.000 Armenians left the country during several days. Mostly they moved to Russia, and only 15-20% in Europe and USA. Many of them left the country temporarily, preserving their citizenship and apartments. In fact they live in Russia illegally, with no citizenship, with no right for ownership. In

most cases they have their commercial business there.

Many of refugees from Azerbaijan were not satisfied with conditions in weekend Armenia and move to Russia, Europe and USA.

It should be noted that at the beginning the majority of migrants, 66%, were men and 74% were in the age of 17-60 years old. It means that economically active and enterprising people used to leave the country to seek job.

The pick of migration was in 1993 when about 250.000 people left the country. The flow of big migration started in harsh winter 1991 and stabilized only in 1996-1997 on the level of 50-60 thousand people per year. But after presidential election in 1998 and especially after terrorist act in the building of national assembly on 27 October 1999, again the flow of migrants increased. Continuous economic crisis and political unstable situation of last years are the main reason of increasing migration flows.

We would like to mention that migrants level of education, who left the country, is enough high-about one third (30%) are people with higher and incomplete higher education., also about 50% of migrants have secondary or secondary special education.

First, they used to support their families left in Armenia, and further took them also to Russia. They are currently also assisting their relatives and friends with some money they earned. These economic migrants or "gastarbeiters" assist a lot the population of the Republic. Thus, they facilitate the social condition of the state, and besides, they are attracting funds from outside passing the government.

The volume of monetary investments from Armenians, left for abroad as labor migrants makes up enough big sums. We would like to mention that starting with the disastrous earthquake in 1988 monetary and pecuniary assistance of Armenian Diaspora (mainly from Europe and USA) is sharply activated. Further to this assistance were added investments from members of families, who migrated to other countries for seeking a job.

Due to the estimations of experts Armenia is receiving annually about 500 million US dollars from relatives and friends, living in foreign countries or left for finding a job. This sum somehow even increases state budget of Armenia. The percentage of monetary transfers from

migrated Armenians in this total sum makes up about 60-65%. Rest 35-40% is investments from Armenians of Diaspora to their relatives and friends, living in Armenia.

After August crisis in 1998 in Russia the volume of monetary transfers considerably decreased. Economic situation of Armenians, emigrated to Russia and other CIS countries, is sharply worsened and correspondingly the volume of their transfers to the homeland decreased. According to estimations of different experts, the volume of monetary transfers decreased up to 40%.

Thus, they facilitate the social condition of the state, and besides, they are attracting funds from outside passing the government. The main flow of monetary transfers is taking place passing the official means. As a rule, money is transferred through familiar people in cash and in US dollars. Primarily, almost all sums were being transferred in this way. Gradually different private companies, dealing with money transfer from abroad to Armenia from physical persons to physical persons started to work, such as Western Union, bank "Anelik" and others.

The depopulation of Caucasus especially influenced the native population. Huge groups of Armenians, Georgians and Azeris left their homes and greatly started for Russia looking for jobs and better living conditions. Nobody knows when and how many of them will return.

The second is the mono-ethnization in new independent countries. In the result of a number of reasons: wars, ethnical conflicts, economical crisis and other reasons, at least three big countries of Southern Caucasus - Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia - have lost the enormous part of their not native population. During 90s a great number of Russians, Jewish, Ukrainians, Germans, Greeks and representatives of other nationalities have left Caucasus. The ethnical uniformity in none of these three countries was not considered to be a political aim. It rather seemed unexpected, though also the logistic result of the collapse of former Soviet Union and formation and development of independent statehood. The global tendency of formation of new national states in Caucasus constructed during mono-ethnization processes of these countries. In Armenia, for instance, which differed by huge historical prevalent of Armenian population in previous times as well, these processes reached their, let's say, apogee. Nowadays, 97% population of

Armenia consists of ethnical Armenians. This is a country with a unique ethnical formation. For the future we'll note, that it is unique also because of the fact that two times bigger quantity of ethnical Armenians live out of the country, than in Armenia. Mono-ethnization in some cases appears to be the consequence of exchange migration flows in Southern Caucasus. So, during 1988-92 more than 360 thousand Armenians escaped from Azerbaijan after Sumgait massacres and in the result of Karabakh conflict. Meantime, near 160 thousand Azeri people left Armenia during the same years. Armenia and Azerbaijan exchanged the migration flows, refugees. In many respects, it was not an equal "exchange". But in this case we examine the migration flows in their regional scale, without going into details and the reasons provoking them. If we look at the map of migration flows, we can notice that during 90s Armenians from Abkhazia, Georgia, Middle Asian countries have moved to Armenia.

In Southern Caucasus Georgia has participated in exchange of migration flows the least of all. Except the refugees from Abkhazia, during the recent 10 years the population has mainly left Georgia, including many representatives of other ethnical group.

In the result of intensive economical reforms, international conflicts and migration processes, the number of marginal social groups has greatly increased in the society (refugees, migrants, socially not-provided people, unemployed, prostitutes, drug users).

Except the advantages, which could be continued, economic migration suffered the economy of the Republic. As far as the economically active part of the population left the country, the independent market faced lack of enterprising people, thus formation of the middle class in a new social structure of the society prolonged for decades.

So far, the economic situation in the republic is going to be improved, and that intensifies flow of repatriates. This will disengage the situation in the region; though will create some new problems within Armenia. What about classification of the population according to their living standard, here everything happened very quickly: 5-10% of rich and 75-80% of poor people. Impoverishment of the population from one side, and fast enrichment of a small group of businessmen from the other side resulted in undesirable consequences threatening the internal stability

and security of the state.

Many people would like to return to their protected Communist past. Social ideas have become popular. Rating of the communist party which was forgotten has risen again.

Disappointment of the population in new democratic power is a serious hamper for the further democratic development for Armenian statehood. Right before the May 1996 presidential elections in Russia, opposition in Armenia was seriously deciding to join Russia.

Thus, migration affects stability and security in the region. If anti-Caucasian mood aggravates repatriates should be expected. Naturally, it will be one more problem for the governments. For example, 15-20% of the population of Armenia are unemployed, many thousands don't have dwellings, and repatriation will only worsen social problems followed the earthquake, war and economic crisis.

So far, the economic situation in the republic is going to be improved, and that intensifies flow of repatriates. This will disengage the situation in the region, though will create some new problems within.

The situation of refugees from Azerbaijan is still complicated. It is absurd to talk about their return to Baku and other places of the republic, as far there is no guarantee for their security and no guarantee that the war will not start again. That's why the government of Armenia has adopted a program for their adaptation and integration in the society. As for refugees from Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and IDPs from frontier with Azerbaijan territories, they should go back to their permanent residencies.

Thus, until there are flows of refugees and migrants, some tension will always exist in the region, and consequently, security and stability of the state can not be guaranteed.

At the door of the third millennium Caucasus stay in the face of the problem to be broken on two or a few pieces.

One sixth part of the land after the Soviet Union collapse has been included in a world international processes. They included Caucasus also. The active process of integration of three Southern Caucasian states in a world association is going. The new re-partition of the world brings its internal logic of formation of large integrated associations of states. That's the second global tendency that we speak about in the beginning.

Caucasus, being influenced by the international tendencies, stay in front of the dilemma to be broken on several integrated blocs or to be integrated, keeping its cultural and historical originality and identity.

The structure of integrated fields is that the Caucasus found itself in one of the "breaks". From one side - states of NATO and European Union, from the other side - Russia, Iran and China.

Today two geopolitical axes stand out enough clear: Ankara-Tbilisi-Baku as a West-East direction and a second axis-Moscow-Yerevan-Teheran (may be Pekin) as a North-South direction. The confrontation of these axes challenges an increasing tension.

Armenia and Georgia, two neighbors Christian states proved to be exactly in the crossing of that axes. They found themselves in a break of two large integrated blocs.

Being realized or not, but these tendencies and forces work at a break of the Caucasus by mentioned lines. In a case of break we will lose such original and for ages piled up ethno-cultural integrity as a Caucasus. This, perhaps, is the biggest danger, which is on the watch on a threshold of the new millennium. Can we keep the Caucasus united or it will be tear to pieces will show the history. However, Armenia and Georgia have something to thought about. Because just these states, which historically support warm and friendly relations and so strongly mixed up by culture, traditions, customs and the fortune of the people, found themselves on the opposite sides of that break, and they have to experience the tragedy of the break or to find force and possibility to preserve historical unity.

The population slowly, but in a correct way tries to prevent huge wars. The conflicts and social tensions will always be, but the wars - not necessarily. In this respect Armenian-Azerbaijani conflicts also seem in some sense to be the result of stubborn indifference of the authorities of former Soviet Union and international fellowship with regard to the requirement of Karabakh nation. Several times Karabakh Armenians applied to various international organizations, but they turned to be deaf and nobody reacted in an appropriate way. In the result the question should be solved by the traditional method - solution using force, military opposition.

The surveys of the population, which are periodically conducted by

Armenian Sociological Association, show that nations don't want wars, neither in Armenia, nor in Karabakh and Azerbaijan.

References

1. G. Poghosyan. Potriasenie (The Shock), in magazine "Tschelovek" (Human being), 1990, #2, Moscow, p.59-65.
2. G. Poghosyan. The Man in the Calamity Zone. In magazine "The Industry, Building and Architecture of Armenia", 1990, #1-2, Yerevan, (in Armenian and Russian).
3. Migration in CIS. International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva, 1996, p.11-17
4. Human Development Report, Armenia 1996, Yerevan, UNDP
5. Human Development Report, Armenia 1997, Yerevan, UNDP
6. G. Poghosyan. Armenian Returnees from Germany. (Back to Homeland), Yerevan, 1997.
7. Migration of Population in CIS Countries: 1997-1998. IOM, Geneva, 1999.

Yerevan, 2001

ARMENIAN MIGRATION AND A DIASPORA: A WAY OF LIFE

M.Karakashyan, G.Poghosyan

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a study of the migration of the Armenian people in the past one hundred years. While there are studies of Armenian migration and settlements in specific countries, such as the United States (Hagopian, 1988; Kulhanjian, 1975; Mirak, 1983), there is a need for a global study of Armenian migration with an understanding of its antecedents, consequences, and implications. The chapter attempts to address this need within space limitations.

In the span of the past one hundred years, numerous routes existed for Armenian emigrants which necessitates the adoption of a criterion for including them in the chapter. To avoid oversimplification, examples are presented from five types of migration respectively based on: (A) political determinants, (B) ecological determinants, (C) repatriation, (D) economic and educational determinants, and (E) transient migration. The study looks at migration flows starting from 1894, since significant changes in migration habits occurred after that date and these are relevant to a better understanding of Armenian migration in the 20th Century. The sources of this information can be found in the Republic of Armenia's State Library archives, the Genocide Museum library in Yerevan, historical and contemporary research studies, eyewitness accounts, interviews, and news releases. Since narration offers information on the human experience aspects of migration, case examples are cited.

The chapter provides information on the fate of a people who lived on the biblical lands where Noah's arch is believed to have landed (Mt. Ararat is in historic Armenia), were the first nation to adopt Christianity as a state religion in 301 AD, and are about to embark on a world-wide celebration of their 1700th anniversary in the year 2001. Table 1 presents the latest statistics of Armenians in the world.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Republic of Armenia is situated in the Near East, specifically, south of Georgia and Russia, east of Turkey, west of Azerbaijan, and north of Iran. It was called "Cradle of Civilization" by David Marshall Lang (1970). Armenians from ancient times were described as migratory merchants and wealthy entrepreneurs (Walker, 1980). Walker states that the location of Armenia and people's perception that Armenians were wealthy contributed to its fate in history, which has included invasions, deportations of its inhabitants, and attempts at their extermination.

Historically, Armenian merchants migrated along the "Silk Route" from Europe to China, and established settlements in distant countries. In the first Century B.C.E., the Armenian king Dikran created an empire extending from sea to sea, meaning from the Mediterranean to the Caspian. Not only did Armenians settle in these lands, but King Dikran brought artisans from Jerusalem to his capital, including 10,000 Jews whose descendants now form the Jewish community in Armenia.

In the Middle Ages, Armenian feudal princes settled in Cilicia, presently south central Anatolya, Turkey and established the Cilician kingdom. Cilician Armenia played host to the Crusaders and participated in their marches to the Holy Land. Many settled in Jerusalem and their descendants form the core of the Armenian residents of Jerusalem. Armenia was also referred to as "Theater of Perpetual War" by Edward Gibbons in *The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Indeed, Armenia was at the crossroads of invasions by the Mongols, Tatars, Seljuks, and Ottoman Turks who contributed to the dissolution of the Armenian kingdom in the 14th Century. The population lived under the Ottoman Turkish rule for several centuries thereafter. At the turn of the 20th Century, the majority of Armenians lived in central Anatolya in Turkey, the historical Lesser Armenia, in Iran, and in Russian held territories, east of Turkey, the historical Greater Armenia.

In religion, Armenians followed the Apostolic or Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant doctrines. The seats of the heads of the Armenian Apostolic church, the Catholicos were in Etchmiadzin, Greater Armenia and in Sis, Cilician Armenia. At one time in history

four Catholicosates concurrently existed due to the prevailing political situation. The Armenian Apostolic church has had Patriarchates in Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey and in the Holy City. Other significant religious institutions included the Catholic Mekhitarist brothers' seminaries on the San Lazzaro island in Venice, Italy (established in 1711) and in Vienna, Austria (established in 1817). These two centers that were the bastions of Armenian spiritual and intellectual life continue to serve the religious needs of Armenian Catholics and the educational needs of all Armenians. The Armenian Missionary Association of America is located in Paramus, New Jersey. It serves the spiritual needs of Armenian Protestants and the educational and charitable needs of all Armenians.

A review of the archives at the National Library in Yerevan, Armenia reveals that by 1917, 202 migratory settlements (kaghtojakhner or "migration homes") existed ranging from Madras, India to Australia, Argentina, Ethiopia, North America, and to various European, Middle Eastern, and Russian cities. Indeed, the first Armenian paper was published in Madras in 1794, suggesting that a substantial Armenian community lived in India at that time.

There is evidence (Hagopian, 1988; Kulhanjian, 1975; Mirak, 1983) that a slow rate of emigration from Turkey to the United States and Europe existed prior to 1895. The emigrants mostly pursued commerce and education. Hagopian (1988) attributes expatriation from Turkey to the United States in the second half of the 19th Century to the efforts of American missionaries. The American Missionary Society established schools for Armenian youth and children in Turkey, who upon graduation looked toward the United States to pursue their higher education in medicine or theology. Some of these youth returned to Turkey, while others sought permanent residence in the United States.

CATEGORIES OF MIGRATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY

POLITICAL DETERMINANTS

Political determinants include forced emigration, emigration due to adverse political conditions including human rights violations and

civic restrictions, and emigration due to internal instability and war. It is our hypothesis that not only the location of the country and the wealth of the merchants, as Walker states, but also the personality characteristics of the Armenian people contributed to victimization. The majority of the Armenian population were agrarian, while a minority were artisans and merchants. Religion played an important role in the moral, spiritual, and intellectual life of the people. In the Bagratid city of Ani, currently in ruins in eastern Turkey, there were "1001 churches." Ruins of numerous seminaries and churches exist in the Republic of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Anatolia, Turkey and Nagorno Karabagh.

Seminaries were spiritual and intellectual centers where literature was created. Armenians traditionally loved peace and strived to maintain the integrity of the beautiful land they lived on. In fact, their folklore and music is filled with themes of love for their country and its mountains and rivers. Mount Ararat, where Noah's Arch is said to have landed in the Great Flood and which is situated in historic Armenia, symbolizes resilience, protection, hope, and pride. Nature takes on sensual characteristics for romantic poets and writers. A flowering cherry tree is likened to a beautiful bride, a mountain to a proud man, and wheat fields to oceans. Its peace loving nature, religiosity, and also its serf mentality acquired through centuries of domination by the Ottoman Turks prevented the people from asserting their human and civic rights as Turkish citizens. Toward the end of the 19th Century, however, Armenian young adults having obtained higher education at European universities and exposed to political thoughts, founded political and civic organizations that lobbied for civil rights for Armenian citizens of Turkey. The events that followed were efforts to crush this spirit once and for all.

Emigration From Turkey

Major changes occurred in the life of Armenians in Turkey from 1894 to 1914 and from 1915 to 1922 resulting in significant migratory flows. The consequences of these changes are observed currently in the Diaspora at the close of the 20th Century.

From 1894 to 1915. In 1894, the people of two villages in Sassoon (Dadrian, 1995), eastern Turkey refused to pay taxes, claiming

the burden of double taxation by the government and the local Kurdish feudal lords. Armenians as Christians were considered to be of lower class and had few or no civil rights. The refusal resulted in the government's order to massacre the residents of 25 villages. Subsequent to the massacres, 4,000 Armenians held peaceful protest demonstrations in Constantinople which ended with their massacre. The following year, an uprising took place in Zeitoon, which ended with the massacre of the population of Zeitoon and the environs. In addition, organized massacres continued in the southeastern town of Adana in 1909.

All together, it is estimated that 200,000 Armenians (Dadrian, 1995) perished from 1894 to 1896, which set the stage for the organized attempt of the Ottoman government to annihilate the Christian Armenians or *giavours* (the infidels) in 1915 and to end the "Armenian Question" once and for all. Between 1894 and 1896, some 100,000 Armenians found refuge in other countries (Dadrian, 1995), and between 1895 and 1899, an estimated 70,982 Armenians entered the United States (Tashjian, 1947, p. 18).

Jamgotchian (1998) cites in his memoirs his mother's report that his grandfather was axed by the Turks in the village of Gurun in 1895. He called his three sons to his deathbed and advised them to leave Turkey. After the massacres, numerous Armenian men left their towns and villages for the United States in order to work, support their families back home, and pave their way to freedom. The emigration out of Turkey continued into the early 20th Century. Hagopian (1988) observes that from 1899 (when the nationality of immigrants was recorded rather than the country of origin) to 1907, 14,583 Armenians migrated to the United States, and between 1908 and 1910, 11,915. Of these people, 10,441 came from central Turkey and approximately 2,000 from the Shirak district in Russian held territories. Between 1899 and 1910, the remaining went to the following countries: Austria-Hungary, 12; Belgium, 10; Bulgaria, 95; Germany, 20; European Turkey, 1,267; Spain, 5; Italy, 24; Greece, 109; Great Britain, 411; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 10; Portugal, 1; Rumania, 69; Russia, 663; France, 160; other European countries, 1. From 1911 to 1917, 4,922 more arrived in the USA, including Armenians from Norway and Holland. Hagopian (1988) summarizes that between 1899 and 1910, 26,498 Armenians left

for the United States and between 1911 and 1917, 28,559. The total between 1899 and 1917 is 55,057. Of the immigrants, 39% were skilled craftsmen (e.g., blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors, carpenters), 23% farmers, 17% factory workers, 17 % had other jobs (e.g., tradesman, agents, servants), and 2% were intellectuals (e.g., teachers, lawyers, editors, musicians, artists). Twenty- four percent of the immigrants were literate. Hagopian notes that 80% of the immigrants between 1908 and 1910 paid their own way, and 84% stayed with a relative upon arrival. About 5% had previously been in the USA. In fact, during that period, 1,316 Armenians emigrated from the USA.

The Genocide. The Genocide and forced deportation of Armenian residents of Anatolya, Turkey in 1915, which was ordered and carried out by the Young Turk Ottoman government, resulted in the dispersion of survivors in various parts of the world. To a great extent, the Armenian Diaspora of today is a consequence of the Genocide.

Recent research places the Genocide in the context of large schemes developed by world powers. Historically, Great Britain and France financially supported the Turkish Sultan to wage war against Eastern Armenian feudal princes in an effort to halt the Tsarist expansion toward Iran. Armenians who handled Anatolyan commerce as entrepreneurs, also stood in the way of the German government's economic expansion interests to the Caspian Sea (Walker, 1980). Colluding with the Ottoman Turkish government, the German government supported the latter's efforts to eliminate the Armenians from the corridor leading to the Caspian Sea, then a Russian stronghold (Dadrian, 1995; Walker, 1980). While the major commerce was in the hands of the Armenians, Walker (1980) estimates that 70% of the Armenian population were peasants. These peasants felt the brunt of the Turkish sword during the Genocide and were the victims of the major deportations.

On April 24, 1915, the Turkish government ordered the imprisonment of key intellectuals and leaders. In the weeks to follow, Armenian men were imprisoned in towns and villages and taken away in chains with the excuse that they were to serve in the Turkish army. Later reports indicated that these men were shot, or forced to work in labor camps and then buried alive. The remaining women, children, and

elderly were forcefully deported. There are different estimates of the number of Armenians who perished as a result of the Genocide, deportations, and death marches.

Taking the report of the Armenian Patriarchate of 1878 and adding a conservative estimate of the normal growth statistics for Armenians, Khatanassian (1965) estimated the Armenian population in Ottoman Turkey in 1915 to have been 2,623,000, with a minimum of 2,500,000. Khatanassian's estimate of the number of Armenians massacred and perished is a minimum of 1,500,000. These calculations leave the number of survivors of the Genocide from Turkey at 1,000,000. The first column in Table 2 presents the number of Armenians living outside of Turkey until 1914, and the second column the number of Genocide survivors that found refuge in the countries noted above until 1922 (Khatanassian, 1965).

The refugees, mainly women, children, and the elderly walked for months through the hot and dry mountain chains to southern Kurdish villages and towns seeking shelter (Dadourian, 1995; Jamgotchian, 1998; Papazian, 1978). Many died from exposure, starvation, and attacks. Large numbers were sent to Deir el Zhor in the deserts of Syria and perished. Others went along with a conversion-to-Islam ceremony to avoid being sent to Deir el Zhor. They were taken in by Kurds as domestics and thus survived. In the city of Ayntab, Near East Relief founded orphanages where the children were fed, cleaned, and cared for. After the armistice, Near East Relief transported the refugees and orphans to Aleppo and then to Lebanon where orphanages were founded and where the children received elementary education and vocational training (Jamgotchian, 1998; Zaroukian, 1985).

There are individual reports that a small proportion of Armenian refugees returned to their homes in south central Turkey, such as in the city of Ayntab from Aleppo, Syria where they had found refuge in 1915. Some of them left Turkey again in 1922 when civil laws changed. At this time, Turkish citizens were given permission to take over the abandoned homes of deported Armenians. For instance, in the town of Gurun, the St. Mary's Armenian Apostolic church appears to have been made into a mosque. The dome of the church still appears next to a minaret. An inscription on the mosque states the date of its founding as

1922. The shape of the windows on the first floor carry the Moorish design while the windows on the dome have the rounded tops of the Armenian churches, suggesting that a quick facelift had converted the church into a mosque. Currently, residents refer to it as the formerly Armenian church (Karakashian, 1997). The alteration of historical monuments continues to date (Markarian, 1999).

There is evidence that localized massacres in Eastern Turkey continued to 1922. On May 18, 1918 a widespread uprising in Sardarapat (outskirts of Yerevan, capital of present-day Armenia) contributed to the creation of an independent state on a small portion of the historic land. The independence was recognized by major nations, including the United States. The independence lasted two years. In 1921, the Bolshevik expansion to the south of Russia resulted in the take-over of the Republic of Armenia and the eventual formation of the Soviet Armenian State. The leadership of the independent Republic escaped to safety in Iran. Later, Stalin, drawing the boundaries of Soviet states, annexed the Karabagh (historic Artzakh) and Nakhichevan regions of Armenia to Azerbaijan, in his effort to create a union of interdependent states.

From 1922 to 1953. Another wave of forced emigration took place in 1922, when organized fires swept the Armenian and Greek quarters of the coastal city of Izmir, then called Smyrna in Turkey (Housepian, 1966 / 1972). The fire was an attempt to force the Christians to leave the city and the environs. Currently, Turkish tour guides refer to it as "the population exchange program when Armenians, Greeks, and Jews were exchanged with Turkish citizens from the respective countries." In fact, no such exchange of Turks took place with Soviet Armenia. Karakashian (1990) reported that her family in Odemis was forced to board the train to Smyrna. The train was attacked in the night and passengers hid behind bushes. When daylight arrived and she boarded the train, she could not find her mother. She lamented the loss of her mother until her death in 1997. Upon arrival in Izmir, she jumped into the waters of the Aegean and swam a long distance to reach the large boat since the shuttle boats were full. Boats took the refugees to Salonica, the island of Paros, and Pireus in Greece (Arpiarian, 1962; Karakashian, 1990).

A number of survivors migrated from Greece to Lebanon and Syria (Khashkhashian, 1962), some to Jordan (Karakashian, 1990), Australia (Hairabedian, 1998), France (Bedrosian, 1997), the United States (Arpiarian, 1962), Argentina (Karakashian, 1990) and to other countries. The remaining survivors form the core of the Armenian population in present-day Greece.

Emigration from European Countries

An American program for displaced people was initiated after World War II. A large number of Armenians lived on territories occupied by Nazi Germany. Many Armenian prisoners from the Soviet army were held hostage by Germany. They were spared from the Holocaust through negotiations held by Armenian representatives who presented proof that Armenians were from the Indo-European family of peoples. ANCHA, an organization headed by the well-known San Francisco restaurateur, George Mardikian appropriated congressional funding for the transportation and establishment of displaced Armenians in the United States.

Later, ANCHA conducted a similar service for the Armenians of Bulgaria and Romania. Armenians had been established in these countries since medieval times. Having survived the Communist regime, a substantial proportion of them left their homes in order to offer their children safety as well as educational, social, and economic opportunities in the United States.

Emigration From Middle Eastern Countries

From Jordan. A wave of Armenian migration occurred concurrent to the 1947 takeover of the Palestinian section of Jerusalem by the new Israeli state. A demilitarized buffer zone was created. Armenians who lived in the demilitarized zone migrated to the Jordanian section of Jerusalem. Many sought shelter in the cabins of the Armenian Patriarchate complex where centuries earlier the Crusaders had lived. Others settled in Amman, the capital of Jordan. In the 1950s, UNRWA sponsored their resettlement in the United States as "Palestinian refugees" (Karakashian, 1999).

From Lebanon. Another wave of migration occurred in the 1970s during the Arab-Israeli war. Thousands of Armenians sought the safety of countries in Europe, Australia, United States, and Canada. The

once 250,000 strong Armenian community of Lebanon was reduced to 120,000 in the span of two decades. These immigrants brought their own subcultures and traditions and changed the profile of established communities. A considerable number of them lives now in California together with Armenian immigrants from Iran, Jordan, Syria, Armenia, and native Armenian-Americans.

From Egypt. In the 1950s, the ascension of Gamal Abdul Nasser to power saw a wave of Egyptian nationalism and the nationalization of businesses. Armenians, many of whom were business owners, feared the loss of their enterprises and consequently emigrated from Egypt to other Middle Eastern countries, Canada, and the United States.

Emigration Within and From Communist Countries

From Soviet Armenia To Siberia. In the 1920s and 1930s, Stalin's policy in Soviet Armenia resulted in the forced exile of thousands of nationalistic residents-many with connections to the former government of the independent Republic. They were exiled to Siberian labor camps where few survived, and their descendants can still be found in Siberia (Tjeknavorian, 1998). The suffering of these exiles has not been studied yet, nor fully documented. A recently released documentary film, *Enemy of the People* (Tjeknavorian and the Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1998), describes the mass hysteria that the Armenians endured under Stalin's regime.

From Azerbaijan. Waves of forced emigration of Armenians took place in Azerbaijan from 1988 to 1992. In February of 1988, the Azerbaijani government conducted pogroms against the Armenian residents of Baku (Mosesova & Hovnanyan, 1992) that were reportedly witnessed by Russian soldiers. Massacres in Sumgait and Kirovabad (Shahmuradian, 1990) followed. Hundreds of thousands of survivors of these massacres found refuge in Armenia, Russia, and also the United States. For instance, a pentacostal church sponsored the way of some of these refugees to the United States and helped them to become established in pentacostal communities located in Cleveland, Ohio and in Washington State. The majority, who remained in Armenia presented "management challenges" for the Armenian government due to the language barrier.

In the wake of the post-Soviet transitional period, Russian is less

frequently spoken and taught in Armenia since a new national awakening there has focused on the promotion of the Armenian language. The Armenian refugees from Baku, Sumgait, and Kirovabad knew Azerbaijani and Russian only; they had to learn Armenian. In addition, their professional expertise was appropriate to large industries and could not be utilized in a country that experienced an energy crisis. Armenia faced a crisis due to Azerbaijan's economic blockade and the devastations caused by the earthquake. With the help of international humanitarian programs, the Armenian government adopted programs for the refugees' adaptation and integration into the society since a return to their homes would not guarantee their safety.

In 1992, during the Armenian-Azerbaijani war, the residents of the Shahumian and Martagerd districts of Azerbaijan (neighboring the Karabagh enclave) were forced to emigrate. These refugees reported that Russian armored tanks invaded their villages together with the Azeri military, and that the population was asked to leave their homes. The refugees expressed the belief that their homes and lands were used as pawns by the "leadership" (Karakashian & Tavosian, 1992).

The number of Armenian refugees that migrated to Armenia from Azerbaijan between 1988 and 1992 is estimated to be 375,000. However, the UNHCR journal, *Refugees* reports the number in 1994 to be as high as 500,000. In addition, 6,000 settled in Armenia coming from Abkhazia and about 78,000 citizens were internally dispersed from border villages due to constant shelling.

Many refugees from Karabagh and Azerbaijan encountered different lifestyles and customs in Armenia from those prevailing in their homeland. They found city life in Yerevan very different from their agrarian life in Karabagh (Karakashian, 1993). For example, they complained that the price of bread and meat in Yerevan had skyrocketed and that the residents of Armenia were not actively resisting this. They pointed out that if the price of meat rose in Karabagh, residents boycotted the item and thereby bring about price cuts.

Ecological Determinants

The catastrophic earthquake of 1988 in Soviet Armenia produced a wave of internally and externally dispersed refugees. In the days immediately following the disaster, an evacuation was organized that

brought the survivors to shelters in the capital, Yerevan. Numerous injured people were flown to other countries for medical treatment. According to government statistics, about 130,000 people were displaced to the countries of the Soviet Union and 70,000 left for other countries, 25% of whom have remained in their host countries (Pogosian, 1996).

Repatriation

There were two major waves of repatriation after the Sovietization of Armenia. The first had its origins in some Middle Eastern countries in 1946 and the second one originated all over the world in the early 1990s after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Table 3 presents Khatanassian's (1965) figures of migration to Soviet Armenia from 1925 to 1965. Considering the fact that the major repatriation took place in 1946, Katanassian's figures probably represent realistic estimates of this repatriation.

To Soviet Armenia

In 1946, the Soviet Armenian government extended invitations to the Armenians living in the diaspora to migrate to Armenia. The invitation was well received by many people. For instance, Jamgotchian (1999) reports witnessing trains of repatriates going from Aleppo to Beirut (seaport capital of Lebanon) and passing through the village of Bhamdoon. There she heard repatriates sing as the trains moved: "Hey garavan, jan garavan, kushir ko jampan; garodel em hairenikis koones chi danir" ["Oh, caravan, oh caravan, drive along your route; I miss my homeland, I have lost sleep"]. Similarly, Karakashian (1999) recalls the song repatriates sang while they boarded the boat, "Pobeda" in the Mediterranean port of Jaffa. "Pobeda" transported them through the Bosphorus to Odessa in the Black Sea, from where they traveled by land to Soviet Armenia. Here are the lyrics: "Ov too Pobeda shdabeh shoodov tebi baghestin; menk hay zavagner achkernis haradz michergraganin; kez yenk sbasoom poorn garodov hayoo trakhdin." ["Oh, Pobeda, hurry fast to Palestine; we are children of Armenians gazing with our eyes at the Mediterranean; we wait for you with longing for the Armenian heaven"]. Though Soviet, Eastern Armenia was nevertheless regarded by Genocide survivors and their families as the motherland.

Jamgotchian (1998) reports that the Soviet Armenian government advised the leadership in the diaspora to encourage only the working class to migrate. Soviet Armenia had lost tens of thousands (250 000) of men during World War II in addition to the loss of the exiled men and women in Siberia; the country needed working hands. Now, tens of thousands (80 000) people from all walks of life in the middle eastern countries of Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Greece sold their possessions and embarked on boats. Ultimately these migrants encountered numerous difficulties, especially since the Soviet government confiscated their possessions. They had to live in dire conditions in the cold mountainous country just like the other citizens. Karakashian (1999) recalls that repatriot relatives of his family agreed to send abroad information about their well-being in coded messages. A standing position in the photographs meant well-being, while a sitting position meant poor conditions. The photos that arrived from Soviet Armenia showed relatives lying on the floor! Disillusioned the repatriots began to leave Armenia in the 1970s when their relatives petitioned for their migration to the United States. Their migration to the United States and to European countries continues to this date.

To Armenia

The second large wave of repatriots came to Soviet Armenia following the catastrophic earthquake in 1988. They came in connection with national and international projects, including disaster relief. Soon after the independence of 1991 and the creation of a republican state opened the doors to more projects in the fields of health and education, social reforms, and the establishment of businesses, Armenians from the diaspora bought homes and established residences in Armenia in an effort to quench their longing for the motherland and to help rebuild it. Economic and Educational Determinants

Migration due to economic and educational determinants continued in the 20th Century. The major migration routes were from the middle eastern countries, Turkey, and Armenia to western countries, such as some of the former Soviet states, Australia, and North and South America.

From Turkey

Following World War II, Armenian survivors of the Genocide

who still lived in central and eastern Anatolya migrated to Constantinople (Istanbul) to obtain higher education and better jobs (Khatanassian, 1965). This flow continued to recent times. As late as 1997, for instance, residents of Gurun, Turkey reported to the first author that a handful of Catholic Armenians who had lived in Gurun until 25 years ago, had sold their properties, closed the church, and left for Constantinople.

Armenian residents of Constantinople emigrated to Europe and North America starting in the 1950s to avoid civic restrictions, obtain higher education, and pursue economic goals. The emigrants have formed organizations and held cultural programs to fund educational and charitable programs and preserve their subculture in the host countries. Currently, it is estimated that there are still about 50,000 Armenians living in Constantinople and its surrounding areas

From Syria and Lebanon

In the 1960s, a wave of migration to the West took place. A brief civil war and instability in Lebanon in 1958, the gradual leaning of the Syrian government toward the left, fear of nationalization of businesses, perceived limitations in business and professional fields, and the attraction of American and European cultures prompted the college age generation (i.e., children of survivors of the Genocide) to migrate to countries in Europe, such as France, Germany, and the United States in order to obtain higher education and possibly establish themselves in these countries. They formed cultural and charitable organizations similar to the ones in Syria and Lebanon and founded Armenian language schools. Examples are the Hamazkain Cultural and Educational Association, and the Tekeyan Cultural Association.

From the Independent Republic of Armenia

The dissolution of the Soviet Union, the opening of the iron curtain in the early 1990s, and economic hardships led to a new wave of emigration from Armenia to Russia, Europe, and the United States. The winters of 1991 and 1992 were particularly harsh. Apartments had no gas, and electricity was restricted to daily periods of one to two hours. Industrial fuel was unavailable and the factories were idle. More than 80% of the industry and public transportation did not function. Motor fuel was scarce and expensive. Hundreds of thousands left Armenia. In

the course of the past decade, close to 700,000 individuals have emigrated, some with their families (Pogosian, 1996). They established themselves mostly in formerly Soviet states, in particular Russia, and 15%-20% of them left for Europe and the United States. Many left the country temporarily, preserving their citizenship and apartments. In fact, they frequently live illegally in Russia where they engage in commerce. In the early 1990s, the majority of emigrants to the CIS countries, Russia, and Europe were men between the ages of 18 and 55 who supported their families left behind. Others took their families with them.

These economic migrants or "gastarbeiters" provide assistance to a considerable proportion of the population of the Republic; they support the social conditions of the state and attract outside funds for economic development. While these migrants contribute to the population's survival, their absence hurts the economy of the Republic. It depletes the country of enterprising citizens for the free-market economy and retards the establishment of a middle class. There are also moral consequences. For instance, very often simple conflicts occur in Russia between local Russians and newcomer Armenians, Georgians, and Azeris that contribute to a negative attitude of Russians toward persons of "Caucasian nationality." The anti-Caucasian attitude has intensified in the central region of Russia where there are established Armenian communities, such as in Krasnodar and Stavropol. With the process of privatization of land, these attitudes may lead to future conflicts and consequently some of the migrants may return to Armenia.

The Armenian government announced in 1998 that it is ready to accept back Armenian migrants from Europe, in particular from Germany, Belgium, and Greece. The German government has already adopted a decision for the gradual return of 7,000 Armenians who had found temporary shelters. The return of tens of thousand migrants from western Europe is expected in the near future. In addition, families are migrating back to Armenia from Central and Middle Asia, in particular from Turkmenistan and Russia.

Transient Migration

Transient migrants are people who find temporary residence in a country prior to settlement in a country of choice. In the 1950s, Armenians from the former Palestine found temporary residence in

Lebanon prior to boarding the boats that brought them to the United States on behalf of UNRWA. Similarly, Armenians from Rumania and Bulgaria found temporary residence in Lebanon in the 1950s and 1960s prior to obtaining their visas for the United States.

In recent years, the Republic of Armenia has seen transient migrants such as Kurdish refugees who illegally crossed the Armenian-Turkish border, reached the capital, and were detained at Zvartnots International Airport while they tried to leave for Amsterdam. Currently, Armenia seems to be used as a buffer state from where transient migrants attempt to leave for Western Europe.

Implications of Migration

Migration and acculturation are known to be difficult adjustment processes for most ethnic groups. Acculturation is generally facilitated by established ethnic communities where elements of the ethnic culture are preserved while adaptation to the host country begins.

Armenian immigrants to the United States, Canada, and Australia for example, joined already established institutions and organizations or founded their own, thus creating unique subcultures. This was based on the traditions of the country of origin and the cultural demands of the host countries. The subculture changed in a dynamic manner as children of immigrants assimilated in the host culture. For instance, Peter Balakian's (1998) *Black Dog of Fate* describes the subculture of Armenian Americans in New Jersey in the early 1960s, which differs from today's subculture.

Migration may cause problems to the country of origin and the host country as well. For example, emigration from Armenia reduces the number of working hands in Armenia while causing housing and management problems in the host country. The second author proposes a three-step process to settle the refugee problem in the post-Soviet era: (1) Establish a system that can predict varying types of migration long before they occur; (2) assist the states of the region in establishing their own migration services for taking accurate account of displaced persons; and (3) regulate the process of labor migration in the region by creating state services and programs through interstate agreements. These three steps should prove useful for regulating the migration processes and for addressing problems of security to some extent.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted to present an overview of the migration of Armenian people in the past 100 years. Our study has led to interesting information and human interest stories, the collection of which could fill a book. There is a need for volumes of information on the subject.

A look at the past 100 years indicates that like some other ethnic groups, Armenians have migrated for reasons of genocide, deportation, political and religious oppression, war, economic disadvantage and crises, education, and natural disasters. The reasons for migration have not been very different from those prevailing in past centuries with the exception of the Genocide.

In the 20th Century, the Genocide and the en masse dispersion of survivors contributed to the establishment of close-knit Armenian communities throughout the world. These communities support the motherland financially and spiritually in its transition to democracy. It is noteworthy that a small nation numbering less than ten million has been able to survive under adverse conditions and perpetuate its culture. Its resilience in overcoming adversities is a testament to the psychological strength of individuals, the family, various institutions, and Armenian culture.

The Armenian case represents only a small sample of the human condition and behavior. The global perspective on migration represented by this book indicates that populations move throughout our world in times of peace and in times of upheaval. While some persons are forced to leave and adjust to host countries, adapt and acculturate, others migrate in order to better their existence and to avail themselves of economic opportunities and achieve personal growth. When one takes a global look at world migration, one wonders whether there are actual boundaries in the world among people, whether the existing state boundaries are artificial means of having one group's interests prevail over those of others, and whether human beings as residents of this planet will ever enjoy equal rights and equal access to the resources and wonders of this world.

REFERENCES

- Arpiarian, E. (1962). Personal communication, Bronx, New York.
- Balakian, P. (1997). *Black dog of fate: An Armenian son uncovers his Armenian past*. New York: Basic Books.
- Dadourian, S. (1995). Oral history interview [Videotape]. Available from M. Karakashian, P. O. Box 6, Morganville, NJ 07751.
- Dadrian, V. (1988). The circumstances surrounding the 1909 Adana Holocaust. *Armenian Review*, 41, (4/164, Winter), 1-16.
- Dadrian, V. (1995). The history of the Armenian genocide: Ethnic conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus. Providence, RI: Belghahn.
- Jamgotchian, H. (1998). *My memoirs* [in Armenian]. Available from H. Jamgotchian, 57 Fieldcrest Way, Hazlet, N. J., 07730.
- Jamgotchian, Vergine (1999). Personal communication, 8/5/99, Hazlet, N. J.
- Hagopian, G. (1988). The immigration of Armenians to the United States. *The Armenian Review*, 41, (2/162, Summer), 67-76.
- Hairabedian, W. (1998). Personal communication, 10/10/98, Morganville, NJ.
- Housepian, M. (1966 / 1972). *Smyrna 1922: The destruction of a city*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Karakashian, K. (1990). Oral history interview [Videotape] by Fr. Haigazoun Najarian, 9/3/90. Available from V. Karakashian, 2 Marvin Road, Middletown, N.J., 07748.
- Karakashian, M. (1993). Clinical notes in group treatment of refugee children, 3/7/93 to 6/6/93. Physics-Mathematics Institute, Yerevan, Armenia.
- Karakashian, M. (1997). Interviews with residents, 8/27/97. Gurun, Turkey.
- Karakashian, M. & Tavosian, A. (1992). Interviews with refugees from Shahumian and Mardagerd districts of Nagorni-Karabagh [Videotape]. Available from M. Karakashian, P. O. Box 6, Morganville, NJ 07751.
- Karakashian, N. (1999). Personal communication, 8/5/99. Morganville, NJ.
- Khashkhashian, A. (1962). Personal communication, 9/1/62, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Khatanassian, Y. (1965). *The number of the Armenians (Hayots Tivuh)*. Boston: Committee for the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Genocide. (In Armenian).
- Kulhanjian, G. A. (1975). An abstract of the historical and sociological aspects of Armenian immigration to the United States, 1890-1930. San Francisco, CA: R and E Research Associates.
- Lang, D. M. (1970). *Armenia: The cradle of civilization*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Markarian, H. (1999). *Western Armenia: History, stones and dreams*. Lecture given on 4/18/99, Armenian Remembrance Observance at Brookdale Community College Holocaust Center, Lincroft, N J.
- Mirak, R. (1983). *Torn between two lands: Armenians in America 1890 to World War I*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mosesova, I., & Hovnanyan, A. (1992). *The massacres of Baku*. Yerevan: Naregatz'i.
- Bedrosian, G. O. (1997). Personal communication, 7/24/97, Paris, France.
- Papazian, S. (1978). Oral history interview [Audiotape], 7/3/78, Teaneck, N J. Available from M. Karakashian, P. O. Box 6, Morganville, NJ 07751.
- Pogosian, G. (1996). Migration processes in Armenia and the problem of security. Paper presented at the Conference on Migration and Refugees at the United Nations in Geneva, May 30, 1996.
- G. Poghosyan. Potriashenie (The Shock), in magazine "Tschelovek" (Human being), 1990, #2, Moscow, p.59-65.
- G. Poghosyan. The Man in the Calamity Zone. In magazine "The Industry, Building and Architecture of Armenia", 1990, #1-2, Yerevan, (in Armenian and Russian).
- Migration in CIS. International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva, 1996, p.11-17
- Human Development Report, Armenia 1996, Yerevan, UNDP
- Human Development Report, Armenia 1997, Yerevan, UNDP
- G. Poghosyan. Armenian Returnees from Germany. (Back to Homeland), Yerevan, 1997.
- Migration of Population in CIS Countries: 1997-1998. IOM, Geneva, 1999.
- Shahmuradian, S. (Ed.). (1990). *The Sumgait tragedy*. Volume 1: Eyewitness accounts, Pogroms against Armenians in Soviet Azerbaijan.

Cambridge: Zoryan Institute.

Tashjian, J. H. (1947). *The Armenians of the United States and Canada*. Boston: Hairenik Press.

Tjecknavorian, INITIAL? (1998). Interview with author, 1/24/99, Armenian Radio Hour, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N J.

Tjeknavorian (1998). *Enemy of the people* [A film], 1/28/99, French Institute Alliance Francaise, New York City: The Armenian General Benevolent Union.

Walker, C. (1980). *Armenia: The survival of a nation*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Zaroukian, A. (1985). *Men without childhood*. Elize Bayizian & Marzbed Margossian (Translators). New York: Ashod Press.

Yerevan-Boston, 2001

CONDITIONS OF REFUGEES IN ARMENIA

INTRODUCTION

Armenia is one of the smallest republics of former Soviet Union, now an independent state with new democratically elected Parliament and President. According to the last agenda of the Government, as of August 1994 the population of Armenia was 3.7 mln people. Armenia has 22 big and medium-size cities. Its major city and capital is Yerevan with 1.2 mln population.

Armenia is situated in the Transcaucasus region and is bounded to the west by Turkey, to the north by Georgia, to the east by Azerbaijan, to the south by Iran. The territory of Armenia is 29.2 square km. There are 38 regions in the country.

On December 7, 1989, the northern part of Armenia with three big cities was shocked by a devastating earthquake. 25,000 people died, 500,000 were left without shelter. Only in one city of Leninakan (now Giumri) about 740 buildings were destroyed. 40% of the national industry was devastated.

During the first weeks about 114,000 people were evacuated from the disaster area. Most of them (about 73,000) were temporarily accommodated in Armenia - in the hotels, boarding-houses, schools, rest houses. Additionally, a large number of people migrated from the disaster zone on their own. Among these, many were Azeris and Russians. Most of the migrants still live in those areas.

Armenia has appeared in the area of armed conflicts. For more than seven years the people of Nagorno Karabagh, an Armenia enclave in Azerbaijan, have been fighting for their national self-determinations against the official Bakou. In 1923 this Armenian region was ceded to Azerbaijan authoritative decision of Stalin. Since then, the Azerbaijani authorities have been pursuing the policy of national discrimination and violation of basic human rights and freedoms of the people of Nagorno Karabagh, and the 476,000 Armenians living in Azerbaijan. During the last ten years all Armenian schools and the only Armenian theater in Bakou have been closed. Number of Armenian newspapers, radio and TV programmes has been decreasing.

In February 1988, an outburst of ethnic violence took place against 16,000 Armenians living in Azeri city of Sumgait. For three days they were killed, raped, burned and buried alive. The official number of Armenian casualties was 32.

These events were followed by massive deportation of Armenians from other regions of Azerbaijan: 16.000 from Sumgait, 4.000 from Getashen, 17.800 from Shahumian, 310.000 from Bakou and other cities and regions of Azerbaijan. Thus, about 350.000 refugees came to Armenia, having left behind 92.000 apartments and houses. The Azerbaijani government never reimbursed the Armenian refugees.

LEGAL ENVIRONMENT

International laws and UN Covenants on refugees Ratified in Armenia

On April 12 1993 the Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision "On the Status of Refugees" on accession to Geneva Convention. The Supreme Council of Armenia decided to join Geneva Convention relating to the status of Refugees of 28 July 1951 and Protocol of the Convention of 4 October 1967.

On 4 October 1993 Armenia joined the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and on 6 July 1993 the 1967 Protocol of the Convention.

1. Laws, Rules and Governmental Acts concerning Refugees

Armenia does not have a law "On Refugees" mainly due to the lack of "Citizenship Law". A draft law "On Refugees" prepared by the Government and relevant parliamentary commissions is currently being considered by the Parliament.

On 7 July 1991 Parliament of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision requesting the Parliamentary Commission on Earthquake Zone and Displaced Persons Issues to prepare and submit a draft proposal on a law on displaced persons.

On 29 July 1991 a law "On Special Treatment of Refugees in Land Privatization Issues" was adopted. The point 19 of the Article 2

stipulates that persons that applied for temporary shelter in Armenia due to unstable political situation in their native country can be rendered such right.

Decisions by Government and local authorities on refugees, their families, property and shelter

Since 1988, the Government of Armenia adopted about 20 acts on refugees. Among these are:

On 16 July 1991 the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision No. 259 "On Compensation for Property Left by Refugees".

On 29 April 1992 the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision No. 255 "On Improvement of Social and Economic Conditions of Refugees".

On 10 October 1992 the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision No. 504 "On Improvement of Social and Economic Conditions of Displaced Persons".

On 16 February 1993 the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision "On Refugees from Abkhazia".

On 1 October 1993 the Government adopted a decision No. 524 on issuing refugee family cards to refugees and their family members.

The local authorities adopted numerous decisions concerning special issues pertaining to refugees.

Thus, in 1989 refugees were provided 96 apartments in the city of Charentsavan, and Sevan City Council provided with land plots.

Government decisions on compensations to Azerbaijanis that suffered from the Armenian earthquake or those who left Armenia as refugees.

On 17 December 1988 the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia adopted a decision No. 654 "On Assistance to Citizens That Suffered from the Earthquake". Overall, in 1989 the Azerbaijanis who lived in the earthquake zone and left it after the earthquake received 70 mln Rubles.

On 14 December 1988 the Council of Ministers of Armenia made a decree No. 729 "On Provision of Coal, Fuelwood and Heating Fuel to families That Suffered From the Earthquake".

On 15 January 1989 the Government passed a resolution No. 23

"On Employment of the Population That Lost Their Jobs As a Result of the Earthquake".

On 24 February 1989 the Government made a decree "On Indexation of Population Deposits In Savings Banks".

Registration procedures and assistance to refugee families.

In 1988, the Government of Armenia established operations centers for receiving and accommodating first refugees arriving from Azerbaijan; these centers also provided initial emergency assistance.

On 15 November 1993 the Government adopted a decision No. 564 on indexation and reimbursement of refugee savings.

According to a decision No. 524 of the Council of Ministers of The Republic of Armenia of 17 October 1993, in 1994 the exchange of documents was organized in order to issue standard "refugee family card".

People considered as refugees in Armenia receive corresponding standard certificates ("refugee family cards"), after which they became eligible for all types of benefits and privileges stipulated by corresponding Government acts, as well as by humanitarian assistance programmes adopted by international organizations.

Due to lack of national "Law On the Status of Refugees" and "Citizenship Law", Refugees accommodated in the territory of permanent shelter (these are given blue refugee family cards) whose social- economic and employment issues are not resolved and refugees with temporary shelter - these are given pale-blue cards. The refugees of this category are mainly accommodated in hotels, hospices, rest houses, wrecking houses, semi-basement and basement dwellings.

The refugees are accommodated in all regions of Armenia; there are 38,733 refugees in the capital, which account for 12,5 % of the total number of refugees. Depending on the category, two sets of activities are implemented vis-a-vis refugees: repatriation of refugees (Nagorno Karabagh, Abkhazia) to the places of their permanent residence when possible, as well as integration of the refugees from Azerbaijan in the territory of Armenia. The main integration programmes for refugees are connected with their employment opportunities, development of agriculture and small business, as well as provision of permanent residence.

All refugees are paid allowances, welfare and other benefits stipulated for the citizens of Armenia. The refugees have a right to receive land plots in different regions of Armenia for residential construction. Temporary shelters such as containers, hostels, etc. are also provided. UNHCR jointly with the State Committee on Refugees implements projects on provision of food, heating fuel and heating facilities (winter projects), containers and construction materials for repair, as well as provision of permanent dwellings and reconstruction of temporary shelters (in the refugee communities).

The refugees from Azerbaijan (registered) have a right to participate in the social and political life of the state (participation in the elections to the local and Supreme Council of the country). The Government of the country acknowledged the refugees' right to receive privatization certificates (vouchers), which entails their participation in the privatization of industrial enterprises, etc.

Taking into the possibility of repatriation of certain categories of refugees (Nagorno- Karabakh, Abkhazia), the Government of Armenia renders assistance in the issues of logistics and funding of transportation, and in other issues.

2. List of public and private organizations concerned with issues of refugees

Public organizations

Permanent Commission of the Parliament Armenia on the Issues of Earthquake Zone and Refugees (established in 1990)

Local Policy Division of the Local Administration Department of the Council of Ministers of Armenia (established in 1993)

Further to the Presidential Decree of 5 November 1991, State Department on Refugees (SDR) was established. It has representatives on refugee issues in Executive Committees of city and regional councils.

Private organisations

"Hairenakitz " (Compatriot) (registered at the Ministry of Justice in 1990) "Veradartz Haik" (Return to Armenia) (registered in 1990) "Piunik" (Phoenix) (registered in 1990) "Ahazang" (Toll) (registered in 1990) "Union of Women Refugees" (registered at the National Committee of Women Refugees), founded in 1989.

3. Interviews with State Officials

In order to find the attitude of high-level Government officials toward the legislation pertaining to refugees, and toward the adoption by the Parliament of the law "On Refugees", we interviewed the following people:

1. Khachik Stamboltsian Chairman, Parliamentary Commission on the Disaster Area and Refugees issues
2. Henrik Khachatrian Head, Legal Office of the Parliament of Armenia
3. Rafael Bagoian State Minister on Humanitarian Assistance Issues
4. Manouk Topouzian Head, Legal Office of the Government of Armenia
5. Ashot Yessaian Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of Armenia
6. Ruben Barseghian Deputy Chairman, State Department of Refugees
7. Arthur Hakobian Legal Assistant to Protection Office, UNHCR/ Armenia

INFORMATON NOTE. The legislation of the Republic of Armenia does not fully reflect the issues related to refugees. These issues found their solutions in number of Governmental decisions which, however, are not yet complete. Certain issues pertaining to refugees are resolved in the framework of CIS Intergovernmental Agreements.

The Republic of Armenia has not yet adopted a law on refugees, while the draft law is prepared and submitted for discussion in the Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia.

The draft law has been even put under discussion during one session of the Supreme Council, but was not discussed. This is possibly due to the fact that this law has not been included in the list of priority issues. According to some high-level officials we interviewed, the delay in the adoption of the law is explained by the necessity of adoption of other laws: citizenship law, migration law, emigration and immigration law, ect. We believe the main reason for the delay is the absolutely unsatisfactory work of the special Parliamentary commission and the State Committee on Refugees. These organisations have not been consistent and persistent enough. Overall, the Government do not display special interest in the legislative solution of the refugee issues.

The future developments connected with the law are most probably connected with the forthcoming election of the National

Assembly, since the present Parliament will not be able to find time and resources to deal with this issue.

Below are the responses of high level government officials to the following two questions:

1. Is the legal field on refugee issues sufficient or not?
2. If not, who or what interferes with the development of this field and adoption of the Law on Refugees by the Parliament?

Khachik Stamboltsian, Chairman, Parliamentary Committee on Disaster Zone and Refugees Issues. The interview took place on 29.05.95 at Mr. Stamboltsian's office.

As of today, there is no law on refugees. There is a draft law that has been several times discussed with appropriate UN agencies and was approved.

There are certain decisions that more or less facilitate the refugee issues. These decisions allow refugees to participate in the elections, receive privatization vouchers, coupons and assistance. However, the lack of appropriate law resulted in prohibition by the Central Electoral Commission for refugees to participate in the National Assembly elections in 1995. Today refugees are only temporarily registered.

The impediment for adoption of law on refugees is that this law is most closely connected with citizenship law (refugees are not citizens of Armenia), which is not yet adopted.

The interviewer - Rshtun Mardirossian

Henrik Khachatrian, Head, Legal Office, Parliament of Armenia. The interview took place in his office on 27 May 1995.

1st question: At present, Armenia does not have a law pertaining to the status of refugees and their rights, the process of obtaining citizenship by refugees - citizens of the former Soviet Union.

There is only law of 29 July 1991 that stipulates certain privileges to refugees in land privatization issues.

The Government of Armenia adopted a series of decisions and decrees on this issue, However, this is not enough for legal resolution of problems related to the status of refugees.

2nd question: The Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia did not adopt a law on refugees since the draft law was not developed on a timely basis by the permanent commission on the Disaster Zone and

Refugees Issues (Chairman Mr. Kh. Stamboltsian). The haphazardly prepared draft law was not included in the agenda of the last session of the Supreme Council, since it still had to be worked on and finalized.

The interviewer - Irina Arakelian

Rafael Bagoian, State Minister on Humanitarian Assistance Issues. The interview took place at his office on 2 June 1995.

In order to provide humanitarian assistance to refugees, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia and the Government adopted numerous decisions.

The republic of Armenia joined and ratified some international conventions and legislative documents on refugee issues. Our task today is to provide humanitarian assistance to the State Department on Refugees for distribution to refugees.

I think that the legal field necessary for the adoption of a law on refugees has been created, and, furthermore, the draft law is under discussion.

The interviewer - Rimma Pogosian

Manouk Topouzian, Head, Legal Office of the Government of Armenia. The interview took place in his office on 2 June 1995.

On 7 July 1991 the Supreme Council of Armenia requested the permanent commission on the Disaster Zone and Refugees Issues to prepare and submit a proposal on a law on refugees. The draft law is prepared and is under discussion. In spite of the lack of appropriate legislation, there are legal acts on the status of refugees and all relevant issues.

1. There are numerous Supreme Council decisions on the refugees issues.
2. There are more than 40 effective Governmental decisions on the status of refugees, improvement of their social and economic conditions, provision of loans, coverage of communal service payments, etc.
3. On 12 April 1993 Armenia joined the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and 1967 Protocol to the Geneva Convention. The Republic of Armenia also joined or ratified 12 out of 15 international legal instruments on subject. Furthermore, in case of a conflict with a national legislation international norms prevail.

Thus, there is a substantial legal field prepared for the adoption of law on refugees.

I think that the lack of a law on refugees can be attributed to the lack of citizenship law.

The interviewer - Vahram Samvelian

Ashot Yessaian, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. The interview took place on 27 May 1995.

In order to judge about any legal sphere, one needs to look at legislation in a given area. However, in order to have a comprehensive law on refugees, several more laws are necessary:

a) Citizenship law b) Exit and Entry law c) Migration law (internal and external)

The laws are adopted by the Supreme Council (National Assembly) of the Republic of Armenia, which decides on the priority of these laws.

The question about the obstacles for the adoption of this law should be addressed to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia.

The interviewer - Irina Arakelian

Ruben Barsegian, First Deputy Chief, State Department on Refugees. The interview took place in his office on 24 May 1995.

There are certain decisions on refugees that regulate and facilitate the refugee issues. These decisions allowed refugees to take part in the life of the society, as well as benefit from assistance provided to socially vulnerable groups.

However, till now no law on the status of refugees has been adopted, which would have allowed them to participate in the political events. The draft law on refugees have been submitted to the Parliament for discussion for more than a year ago, but till now the Parliament did not take any decision. This is because the draft has not yet passed the corresponding Parliamentary commission.

The interviewer - Samson Mkhitarian

Arthur Hagopian, Legal Assistant to Protection Officer, UNHCR/Armenia. The interview took place in his office on 5 June 1995.

The Armenian legislation on refugee issues is not sufficient. In order to legally regulate this subject, a law on refugees is necessary. This law is currently in draft form. Armenia does not have a citizenship law either. There is a law "On the Legal Status of Foreigners" that was

adopted on 17 June 1994.

The draft law was developed in 1994-1995 jointly with the Parliamentary Commission on Disaster Zone and Refugees, the Government of Armenia.

Most probably, this law will be considered by the new Armenian Parliament. The draft law corresponds to the basic principles and provisions of the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and 1967 Protocol that Armenia joined in 4 October 1993 and 6 July 1993 respectively. Experts on refugee legislation were also involved in the drafting of the law.

There are no obstacles for adoption of the law on refugees in Armenia. Its lack can be partially explained by lack of the national citizenship law. It does not look like the refugee law will be adopted prior to the citizenship law. The parliamentary commission on the Disaster Zone and refugees Issues will be prepared to submit the draft law to the new parliament for discussion.

The interviewer - Rafik Seiranian

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF REFUGEES

4. Official data about Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan

- Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan (the Armenians lived in 36 cities and 232 villages of Azerbaijan) 260,000
- Refugees from Nagorno Karabagh 57,000; refugees from Shahumian region (north of Nagorno Karabagh) 12,000
- Refugees from Getashen and Marthunashen (north-east of Nagorno Karabagh) 5,100
- Refugees from Abkhazia 6,000
- Internally displaced persons (IDPs) from borderline regions of Armenia 78,000

Total number of refugees and IDPs 418,000

Social and demographic composition

- children below 7 years of age 38,060
- children of 7-16 years of age (schoolchildren and college students) 60,815
- elderly people of 60 years of age and above (pensioners) 79,016

- invalids and pensioners living alone 20,685

- orphans that lost one parent 3,310

Professional distribution and employment situation of refugees.

The professional and qualification composition of refugees is quite diverse. There are many qualified workers and professionals - teachers, scientist, doctors, engineers, economist, journalists, ect., as well as arts workers - artists, musicians, ect. The education level is also quite different - there are people with technical education, higher education, candidates and doctors and sciences.

About 232,000 refugees and IDPs or more than 58,700 families live in temporary shelters without basic facilities (including rest houses, hotels, hostels, schools, wrecking houses, containers, semibasement dwellings).

About 150,000 refugees and IDPs 16-60 years of age are jobless and live on resources and benefist provided by the Armenian Government, as well as on humanitarian assistance provided by international organisations. Only in 1995 235 refugees were officially registred as unemployed at labour exchange. Due to the economic crisis there is a significant emigration to other CIS and some European countries for temporary or permanent residence.

Property left by refugees in Azerbaijan.

More than 43,000 refugee families (about 50%) left their houses and property in Azerbaijan. The total value of the abandoned property, including houses, apartments, property and savings, is about 7,6 bln rubles.

105,000 refugees did not receive shelter from Azerbaijan, 28,000 exchanged their houses and apartments, 4,000 refugee families received as a property the houses left by Azerbaijanis that left Armenia.

(Since the beginning of the conflict, 165,000 Azerbaijanis left Armenia).

73,000 private apartments in urban residential areas. 23,200 private houses in rural areas 96,200 apartments and houses in total.

About 85,000 individual outhouses, as well 286 schools; 232 village community centres; 265 libraries 290; medical clinics and hospitals; 290 village council buildings as well as, 1,500 other buildings, such as bath-houses, cafeterias, farms. garages.

Accommodation and living conditions of refugees in Armenia.

The refugees are accommodated in all regions of Armenia. 40% of refugees live in urban areas. 31,400 refugee families or 124,000 refugees and IDPs are accommodated in hotels, schools and other buildings that belong to institutions and organisations, 27,300 families or 108,000 refugees and IDPs live in containers, wrecking houses, basements and semi-basements. 13,800 families or 56,100 refugees and IDPs live at relatives or rent apartments, 26,500 families or 108,200 families and IDPs live in houses exchanged with Azerbaijanis that left Armenia. 4,100 families or 16,700 refugees and IDPs live in public privatized apartments.

Assistance provided to refugees.

The State Department on Refugees of the Republic of Armenia cooperates with all international organisations that provide assistance to refugees. The main assistance to refugees is provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations World Food Programme, International Committee of Red Cross, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Armenian Assembly of America.

More 28 international organizations, individuals and private companies provide assistance to Armenian refugees.

In 1993 Refugee Relief Fund was established in Armenia.

In 1994 the Government of Armenia signed an Agreement on Cooperation on Refugee Issues within CIS framework, which resulted in creation of Intergovernmental Fund of Refugee and IDPs Relief.

On 17 December 1994 the Government adopted a decision No. 583 on complex measures on improvement of the social and economic conditions of refugees.

Since 1993 the UNHCR provides assistance to refugees through ICRC according to long-term projects;

1993-1994 food project

1994-1995 food project

1993-1994 winter project provision of heating fuel and heating facilities

1994-1995 winter project provision of heating fuel and heating facilities

The assistance is provided to all refugees without shelter and those living in refugee communities (in rest houses, hotels, hostels, etc.), as well as two categories of refugees with permanent dwelling (invalids, lonely pensioners, families with many children and others).

130,000 refugees received assistance.

Extraordinary information on refugees

Monthly subsidies to each refugee constitute an amount equivalent to 32 US cents.

Refugees constitute 12% of the total population of the Republic of Armenia.

Note. All information provided in this chapter is based on "Report of the Republic of Armenia at the International conference on Refugees, Repatriates, Displaced Persons and Migrants in the Territory of the former USSR" prepared in 1995 by the State Department on Refugees of the Republic of Armenia; "Summary Working Paper" prepared by joint Secretariat of UNHCR/OSCE for the First Conference of Experts of 18-19 May 1995 in Geneva, a report "Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in the Republic of Armenia", 5 October 1994, provided by the State Department on Refugees, as well as other official documents and materials.

Interviews with 30 Refugees

During May and June 1995 the experts of the Sociological Research Center of the Armenian National Academy of Sciences interviewed 30 refugee families in the areas of greatest concentration of refugees. The interviews were made in Yerevan, Vardenis, Nairi, Artashat and Massis regions of Armenia.

CONCLUSION

As follows from the survey, the majority of the Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan are urban dwellers. This corresponds to the social-professional structure of the Armenian refugees. These are mostly people of urban, industrial professions, which considerably hampers the process of their professional adaptation in Armenian villages, which are

the main areas of refugee communities.

The overwhelming majority of the refugees still do not have - after seven years- a permanent residence and a job. While almost all of them receive some assistance from different organizations, 80% of the families are below the average category, or even destitute.

The most acute problem is the awareness of refugees. Most of them learn about their rights and privileges not from official sources, but from friends, neighbors and occasional acquaintances. Neither radio nor TV do not have a special program for refugees. A newspaper published by the State Department on Refugees does not contain the necessary information and is not popular among the refugees.

Yerevan, 1996

AN ARMENIAN'S LIFE IN ARMENIA

INTRODUCTION.

This study came out thanks to financial and moral assistance of Haik Institute (USA), and, in particular, its Yerevan branch. The allotted finances sufficed the working out of a program and an instrument set for the research, its conducting (March, 1993) in three towns of the republic (Yerevan, Giumri and Ashtarak), summarizing the data on a computer and preparing this article in Armenian, Russian and English. The collected material has turned out to be so bulky and interesting that it could be expounded in a separate study. Here we present a brief sociological article which allows forming a notion of the received results and conclusions. We hope that publishers and sponsors will become interested in preparing and publishing a separate monograph in the near future.

1200 town-dwellers took part in the sociological research. They were selected proportionally from all the social and demographical groups of Armenia's population.

The research has aimed at studying how an Armenian feels in his own country, what he thinks about the future of the nation and the state, his notion of a typical representative of his nation and many other issues. Special thanks to those who helped the researchers - employees of the Sociological Research Center - in achieving their difficult object.

Yerevan, March 1993.

WHO WE ARE. WHERE WE ARE FROM.

The issue which has always been vital. The character of Armenians has been forming during the centuries, and each age has left its mark upon the character of the whole nation. Today we are just a product of a capricious sculptor called "history". And a sociological questioning is just like a snapshot; it only fixes the historical grimace on the society's bewildered face.

1. The Picture of a Typical Armenian.

Each of us has his or her own notion of what a typical representative of our nation is. We in our own eyes are a definite character. We have the thing that can be called "We-concept". Others' attitude certainly differs from our own notions. Let us try to find out with what qualities a typical Armenian is provided in our own eyes - a typical blockade time Armenian in the eyes of today Armenians or, at least, in the eyes of the questioned thousand. We gave them a list of seventeen characteristic dichotomy qualities and asked to estimate by a five-score scale which of them was more (or less) characteristic for a typical Armenian. The list consisted of seventeen diametrically opposed qualities were taken from the C. Osgood's methods of semantically differential. The measuring was carried out by a set of 17 antonymic couples - continuity consisted of five gradations of a relationship's intensity. "Endurance" has occupied the first horizontal of the scale. It was marked by 85 per cent of the questioned.

"Law obedience" is at the last. Roughly, an average character of a typical Armenian can be described this way: tough, enterprising, diligent, but at the same time - law disobedient, rude and ill-bred, devoted less and dishonest. "Individualism", "conservatism", "willpower, persistence", "patriotism" and "freedom-love" are less characteristic qualities. And, at last, qualities of the third level of significance are "desire for knowledge", "kindness", "faith", "rebel ness" and "tolerance". This is our notion about us.

The various strata of society have THEIR own image of a typical Armenian, although the difference is not striking. This fact in it self shows the depth and stability of notions rooted in social consciousness. Youngsters (age 18-30) as opposed elders more definitely stressed on such qualities as "individualism", "freedom-love", "conservatism", "endurance" and "rebel ness". The other qualities (except "enterprise", "willpower" and "faith") were estimated by the youth as a bit less typical. Thus, in their eyes of the youth strong qualities of a typical Armenian are better marked. Probably, this youth's notion specifically displays the ritual opposition of fathers and sons.

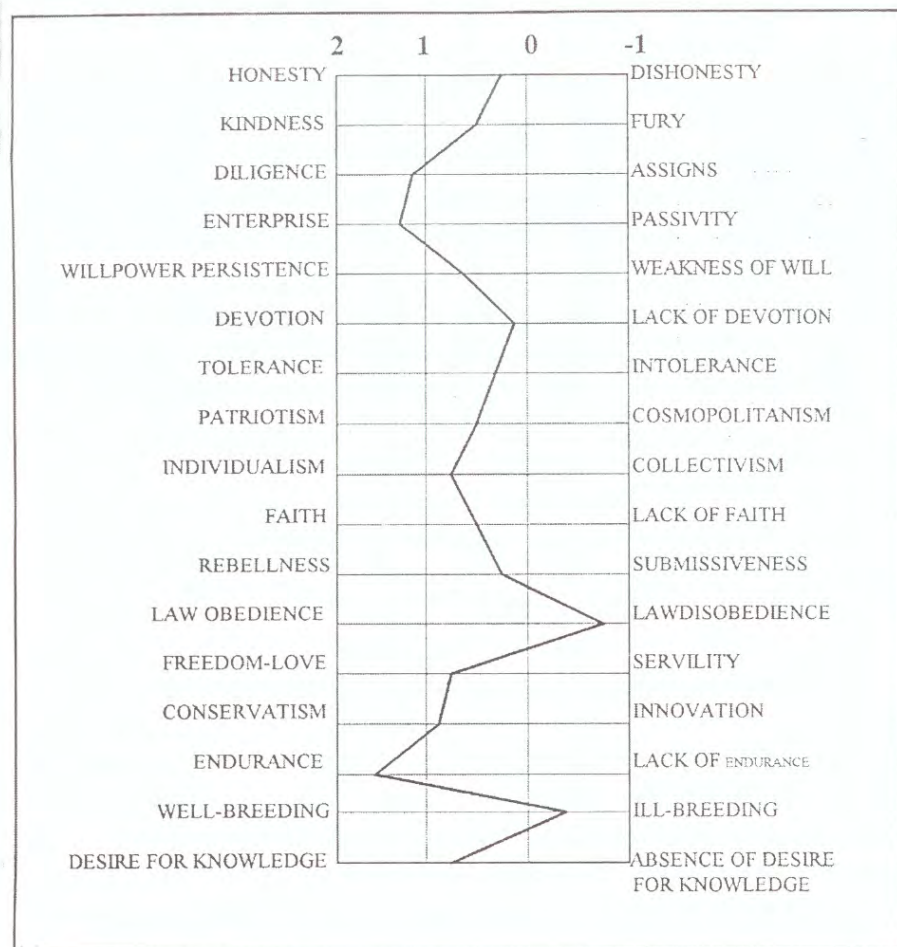
The notions of a typical Armenian created by males and females also do not differ much from each other. The questioned males less enthusiastically marked "kindness", "faith" and "honesty". "Individualism", "diligence", "freedom-love", "conservatism", "law obedience", "devotion" and "willpower" were estimated equally. Obviously, these are those qualities concerning to which no disagreement between Armenians of both sexes. The other seven qualities were given more significance by males than by females.

Highly educated people gave "individualism" and "enterprise" more significance than people with secondary school education did. The rest of the qualities, on the contrary, were estimated higher by the second group.

Concluding the poll results we obviously see that "endurance", "enterprise" and "diligence" - at the positive pole, and "law disobedience", "ill breeding", "dishonesty" and "lack of devotion" - at the negative pole are the dominants of the psychological picture of a typical Armenian. And a typical Armenian looks definitely this way in the mirror of social opinion. This is a quite self-critical and severe self-portrait which testifies that people do not nourish themselves with illusions and are not captivated by false notions.

Those who have disappointed in their nation and who have been even regretting that they are Armenians gave much more severe estimation. Such people made only 7 per cent of all the questioned, but their opinion as an expression of extremely negative position has caused strong scientific interest. In the eyes of these disappointed in their nation a typical Armenian is generally dishonest, cruel, rude violator and also undivided, faithless conformist and individualist who despises his own nation. It is noteworthy be mentioned that even these severe critics estimated highly such qualities as "endurance", "diligence" and "enterprise", which apparently allows us to regard these three positive qualities as basic characteristics of the nation. On the whole this collective picture can help our society better understand and estimate itself and give our nation more clarity and soberness.

The Qualities of a Typical Armenian



2. What Success Does Mean in the Armenian Way.

Every nation has its own notion of life success. An American thinks that lucky is the one who has become a millionaire, in the opinion of Hindu, success in life is something different. Armenians also have their estimation of life success, that is, a concrete set of things and relations without which a grown-up Armenian cannot consider oneself lucky. To his mind, his life is a success only when he has reached a certain level of

material wealth. We've conducted a test to find out what is necessary to be successful in the Armenian way, so here is the "top ten" of material goods that do or can make an average Armenian happy:

		should have	do have
1.	House, apartment (furniture)	93,6 %	85,3 %
2.	Family, children	90,2 %	76,4 %
3.	Job (a source of income)	87,6 %	48,9 %
4.	Friends, acquaintances	66,9 %	70,1 %
5.	Savings	59,9 %	18,6 %
6.	Hobby	53,2 %	27,1 %
7.	Education	51,2 %	54,1 %
8.	Car	41,8 %	32,8 %
9.	Summer house	28,8 %	26,6 %
10.	Executive post	12,3 %	8,7 %

So this is the set of goods which make a person feel sure of his luck, for most of the representatives of the society think this way. It can be called a **SOCIAL SUCCESS'S STANDARD**. And each typical Armenian strives for reaching this standard during his life (surely, as soon as possible). Some people succeed in this business when they are still young, others become wealthy in their adulthood, and there is a great deal of people who never possess all the above listed goods. There are some representatives of the last group among the questioned, too. The second column in the table indicates the percentage of those questioned who do have the mentioned goods.

As we see, the majority is lucky in the aspects of house, family and friends. Moreover, the number of those who do have friends and education is a bit higher than the number of those who consider these two items significant on the way to social wealth. It must be mentioned that less than 8 per cent of the questioned do possess all that was listed in the table, and about 15 per cent - do have none. The majority of questioned has 3 or 4 goods from the list, that is, a family, an apartment, friends and education.

It is well-known that the Japanese standards of happiness foresee possession of at least "three keys" - a key for a house, a key for a car and a key for a cottage. The similar Armenian formula includes another set of "keys" which differs from the Japanese one, that is, a house, a family,

a job, friends and a moderate sum. The summer house, the car and an executive post are considered desirable, but not necessary. (The summer house was "voted for" by 49, 3 per cent of the questioned, and "against" - by 21,9 per cent. The car and the executive post were "voted" correspondingly - 44,1% / 13,8% and 40,6% / 47,1%.)

		Do possess, and consider necessary	Don't possess, but consider necessary
1.	House, apartment (furniture)	94,3 %	89,8 %
2.	Family, children	94,2 %	77,4 %
3.	Job (a source of income)	94,1 %	81,2 %
4.	Friends, acquaintances	76,8 %	44,1 %
5.	Savings	76,8 %	56,3 %
6.	Hobby	78,4 %	43,9 %
7.	Education	58,6 %	42,7 %
8.	Car	57,4 %	34,3 %
9.	Summer house	45,0 %	22,9 %
10.	Executive post	29,9 %	10,1 %

Those who don't have any of these items consider possession of the missing goods less necessary than those who have already had them do. The living standard is being artificially lowered by those who do not have the listed goods. This so-called "lowering" can be caused either be psychological protective mechanism, or by personal maxim which forms a weaker motivation for their achievement. However, it is amazing that both the first (those who possess) and the second (those who don't possess) groups mentioned approximately the same hierarchical structure of the material goods which are considered necessary.

Differences between male and female notions of the wealth's standards are also quite symptomatic. Almost all the listed goods are considered less significant by females. With a single exception - family and children. In this aspect their estimations are even higher than those of males. Besides, in the opinion of the representatives of the fair sex as opposed to male's opinion, education is also quite important in the matter of success reaching. This is estimation of Armenian women - family and education are of most significance.

There are also some differences in the positions of young people and the adults. It is interesting that in some aspects the opinion of the youth

coincides with the opinion of their "grandfathers" unlike the estimation of their "fathers". (For instance, the estimation of youngsters and elders are of the same height regarding education's necessity; at the same time both the age groups consider possession of a summer house, savings and a job as a source of income unessential in the business of becoming a wealthy person.) The young estimated the necessity of having a house (apartment), a family and children lower than the other age groups did. Thus, wholly repeating the general notions the "teen-age" standard of luck puts a stress on the following two attributes - friends and a car.

"White-collars" think that it is very important to have a higher education, an executive post and good friends.

Cooperative officials more than others stress the necessity of having a car, friends, savings and a cottage. Employees give more prominence to the presence of job, whereas the representatives of intelligentsia prefer existence of an interesting hobby.

So we see that the formula of life success is a little bit different for various social groups. However, on the whole it is no difficulty to form an approximate notion from the above mentioned estimations.

3. And What Is in the Way to Success.

Each person continually gives estimation to the lived years. Some people are satisfied with the level they've reached and others are dissatisfied, for there is something in their lives that they couldn't have realized.

Have you succeeded in achieving all the objects that were to be attained up to now?

1.	Yes	10,6 %
2.	Partially	56,0 %
3.	No	22,7 %
4.	Uncertain	10,7 %

The majority (66,6 per cent) in this or that way has achieved goals that were to be reached.

This is a good indicator which testifies that there is a well-prepared base for self-confirmation in the society. On the other hand, the one third of the questioned (33,4 per cent) either stated that they couldn't have attained their goals, or just refused to answer (such a reply is equal to a negative answer). People of the age from 45 to 60 answered positively most of all, while teenagers gave generally a negative answer. It must be mentioned that females and males equally estimated full and partial achievement of the goals in their lives. But there were much more males than females among those who replied "No". This is explained by the fact that as a rule men are to attain more difficult goals, and their attitude to their achievements is more critical. The answers of different social groups' representatives also differ from one another. Thus, cooperative officials (25,7 per cent), students (17,9 per cent) and pensioners (11,4 per cent) have turned out to be most successful, though only a small part of them achieved all the goals that had been to be reached.

There are various obstacles in the way to success. Some of them depend upon a person or his/her environment, but there are obstacles which depend upon nobody.

What is the main obstacle in the way to success?

1.	Family	10,3 %
2.	Environment	7,5 %
3.	State	17,3 %
4.	Me	15,0 %
5.	Circumstances	36,8 %
6.	Uncertain	13,1 %

Only 15 per cent of the questioned blame themselves. Unluckiness is mainly caused by certain circumstances (36,8 per cent). Males are more inclined to blame themselves (17,1%). At the same time 20,4 per cent of the questioned males blame the state, and 13,4 per cent of the representatives of the fair sex - their families.

Young people of the age up to 30 are more than others inclined to blame themselves and the state. The aged blame their families and

environment. Intelligentsia and students more than the other social groups think it is their own fault that they are unlucky in achieving their objects (correspondingly - 20,5 and 19,1 per cent). Workers are inclined to blame the environment; the jobless - the state, housewives - their families, and employees - unfortunate circumstances.

Those who couldn't attain their objects first of all blame unforeseen coincidence (34,9%), then the state (22,9%). Only 13,2 percent see their own fault in their unluckiness.

40,9 per cent of those who have partially achieved their goals blamed the circumstances. This tendency - not to admit their own fault and blame someone or something else - is worldwide nowadays. But it is amazing that Armenians blame the environment least of all, even less than their families and themselves. This result was quite unexpected. Probably, it can be explained by the fact that each Armenian saying "environment" wholly means his/her friends and acquaintances circle the main idea of which is mutual support and assistance. Consequently, to his/her mind, this circle mustn't be in the way of his/her objects' achievement, for its creation first of all has been aimed at social support rendering.

4. Where We Are From.

51,8 per cent of the questioned said that their ancestors had been living on the territory of today Republic of Armenia. 38,5 per cent are descendants of Armenians who were living in Eastern Armenia or other territories traditionally populated with Armenians. Thus, it is obvious that approximately half of Armenia's population is children of Armenian community abroad.

Most of the returned migrants were born either in the place where they live now (58%), or in other settlements of modern Armenia. And only 9,9 per cent of the questioned were born away from Republic of Armenia. We consider this figure a bit lowered, because our opinion poll did not include the refugees from Azerbaijan (there are about 325 thousand people from Azerbaijan living in Armenia now). And they make 9 per cent of the whole republic's population. Besides, only people over 18 were questioned by employees of our Center. Taking into account all these, we can state that there are much more people born

abroad living in Armenia at the time being. It can be supposed that each fifth inhabitant of Armenia was born out of his motherland. This number will be increasing, being subjected to the following two significant tendencies. On one hand, there is a fact of the population's migration from the republic. On the other hand, the flow of refugees and immigrants from other countries of the CIS to Armenia is becoming more and more noticeable. The tremendous scale of migration processes is promoted by the fact that a considerable part of the republic's inhabitants has relatives abroad. According to the results of our opinion poll, 62,2 per cent of the questioned have relatives out of Armenia. 31,5 per cent have them in the CIS countries (mainly in Russia), and relatives of 20,6 percent live in the East. It is known that such relations are employed as a catalyst of migration processes. It is no mere chance that there are more wishers to leave Armenia and stay abroad forever among those who have relatives there (22,5 per cent) than among those who don't. And it is no surprise that there are less representatives of the first group than those of the second one among people who would like to never abandon their motherland (correspondingly - 27,8% / 32,5%). The same rule works for children's departure: those who have relatives in foreign countries are more inclined to send their children and grandchildren abroad for permanent living.

Only 16, per cent of those questioned who were born in Armenia would like to leave the country forever. And there are 29,3 per cent among those who were born abroad.

Another interesting regularity was found out. 26,1 per cent of those who want to leave Armenia forever and 19,7 per cent of those who would never go are original natives of so-called Great Armenia. People whose ancestors lived in Eastern Armenia want to migrate least of all (15,1%). And this group makes majority of those who aren't going to leave (36,8%). 100 questioned people were descendants of foreign countries' (excluding Eastern Armenia) inhabitants. It is amazing that the representatives of this group are inclined to leave Armenia most of all (21,9%). Consequently, they make minority of those who would stay in Armenia forever (20,8).

All these figures, thus, reinforce the fact that most of all are inclined to

migrate those who have relatives abroad and those who were born there - except the born in Eastern Armenia. In contrast to the representatives of the last group Armenians born in Azerbaijan want to leave the republic very much (45,2%). This is quite understandable, for today Armenia is unable to give a good shelter to refugees and ensure their well-being.

IS IT EASY TO BE AN ARMENIAN?

Today an Armenian's life in Armenia is an incessant and a despair struggle for existence. Endurance and an ability to withstand troubles have really become a distinctive trait and a strategy of behavior. How strong can a person be satisfied with life and fate in such a situation? How long is a human being able to survive genetically?

1. Satisfaction with Life and Fate.

There are several definite basic things in each human being's life, state of which (good or bad) determines his/her satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life. We've already found out that presence of a family, children, a job and a house makes an Armenian feel lucky, and now we'd try to discover the degrees of his satisfaction with these "factors of luck". It has turned out that on the whole Armenians are quite satisfied with their families (66,4 per cent). However, they are more satisfied with their parents (68,4%) than with their children (58%). Generally the patriarchal respect for elders, especially for parents, is still quite characteristic for Armenian mentality, though the attitude is not of the erstwhile strength. At the same time there is a patriarchal-critical attitude to the sons' generation. The Armenian society still remains conservative, at least in the respect of family intergeneration relations.

What is the degree of your satisfaction with:

	Satisfied	More or less Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain
Your family	65,4%	23,2%	5,7%	5,7%
Your children	58,0%	14,6%	7,5%	19,9%
Your parents	68,4%	18,8%	5,3%	7,5%
Your life in general	13,0%	48,2%	35,3%	3,5%
You're financial position	6,9%	29,8%	61,7%	1,6%
Yourself on the whole	12,1%	44,6%	32,7%	10,6%

Least of all people are satisfied with their financial position today (6,9 per cent). This is quite understandable - market relations put a considerable part of the population beyond the poverty level. It is natural that this fact has reflected in dissatisfaction with life in general. Only 13 per cent of the questioned are satisfied with their life, and 35,3 per cent are dissatisfied. So we see that for an Armenian satisfaction with his/her family, children and parents does not necessarily mean satisfaction with life and himself / herself on the whole. For complete satisfaction he/she needs at least minimum financial well-being (to say nothing of ceasing the war, lifting the roads' blockade, escaping the economic crisis and so on).

According to the opinion poll's results, the population's majority (73,3%) seriously worries about the possibility to be involved in a large-scale warfare. The threat of the war does not bother only 10 per cent of Armenia's population. On the other hand, a great deal of people is anxious about the social security of their families (60%) and the absence of their civic rights protection's guarantee (75,7%). Those who took part in the opinion poll were asked, "Generally how do you feel in Armenia?". 31,4 per cent answered "very bad", and only 8,8 per cent replied "very good". 24,7 per cent feel just "bad", and 25,2 per cent - "not bad and not good". The results are quite regrettable, though they correspond to the reality. Another question:

Do you regret that you are Armenian?

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--------|
| 1. | Not at all | 78,5 % |
| 2. | Wouldn't regret if I were born abroad | 14,5 % |

3. Yes, I do

7,0 %

Thus, the one fifth of Armenians does regret that they are Armenians and they live here. As a result of the poll some interesting regularities were discovered. It turned out that the older a questioned person is, the more he/she is pleased with his/her children, and the less - with parents. That is, young people are dissatisfied with their children, but they are satisfied with their parents, and old people, on the contrary, are pleased with children and displeased with parents. However, the satisfaction with parents is generally stronger than that of with children. At the same time all the age groups are equally pleased with their families as opposed to "financial position", "life in general" and "yourself". 30-45-year-old people are least of all satisfied with themselves, life and material position. It is noteworthy that this generation is the most active in social, economic and political life of the society. And this generation most of all considers itself "the generation of betrayed". The aged think that their life is over, and young people hope that they will manage to live in new conditions. The middle generation was shocked by the collapse of the old system. According to the poll's results, females are less than males satisfied with themselves, life on the whole and their families. The fair sex is generally more displeased with the listed points than the strong one. They are totally absorbed in the problems of domestic life. A man in an Armenian family is traditionally free of numerous day-to-day duties.

The fact that cooperative officials are most of all satisfied with themselves, their families, life and financial position is quite clear in the current situation. And it is natural that jobless, intelligentsia and workers don't share their cheerfulness.

Satisfaction with family as a rule is accompanied by satisfaction with children, life on the whole and oneself (the latter is less characteristic than the former two). We don't see any intercommunication between satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with family and parents, and family and material wealth. Probably, modern Armenian mentality considers family's well-being most of all correlated with children, life and oneself. It was also noticed that satisfaction with oneself directly depends on satisfaction with life, and vice versa. There is also direct correlation between answers of those who have achieved their objects and those

who are generally pleased with life. Moreover, the majority of pleased with themselves answered that they had completely or partially achieved their objects. This is quite clear - a person is usually satisfied with himself when he has attained all he wanted. This result confirms correctness of applied methods and reliability of the data.

2. Social General Condition of a Person.

A sense of comfort and a sense of security and satisfaction with life are main indicators of a person's social general condition.

Generally how do you feel in Armenia?

1.	Very good	8,8 %
2.	Good	9,9 %
3.	Not good and not bad	25,2 %
4.	Bad	24,7 %
5.	Very bad	31,4 %

Most questioned (56,1%) replied "bad" to this question. Females and the aged as a rule tend to answer negatively.

Generally workers (39%) and the unemployed (54%) feel "very bad". Those who answered "very good" are mainly cooperative officials (18,6%).

There are various causes that make people feel bad in Armenia. So here are the strongest factors: a) a fear of involvement into a large-scale warfare (31,2%); b) absence of any civic rights protection's guarantees (22,9%-55,9%); c) absence of social security(37,5%) and; d) dissatisfaction with financial position (41,3%).

A bad condition is also directly connected with dissatisfaction with life (26,8%) and with oneself (23,2%). As a rule the one fourth of those who feel "very bad" in Armenia envy migrants, and each second among them absolutely don't condemn those who leave Armenia for good. Only 12 per cent condemn them. For a comparison - 59,1 per cent of those who feel "very good" strictly blame the migrants.

These differences in general condition also bring to a polarization of

opinions in regard to Armenia's future. Thus, in the eyes of those who feel bad here, it is necessary to try to preserve all that we still have, otherwise Armenia will be sooner or later abandoned. It is no surprise that 15,8 per cent of people who share this point of view regret that they are Armenians. Only 3,4 percent of those who also think so feel "very good" in Armenia.

The social general condition is being influenced by presence or absence of the goods which make people wealthy. It was found out that the presence of a job, friends, an executive post, savings and real estate are very important for people's social general condition.

But it is less affected by presence or absence of a family, a flat and a car. If a person has a family, an apartment and even a car, it does not necessarily mean that he feel good in general. Here the society's tendency of recent years to seclude from the outer world shows itself. A deep dissociation between people makes them immerse themselves in family affairs only. Totally absorbed in day-to-day troubles with food and house heating, people think only about their own problems. The social ties and bonds between relatives are being torn off, and the society is being continually divided into numerous micro cells which tend to maximally "autonomies" their existence.

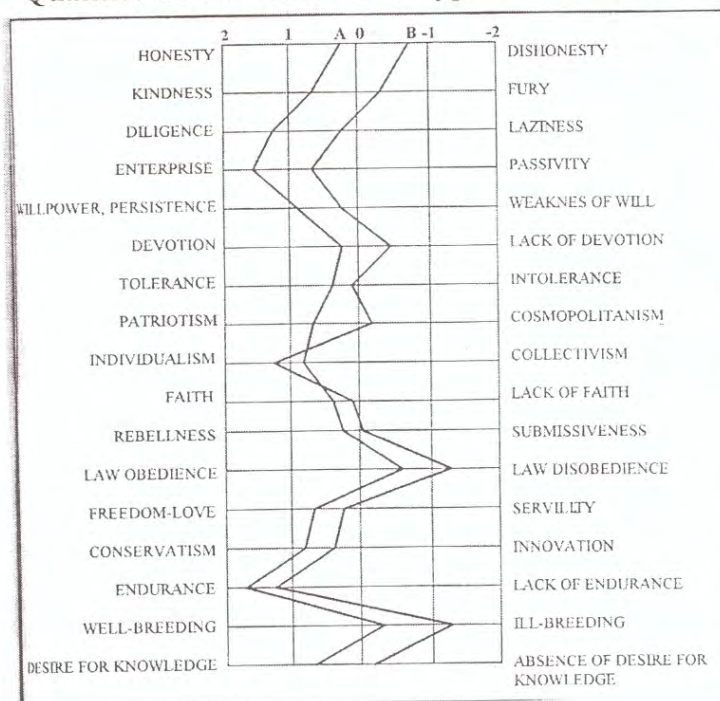
And a human being doesn't have a sense of comfort even in the circle of family members, in his own house. He considers himself a mere cog in a gigantic mechanism. This retiring into oneself brings to complete isolation, and nobody feels good being withdrawn from the others. Therefore it is no mere chance that people who have a wide circle of friends, a job, an executive post and a relative material wealth do feel better than others in Armenia - all these simply help them not to totally seclude from the outer world, not to retire into them. Presence of all these help them to maintain the habitual structure of their relationships and this is of most importance in the matter of a person's social well-being.

3. The Nature of Self-Estrangement.

An Armenian who regrets that he is Armenian feels a deep estrangement from his own nation. This is true for all people. Social and national estrangement is a direct way to one's self-isolation, for no human being can

exist escluded from a community, people, and a nation. According to the received data, today the one fifth of Armenians regret about their origin. So, who are they - people who've become disappointed in their own nation? There are more females among the representatives of this group. Many young people of the age up to 30 are also among the disappointed (26%). 17,3 per cent of those who regret that they are Armenians are adults of over 45. The difference between the elders and the youth is not slight, and the fact that the one fourth of the young generation are sorry that they were born in Armenia and regret that they are representatives of the native population makes one ponder over the future of our country. Another pity - "white-collars" do regret more than others. There are many disappointed among the jobless and students; the attitude of pensioners, workers, employees and cooperative officials is more optimistic. The isolation of students and the youth in general is caused rather by the country, and not by the nation. The majority of the disappointed answered, "Wouldn't regret if I were born abroad."

Qualities Characteristic of a Typical Armenian



The idea about typical Armenian of those who definitely regret that they are Armenians (column B in the table) cardinally differs from that of those who don't (column A in the table). The above given table shows that notions of the B group (those who regret) are rather negative.

We've calculated the Spearman's coefficient of correlation between the two ranges of qualities characteristic for a typical Armenian - the first is formed on the base of opinion of those who don't regret that they are Armenians (range A), and the second - of those who do (range B). The coefficient has turned out to be very high - 0,87. This testifies that there is a statistically reliable, close connection between the two ranges of qualities. It reinforces the fact that the notions of the qualities characteristic for a typical Armenian are quite stable and wide-spread. Notions of those who are disappointed in their nation don't differ much from the notions of the other representatives of our nation. The only difference is that the position of the first group is more negative. It is well-known that this or that quality of a person can evoke either liking, or disliking in regard to the degree of its strength. Probably, the strength of "Armenian-being" in Armenians is excessive for a certain group of the nation's representatives, and this brings to disappointment and becomes a base for self-isolation and breaking of national self-identification. So far it is quite clear that such people are more inclined to migrate from the country where it becomes more and more difficult to remain Armenian. Armenians are traditionally quite tolerant in respect of foreigners, but they are extremely intolerant regarding those Armenians who behave "not in the Armenian way". They feel discomfort able under the permanent social control which becomes stricter in the state of war.) Therefore, it is no mere chance that those who regret that they are Armenians want to migrate most of all (92%). And 56,5 per cent of them are sure that they want to leave their motherland for good.

WHERE WE DO GO. MIGRATION.

1. Phenomenon and Cause.

One of vivid signs of social health and prosperity of a state is the

phenomenon of population's migration. If the ebb of people from a country considerably exceeds the people's flow to the country it means that something is wrong in the state. Population's migration may be caused by a war, a revolution, social or economic crisis, disasters, an epidemic, etc. There were several cases of mass transmigration in the history.

Tremendous scales and global character of mass migration has become a typical feature of our time. On an average, about 700 people forced to leave their homeland become refugees daily. There are more than 13 million refugees in the world today. According to the 1951 UN Convention, a person becomes a refugee if he/she is not able or do not want to stay in his/her country being subjected to persecution because of his/her race, religion, citizenship, belonging to a certain social group or membership in a certain political party. However, there are tens of millions of other exiles of not less tragic fortune. People leave their homeland for different reasons. And it becomes more and more difficult to definitely differentiate refugees and non-refugees on the base of international criteria. For example, the 1951 Convention's refugee's status definition does not include victims of armed conflicts, transport and economic blockades, national repressions and ecological disasters.

As to Armenia, there are all the main causes of population's ebb from our country such as the economic crisis, the war, the earthquake consequences, unemployment, the problem of refugees from Azerbaijan and the communications' blockade. The situation in Armenia seems to be one of those rare cases when all the main causes of migration have combined in one country. That is why, the study of migration aspects particularly in Armenia is attached to such a great importance by sociologists.

At first sight it seems that the simultaneous influence of the whole migration factors complex must have brought to a mass population's ebb, as it was, for example, in Russian after the revolution. However, a unique situation has developed in Armenia; "pressing" and "repressing" conditions influence simultaneously. The causes which make people leave their homeland are known in general, and they will be examined in detail later. But there are also specific repressing conditions that make people stay. In the first place are the blockade of roads and unprecedented transport expenses. Today it is not so easy to leave even for a neighboring republic, to say nothing of a journey to a European or

American country. Gigantic economic walls were built instead of the former political prohibition on the way of those who want to leave. Only transport expenses 40 time exceed an annual budget of an average family. It is obvious that not every family is able to save up such an amount for departure. On the other hand, the situation in the other CIS republics is not fine for Armenians, although there are places of so called Internal Armenian Community where Armenians have traditionally lived. Recently, after the USSR's collapse, living conditions in neighboring republics have rapidly changed to the worse, therefore the rate of those Armenians who have left for these countries is quite low. Moreover, some Armenians were forced to leave the internal Armenian Community's zones in Georgia, Abkhazia, the Krasnodar district and the Middle East. Thus, the possible migration's directions have rapidly been reduced. The combination of these two factors - pressing and repressing - determines the rate of real population's ebb from the country nowadays. Unfortunately, at present none of the official organizations has more or less reliable data on the rate and structure of real migration. There is no official statistics. Most of the refugees carry out their departure by illegal ways. The state never regulates these processes, for if any stabilizing measures are undertaken the rate of migrants will sharply increase.

2. Scales of Potential Migration.

According to the results of our opinion polls, a considerable part of Armenia's inhabitants would leave the republic if it had a chance.

Would you leave Armenia if you had a chance and how long you would stay abroad?

1. I would never leave	29,8 %
2. I would go and stay abroad for the forthcoming 3-4 winter months	12,7 %
3. I would leave for 1-2 years	21,6 %
4. I would leave Armenia and stay abroad until the conditions in the republic change	17,9 %
5. I would go for good	18,0 %

In fact, 70 per cent of the questioned would go if they had an opportunity. Surely, a potential migration never coincides with a real one. However, it shows possible scales of the phenomenon.

3. The Picture of a Migrant.

The picture of a potential migrant is quite remarkable. The youth (up to the age of 30) more intends to go than the other age groups: 81 per cent of the questioned young people stated that they would leave Armenia for a while and even for good. Moreover, the rate of those who want to leave the republic for ever among the youth is of the most height - almost 50 per cent of them wish to leave for good, and 37 per cent - until the conditions in the republic change. 74 per cent of people of 45 and over also want to leave Armenia. However, most of them would stay abroad only for the forthcoming winter. And only 11-14 per cent of them would prefer to stay for ever.

Educated people are eager to leave Armenia much stronger than the other society's strata. In fact, 74 per cent of those who tend to migrate are "white-collars", and 68 per cent - people who have secondary school education. It is amazing that there are more women (73 per cent) than men among those who wish to migrate? It is quite characteristic for our nation that women generally want to go for a while, and men are more inclined to never come back.

We suppose that the men's and especially youth's wish to leave the republic for good is based on their desire for showing their worth in another country with other conditions.

The similar wish of women and the aged is more emotional and is based on the tendency to avoid difficulties of the forthcoming winter. Least of all pensioners, workers and cooperative officials intend to go. Most of all - students, intelligentsia, housewives and the jobless. A great deal of students and pupils are among those who want to leave Armenia for ever (by the way, with their parents' approval). This is the potential migration's structure.

4. Children's Migration.

The parents' approval on children's departure best of all testifies the strength of wish to migrate. Children's migration is an extraordinary phenomenon for the Armenian mentality, as in the eyes of every Armenian a family without children is not a family at all. And if an Armenian lets his children leave their own homeland for an unknown, strange country it definitely means that he just does not see a brighter future for them. After the tragic earthquake of 1988 many parents who had lived in the zone of calamity agreed to send their children abroad; their only wish was to keep their sons and daughters away from the ruined towns and villages. Today Armenians want their children to remove to foreign countries for ever, because in their eyes the whole Armenia is just a zone of calamity nowadays.

Would you want your children and grandchildren (if you had some) to remove to foreign countries?

1.	Yes	29,8 %
2.	Yes, but only for a while	34,1 %
3.	Never	23,5 %
4.	Refuse to answer	15,6 %

Most of the questioned (63,9 per cent) are ready to part with their children for the sake of a brighter future for them. At least they think so. Less than quarter of the questioned (23,5 per cent, generally the aged) are against the departure. But the most remarkable is that women want their children to leave more (62,6 per cent) than men do (59,4 per cent). However, women are inclined to part with their children for a while, and men mainly want their sons to permanently live abroad. The general attitude is this: if parents are not able to escape, let their children form their lives in normal human conditions.

5. Geographical Claustrophobia.

It must be mentioned that after the earthquake many of the calamity zone

inhabitants have fallen into seismophobia - fear of a possible new earthquake. Seismophobia made most of them leave the ruined towns and villages. In the present situation in Armenia its inhabitants feel caged, locked in a cell which they cannot escape. Great deals of Armenians unconsciously or consciously have begun to feel closed by the war, the roads' blockade, and the geopolitical factor in the space of their living. This feeling drives people away from their homeland, out there, to the free world. People have fallen into "geographical claustrophobia" - fear of close spaces, fear of borders, and they have continually been trying to escape Armenia, run away, and find their way out of the close spaces of their existence.

6. The Second Wave. The Outcome.

Businessmen left the country because of unfavorable for their activity conditions. The intelligentsia is leaving because of their beggarly existence and impossibility to be occupied with creative work. The other strata are leaving because of unemployment, the blockade, cold weather, hunger, inability to support a family and the permanent threat of a large-scale warfare. 73 per cent of the questioned are anxious about the possibility of enemy assault on Armenia.

Nowadays our nation lives the second large wave of migration; the first one was in 1915. There were never such a great number of wishers to leave their Motherland, and there was never such an approving attitude to migrants.

What is your attitude to those Armenians who have left Armenia for good?

1.	I envy them	12,7 %
2.	That is their personal business	51,3 %
3.	I think, they did wrong	22,0 %
4.	Refuse to answer	14,0 %

Only a quarter of the questioned (22 per cent), the aged on the whole, blames those who have left. The rest of Armenians envy immigrants or

just think that this is none of their business. The atmosphere of general connivance promote spreading of the migration

tendency. Moreover, according to our opinion polls that the constitution of our society has fully lost its ability to resist such a mortal disease spreading.

Our society has fallen AIDS in regard to migration. This kind of AIDS has been developed for many centuries of our nation's history. Today, as formerly, the fortune of an Armenian is driving him away from his homeland and is spreading his brothers and sisters all over the world. In this sense the fate of an Armenian in Armenia does not differ much from the fate of his compatriots in the Middle East, Turkey, Iran, Georgia, Azerbaijan or any other strange country.

AN ARMENIAN'S FUTURE IS THE FUTURE OF THE NATION.

1. The Future of Armenia

It is quite natural that we all are anxious about the future of Armenia. Future of each of us is closely related with the future of the whole nation and, consequently, the state of Armenia. The people had lost its statehood in the ancient wars, but it has always dreamed about revival of independence. Nowadays its dread has come true - Armenia became an independent state, and it was recognized by the world community. It was a real national holiday when in September 1991 Armenia proclaimed its independence. Most of the republic's inhabitants definitely supported the establishment of an independent state then. New, democratically elected authorities were completely trusted by the people. However some time has passed and the people's condition has only changed to the worst. The living standards have rapidly dropped. As a result of the war and the blockade the industrious life in the republic has totally terminated. Tens of thousands unemployed have emerged. About 85 per cent of the population has been faced to extreme poverty because of a continuous rise in prices of electric power carriers, food and consumers. The tense geopolitical situation was sharply worsened by a difficult economic crisis. It was followed by the crisis "at the high places". The prestige of the parliament has rapidly decreased.

According to the results of several opinion polls, only 3-4 percent of the populations have confidence in it. Its work on adopting new acts for the new state has caused mass discontent, for it has been considered too slow, ineffective and amateurish. The ministers' cabinet (the staff of which was changed several times) together with its head (Prime Minister) also is not trusted by the population. The prestige of the local authorities and the leading party (Armenian National Movement) has dropped to the very bottom. The country was slowly being absorbed in chaos, lawlessness and anarchy. All these caused dropping of the authority of the President who - for a long time - used to be the only respected and trusted executive power.

This negative attitude to the authorities caused a political and an ideological crisis. The social consciousness doubted whether the democratic way of governing is useful in the current period. Nostalgia about the gone "strong power" has arisen. In the eyes of people the new authorities' helplessness and insolvency regarding the crisis overcoming have brought to devaluation of the idea of democracy itself. Moreover, some people began to think that Armenia is not able to survive as an independent state. It should necessarily be a part of another, much more powerful state, they say, which would be a guarantee of the population's security and economy's revival. In 1992 28 per cent of Armenia's inhabitants wished the former USSR be rehabilitated again. According to the results of our opinion polls conducted in February 1993, a considerable part of the population (43%) thinks that Armenia will be able to survive only being a state-member of the CIS. 12 per cent of the questioned see the future Armenia as a part of a confederation. 14 per cent think that Armenia will be just a part of another powerful state. And only 22 per cent do believe that the republic will really be able to remain an independent country. The distrust in the idea of independent statehood is accompanied by the nostalgia about the lost "communist paradise" in the time of which the life of an ordinary person used to be much easier. Prestige of the leading party Armenian National Movement - has rapidly dropped during the last two years. Rating of the Communist Party, on the contrary, has noticeably risen (18%). It has the highest rating among the thirty political parties which do exist in Armenia now.

The Dashnaksutiun Party occupied the second horizontal (14%). Among the others only three parties - the Ramkavar-Azatakan Party, the National Self-Determination Association and the above mentioned leading party - are more or less Popular (though they have a rather low rating). The population's majority (55%) does like none of the political parties in Armenia. Such distrust is explained by the fact that no party in Armenia has a precise program on crisis escaping, a striking leader and a desire for creation of a constructive opposition. The criticism of the authorities from the side of the most parties is being considered just a trivial struggle for governing.

So, what Armenians do think about the future of the country and the nation?

What of the following do you agree with?

1.	Armenia always was and ever will be our Motherland.	26,2 %
2.	We have to do our best to take back all our lost lands.	14,4 %
3.	The territory of Armenia was continually being diminished during the passed centuries; We have to do our best to preserve all that we have now.	33,9 %
4.	According to the current situation, Armenia will again cede a part of its territory.	7,7 %
5.	Armenia has no future; even if it doesn't vanish from the map of the world, Armenians will leave it for good.	17,8 %

So we see that the most realistic point of view (according to which we have to do our best to preserve and make better the Armenia we have now, for in the future it will be the only motherland for us) predominates (60,1%). Roughly, the one fourth of the population think that in the near future Armenia will be abandoned, and it will even cede a part of its present territory. There is also a relatively small group (14,4%) - they can be called optimists - which are sure that the best must be done for taking back all the lost Armenian territories. So far there are three attitudes to the future of the nation and the state:

Realistic view	(60%)
Pessimistic view	(26%)
Optimistic view	(14%)

Each of them has its main spokesmen and exponents. According to the results of our research, there are more females than males (correspondingly 54,3% and 45,7%) among the mouthpieces of the R-view. This point is shared by people of 30-45 (34,4%), people with secondary education (54,5%), some workers, employees, pensioners and representatives of intelligentsia.

Most of the mouthpieces of the P-view are housewives with secondary education of the age from 30 to 45 (35,9%). A great deal of young people (age 18-30) - employees, workers and representatives of intelligentsia - also think this way (31,2%).

The spokesmen of the O-view are mostly males (62,6%) - people of the age from 18 to 45 (30,6%) with secondary education (30,6%); employees and pensioners.

The results of the poll testify that almost all the questioned are anxious about the possibility to be involved in a large-scale war fare with our neighbors. Respondents of the P-view do worry most of all (55,9%); 51,8 per cent of the R-view's representatives and 47,9 per cent of those of the O-view are also scared with such a perspective. So, the type of view to the future of Armenia also determines a person's attitude to numerous other things including himself and his own future. The aspects of how active is a person's

social position, how deep he/she is involved in the social-historical process and how strong he/she does realize his/her personal responsibility for the society's current state play an important role in a person's view forming.

Do you consider yourself able to influence the social life?

1. Yes 26,6 %
2. No 73,4 %

This means that the one fourth of the questioned think that they can

influence the social processes. These are generally males (64,5%) of the age from 30 to 45 (34,5%). There are more "white-collars" among those who answered positively (61,5%).

Percentage of those who answered "Yes"

1. Cooperative officials, businessmen	50,7 %
2. Intelligentsia	45,7 %
3. Students	27,7 %
4. Pensioners	26,7 %
5. Unemployed	25,9 %
6. Employees	23,8 %
7. Workers	16,9 %
8. Housewives	7,14 %

Thus, we can distinct three "classes" of social groups in the matter of their influence upon the social life according to their own estimation. It must be stressed here that this classification doesn't show real influence of this or that group; these are only their own notions of themselves and their role in the social life.

However, we do not exclude a possibility that their estimation can coincide with the reality.

The first, the strongest "class" includes businessmen, cooperative officials and intelligentsia. Their estimation about their role in the social life is quite high. This is quite understandable regarding intelligentsia, for it has always been a spokesman of an epoch's ideas and fashions. But there is another, new social group which pretends to be a leader of social processes, and this phenomenon is very interesting for a sociologist. The new social-economic formation gave birth to a new for our society category in the social structure. We call them "cooperative officials" - they are businessmen of the new formation. This newly-formed social group is the most active in the day-to-day life of our society, so far they think that they are also actively influencing the social life in general. It is hard not to admit this.

The second "class" (which is of a medium-degree influence) includes

students, pensioners, jobless and employees. Among these social groups each fourth questioned thinks that he/she does influence the course of social processes. Such a percentage of activeness is pretty good for the mentioned strata of the society. However, it must be admitted that the young could be more active - like, for instance, Eastern students whose way of thinking is quite popular in Armenia now and who are frequently imitated by our young people. Perhaps, this relative restraint is caused by some local factors and is intensified by the economic crisis, the war and the blockade.

And, at last, the third, the weakest "class". It mainly consists of workers and housewives. The combination is quite vague, isn't it? The former leader of the revolution, the van of social progress today considers itself out of the social life. Why, to tell the truth, in the time of the Soviet Power nobody asked it whether it was influencing the social life or not. But if someone asked, he would have, surely, vigorously reported all that he had to. The transition from social falsehood to economic poverty depressed the working class much. Now they feel that the social life is passing by, and they do play no significant role in the processes which are taking place in our society. The republic's economy is in a deep crisis, and most of the enterprises are shut down. Some of them are being robbed or sold by auction. People haven't received their salaries for several months, and their salaries themselves are equal to the unemployment allowance because of permanent rise of inflation. So, that is why it is no surprise that workers - who are actually jobless, now are at the level of housewives in the aspect of their self-estimated role in the society's life today. Only 17 workers out of a hundred are sure that they can influence the social life. But what are the ways to this influence? After all, the social life can be influenced in various ways: participation at the election to the authorities; an active social, political or economic activity, or, all in all; just a day-to-day hard work.

Workers generally think that their role is in their everyday work (46,2%). This opinion is also shared by employees (48,3%), students (62,9%), intelligentsia (42,9%) and even by the unemployed (57,1%) [If they had an opportunity to work].

At the same time housewives and pensioners generally consider their way of influence participation at the election to the authorities

(correspondingly - 62,5% and 46%). A part of intelligentsia chooses the other way - the way of social and political activity (30,2%), while cooperative officials think that best of all they can influence the social life by their economic activity (77,1%). So here is the picture of how the fields of social activity are divided up among the social-professional groups drawn from their own estimation and views. On the other hand, it characterizes well the degree of social estrangement among representatives of the various strata of society, for not knowing how to influence the society means seclusion from the outer world.

2. The Belief in God.

Do you consider yourself a religious person?

1. Yes	30,8 %
2. Not very	32,4 %
3. No	22,0 %
4. Uncertain	14,8 %

About the one third of the questioned are determined believers, and about the one fourth are determined atheists. The rest (47,2%) are so called "hesitators" - one part of them is not very religious people, and the other part is those who don't know for sure whether they believe or not. The number of atheists really amazes. The seventy years lived under the permanent pressure of atheism propagating made only 22 per cent of the population distrust in God. Such a percentage of atheists are habitual for many of those countries where atheism has never been a state ideology. It turns out that all the efforts of communists were in vain. History one more time testifies that false ideas hardly take roots, and at the same time human ones are so deep in ethnic consciousness that no political regime is able to terminate them.

There are more religious people among the representatives of the fair sex (36,6%). 24,9 per cent of the questioned males trust in God.

There are less female atheists than male ones. The majority of religious people are of the age over 60 (45,7%). 37,6 per cent of people with secondary education and 22,8 per cent of "white-collars" do believe in

God. All these regularities are well-known, and their reinforcement in the results of our research again testifies that right methods were applied, and that the received data are quite reliable.

Most of believers are among pensioners (48,6%), and housewives(45,5%). Cooperative officials have turned out to be extreme atheists (31,4%). Here the connection of social estrangement and religiousness showed itself. Cooperative officials are mostly involved in the social life, so far they are less religious than others. The same rule works for pensioners and housewives but it works in the opposite direction. However, it is noteworthy that business interferes with religion nowhere, and vice versa. Such an attitude of Armenian businessmen to religion can be explained by the influence of the past. Religion and church haven't become a part of our cultural life yet, they still remain an individual feature of each religious person. The Armenian Church practically doesn't meddle in social life remaining rather an object of worship. And it is difficult to determine how strong it enables the inner development of the modern Armenian society. Remaining a rather historical symbol church doesn't influence much social processes in the country, though people right now have an extreme need in a serious moral support.

It is no mere chance that 27 per cent of the questioned do not feel the moral support of church at all. 31,6 per cent of the questioned just refused to answer to the question on church's support. This absence of moral assistance is most painful for intelligentsia and employees. 14 per cent of religious people do not feel the moral help of church at all, and 37 per cent of them stated that there is such a prop, but it is not enough for them. The conservatism and seclusion of our church made many young people become enthusiastic about various religious sects of foreign origin today. The Armenian Church has to start with moral problems of people whose world has distorted and changed for the recent years and enable them to develop their cultural values.

3. Self-Reliance.

But, all in all, where is the way out of this deadlock in the eyes of Armenians? And is there any exit at all? We've already seen that many

Armenians do not connect their future with the future of the nation and solve the problem of escaping the crisis individually - leaving their motherland. The national self-identification, thus, is not disrupted, but the second and third generation of migrants can be subjected to serious trials then.

What do you think will lead us out of the crisis?

1.	A wonder, an Armenian's good luck	14,4 %
2.	Powerful states	16,9 %
3.	New, wise leaders	28,4 %
4.	The nation itself	30,1 %
5.	Nothing will help - this is our lot	10,2 %

There are more people who believe in Armenians' fortune-savior (14,4%) if compared to those who think that nothing can save Armenia (10,2%). The majority of the first group makes young females with secondary education - housewives, students and unemployed.

Women pin their hopes both on a wise leader and the nation. House wives, unemployed and a part of students and workers are inclined to believe in a certain leader's help. Male representatives of intelligentsia, employees, cooperative officials and even pensioners) generally set their hopes particularly on the nation. Middle-aged people (45-60) hope that a new, wise leader will come and lead us out of the crisis.

It is noteworthy that those who pin their hopes on the nation mostly think that we have to preserve the territory Armenia has now. We have to preserve it, for it is our only motherland. However, some of those who hope that the people will escape the crisis themselves consider necessary to do their best to take back the lost lands. At the same time those who predict territorial losses, a collapse of the independent statehood and the population's total migration blame the Armenians' bad luck and set their hopes on a wise leader's coming. It is quite characteristic for Armenians that nobody among the questioned really hopes for the help of another, powerful state.

Those who are anxious about the possibility to be involved in a large-scale warfare pin their very hopes on a wise leader's coming. And those

who do not worry about a war beginning think that the people themselves would escape the crisis.

So we can conclude that those Armenians who have a relatively calm view on the current situation and on future development are generally hoping for the nation's wisdom. They are more inclined to rely on themselves, for each of them is a part of the whole nation. At the same time those who are extremely anxious about the current situation pin their hopes on a wise leader-savior's coming. They do not rely much on the nation's wisdom and think that only a real leader's ability to determine the future of an individual and the whole nation can save the country. Differences in these two views are not just differences in tastes, but are, in fact, two opposite strategies of life, two world outlooks. The development of the first strategy will strengthen the idea of democracy in our country. The development of the second one will lead us back to the totalitarian form of governing.

CONCLUSION.

On the whole a hard fate fell on a modern Armenian's lot. But it was never easy. The ability to withstand troubles has been developed by the nation for many centuries. And today this ability is taking another historical exam. We're not saying that Armenians are a nation of a special historical mission, but it is no doubt that it is a nation of a special historical fate. A few peoples have such a tragic, but rich heritage. Armenians overcame a very difficult lot maintaining the nation, its culture, territory and religion. Today they are creating an independent state - Republic of Armenia. It is a very complicated task in the state of war, blockade and economic crisis. Some things went wrong, not in the way we had wanted them to run. People's discontent has reached its climax. The abyss between the people and the authorities is becoming deeper and deeper. The lack of coordination between "I" and "WE", and between "WE" and "NATION" is on the rise. It seems that the fate of an ordinary Armenian and the fate of the nation are developing in opposite directions. Maybe, these two ways will find the common crossroads in the social space one day. But now "I" for Armenians is frequently out of "WE", and in their eyes "WE" sometimes fully goes in "I" and its environment.

Armenia is living an increasing cultural and economic decay. Life is becoming more and more expansive, and thousands of people are becoming beggars. The everyday life is changing its shape; many ties are being torn off. Family heads do their best to maintain their families above the poverty level. An Armenian is depressed by current troubles. He cannot fully give up the being a head of his family, a man - in the way he has always been thinking he must be. At present he isn't able to provide his children and wife with everything they need. But he can't give up. It would amount to treachery of his own soul, mind and ideals. He wouldn't even see the sense of life. He is rather ready to renounce his native country which is unable to provide its citizens with everything they need. Many migrants hope that they will come back after the situation becomes stable. However, almost all of them think that it is necessary to win the war in Artsakh and achieve Nagorno-Karabakh's independence. Suffering hardships Armenians, nevertheless, are ready to withstand so on, for any other solution of the Karabakh problem will be estimated as a serious defeat by them. And Armenians' spirit can suffer much from such a defeat. Today an Armenian has been overcoming his "complex of a victim" which had formed after the 1915 genocide when 1,5 million civilians were slaughtered by Turks under the whole humanity's very eyes. The recent events - slaughter and massacres of Armenians in Azerbaijan (Sumgait, Baku, and Kirovabad) very painfully touched the historical nerve of the nation. That is why any defeat in this war will break the nation's belief in it self.

It is difficult to characterize an Armenian's fate in a few words, but the state of a tense waiting plays an important role in it now. This is a waiting for an exit from the continuous helplessness. A sense of security and a sense of social justice have always been the two significant acupunctural points that were determining the social general condition of the Armenian nation. Today another one has joined them, that is, the war in Artsakh, Karabakh's future. If the three acupunctural points are in a normal condition, the sound development of the nation and the country will have firm guarantees. Consequently, an Armenian will feel safe and secure in his motherland.

Yerevan, 1996

BACK TO HOMELAND (ARMENIAN RETURNEES FROM GERMANY)

INTRODUCTION

Earthquake, breakup of the Soviet system, several hard winters without work, heat, electricity. All of these factors led to a surge of Armenians leaving the country in search of work and improved living conditions. In Armenia, a family sells its apartment, furniture and borrows money from friends. They do this so they can pay travel to Germany, where they believe they can make a better life. They arrive and request asylum, but after long deliberations, their claim for asylum is denied and they will be returned to Armenia.

A young Armenian man in the Russian army is stationed in Germany. He asks asylum. During the time his case is being adjudicated, he cannot work, and receives a subsistence allowance from the German government. It is not enough so that he can send some of it back to Armenia. In several years, the authorities decide that he does not have a valid claim for political asylum and he must return to Armenia. He doesn't want to return but he is deported and forced to leave.

These and 7,000 other people from Armenia who requested political asylum in Germany, have had their claims rejected. They will be either deported, or will voluntarily return to Armenia. 1,500 have already returned. They have been deemed to be persons of international protection and are referred to as economic migrants. In an effort to understand why people are willing to radically change their lives, IOM proposed to undertake a research project to attempt to answer many questions.

IOM had a subcontract with the Armenian Sociological Association (afterwards in this report referred to as ASA) to carry out this research. Working with returnees, ASA together with input from IOM, devised a questionnaire to be used to gather the information and other facts about the life in Germany, expectations, feelings upon return, reception upon return to Armenia, and so forth.

During several months the interviewers of ASA conducted the survey of those who had been deported by the German authorities. All in

all it was possible to gather the evidence of only 300 deported Armenians. The analysis of the sociological survey of 300 deported Armenians, the official data, as well as the numerous interviews and conversations with the migrants, their families and the representatives of the German authorities are given in the present report.

We would like to thank the staff of the IOM and UNHCR in Armenia and in Germany, the Embassy of Germany in Armenia and the Embassy of Armenia in Germany, the Interior Office of the Land Nordrhein Westfallen, and the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Armenia, the Armenian TV and Center for Development and Human Rights, as well as the numerous representatives of the Armenian Diaspora and the Armenian Church in Germany for the support and contribution in cooperation.

We would also like to thank our country-people, who agreed to participate in the survey, both in Germany and here in Armenia. Without their cooperation the implementation of the research would be impossible.

THE REASONS AND SCALES OF MIGRATION

The history showed that huge migrations are usually the consequence of wars or natural disasters. They used to make a big number of people displace and resulted in new cataclysm.

The history of Armenia has a lot of examples of mass migration, while migration flows were mostly focused outside of the country. Meanwhile there are also cases of repatriation. The most famous repatriation took place after the World War II, in 1946. More than thousand Armenians moved to the Soviet Armenia from the Near East, Iran and Turkey.

Today, 50 years later, many of those repatriates have left for America and Europe. They couldn't adjust to the Soviet environment and were just expecting a suitable chance to leave the country. They were the kind of social-political migrants.

In the course of the last 7-8 years several migration flows appeared in Armenia. Catastrophic earthquake of 1988 caused death of 25 000 people resided in northern part of Armenia. Tens of thousands

houses and buildings were destroyed, about half million people remained without shelter. The first days after the disaster the evacuation of people from the disaster zone was organized. A part of the population was settled in rest houses and hotels within the republic. About 130 000 people were displaced to the countries of the former USSR. Besides that, about 70 000 people left the country on their own and settled down outside Armenia. It was evacuation and temporary displacement of the population, meanwhile about 25 % have not come back yet, and it seems they are not going to.

This was the first migration flow following the natural disaster. The second flow was a result of Karabakh conflict that caused Armenian-Azeri war. After the bloody battle within the territory of Azerbaijan, in Sumgait town, Kirovabad, afterwards in Baku, hundreds of thousands of Armenians escaped to Armenia and Russia.

360 000 refugees from Azerbaijan in a course of 1988-1990, later about 75 000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh, followed by 6 000 Armenian refugees from Abkhazia, victims of conflict in Georgian territory. These are the figures of the second flow.

Moreover, internally displaced persons appeared in Armenia - about 78 000 residents of border with Azerbaijan regions. They had to leave their native places that had become the scene of battle and frontier wars.

Meanwhile, as a result of this conflict, about 160 000 Azeris left Armenia in 1989-1990. Thus, the international conflict and the war have become reasons for the second vaster migration flow that touched the frontier states and the whole region.

Many of refugees from Azerbaijan were not satisfied with conditions in weakened Armenia and moved to the West, Russia, Europe and USA. After the genocide of 1915 it was the second by its amount flow of Armenians - refugees of the 20 th century. Here we speak about refugees only, who left their houses, possession, savings gained in a course of many years. Many of them escaped without even suitcase or purse. Of course, there were also people who managed to sell or exchange their apartments and some of their possessions. But according to the definition they were still refugees.

Finally, the third flow of migration in Armenia started in hard

winter of 1990-1991. It was a time of hard energetic crisis, when people had electricity only 1-2 hours a day. Apartments had no gas, no central heating. Armenia was in blockade, and no petrol, gas and fuel used to enter the republic. There were cases when some lonely people were found dead in their apartments due to the cold and hunger. More than 80% of industry and the transport didn't function. Hundreds of thousand people became unemployed. Armenia was experiencing its hard economic crisis. Once more thousands of Armenians moved abroad.

Due to migratory processes within the last five years Armenia has lost about 700,000 (seven hundred thousand) people. The biggest loss apparently occurred in 1992-1993.

-In 1991 loss was about	100,000
-In 1992	250,000
-In 1993	500,000
-In 1994	600,000
-In 1995	700,000

Now this process has reduced and stabilized may be on level about 50-60 thousands per year.

Two flows are distinguishable within the general migration: families that have left their homes and detached themselves from Armenia and individuals or family members, who have left the country temporarily, mainly in search of employment, with the intention of financial supporting their families back home.

Males (66%) and active able-bodied ages (75%) prevail in migratory flows. The share of males in the total population is 48% that of the able-bodied labour force -about 55%.

Approximately half of the migrants have university or professional education. The proportion of the same in the total population is about 17% and 8% respectively. Accumulated data demonstrates that emigration is most intensive among specialists with the education in humanities, as well as natural and technical sciences. Within five years Armenia has lost 1/3 of its specialists in the mentioned fields. The level of emigration of skilled workers exactly matches the level of internal CIS migration.

The poor and wealthy are the least active in migration. The peak of migratory activity falls on the segment of the population with the medium means. The main factors encouraging migration from Armenia are absence of work -25%, low income - 36%, geopolitical instability in the region - 15% and inadequate living conditions (deficit of electricity, gas heating, water supply, frequent disruptions transportation etc.).

There are wide materials about migration in the issues N 1-3 of "Economica" - the official Journal of the Ministry of Economy of Armenia. The growth of population has gone down 2 times. The data concerning the birth rate and mortality are published there:

Birth (thousands)		Mortality (thousands)	
1980	70,3	1980	17,1
1985	80,3	1985	19,6
1986	81,2	1986	19,7
1987	78,5	1987	20,0
1988	74,7	1988	35,6 (big earthquake)
1989	75,3	1989	22,0
1990	79,9	1990	23,4
1991	77,8	1991	25,8
1992	70,6	1992	27,5
1993	59,0	1993	27,5
1994	51,2	1994	24,1

The analysis of migration situation comes to prove that a little bit less than 1 000 000 population left Armenia during 5-6 years.

Immigration (thousands)		Emigration (thousands)	
1987	43,3	1987	32,9
1988	48,1	1988	30,0
1989	37,0	1989	29,4
1990	23,0	1990	26,0
1991	20,0	1991	25,4
1992	15,0	1992	8,1
1993	30,3	1993	5,1
1994	25,6	1994	3,3

The refugees from Azerbaijan and from Armenia are not mentioned. These data are showing only the legal migration. Illegally about one million people left Armenia.

Most of them had gone to CIS countries:

Russia -	71,4 %
Georgia -	4,0 %
Ukraine and other CIS about -	3-5 %

The 70% of migrants are from big or small cities and 30% - from villages. Most of them are young people.

Except the advantages, which could be continued, the economy of the Republic suffered economic migration. As far as the economically active part of the population left the country, the independent market faced lack of enterprising people, thus formation of the middle class in a new social structure of the society prolonged for decades.

As for the classification of the population according to their living standard, here everything happened very quickly: 5-10% of rich and 75-80% of poor people. Impoverishment of the population from one side and fast enrichment of a small group of businessmen from the other side resulted in undesirable consequences threatening the internal stability and security of the state.

Many people would like to return to their protected Communist past. Social ideas have become popular. Rating of the communist party, which was forgotten, has risen again.

In other words, internal threat for secure democratic development was obvious.

From the other side, a big number of refugees seeking shelter and permanent job under conditions of it's deficit have become a reason for conflict with the local population.

Armenians were settled in the territory of nowadays Germany since 14th-15th centuries. Though the German sources state, that the first Armenian had settled in Germany even earlier - at the end of 11th century. He was the Armenian archbishop Grigoris, who fled from Armenia occupied by seljuks, and after long haunts, at 1071 he settled at Nidernburg temple near Pasau (Bavaria), where he died in 1093. At late Middle Ages Armenian traders had their trade houses in a number of German Empires, like Bavaria, Saxonia, Pfalts.

The number of Armenians living in Germany increased, due to students from Armenia and Artsakh (Karabakh) studying at the universities of the country.

The number of Armenians in Germany mostly increased just after the II World War, when the rehabilitation of economy was being strongly fostered in West Germany. A considerable number of Armenians came here from Turkey, especially from Konstantinopolis. They were mostly involved in the field of industry and services. Later, Armenians came to Germany from Lebanon, Iran, Greece. Armenian communities were formed and enlarged in Munich, Koln, West Berlin (before the reunification of Germany), Shtutgard, Mains and in other cities.

At the beginning of 1990s many Armenians (approximately 8-10 thousand) applied for political asylum in Germany from Armenia, as well as from Abkhazia and Georgia. Currently (1996) the number of Armenians in Germany is about 15 000, and according to the data of the German Diocese of the Armenian Church, it is maximum 25 000.

The majority of Armenians, who are skilled specialists, are most of all involved in industry, construction, science and health sector. Armenians have been settled in Berlin since the end of 19th century and the beginning 20th. These were particularly the Armenian students studying at the Berlin University and other Institutions for professional education.

Nevertheless, the Armenian community of Berlin was officially

formed in 1923.

In 1914 in Berlin, the German-Armenian association was established, which had operated until 1956 and restarted its activity only in 1972.

Until the reunification of Germany (1991), the Armenian community of West Berlin was the most organized. It had established its Electoral Committee and opened a club called "Hai Tun" ("Armenian House").

DORTMUND, a city in the land Nordrhein Westfallen. The small Armenian community was formed after the II World War, due to Armenians fled from Turkey (Konstantinopolis). Armenians were mostly working in the field of industry. In November 1995, in Dortmund the Armenian national-cultural center was established.

MUNICH, BAVARIA - the governmental center of the country. Armenians settled on this land at late Middle Age, and here they owned several trade houses. Later, at the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th the number of Armenians living in Munich increased due to the Armenian students studying here, who had their Union of Compatriots. Step by step the Armenian Colony of Munich was formed. In 1970s, 600 people were counted in here. In the coming decades the Armenian Community was being increased. In 1990s dozens of Armenian families from Armenia, Azerbaijan and other places of former Soviet Union settled down in Munich. Currently (in 1996) the Armenian Community of Munich has 1.000 members.

The Diocese residence of Armenian Apostolic Church in Bavaria, the Institute for Armenian Question of Utmost Importance and two Cultural Unions are situated in Munich.

KOLN - a city in the land Nordrhein Westfallen. The Armenian Community in Koln was formed after the II World War, though at the end of 19th century still there was a not large Armenian population in the city. The Armenian Community of Koln was officially registered in 1965.

The Armenian national life became alive, especially after the formation of the German Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church, in 1991.

The spiritual life of the Armenian Community in Germany is headed and ruled by the German Diocese of Armenian Apostolic

* The text of this chapter is based on the materials kindly provided by the editorial group of the "Armenian Encyclopedia" from the volume on the Armenian Diasporas to be published.

Church, formed in 1991, according to the will of All Armenian Catholicos Vazgen the I. The residence of the Diocese is situated in Koln. The Armenian Communities of Koln, Southern Germany and Northern Germany have their pastors.

There are no Armenian churches in Germany and the premises of evangelistic churches are used for religious ceremonies. In the Armenian Communities of more than 10 cities (Berlin, Brownshvaig, Hanau, Munich etc.) services are paid and various ceremonies are carried out systematically, whereas in the number of communities these ceremonies are made periodically, through visitor-priests.

There are no Armenian schools in Germany operating systematically. One-day schools were organized in Frankfurt, with the efforts of Armenian Cultural Union in land Hessen and in Koln, due to the local Armenian Community. Armenian Communities are eager to arrange lessons of Armenian language and religion for Armenian pupils studying in German schools.

At the beginning of 20th century Armenian political parties, particularly the Dashnaks and Ramkavars, had their organizations in Germany. Small groups of these parties had been operating in Berlin and Koln. At the prelude of the World War I, when Turkey became the companion of Germany, the number of Armenians in Germany notably decreased and the activity of Armenian parties was demolished.

At the first half of the 20th century many other organizations, like the German-Armenian Association and the Armenian National Council were operational, besides the Unions of Compatriots, which were established by the Armenian students studying in Germany and the organizations of political parties.

The GERMAN-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION was established in Berlin, June 1914 by a German social savant, atheist Doctor Yohan Lepsius, who became the first chairman of the association.

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL was formed in Berlin, 1942, by some members of Dashnak party, who believed Armenians could be set free from the Soviet regime in accordance to the victory of Germany at the World War II.

Currently many Armenian public organizations are operating in Germany, which play a great role in the civil life of Armenians living there.

The GERMAN-ARMENIANS CENTRAL COUNCIL was founded in 1970 by the All-Armenian Assembly held in Frankfurt of Mine.

PHYSICIANS' UNION OF GERMAN ARMENIANS consolidates Armenian physicians working in Germany.

ARMENIAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION was established in 1991, with assistance of the German Diocese of Armenian Church.

ARMENIAN RELIEF CENTER was formed in 1989, in the city of Vetslar (land Hessen).

ARMENIAN COORDINATION GROUP OF DISADVANTAGED NATIONS was formed in 1979.

In fact, the Armenian Community of Germany is not wide and affective, in comparison with those in France, Lebanon, USA, Argentine or Russia. It has no either power or wealth, which could be attracting migration flows to Germany. As we managed to discover, the reason of its being attractive is based on its legislation, according to which a considerably wide population of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers may get asylum.

WAY TO GERMANY

Since 1990s migration flows have started from newly formed CIS countries to Europe. At first the migrants were in the tourist groups, scientific delegations and were not returning back. From Armenia those "tourists" migrated through Paris or Moscow, as at the time air connection was only with those cities.

Gradually, there appeared special groups of people that dealt with illegal transportation of migrants to Germany. In fact, those people who were forming 'tour' groups for visits to the country. However, all the members of the group knew about the real aim goals of the 'tourists'. Others preferred individual ways of penetrating into the country. There were many cases, when a member of a musical troupe, scientific delegation or a sport team stayed abroad and did not return back. People left also by individual invitations and visas, as well as using third countries.

The so-called "Polish Corridor" is well known among illegal migrants. During several years on the Polish-German border there were 'chelnoks', who by a significant payment transferred people through the German border. There were several corridors of such kind. One of them, which was very popular among those who were doing car business, started after Vrotslav near a border-line town Zgozhelits-Gerlits, and was used to get into Bavaria.

There were also dangerous corridors, which lay through marshy areas. Passages through them were not safe and in winters there were cases when people freeze on the way. Those kind of risky passages were rather expensive. The "specialists", who took the responsibility to transfer the illegal migrants, requested \$300 - \$ 500 from each person. It can be considered, that the money was shared among the representatives of the border region authorities, who closed their eyes, "not noticing" the illegal transmission of migrants. The migration business prospered on the Polish-German border. Many people made quite good money on the 'illegal migrants'.

However, crossing the border is just half the work. The most important was to stick to in Germany. The German laws are rather strict for those, who seek a refugee asylum or a status of a political migrant or some other. The German UNHCR conducted an analysis of the situation with Armenian asylum seekers. Hereby, are presented the extracts from that analysis.

ASYLUM SEEKERS FROM ARMENIA IN GERMANY*

DECISIONS OF THE FEDERAL OFFICE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF FOREIGN REFUGEES (first instance) ON ARMENIA 1995-1996.

The total number of requests for asylum lodged by Armenians remained stable at around 4,300 - 4,500 (persons) in 1995 / 1996. The number of persons to whom asylum (Art. 16a Basic Law) was granted dropped from 92 in 1995 to 26 in 1996. Protection against deportation according to Section 51 of Aliens Act (which is the German equivalent to Convention status) was in 1995 granted in 30 and in 1996 granted in

12 cases. The number of aliens protected against deportation under Section 53 Aliens Act (individual obstacles to deportation according to ECtHR or danger for life or limb) dropped considerably from 38 to 8. An analysis of 104 cases (not persons: some cases include several family members) decided by the Federal Office in 1996 revealed that about two thirds of the claims were rejected as unfounded and about one third as manifestly unfounded. While one case was recognized as refugee according to Section 51 Aliens Act (Convention status) in the first instance, this decision has not acquired legal force since the Federal Asylum Commissioner (representing the Interior Ministry) has appealed against the recognition, and the court decision is still pending.

The reasons brought forward by the applicants for their claims were manifestly unfounded. The majority of cases rejected as manifestly unfounded concerned applicants who either claimed fear of recruitment or punishment for draft evasion or desertion. Another significant group sought protection because they participated in demonstrations in the course of the presidential elections and claimed they would be subject to arrest and/or interrogation.

(In some cases Kurdish, Azeri and Turkish ethnic origin was brought forward to justify the need or protection). In those cases rejected as (simply) unfounded. The largest group of applicants claimed to be members of the Dashnak - party, or to be the member of a Dashnak member's family. A significant number of applicants claimed that they had evaded recruitment and were therefore subject to interrogation and arrests. Some of draft evaders even reported that family members were taken hostage. Several applicants claimed fear of persecution because of their Yezidi religion.

SOME GERMAN COURTS DECISIONS ON ARMENIAN ASSYLUM REQUESTS IN 1996 (second instance)

(This section results of a review of some 1996 decisions of administrative courts - the second instance in the German asylum procedure. The decisions reviewed were from the Administrative Court Wurzburg (10). Regensburg (5), Luneburg (1), Schleswig-Holstein (1), as well as third instance decisions rendered by the Higher Administrative Court of Rheinland-Pfalz (5)).

* All the data was kindly provided by UNHCR and IOM offices in Bonn.

None of the applicants was recognized as refugee in second instance, either according to Article 16(a) of the Constitution - under Section 51 Aliens Act. Five claims were rejected on grounds of the "safe" third country rule (Section 26a of the Asylum Procedure Act), however, out of this group one applicant was granted protection from deportation according to Section 53 Aliens Act. In nine other cases, courts granted protection from deportation under Section 53 (4) in connection with Article 3 and/or 6 or 8 of the European Human Rights Convention. (Additionally, in two cases (each involving minors) protection from deportation was granted because the applicants would face a substantial risk for life or limb (Section 53 (6) Aliens Law).

The largest group eligible for protection from deportation (Section 53 (4) Aliens Act) consists of draft evaders and deserters from Armenia. Protection was not granted when the applicant claimed simply that Armenian soldiers were forcibly deployed in and around the enclave of Nagorno -Karabakh.

The courts did however acknowledge that the often brutal recruitment measures of the Armenian authorities (e.g. visits to private apartments, threatening of recruits and family members, spontaneous recruitment in public places) amounts to inhuman and degrading treatment which is prohibited under Article 3 of the European Human Rights Convention. The courts also found that the treatment of evaders who face the risk of being arrested and subjected to unfair criminal proceedings for draft evasion or desertion was contrary to Article 6.

Courts refused protection in cases of applicants who claimed simply to be ordinary Dashnak party or otherwise associated with the opposition. If the applicants brought forward that they were subject to threats and ill-treatment, the courts rejected this argument, holding that such attacks, were committed by non-state agents and therefore (according to German case-law) not relevant in an asylum context.

One higher administrative court -- contrary to the UNHCR assessment - did not recognize the mixed Armenian-Azeri married couples to be in danger of persecution. The court stressed the fact that the government of Armenia is in principle able to protect these persons against individual attacks. The same court decided -again contrary to the assessment of the situation of religious minorities in UNHCR's mission

report on Armenia from July 1996 that 7th Day Adventists were not in need of protection.

The general emergency and poor economic situation in Armenia was acknowledged in exceptional cases only. One such case concerned a minor child applicant with an already prevarious health condition. Another case concerned a family with two children under the age of 16.

The numbers brought above state, that only a small number of Armenians has a chance to stay in Germany. The rest will sooner or later be forced to return to homeland. Our observations and conversations in different German towns prove that the migrants themselves realize the whole marginality of their situation. Only very few of them settle down. On the contrary, many of them understand that sooner or later they will have to leave Germany. And at the same time they psychologically prepare themselves to leaving the country. Some of them beforehand find other European countries in case of moving.

Even a short-term, or temporarily stay of the migrants in Germany help them to solve some financial problems. Although officially it is not allowed to get employed or get allowances from the social services of Germany, many of them manage to get illegally employed. Of course, they get only the half of the salary, which the legal citizens of the country usually get for the same job. Nevertheless, the employer and the employee are in satisfied with the given situation. The migrants are the cheapest employees for the private sector of the German economy, and there is no insurance or any tax for them.

The migrants, as a rule, send the earned money back home, so that to support the families or relatives who have left in Armenia. Almost every tenth migrant manages to make a small capital, which will in the future become a basis for establishing own business in Germany or in any other European country.

The majority of the migrants tell that they are ready to return to Armenia, as soon as the economical situation there improves. But when will that be, nobody can tell. As a result of conversations and study of the materials, it has become clear that the Armenians had used all the possible variants to persuade the German authorities to provide them asylum. Many refugees introduced themselves as political migrants: members of prohibited Dashnak party, opposition supporters, participants

of the September 25 events, after the presidential elections. Others introduced themselves as members of religious groups, which prohibit serving in military forces. Regarding that fact, they had to leave the country, because there is no alternative military service in Armenia yet.

And the others simply state that they were not able to find a job and provide the family. There were stated numerous reasons for leaving Armenia and they were considered for the migration legislation of Germany. Moreover, the people presented a lot of documentation and papers, which proved that they were persecuted by the Armenian authorities. Some of those "documents" were ridiculous; others were perfect examples of forged papers.

People used all the possibilities to get hold of in the country, if not forever, but for some time. We talked to people who had to stealing in large supermarkets. People steal food, other goods, which later could be resold by a cheaper price at the black-market. Minor stealing is widely spread among teen-agers and women. Adults commit more serious crimes, like illegal resale of second-hand cars, car-stealing, making forged papers, and other heavy violations of law.

There were rumours that the "authorities" of the criminal world of Armenia had gone to Germany and tried to tax the migrants. Their efforts were in vain.

All the above-mentioned facts make the relations of the migrants with the old Diaspora difficult. There is no mutual understanding between them, as the 'new' Armenians expected a warmer welcome and more real assistance from the Armenia community. On one hand the migrants complain, that the local Armenians don't help them to find a job and treat them with distrust. On the other hand, the local Armenians do not approve of the migration flow from independent Armenia, regard them quitters from improved homeland because of economic hardships. Last but not least is that the image of the Armenian migrants and the whole atmosphere around them is not applicable to the respectable Diaspora. They had spent much time and efforts for gaining a dignified "ethnic recess" in the German society. During long years of hard work and law-abiding they have managed to create a positive image in the public conscience, which they value very much. The culture, life and manners of the 'old' and 'new' Armenians differ very much. If for the

former the church is a place for permanent Sunday meetings and discussion of common issues and business matters, for the latter, such kind of meetings and discussions is done at a dinner with drinks. The "new" attend church according to the old soviet tradition - very seldom or never.

On the background of such hardships in mutual understanding, there exist also national values, goals and traditions, which unify them tightly and make them communicate and cooperate.

In general, we can say, that the Armenian migrants do not feel comfortable in Germany. However, they feel much better than they used to do in Armenia, because of mass unemployment, war situation, blockade and poverty. The reasons of that migration flow are not yet eliminated, and it will take many years to eliminate them completely. As for present, there are going to be migrants, refugees, as well as repatriates, voluntarily returnees and deportees.

RETURN

The migrants used different ways to get to Germany. Just the same situation is with return. Some go back voluntarily, others are deported in handcuffs. A case occurred with an old woman - Rima Mkrtchian - who had left for Germany after her sons. She had managed to settle in the town Oerlinghausen. Rima had done any kind of work. Soon people started to talk of her as a diligent worker. Several times there had been articles about her in the local press ("Neue Westfalische") etc. In two years, when Rima had decided to return home, the local people felt sorry about the departure. The municipal authorities had provided her with a van and a driver, so that she could transport her possessions and gifts for her grandchildren and children. The van took her to the Polish border, where she was met by her sons, who had already returned to Armenia from Germany. Rima remembers the time lived in the small German town with warm feelings.

However, there were other cases as well. A young man was deported right from the jail in handcuffs by a plane, which was flying directly to Yerevan.

The return procedure takes place in the following way. After the final verdict of the authorities on not allowing the asylum seeker to stay in Germany, the seeker gets a formal warning on the necessity to leave the country in the course of a definite time (as a rule a long time). During that course of time the migrant can leave independently, on his own finances by plane or by car. Some of them turn to the IOM for financial help, where they are provided with means for leaving the country. If the migrant does not leave the country in the given course of time, the authorities warn him once more. There are certain IOM programmes implemented together with the German government and UNHCR, which are considered for the volunteer returnees to their home-countries. In particular, programmes like REAG and GARP. The migrants who for several times escape from departure, are forced to deport.

DEPORTATIONS OF REJECTED ARMENIAN ASSYLUM SEEKERS IN 1995 / 1996.

According to the statistics of the Federal German border police, in 1995, 1,584 Armenian nationals were deported from Germany. Of this number, the majority -1,301- were persons apprehended at or near the border, and deported to neighbouring countries under bilateral readmission agreements, while 283 persons were deported (by air) to Armenia. From January - September 1996, 1,117 persons were deported (October - December figures not yet available).

There is a mutual agreement between the Ministries of Interior of Armenia and Germany on escorting persons, who had escaped from volunteer departure. Every week the plane arriving from Frankfurt on Maine, brings several repatriating Armenians. Among them, there are some, who have been escorted to the ladder by the German officials and entrusted to the special Armenian officials. Sometimes those people are escorted in handcuffs, because they had seriously violated the migration legislation. We have become witnesses of such a case, when an adult man was being deported from Germany (as he confesses for the second time). On board of the plane before the landing in the Yerevan airport he got naked, so that he couldn't be forced to get out. He chose such an extreme form of protest against his return. Of course, he was taken off

the board and afterwards he started to seek for the help of human rights organizations. As far as we know - unsuccessfully. There are various cases, including tragic ones. Return, repatriation do not always take place smoothly.

REINTEGRATION & EMIGRATION PROGRAMME FOR ASYLUM - SEEKERS IN GERMANY

Programme of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the purpose of providing financial assistance to destitute refugees

GENERAL INFORMATION

REAG is a humanitarian aid programme for asylum-seekers, denied asylum-seekers and refugees who are prepared to renounce their right to asylum and have decided of their own free will to emigrate to a third country or to return to their native country. Asylum-seekers may take advantage of this programme at any stage in their asylum proceedings, up to deportation. Under certain circumstances the programme may also be utilized by foreigners in Germany who have never applied for asylum. Thus civil-war refugees from ex-Yugoslavia and former contract workers from Vietnam can also receive REAG-assistance if they meet the other qualifying criteria as indicated in the following sections.

REAG is administrated by IOM on behalf of the Ministry for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, and in cooperation with local and regional authorities, voluntary welfare organizations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The programme provides the refugee with pre-departure assistance and transport. The prerequisite is that neither the refugee and asylum-seeker himself nor any other person or agency responsible for his support can provide the necessary financial support. If the applicant has means at his disposal, a contribution to the travel costs may be required. Any costs incurred in preparation for departure (e.g. fees for passports or visas, or trips to consular interviews) must be borne by the competent welfare office or other responsible agency.

ASSISTANCE

Within the framework of the programme the following types of assistance may be granted:

- a) full payment of transportation costs (by plane, train or bus)
- b) additional travel allowance, if approved by IOM prior to departure (for adults up to DM 150)
- c) special baggage allowance in justified exceptional cases

APPLICATIONS

REAG-applications may only be submitted through one of the voluntary welfare agencies or a local or regional authority.

ELIGIBILITY AND PREREQUISITS

Under specific conditions, asylum-seekers, denied asylum-seekers, recognized refugees, as well as war and civil-war refugees and former contract workers from Vietnam, may all be assisted through the REAG-programme.

All foreigners, whether returnees or emigrants to third countries, must at the time of departure be in possession of valid residence papers for Germany (or a border passage certificate) as well as valid travel documents. Asylum-seekers must waive their request of asylum, as well as their right of asylum appeal. There may be no existing grounds for the refugee's subsequent return to the Federal Republic of Germany. There is no basis for any legal claim to REAG-assistance.

IMMIGRATION VISAS

Refugees or asylum-seekers who desire to re-emigrate, that is, who seek admission and permanent residence in a third country, should first consult an information or counseling center for emigrants and people working abroad, in order to obtain information on the

possibilities available. Directories of these counseling centers may be obtained from an office of one of the voluntary welfare organizations or from the Federal Administration Office (Bundesverwaltungsamt), Department V, 50728 Cologne. Applications for subsidized travel to third countries can only be processed when the refugee is in possession of an immigration visa for the country in question.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Further information concerning the REAG-programme may be requested from the Welfare or Aliens' Offices in any German city or district, from an office of one of the voluntary welfare organizations, as well as directly from IOM in Bonn (only in German, English or French, please).

ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR RETURNEES (GARP)

Depending on the Federal State in Germany in which the intended returnee resides, an additional financial assistance within GARP (Government Assisted Repatriation Programme) may be granted to people returning via REAG to Egypt, the Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, the Ukraine (DM 450, - per adult), to Ethiopia, Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Ghana, India, the Lebanon, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan and Togo (DM 350, - per adult). Children may be granted half of the assistance. There are maximum limits for families.

SPECIAL MIGRANTS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME (SMAP)

IOM can arrange flights and offer IOM-special-fares within SMAP for other destitute people who are in need of international assistance and who are not eligible for REAG. Flight costs have to be covered by the migrant himself or any other entity before departure.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE EXTENDED REAG- PROGRAMME (GARP) CONCERNING ADDITIONAL REPATRIATION ASSISTANCE FOR RETURNEES TO:

Egypt - Albania - Algeria - Armenia - Ethiopia - Bangladesh - Bosnia and Herzegovina - Eritrea - Ghana - India - Lebanon - Nepal - Nigeria - Russian Federation - Sri Lanka - Pakistan - Ukraine - Togo

GOVERNMENT ASSISTED REPATRIATION PROGRAMME (GARP)

The GARP-Programme is carried out on behalf of the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the governments of the Federal States, each of whom is responsible for 50% of the costs. The programme provides for additional repatriation assistance for persons living in selected states. The countries selected and the amount of financial assistance can be redetermined every six months. There is no legal entitlement to assistance through the GARP-Programme.

Basically, the GARP-Programme is applied only in the Federal States, which have agreed to participate in it. The regulations of the respective Federal States must be taken into consideration in the implementation of the programme. Additional repatriation assistance for persons from Federal States that are not yet participating in the GARP-Programme may only be granted if a local agency (e.g. the Social Welfare Office) agrees to be liable for 50% of the costs. Further information on Federal States participating in the GARP-Programme can be obtained from IOM.

PERSONS QUALIFYING FOR THE GARP-PROGRAMME

Additional return assistance through the GARP-Programme can be granted only for destitute persons living in the above-mentioned states, whose voluntary return is organized and financed through the REAG-Programme. Details regarding eligibility are explained further in the REAG Information Sheet.

ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE GARP-PROGRAMME

The following additional assistance may be granted within the GARP-Programme, depending on the availability of budgetary resources:

Nationals of Egypt, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Russian Federation, Sri Lanka and the Ukraine receive interim assistance totaling DM 450 - per adult and DM 225 - per child under 12 years of age, but not more than DM 1,350 - per family unit.

Nationals of Ethiopia, Albania, Algeria, Armenia, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Ghana, India, the Lebanon, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan and Togo receive interim assistance totaling DM 350 - per adult and DM 175- per child under 12 years of age, but not more than DM 1,050- per family unit. Recipients of financial assistance under the GARP-Programme are not required to justify the use of the funds received. The approved amounts will be paid out, whenever possible, by IOM staff members at the Frankfurt Airport. Payments at other airports or upon arrival in the native country are possible in principle.

APPLICATION PROCEDURE

Applications for the REAG Programme may be made only through a responsible local or regional authority, a Voluntary Welfare Organization, or through the UNHCR. It is not necessary to give any additional explanation or to make a special request for the a.m. additional assistance on the REAG application form. The financial aid described above will be approved as a package, insofar as there are sufficient remaining funds available and the Federal State in question has agreed to participate in the programme. REAG applications must be submitted to IOM Bonn by one the agencies mentioned above, and not by the returnee himself. It is important to establish that the repatriation is being planned as a permanent one, and that there is no existing basis for a subsequent return to the German Federal Republic.

Voluntary Return of Rejected Armenian Asylum Seekers under the REAG Programme.

	Return to Armenia	Resettlement 1996 / 1996	Total 1995 / 1996 (monthly)
January 1995 / 1996	3 / 20	2 / 2	5 / 22
February	9 / 22	4 / 6	13 / 28
March	5 / 26	6 / 6	11 / 32
April	7 / 30	1 / 8	8 / 38
May	16 / 20	5 / 5	21 / 25
June	36 / 25	10 / 19	46 / 44
July	9 / 41	1 / -	10 / 41
August	54 / 51	10 / 4	64 / 55
September	41 / 37	2 / 11	43 / 48
October	20 / 45	1 / 5	21 / 50
November	38 / 58	5 /	43 / 63
December	13 / 31	6 / 8	19 / 39
Total	251 / 406	53 / 79	304 / 485

SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY ON RETURNEES Methodology and Strategy of the Survey

A sociological survey among 300 Armenian returnees from Germany during the last 2 years was conducted. The purpose of the survey was to find out the motivations for leaving the country, living conditions in Germany and the reasons for repatriation. It should be mentioned, that the survey aimed to assess those Armenians only, who left for Germany for permanent settlements, though for some reasons returned or were deported. The assessment doesn't cover those, who left for a short time as a tourist, for a trip, etc. and came back, according to the expiration of visa. We were mostly involved in surveying those Armenians, who addressed to the official authorities of Germany and applied for asylum or citizenship.

It should be emphasized that among the 3 million population of

the Republic it was hard enough to discover those, subject to survey. It became apparent that neither the official authorities in Armenia, nor the German Embassy in Yerevan have the lists of returnees or deportees at their disposal. The authority representatives let us know that this kind of information principally carries confidential character. This way or other, the sociologists didn't manage to find any lists of names or addresses. In the consequence of above said, a decision was made to change the methodology of the survey, called "Snow Ball".

A program for sociological survey, a special questionnaire and a survey method called "Face to face" (which supposed direct contact between the interviewer and the respondent) was worked out.

The "snow ball" method is convenient, because you seem to roll the ball till you find the end of the thread. Twenty skilled interviewers were involved in the survey. Each member of the research group inquired among his/her neighbors, relatives, friends and fellow workers about those, whom they knew to return from Germany recently. As soon as the interviewer discovered one or two names, he/she went to the place mentioned or tried to contact by telephone. In case of successful contact, the interviewer, after the interview with the respondent, asked if he/she knows someone else, who returned from Germany together with him/her or after. Thus, step by step the bank for addresses (or telephones) of Armenian returnees from Germany was accumulated. Sometimes the search for returnees led us to other towns and regions of the Republic. It should be mentioned that nearly half of those, whom we managed to find, either refused categorically to answer the questions, or tried to avoid meeting with the interviewer. In some cases these were people, who stayed in Germany for personal reasons and never were determined to apply for asylum. Though the majority of returned asylum seekers had to be persuaded to take part in the survey. The attitude towards the survey - the "risk" to be discovered - in the majority of cases was negative. To this respect, after one months hard queries, we decided to make advertisements in newspapers and on TV, that the Armenian Sociological Association, due to the initiative of UNHCR and IOM conducts a sociological survey on Armenian returnees from Germany. Additionally we made special ID cards for interviewers with their photos on them and the logos of UNHCR and IOM. The latter considerably

fostered the process of interviewing. The matter is many Armenian returnees avoided meeting and having conversations with our interviewers, doubting them to be government representatives - Ministry of Interior Affairs or Security Service. Their fears and cautions were clear for us later on, when we found out the character of reasons, which served a ground for argumentation, why they were unwilling to return to their country.

They had to speak about not only the difficult economic and social situation in Armenia, but also make exaggerations or just invent stories. Anyway, at that time they were unable to say anything better. And now, in the face of our interviewers, who in some way "discovered" them, they were afraid of being pursued by the government, for all the slander to the address of their country and the regulations ruling in it.

The latter made our work even harder and the interviewers had to use all their skills and abilities, in order to brake the ice of distrust and the unwillingness to answer the questions. The interviewers had to mind all the conditions of confidentiality and anonymity of the interview. It is worth to mention that these kinds of surveys are very rare among sociological researches. Great efforts and time was needed to find the suitable respondent and to persuade him/her to take part in the survey. On top of all, the confidentiality of the survey restricted the possibility to have control over the interviewers. The latter, not putting down names and addresses in the questionnaires, did special remarks in the margins, according which the field supervisors could find the given respondent and check the exactness of the survey. The supervisions, in their turn, called a new wave of anxiety, doubt and protest on behalf of interviewed respondents. In the result of above said, the survey lasted for more than three months - from December 1996 to the beginning of March 1997.

In the continuing search of respondents we tried another way as well. Every Wednesday during one month a special group went to airport in the evening to meet the direct flight Frankfurt - Yerevan. In fact, almost always among the arriving people there were 2-3 persons of interest to us.

It should be also mentioned, that there were respondents, who were eager to answer the questions. Some people even agreed to give an interview for the TV and press. Three people came to our office after reading the announcement in the newspapers. One of the young men,

who had tried to stay in Germany after serving in Soviet military forces, but in several months had been deported to home-land, agreed to be a member of our research group. That young man, Arthur, was of great use to our group: he shared his experience and information about his stay in Germany. Besides, thanks to his ties, we managed to attract a lot of returnees to the survey. During those several months the survey had become his employment and afterwards joined the huge army of unemployed in Armenia.

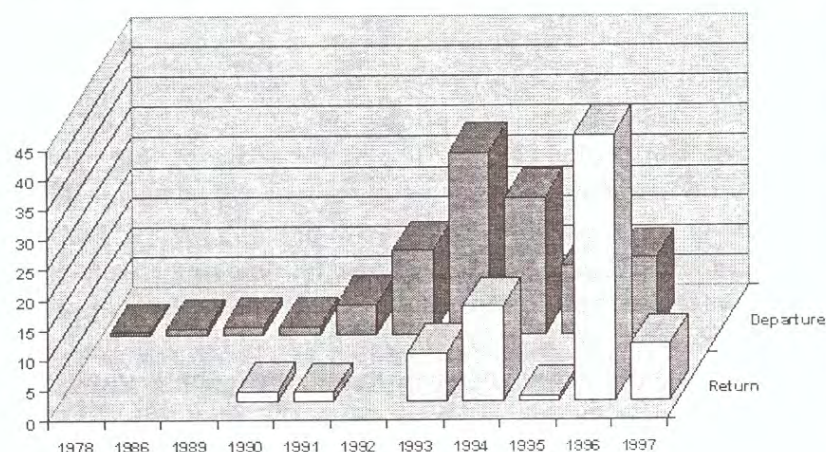
During the survey we met people of unusual fates, sometimes even tragic or comic. However all the 300 had the fates of people, who had found themselves in extraordinary conditions and were forced to seek for not traditional, personal (individual) way out of that situation. We could also feel the strong pressure of the negative conditions and, on the other hand, the certain tendency of those people towards quick radical changes of situation.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

Herewith we bring the analysis of the 300 Armenian returnees from Germany. The survey was carried on by the questionnaire, which is attached to the Annex, together with the quantitative data of the responds, given in percents. It is interesting to observe the outlined dynamics of the departure from Armenia to Germany. The number of the departing people was continually rising during 1978-1993, and then again started to decrease. It is well depicted in the following graphics, where the years of departure and the number of departing (out of the 300 respondents) in the correlation in percents. As it is presented in the graphic, among the questioned 300 Armenian returnees, there were some, who had left for Germany in 1978 (1 person), in 1986 (3 persons), in 1989 (4 persons) or 1990 (4 persons).

The main reason for leaving is the unemployment: that reason was pointed by 32.3 % of respondents. One quarter of the respondents pointed at the hard living conditions in the country. Another 19% of the respondents mentioned the absence of any perspectives for future here as the main reason for migrating. At the same time, only the small percent of the respondents mentioned the war situation as the main reason. This is a little

strange, regarding the fact that the 64,3 % of the respondents were men, and half of them were of the military service age. We can assume that the returned Armenians were not so sincere when answering this question.



Dozens of thousand of people left Armenia each year - basically for Russia. Only a little part of migrants (approximately 15 %) made their way to Western Europe and USA. Several thousands of Armenians in this flow leave for Germany each year. In fact, those who had ever been Germany in the past, choused just this country to settle down in it. People surveyed mentioned two considerable reasons, why they stopped on Germany while choosing: 45,3 % had friends, relatives there. 22 % had heard it be a "good country to stay in". The sciences investigating the migration of the population mentioned long before, that the basic mechanism of moving has a lot to do with people going to see their relatives and friends. At first only one person arrives and then, some time past, his relatives and close friends are being gathered round him/her. Here is the "attractive" mechanism of migration of the population. At first the intention to leave was being formed under the "pushy" pressure of unsatisfactory conditions. After comes the decision making on what country to leave, which dependent upon the fact of having relative ties or friends.

13,3 % of our respondents has chosen Germany, taking into consideration their being once there. In other words, they had a personal

experience to get acquainted with that country. That's interesting to mention that the 15% of respondents quite accidentally appeared just in Germany. They didn't have any particular decision concerning the country, and it happened all by itself. Nevertheless the 65 % of respondents answered, that they have particular information about that country. The quarter of respondents (24%) had very little information. The remaining 8.7 % had no information.

Preparation for Leaving

Perhaps this is the reason, why 53,3 % of respondents left for Germany immediately together with the family members. Others (44,7 %) at first left alone and after called the members of the family. As a rule it was one of the spouses (39%), children (10%) and sometimes brothers and sisters (6%), or parents (4%).

Having particular information on Germany, they prepared for leaving materially too. The half of respondents (50,4%) saved some money for leaving, others (15,9%) saved some jewelry and precious things. Some people even sold their houses (5,4%) and signed out from the registration (2,3 %), as far as they were determined to get settled far from the territory of Armenia for certain.

Way to Germany

More than 1/3 of respondents left directly for Germany (34,3%) and reached there by plane (22%), train (42,7%) or by bus (20,3%) and car (3.0 %). The remaining 65% of respondents transited through other countries, especially through Poland, while arriving to Germany.

Life in Germany

They are quite pleased with the way they were received by in Germany. The authorities and the local Armenians received them a little worse. Only the 5,7% of the respondents answered, that the governmental agencies received them very badly. Many of them waited for the final decision of the authorities concerning their status for more

than one year (14%). The others waited up to one year (12 %). However, the majority of the respondents, waited only for one month up to a few months.

Anyhow, while the authorities were deciding to provide them an asylum or to suggest them to return home, the migrants were getting occupied with any kind of activity. Almost half of them (39,6 %) worked legally or illegally. The family members worked as well (36,8 %). The migrants, who did not manage to find any employment, were looking for it (13,3 %). Another part of the migrants was studying language or some specialty (10-12 %). Some of the migrants had to baby-sit (8,7 %) which was the reason that they could not work. About 15% of respondents mentioned, that their children were studying language and specialty. And the 6 % of the respondents told that their grown-up children also had some occupation. The answers of the respondents showed that they were not losing time: either they worked or studied something. This speaks of the fact, that the migrants were escaping from enforced idleness, high rate of unemployment, because they wanted to provide their families and relatives a better living. Regularly they all got allowances, which were quite enough to live on. Despite this, the majority of the Armenian migrants looked for and found additional money, so that better to provide themselves, as well as to be able to send some money back home, to the relatives and also so that to save some money for the future. Such behavior of the migrants is to be respected, and perhaps this is why the local population treated the Armenian migrants well.

However, we are far from presenting you an idyllic life of the migrants. Certainly there were people, who were not occupied with anything (22,3 %). They either didn't want, or couldn't find a job. Among them there also were arrant loafers, spongers, who were pleased with the allowances and dwellings provided by the social agencies. They had not to worry about anything else. There were also people, who were stealing, cheating and other illegal activities. For those people Germany was a new and untouched field for their deviant activities. And some of them had improved their activities that became an object for the intent attention of the police and human rights protection agencies.

Return

The questioning of 300 Armenian returnees presented that more than half of the respondents (55,7 %) was forced to return by the German authorities. And besides, many of them, as they had stated, got a financial (28,5%) and other material help (14,9 %) from the official authorities. The local authorities undertook all the possible measures so that the migrants return to their home country in time. And the great majority of the returnees (97,7%) have returned to the area, which they had left a few years ago. Moreover, the 82,3 % of the respondents have returned to their former houses, where they had lived before migrating to Germany. Some of the respondents had returned to new houses (12,3 %) and only the small part of the respondents (3%) at present lives at the relatives, not having their own dwellings. Those, who had moved to new houses, stated that they had sold their old houses (or apartments) before departure. And this was the reason that 5,7 % of the returnees had to purchase a new house. But there were those, who had improved their living conditions by buying new apartments (7,7 %). In fact, the 14 % of the returnees live in the new apartments either because of selling the former ones or because of the improvement of their living conditions.

For those people the trip to Germany and the migrant's life happened to be successful and efficient. In return back home they started to live somewhat better than before departure. To be fair, it should be mentioned that the number of those people, who had improved their living conditions, is not that much. That is why, the 62,7% of the respondents told that if possible they would like to go back to Germany. Only the 21 % stated that would not like to return. Moreover, the 55% of the respondents told that they would advise the migrants who had stayed in Germany to stay there as long as possible. Another 3,3 % advised the migrants who had stayed in Germany to move to another country. And only 15,7 % of the respondents advise to the Armenian migrants in Germany to return back. This is very symptomatic and, in fact, proves that the conditions, which had given birth to migration in Armenia, are not yet eliminated, and those who were forced to return are not pleased with that fact. Consequently, a backward migration might be expected.

After all, according to the answers of the respondents, the main

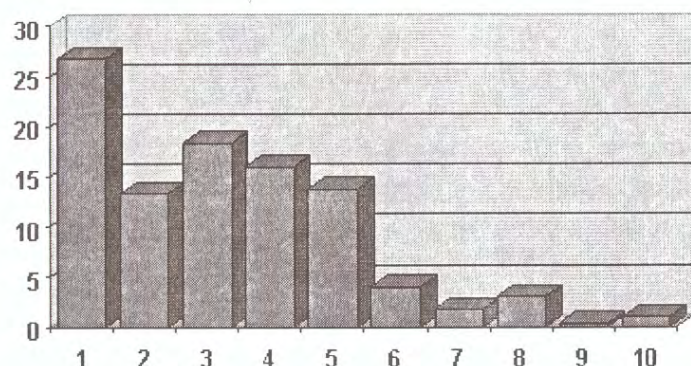
reasons that the people don't want to return to their homeland, is as follows:

- 49,3 % - bad social-economical conditions
- 35,1 % - low level of living conditions
- 11 % - unemployment exposure
- 4 % - the obligation to serve in armed forces, etc.

People are scared of the hard living conditions in Armenia.

Life in Homeland

We asked the respondents to evaluate Armenia nowadays, in their return back, in comparison with the Armenia they had left several years ago. The evaluation should have been done using the 10-grade scale, where 10 points meant "excellent" and 1 - "very bad".



According to the opinion of the respondents expressed to the Questionnaire, the situation in Armenia after their departure has:

- 33,3 % - it has improved
- 33,7 % - it is the same
- 19,7 % - it has got worse
- 13,0 % - can not answer

It can't be said that they find the country and the living conditions there completely good. After coming back to their homeland 28,7 % of them seek job, 22,7 % do not have any occupation and only 1/3 (33,3 %) have found job. If compared with their situation in Germany, the following chart should be apparent.

Employment	In Germany %	In Armenia %
Work (legally or illegally)	44,0	33,3
Look for a job	13,3	22,7
Study language, skills	10,7	4,3
Baby-sitting	8,7	9,7
Not occupied with anything	22,3	22,7

The figures speak for themselves. One thing is really interesting - the number of unemployed in both countries is quite equal. Perhaps these are the people, whom employment doesn't attract a lot: they hadn't anything to do neither in Germany nor in Armenia. That's horse of another color, that unlike in Armenia, where the social allowance for unemployment is about \$10 US, they received a quite considerable sum in Germany. That's not by chance, that to the question - how do you evaluate Germany as a country and how did you evaluate Armenia before leaving - results as follows were received: (evaluations were based on 10-grade scale, where 10 points are the maximum and 1 is the minimum).

Germany	Armenia
10 - 72 %	10 - 3,7 %
9 - 7,3 %	9 - 0,3 %
8 - 9 %	8 - 1,3 %
7 - 3,3 %	7 - 3 %
6 - 3,7 %	6 - 3,7 %
5 - 2,0 %	5 - 8,3 %
4 - 0,7 %	4 - 6,7 %
3 - 0,3 %	3 - 11 %
2 - 0,1 %	2 - 13,7 %
1 - 0,7 %	1 - 48,0 %
Medium grade 9,1	2,7

The medium grade for Germany as a country is more than thrice higher the grade given to Armenia.

LESSONS AND PROSPECTIVES

Nevertheless the life in Germany left its impact on them. Having been living and working in Germany for some time, they experienced and contemplated a lot in their life, changed their traditional viewpoints on many things. 17,6 % of respondents (as they expressed themselves) wished Armenia were like Germany. About 15 % had mentioned high ethics and legislative system in Germany. 11,4 % people stressed the prioritization of laws accepted in the country and the common respect towards the law, which is characteristic for that country. A little more than 9 % mentioned, that they felt themselves real humans; and generally people there "feel worthy". 8 % of respondents mentioned that, people in Germany are very well socially protected. About 8 % were satisfied to see a new world and learn foreign language. Others (6%) only mentioned, that it's good to live in a well-developed country. Part of respondents - 10,6 % felt the complex of inferiority, while living in that country. Only 7,8 % of respondents answered, that they didn't take any lessons from being in that country, or they hardly could find any answer (9%).

All in all, each of them took something new and useful for himself/herself. And all these affected their viewpoints for the future, their visions of desired prospective.

To the question - what occupation would they like to have in Armenia - exactly the 1/3 of all respondents (33%) answered - to work in an Armenian-German joint venture, 28 % expressed a wish to establish their own business, and 15 % wished they had the opportunity to work in a private firm. Thus they are greatly influenced by the period of life, when they had been working (though illegally) in a private German company. In fact they liked the job there, because of its being organized and the clarity in relations.

They experienced some kind of alteration in viewpoints, which was directly reflected on their life and behavior. Even their social status was changed in some cases. Thus, if the 13,3 % of respondents were workers in factories before the migration, than after returning only 3,3 %

of them are workers. The same concerns to the employees: before leaving they composed the 25,5 % of all respondents, while after returning - only 9%. The portion of intelligentsia was also decreased: from 6,7 % to 4,3%. Whereas all these changes were basically and definitely the result of increased unemployment. Consequently, the number of unemployed in our group of respondents was only 15,3 % before leaving, while after returning it made 44 %. So the portion of unemployed increased approximately thrice. At the moment of leaving to Germany they still had some employment, some status in society. Having been forced to return back to Armenia, they only filled up the great army of unemployed as it was. Alongside with all the mentioned, there are also minor positive changes. Before leaving the portion of people involved in private business was only 5,3 %, though after returning from Germany their number was increased thrice and was equal to 10,7%. This is in fact a positive change, though insignificant.

Yerevan, 1997

OUTFLOW OF PROFESSIONALS

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRATION

The history of Armenia has a lot of examples of mass migration, while migration flows were mostly focused outside of the country. Meanwhile there are also cases of repatriation.

In a course of the last 10 years several migration streams appeared in Armenia. Catastrophic earthquake of 1988 caused death of 25 000 people resided in northern part of Armenia. Tens thousands houses and buildings were destroyed, about 500 000 people remained without shelter. The first days after the disaster an evacuation of people from the disaster zone were organized. A part of the population was settled in rest houses and hotels within the republic. About 150 000 people were displaced to the countries of the former USSR. Besides that, about 70 000 people left the country on their own and settled down outside of Armenia. Also about 100 000 people were displaced in other regions of Armenia.

This was the first migration flow followed the natural disaster.

The second flow was a result of Karabakh conflict. After bloody battle within the territory of Azerbaijan, in Sumgait town, Kirovabad, afterwards in Baku, 1989 hundreds thousand Armenians escaped to Armenia and Russia.

360 000 refugees from Azerbaijan in a course of 1988-1990, later about 75 000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh, about 72 000 residents of villages from the border with Azerbaijan regions. They had to leave their native places, which became the scene of battle and frontier wars.

Followed by 6 000 refugees-Armenians from Abkhazia, victims of conflict in Georgian territory. Meanwhile, as a result of this conflict, about 167 000 Azeris left Armenia in 1989-1990. These are the figures of the second flow.

Thus, the international conflict and the war have become reasons for the second vaster migration flow that touched the frontier states and the whole region.

Many of refugees from Azerbaijan were not satisfied with conditions in weakened Armenia and moved to the West, Russia, Europe and USA. After the genocide of 1915 it was the second by its amount flow of Armenians - refugees of the XX-th century. Here we speak about migrants, who left their houses, possession, savings gained in a course of many years.

Finally, the third flow of migration in Armenia started in hard winter of 1990-1991. It was a time of hard energetic crisis, when people had electricity only 1-2 hours a day. Apartments had no gas, no central heating. Armenia was in blockade by Azerbaijan, and no petrol, gas and fuel used to enter the republic. Hundreds thousands people became unemployed. Armenia was experiencing its hard economic crisis. Once more thousands Armenians moved to abroad.

According to independent experts, approximately 700 000 Armenians left the country during several years. Mostly they moved to Russia, and only 15% - to Europe and USA. Many of them left the country temporarily, preserving their citizenship and apartments. In fact, they live in Russia illegally, with no citizenship, with any right for ownership. In most cases they have their commercial business there.

It should be noted that at the beginning the majority of migrants, 66%,

were men and 74% were in the age of 17-60 years old. It means that economically active and enterprising people used to leave the country to seek job.

The pick of migration was in 1993 when about 250 000 people left the country. The flow of big migration started in harsh winter 1991 and stabilized only in 1996-1997 on the level of 50-60 thousand people per year. But after presidential election in 1998 and especially after terrorist act in the building of National Assembly on 27 October 1999, again the flow of migrants increased. Continuous economic crisis and political unstable situation of last years are the main reason of increasing migration flows.

We would like to mention that migrants' level of education, who left the country, is enough high - about one third (30%) are people with higher and incomplete higher education. Also about 50% of migrants have secondary or secondary special education.

First, they used to support their families left in Armenia, and further took them also to Russia. They are currently also assisting their relatives and friends with some money they earned. These economic migrants or "gastarbeiters" assist a lot the population of the Republic. The volume of monetary investments from Armenians, left for abroad as labor migrants makes up enough big sums. We would like to mention that starting with the disastrous earthquake in 1988 monetary and pecuniary assistance of Armenian Diaspora (mainly from Europe and USA) is sharply activated. Further to this assistance were added investments from members of families, who migrated to other countries for seeking a job.

Due to the estimations of international experts in 1995-1996

Armenia is receiving annually about 450 million US dollars from relatives and friends, living in foreign countries or left for finding a job. This sum somehow even increases state budget of Armenia. The percentage of monetary transfers from migrated Armenians in this total sum makes up about 60-65%. Rest 35-40% is investments from Armenians of Diaspora to their relatives and friends, living in Armenia.

After August crisis in 1998 in Russia the volume of monetary transfers considerably decreased. Economic situation of Armenians, emigrated to Russia and other CIS countries, is sharply worsened and correspondingly the volume of their transfers to the homeland decreased. According to estimations of different experts, the volume of monetary transfers decreased up to 40%.

Thus, they facilitate the social condition of the state, and besides, they are attracting funds from outside passing the government. The main flow of monetary transfers is taking place passing the official means. As a rule, money is transferred through familiar people in cash and in US dollars. Primarily, almost all sums were being transferred in this way. Gradually different private companies, dealing with money transfer from abroad to Armenia from physical persons to physical persons started to work, such as Western Union, bank "Anelik" and others.

Except the advantages, which could be continued, economic migration suffered the economy of the Republic. As far as the economically active part of the population left the country, the independent market faced lack of enterprising people, thus formation of the middle class in a new social structure of the society prolonged for decades.

So far, the economic situation in the republic is going to be

improved, and that intensifies flow of repatriates. This will disengage the situation in the region, though will create some new problems within Armenia.

DESCRIPTION OF "BRAIN DRAIN"

We would like to mention at once that in spite of persistent talks about serious "brain drain" from Armenia, today there is no any special survey on this problem.

Weak attempts of the government of RA in 1995 for revealing the scale and volume of the "brain drain" from academic sphere were not succeeded. Completely ridiculous number about several tens scientists, left our country, did not correspond to the real data. And there were two main reasons. First, the matter was in the fact that the system of Academy of Sciences of RA itself during past years "grew thin" twice. Instead of 6 thousand scientific workers today there are only about 3,5 thousand. It means nothing but the following: flowing off the scientific personnel to other spheres, and first of all to the business sphere, partly sphere of education, state services and international organizations. Many of those, who left the sphere of science at the beginning, later left for abroad. Due to this reason such "doubled" "brain drain" was not fixed in academic sphere as the departure of scientists abroad.

The second reason is in the fact that many scientists are working on contract base, mainly in foreign countries but they are still registered in their scientific institutions as staff members, who are in long-term scientific mission. Together with this, administration of these scientific institutions close their eyes on the fact, that contracts of the scientists are

being prolonged year by year, or after their short-term return to Motherland, their contracts are renewed and they again leave for "long-term business trip". In fact this is the "brain drain", which is not registered juridical. This type of departure of specialists and scientists can be called "soft brain drain". They are still registered in their institutions, while in fact all their efforts and knowledge they put in the development of science of foreign countries.

Unlike this soft form of "brain drain", the first one, described above, can be called "latent" brain drain. It characterizes the form, during which scientists and specialists firstly leave the usual sphere of scientific-professional activity, and later leave for abroad for looking for better conditions for work.

In order to know the scales of "brain drain", it is enough to mention that among 700 000 people, who left Armenia, 30% were with higher education, 16% - secondary special and 33% - secondary education.

Data testifies about the fact, that most of all among emigrated specialists were representatives of humanitarian and technical sciences, and also sciences about nature. Approximately one third of specialists of these spheres left the country during 1991-1997. Specialists of other spheres also left, but in a smaller number. Thus, approximately 12% of lawyers, economists, teachers left the country during the same period. This disproportion is explained, of course, by demands of market economy. As a rule, those specialists are living, who are turned out to be unclaimed in their country, or those, who are looking for better conditions for work and for possibilities to expose their capacities. In this concern Armenia today can suggest a little to its specialists and

scientists. Armenia always marks out with the high level of education of the population (98,9% of literacy) and high percentage of people with higher and special professional education. In former years Armenia also was considered a labor redundant republic, including for specialists with higher and professional education, i.e. labor resources and specialists always were more, than working places for them. But, during last ten years flows of specialists became a mass phenomenon. Armenia quickly became a country, the main articles of the export of which were qualified personnel and specialists with higher education.

Till now there was no any serious survey, conducted among persons, who left Armenia. Armenian Sociological Association (under the head of the author of the given article) conducted the only one survey in 1997 in Germany among illegal Armenian migrants, who left for finding job and asylum. According to the result of the survey was published the book "Back to Homeland. Armenian Returnees from Germany", where was described the condition of deported from Germany Armenians to homeland. We can confidently say that specialists, migrated from Armenia, have no intention to return, at least until economic and political situation in the country would be comparatively improved. They are not going to return to homeland for becoming again unemployed. For many of them return to homeland is somewhat far and not real perspective. But we can judge about the intention to return at least by two sufficient factors. In Armenia, and particularly in Yerevan, there are many empty apartments now. These are houses of migrants, left for abroad. Until they sell their apartments and houses in Armenia, still there is a hope that they would return to homeland. Together with this, we would like to mention here, that the

part of them doesn't sell their apartments because of low prices. Another part keeps them consciously, as a dacha or houses in homeland, where they will never live, but time to time they will visit and see their relatives.

About migrants' intention to return enough clearly says also the fact, that practically all Armenians try to settle basically in the new places of living. Approximately one forth of all migrants have already completely settled there, even buy personal houses and apartments. Children of migrants-Armenians are visiting local schools, wives are working and acquiring home. Very many of them have received or are waiting for receiving new citizenship. Particularly it concerns with those migrants, who left for Russia. Characteristic feature of migrants, left for Europe and USA, is the firm decision to settle there forever. It is not mere chance, that just these migrants sell their houses and property before departure. It is explained, firstly, by the fact, that departure of migrant's family to "far abroad" is connected with big expenses. Secondly, those who have ventured to do it, have a firmly intention never come back. Unlike them, among those migrants, who left for Russia and "near abroad", there are many people, who left temporarily for finding a job and earning money for family. In the conscious of these migrants departure from Armenia has temporary, sometimes season character, and they are attentively following the changes of the situation in the homeland, hoping to return some day.

Frequency of these migrants' personal and business visits to Armenia is very high. Many specialists, left for temporarily, even intentionally are working abroad in such firms, which has close business contacts with partners in Armenia. Their unwillingness to loss touch

with homeland, family, relatives and friends is so high, that they are trying to find any chance to visit homeland. Huge accounts for international telephone talks, which are paid monthly by Armenians here and abroad also, testify about the frequency of contacts. The necessity of permanent communication for them is so high, that they are using effectively even the most modern possibilities of Internet access.

It is completely obvious, that many of specialists, left for abroad, will be glad to any possibility to have personal and business contacts in homeland and assist in their development. Possibilities, existing in Armenia for this purpose, are not big. But the increased bureaucratic state apparatus also prevents from their development and expansion. Corrupted state bureaucrats are the serious hindrance for the development and enlargement of business contacts between local and migrated specialists and scientists. Even scientific contacts, are sometimes weakening, meeting insuperable bureaucratic barriers, raised by corrupted bureaucrats from the science.

Yerevan, 2001

MIGRATION PROCESSES IN ARMENIA

The history of Armenia has a lot of examples of mass migration, while migration flows were mostly focused outside of the country. Meanwhile there are also cases of repatriation.

In a course of the last 7-8 years several migration streams appeared in Armenia. Catastrophic earthquake of 1988 caused death of 25 000 people resided in northern part of Armenia. Tens thousands houses and buildings were destroyed, about half million people remained without shelter. The first days after the disaster an evacuation of people from the disaster zone were organised. A part of the population was settled in rest houses and hotels within the republic. About 150 000 people were displaced to the countries of the former USSR. Besides that, about 70 000 people left the country on their own and settled down outside of Armenia. It was evacuation and temporary displacement of the population, meanwhile about 25 % have not come back yet, and it seems they are not going to (1).

This was the first migration stream followed the natural disaster.

The second stream was a result of Karabakh conflict that caused Armenian-Azerbaijani war. After bloody battle within the territory of Azerbaijan, in Sumgait town, Kirovabad, afterwards in Baku, 1998 hundreds thousand Armenians escaped to Armenia and Russia.

360 000 refugees from Azerbaijan in a course of 1988-1990, later about 75 000 refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh, followed by 6 000 refugees-Armenians from Abkhazia, victims of conflict in Georgian territory. Meanwhile, as a result of this conflict, about 160 000 Azeris left Armenia in 1989-1990.

Moreover, internally displaced persons appeared in Armenia - about 72 000 residents of border with Azerbaijan regions. They had to leave their native places, which became the scene of battle and frontier wars. These are the figures of the second stream (2).

Thus, the international conflict and the war have become reasons for the second vaster migration flow that touched the frontier states and the whole region.

Many of refugees from Azerbaijan were not satisfied with conditions in weakened Armenia and moved to the Russia, Europe and

USA. After the genocide of 1915 it was the second by its amount flow of Armenians - refugees of the XX-th century. Here we speak about refugees, who left their houses, possession, savings gained in a course of many years.

Finally, the third stream of migration in Armenia started in hard winter of 1990-1991. It was a time of hard energetic crisis, when people had electricity only 1-2 hours a day. Apartments had no gas, no central hitting. Armenia was in blockade by Azerbaijan, and no petrol, gas and fuel used to enter the republic. Hundreds thousands people became unemployed. Armenia was experiencing its hard economic crisis. Once more thousands Armenians moved to abroad.

According to independent experts, approximately 700 000 Armenians left the country during several years. Mostly they moved to Russia, and only 15% - to Europe and USA (3). Many of them left the country temporarily, preserving their citizenship and apartments. In fact, they live in Russia illegally, with no citizenship, with any right for ownership. In most cases they have their commercial business there.

It should be noted that at the beginning the majority of migrants, 66%, were men and 74% were in the age of 17-60 years old. It means that economically active and enterprising people used to leave the country to seek job (4). First, they used to support their families left in Armenia, and further took them also to Russia. They are currently also assisting their relatives and friends with some money they earned. These economic migrants or "gastarbeiters" assist a lot the population of the Republic. Thus, they facilitate the social condition of the state, and besides, they are attracting funds from outside passing the government.

Except the advantages, which could be continued, economic migration suffered the economy of the Republic. As far as the economically active part of the population left the country, the independent market faced lack of enterprising people, thus formation of the middle class in a new social structure of the society prolonged for decades.

The big number of refugees seeking shelter and permanent job under conditions of its deficit has become a reason for conflict with the local population.

Only wisdom of local authorities and right policy for managing

people has prevented a conflict between the local population and newcomers. All this potential threat for security and stability in the country. So far, the economic situation in the republic is going to be improved, and that intensifies flow of repatriates. This will disengage the situation in the region, though will create some new problems within Armenia.

The situation of refugees from Azerbaijan is still complicated. It is absurd to talk about their return to Baku and other places of the republic, as far there is no guarantee for their security and no guarantee that the war will not start again. That's why the government of Armenia has adopted a program for their adaptation and integration in the society.

As for refugees from Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and IDPs from frontier with Azerbaijan territories, they should go back to their permanent residencies. In our opinion, the following three steps should be done to settle this problem:

First, it is necessary to establish a system to foresee migration of all types long before. Some regions are already doing it.

Second, it is necessary to assist the states of the region to establish their own migration service for accurate account of displaced persons. Currently available statistics cannot be considered as satisfying.

And, finally, the third step should be done - it is a regulation of the process of labour migration in the region by creating a state service, as well as state programs should be developed, and interstate agreements should be concluded. This work already started.

This all above mentioned, of course, will not settle all the problems of forced migration and refugees, but anyway it will make possible to menage some of these processes.

REFERENCES

- 1.G.Pogosian. Potriasenie (The Shock), in magazine "Tschelovek"(Human Being), 1990, #2, Moscow, p. 59-65.
- G.Pogosian.The Man in the Calamity Zone. In magazine "The Industry, Building and Architecture of Armenia", 1990, #1-2, Yerevan, (in Armenian and Russian).
- 2.Migration in CIS 1996. International Organisation for Migration

(IOM), p.11-17.

3.Human Development Report, Armenia 1996, Yerevan, UNDP

4.Human Development Report, Armenia 1997, Yerevan, UNDP

5.G. Pogolian. Armenian Returnees from Germany. (Back to Homeland), Yerevan, 1997.

Yerevan, 2001

SELECTED GROUPS OF MINORITIES IN ARMENIA AND NAGORNO-KARABAKH

Dr. Gevorg Poghosyan, Mary Yeranossyan, Gohar Vardanyan, Alina Poghosyan, Anna Minasyan

CONDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The purpose of this research was to discover the actual problems of representatives of various religious minorities living in Armenia and coherent presenting possible solutions for them. Further target is to clarify whether members of religious organizations migrate to other countries because of religious persecutions, or that serves only as a reason for hiding the real motivation. Sects operating in Armenia do not obey to Armenian Apostolic Church and that doesn't contradict to article 23 of RA Constitution, according to which each person has the right of religious freedom. RA State Council of Religious Affairs provided information about all religious organizations registered in Armenia.

1. Armenian Catholic Church of Armenia
2. Mkhitarian Center of Armenia
3. Armenian branch of "Virgin of Armenia" Monastery of pure pregnancy sister's union
4. Yerevan Evangelic church of RA
5. Union of Armenian Evangelic churches
6. Armenian Evangelic church
7. Armenian branch of "Hope for Armenia" organization of France
8. "Armenian Evangelic association of America"
9. Community of Kanaker St. Virgin Russian Orthodox church in Yerevan
10. St. Nickolay wonder-maker church in Gyumri.
11. Vanadzor St. Mother of God Church
12. Kirik and Iulita St. Martyrs church in Dimitrov village
13. Church of Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians in Yerevan
14. Church of Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians in Stepanavan
15. Church of Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians in Arevshat
16. Church of Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians in Ararat
17. Church of Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians in Abovyan

18. Church of Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians in Vanadzor
19. Armenian Evangelic Baptist Church in Shirak marz
20. Union of Churches of Armenian Church Armenian Evangelic Baptist Christians
21. Armenian "Word of Life" Church
22. Evangelic belief Christian's' church in Charentsavan
23. "Organization of Evangelic belief Christians" in Shirak marz
24. Evangelic belief Christian's' church in Yerevan
25. Masis Evangelic belief Christian's' church of RA
26. Religious Organization of Pentecostals in Yerevan Erebuni community of RA
27. Ararat Evangelic belief Christian's' church of RA
28. Artashat Evangelic belief Christian's' church of RA
29. Evangelic belief Christian's church of RA Lori, Tavush marzes
30. Organization of Evangelic belief Christians in Yerevan
31. Organization of Evangelic belief Christians in Kotayk, Gegharkunik and Aragatsotn marzes
32. Evangelic belief Christian's' church of Armavir marz
33. Evangelic belief Christian's' church of Echmiatsin city
34. Armenian community of new apostolic church
35. Bahayis community of Armenia
36. Armenian religious community of Jesus Christ's latest days saints church
37. Spiritual union of Armenian space mission
38. Armenian community of Ezids disciples
39. RA Ezids' National "Sheykhi Sheykhu Bara" community
40. RA branch of USA "Agape" religious beneficiary organization
41. Religious community "Arordi testament"
42. Benevolent Organization "Guedeon" in Vanadzor
43. Jewish religious organization of Armenia
44. Benevolent Organization "Guedeon" in Yerevan
45. Armenian Shabatapah-Galstakan (Adventist Church)
46. Theological Centre Gandzasar

The registration of mentioned 46 organizations was realized in 2000 and 2001. Twenty-four of them operate in Yerevan, remaining ones in marzes. The sects, the researchers are interested in, except

"Charizматы" are not included in this list. In this report "Jehovah's witnesses" and "Union of Krishna Consciousness" have been chosen for interviewing, as they greatly bother the population with their activities. There were numerous complaints from citizens in State Council of Religious Affairs of researched three sects. Representatives of State Council of Religious Affairs explained as following:

- a) "Krishnoids" have been registered since 1993-1998, but they have not been re-registered because of reduction of number of members.
- b) "Jehovah's witnesses" do not allow to register, because their legislation does not correspond to Constitution requirements and because of complaints of numerous citizens (nearly 400 people)

This problem is so prevailing that Armenian press, TV and radio refer to their activity. In article "The leader of Jehovah's witnesses before the court", issued in the private newspaper "Republic of Armenia" on November 22, 2001, is being written about the juridical case of

	Sex		Age		
	Male	Female	18-24	25-40	40 and more
Amount	44	16	9	21	30

Jehovah's witness Lyova Margaryan in Metsamor, which gained popularity. "Azg" daily newspaper titled in an article on November 20, 2001. "This dangerous and epidemic illness - sects" referred to this noisy case. The Russian newspaper "Golos Armenii" referred to the sectarian case as well. In the issue from November 20th, it is spoken about harms made by "Jehovah's witnesses" leader Lyova Margaryan to inhabitants of Metsamor, involving teenagers in that sect.

Sects are widespread in Armenia. Especially in recent years their geographical distribution has enlarged. For example, "Jehovah's witnesses", "Evangelic baptism community", "Armenian Apostolic Church", "Trends of Fifty days" are greatly spread in Yerevan, in comparison to them "Charizматы" are much more less spread.

In Ararat and Armavir marzes "Jehovah's witnesses", "Evangelic baptism community", "Trends of Fifty days" also gain wide popularity. "Trends of Fifty days" is the most popular in Lori marz, followed by "Jehovah's witnesses". Comparatively, the latter are less spread in

Syunik, Gegharkunik and Vayots Dzor marzes. Sects are especially popular in Yerevan, where all religious flows are presented. They are widely spread in Vanadzor, Stepanavan, Gyumri, Alaverdi, Tashir, Hrazdan, Sevan, Kapan, Eghegnadzor and other cities.

This research has been conducted by four interviewers. The respondents were 60 persons from different religious organizations (27 persons from "Jehovah's witnesses", 26 persons from "Krishnaides" and 7 persons from "Kharizmates"). The researchers prepared 20 questionnaires for each of these organizations. But as there were some problems with "Charizmate's" organization ASA decided to give their 13 questionnaires to the representatives of other organizations ("Jehovah's witnesses" and "Krishnaides").

The interview was implemented by the methods of snow-ball and Nurenberg, in Yerevan and Armavir cities. During the first interaction the interviewers found the respondents referring on the information of members of various chosen organization participated to the interview. During the second one the interviewers found them by the individual way. 37 persons were interviewed in Yerevan and 23 persons in Armavir:

The biggest problems emerged with members of the religious organization "Jehovah's witnesses". Nobody of them agreed to participate in the social survey without the accordance of their leader. Only after 21 days of hard negotiations and searches the interviewers could arrive to meet the leader of this organization; Hrachya Keshishyan and his deputy Rostam.

At first they were asked to read out the questionnaire. After long and scrupulous examination Jehovah's witnesses came to a conclusion that the questionnaire is prepared by the Ministry of National Security and interdicted ASA to conduct this research with members of their organization. Also inquiring for new facts led to receiving of existing data from their journal "Observatory". After long negotiations the investigators induced the leader of this organization to allow participation in their devotions to find out about their faith. After long hesitation he finally agreed.

At first everything was all right, even some interviews with members of their organization were allowed, but in appointed day they

refused to answer. The researchers were obliged to find "Jehovah's witnesses" in regions, out of Yerevan city.

We got information from reliable source that there are a lot of "Jehovah's witnesses" in Armavir and Metsamor cities. Social surveys were tried to undertake, and after surmounting some obstacles the researchers succeeded in Armavir city. During the conversation we have told that we knew the leader of the organization in Yerevan and about our participation in their devotions. After long negotiations the leader of group agreed to interview 23 members of his organization.

Although there were some difficulties with "Kharizmates". In first day it seemed that everything is fine and quite. The interviewers arrived to focus on seven representatives of this organization. But next day the leader interdicted us to continue the interview for unknown reasons. We were obliged to stop the interview.

With "Krishnaides" also some difficulties did exist. After examining our questionnaire also their leader told that the questionnaire was prepared by the Ministry of National Security.

The other representatives of this religious organization had also this mistrustfulness and felt discomfort. Only by the help of middlemen it was possible to conduct this survey. Even by this way they thought that they are persecuted by the juridical organs (it's artificially thought!). The sense of fear is also conditioned with the consequence that the organization is not registered. Its representatives are usually people who live in bad conditions or who used to have various psychological problems. In spite of difficulties, it was possible to conduct the sociological survey with them.

It's interesting that the great part (55%) of respondents (26.7 % "Jehovah's witnesses", 20.0% "Krishnaides", 8.3% "Charizmates") became the members of these religious organizations more then five years ago. 31.6% of respondents (10.0% "Jehovah's witnesses", 18.3% "Krishnaides", 3.3% "Charizmates") became the members of religious organization during last 2-5 years.

It's a fact that the great part of respondents were involved in the following organizations during the years of Karabakh War and post-war hard period, and their amount more and more decreases. During last 1-2 years 11.7% of respondents became the members of religious

organizations (5 persons from "Jehovah's witnesses", 2 persons from "Krishnaides". During last 3-6 months only one person from respondents became the member of religious organization ("Krishnaides").

The respondents got information concerning religious organizations by the following ways:

Members of this organization	46.7%
Relatives, friends	53.3%
Journals, brochures	13.3%

Surprisingly 55.0% of respondents (18.3% "Jehovah's witnesses" (from their amount), 30.0% "Krishnaides", 6.7% "Charizmates") had been beforehand the representatives of Armenian Apostolic Church. 40% (23.3% "Jehovah's witnesses", 13.3% "Krishnaides", 3.3% "Charizmates" were atheists.

53% of respondents said that they became the members of religious organizations to "Recognize the truth of God, to like the preached ideas and to be close to them", the other 25% find that in these organizations they got complete and founded answers to their questions. Only the representatives of "Jehovah's witnesses" organization gave this kind of answers.

All 60 respondents insisted that the spiritual relations with their leaders give those "spiritual good".

90% of them find that in explored religious organizations they realized their expectations. Only 5% find that they didn't do it as they hadn't expectations. And 5% didn't understand yet were they realized or no.

68.3% find that the membership in religious organization give them "Spiritual privilege" (by turn 35.0% "Jehovah's witnesses", 25.0% "Krishnaides", 8.3% "Charizmates"). For 16.7% of respondents life became more sinful, their perception became more correct, they came to a real faith (by turn 6.7% "Jehovah's witnesses", 8.3% "Krishnaides", 1.7% "Charizmates"), for 18.3% "Security" (by turn 14.9% "Jehovah's witnesses", 1.7% "Krishnaides", 1.7% "Charizmates"), for 10% "The existence of intern feelings" (all respondents were "Jehovah's witnesses").

The problem of job seeking is also very interesting. 96.7% of

respondents said that they have no problems with that. The same phenomenon counts for "Jehovah's witnesses" (43.3%), "Krishnaides"(41.7%), "Charizmates"(11.7%). Only one person from them had a problem of job seeking. This is a strange fact because the level of unemployment in the country is very high.

To the question "Have authorities ever limited your rights" 37.3% of respondents answered "No", (30.0% "Jehovah's witnesses", 31.6% Krishnaides, 11.7% "Charizmates"). 26.7% from the answers were positive (16.7% "Jehovah's witnesses", 10.0% "Krishnaides"). They mentioned following forms of violation:

- Disfranchisement of right to speak	-8.3%
- National aggression towards this organization	-6.7%
- Prohibition of liberty of conscience	-1.7%
- Media give wrong information	-1.7%
- Disfranchise them of their juridical protection	-3.3%
- Call them to the Ministry of National Security and oblige them to stop the propagation	-1.7%
- Disfranchisement of civil right	-3.3%
- Institution of criminal proceeding	-1.7%

Here are the words of one of the members of "Jehovah's witnesses" organization, Mr. H. He is 34 years old and had a criminal record for murder before. According to his words nobody showed him the right way, when he was in hard state of mind. For the first time he met "Jehovah's witnesses" organization in Kharkov, Republic of Ukraine and finally found the peace of his mind. Then he returned to Armenia and here in this organization he met his future wife. According to his words the people of their entourage ignored them for their membership in Yehova's organization and one of them even spited upon his wife. H. took it into court and latter one decided to fine the infringer.

"So nobody is devoid of the protection or liberty of conscience in Armenia. As for the predatory attacks, so this is a daily thing for us. The members of Armenian Apostolic Church are also their victims".

It's a fact that to the question "Have the authorities ever limited your rights" 73.3% of respondents (30.0% "Jehovah's witnesses", 31.7% "Krishnaides", 11.7% "Charizmates") gave negative answers and not accidentally.

The other fact that 83.3% of respondents (33.3% "Jehovah's witnesses", 38.3% "Krishanaides", 11.7% "Charizmates") find that Armenian Apostolic Church have never weighed upon them is also interesting. 16.7% of respondents find that nevertheless there is some pressure.

In general they mention following reasons:

- They oblige us to adopt faith of Armenian Apostolic Church.
- The priest who teaches religion at school threatened to the representative of "Jehovah's witnesses" to dismiss him if he would not stop to preach his faith.
- Predatory attacks. The hall's doors of organization and all the other things were broken.
- In some programs of media they peal to annihilate the members of religious organizations, until there are not too much of them.
- During the funeral of one person, the priest began to dispose all the people to me after he knew that I am a member of religious organization Witnesses of Jehova".

As for the obligation and violation of human rights, so these are the members of mentioned organizations who do this kind of things. Here is a story that heard one interviewer. The matter concerns to one Armenian girl who was involved in "Krishnaid" organization during her last year of study, because of her lecturer's preaches, she was a member of this organization. She had a boyfriend, but they obliged her to marry with another man, who was also a representative of this organization. Then they gave them an acre out of the city to elaborate it and forced to live there. They shouldn't sleep together and talk to each other during six months. They can copulate only one time to have a child. The girl knew also that in the case of her husband's death she should burn herself. In spite that the girl wants to leave this organization she says that there are a lot of interesting and nice ideas in it.

After analyzing the results of the answers from respondents it could be seen that only 30% of them (15% "Jehovah's witnesses", 15% "Krishnaides") participated in presidential, parliamentary and local authority's elections during last three years. 70% of respondents (45.0% "Jehovah's witnesses", 23.3% "Krishnaides", 1.7% "Charizmates") didn't participate in elections at all. It is a fact that the great part of

religious organizations does not participate in elections and doesn't accomplish his civil duty.

75% of respondents gave positive answer to the following question: "Did you do your military service in RA Army and did you accomplish your constitutional responsibility to protect the borders of RA".

25% of the answers were negative. The reasons are given bellow.

- I can't do my military service because God doesn't allow to take up arms and kill. 2.3%
- Dispensed because of bad health according to law 11.3%
- Give us the opportunity of alternative military service 2.3%
- It contradicts to the principles of our sect 4.5%
- I did my military service in the years of SU and was commissioned after graduation. 2.3%
- I would if they call me. 2.3%

The military service refuses in general only the persons who dissent to "Jehovah's witnesses" sect.

It's interesting that 99% of respondents consider themselves as full and free citizens of RA. Only 6.7% of respondents have opposite statements. 3.3% have difficulty to answer.

According to the words of respondent the reasons are following:

- I ignore 3.3%
- They don't permit us to act freely 1.7%
- They don't understand us 1.7%

86.7% of respondents said that there were not any kinds of conflicts with juridical organs. This is an interesting fact. Only 13.3% said that there was a conflict in the following cases:

- To dissent 3.3%
- To propagate in the streets 3.3%
- To refuse military service in RA Army 5.0%
- Have difficulty to answer 1.7%

In general the representatives of "Jehovah's witnesses" refuse

military service in RA Army and had criminal proceeding for it naturally.

Here is a striking case of criminal responsibility. The leader of "Jehovah's witnesses" organization in Metsamor Marz Lyova Margaryan, who is one of the best lawyers of Armenian Atomic Station were accused according to first part of 244 article of Armenian criminal codex in the organization and leading of such a religious group, where religious preaches and devotions harm citizens' health, in involving the adults in these activities and refuses of citizens to do their civil duty. By the way, the action against Lyova Margaryan was brought by 12 parents of adults, who were forcedly involved in this sect. Conscript Aram Shahverdyan, who was also under the influence of, preaches of this organization refused to do his military service in RA Army and had legal proceedings with it.

As a result the researchers see that in RA people are judged only for the infringement of law and not for the religion or other way of preaches. It's not by chance that 93.3% of respondents answered that they or members of their family were never persecuted because of their religion.

Only 6.7% of respondents said that they were persecuted for their religion. According to questionnaire the reasons are following:

- They give to his brother two years of imprisonment for the refuse of military service in RA Army. 3.3%
- The slaughter organized by V. Sargsyan in 1994-1995. 7%
- Somebody in airport took my books and punched me. 1.7%

98.3% of respondents never apply for political asylum in foreign countries. Only one person wanted to leave for Germany to live in freedom and to preach his religion.

As for the question about the residence and work in foreign country, 76.7% of respondents gave negative answers. Only 9 persons form respondents wanted to live and to work in a foreign country: "Krishnaides" - 8, "Charizmates" - 1.

The countries where respondents prefer to live are given below
USA 3.3%

Germany	3.3%
Russia	3.3%
England	1.7%
Greece	3.3%

To the question "Are there any members in your sect who migrated to foreign countries" 50.0% of respondents gave positive answers (15.0% "Jehovah's witnesses", 26.7% "Krishnaides", 8.3% "Charizmates"), 34.4% have difficulty to answer and 16.6% negative answers.

The general flow of migration was in 1999.

Years	%	Amount
1988	6.7	2
1989	3.3	1
1994	6.7	2
1995	6.7	2
1997	3.3	1
1998	6.7	2
1999	16.7	5
2001	6.7	2

16.7% of respondents have difficulty to mention the reasons of migration from members of their sects. 13.3% assume because of hard social-economic conditions. Other 5.0% think that they leave a native country to preach their religion. 3.3% to prevent their children from military service. Other variants of the answers are given below:

- Because of religious prescriptions:
I will feel more free there 8.3%
- By the invitation of relatives from foreign country 1.7%

In general they leave for Russia (32.5%), USA (25.0%), France (5.0%), Greece (5.0%). Also for Holland, Spain, Germany and Denmark.

25.0% of respondents participate easily to the devotions of the same organization in another country. 10% (6 persons) of this 25% gave two variants of answers, and 15% (9 persons) gave one variant of answer. Here are they:

Country	Amount
Russia	4
Georgia	3
Ukraine	1
Germany	1

Persons who gave two variants of answers:

Country	Amount
Russia, Georgia	3
Georgia, Poland	1
Russia, Ukraine	2

Russian occupies first place as a destination of meetings of religious organizations. In second place is Georgia and the third one occupies Ukraine.

The answers are presented according the amount of people:

	Georgia	Ukraine	Poland	Germany	Russia
"Jehovah's witnesses"	5	2	1	0	5
"Krishnaides"	2	1	0	0	4
"Charizamtes"	0	0	0	1	0

Surprisingly, in general the literature, brochures and newspapers 35.0% of respondents receive from foreign representations. The other parts get it from:

Relatives, friends	8.3%
Other representative offices	8.3%
This organization (leader of organization)	28.3%
We make them by ourselves	31.6%

The answers to the question "How treat your relatives, friends and society your dissent" are following:

Answers	Relatives		Friends		Society	
1 Positive	37	61.6%	33	51.7%	18	26.6%
2.Negative	12	20.0%	6	10.0%	9	15.0%
3. Indifferent	6	10.0%	19	35.0%	26	45.0%
4. Inimical	1	1.7%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%
5. Uneasy	1	1.7%	2	3.3%	0	0.0%
6.I don't care about their point of view	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%
7. Normal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.7%
8. Don't disturb me	1	1.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
9 Difficulty to answer	2	3.3%	0	0.0%	4	6.7%

33.3% of respondents had contradictions in their families because of the following reasons:

- They didn't like it	25.0%
- They are the decedents of Armenian Apostolic Church	3.3%
- Divorces	5.0%

The great part of respondents (80%) gave negative answers to the question: "Has your organization any representatives in executive, legislative and juridical authorities"

To the question "Have your organization any sponsor" 93.4% of respondents answered "No", 3.3% have difficulty to answer. 80.0% of respondents propagate in population to involve new members in organization. Only 20.0% don't do it.

The answers to the question "where do you propagate?" are following:

In the apartments	35.9%
In the street	32.0%
In the rest place	26.2%
In my home	1.9%
In halls	3.9%

It's interesting that 63.2% of respondents find that all age levels of the population have susceptibility of preaches. The other variants of answers are given above:

Under 18 years old	2.1%
From 18-25	8.3%
From 25-40	22.9%
40 and more	10.4%

26.7% of respondents have relations with foreign religious organizations. 73.3% do not have. Telephone is the general way of their communication (16.7%). 10% refused to answer to this question. The frequencies of their relations are following:

One or more time a year	6.7%
Every two-three months	6.7%
Refuse to answer	13.3%

58.3% of respondents are married, 30% are single, 5% widow, 6.7% are divorced.

High education has	40.0%
Incomplete high education	6.7%
Secondary professional education	30.0%
Secondary education	20.0%
Incomplete secondary education	3.3%

36.6% of respondents are unemployed, 23.3% are state employees, 15% are workers of privat enterprises, 6.7% are intelligent, 5% are workers and 5% are pensioners, 3.3% are students, 1.7% are the unemployed, 1.7% are housewives and 1.7% are preachers.

The amount of unemployed people among the members of "Jehovah's witnesses" is 44.4%, among "Krishnaides" 34.6% and among "Charizmates" 14.3%.

CONCLUSION

Taking into account the results of this sociological research, the investigators come to conclusion that both registered and unregistered religious organizations live and operate freely on the territory of RA.

Following the results of research it can be seen that there was no

pressure by the Government, Armenian Apostolic Church and society, just on the contrary members of that organization forming religious minority, they make pressure on the Government and society by themselves.

Religious organizations, which function within the framework of law, are not dangerous for our society and country. There are some difficulties with a set of religious organizations, such as the organization "Jehovah's witnesses", which do not function in the framework of the law. The problem is that the members of that organization refuse to serve in RA army.

The negative attitude of the society towards unregistered and researched sects is understandable, as the activity of those sects is opposite to Armenian customs and traditions. That can not be observed as a legal violation. In result of the research it turned out that the main reasons of sectarians' migration are their social and living conditions, which should be improved. There are separate cases, when their members migrate in order to preach their belief.

One should take into consideration the fact, that schoolchildren are involved in religious organizations, which has negative influence on their education and restricts their worldview. All this has dangerous influence on the breeding of our future generation. It seems that RA Ministry of Science and Education should pay appropriate attention to that and do certain steps for solving those problems in a right way.

CONDITIONS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

In each society there are different minority groups and Armenia is not an exception. Via this case study ASA is going to illustrate the real picture of religious, sexual and national minorities' lifestyle in Contemporary Armenia. Statistical information on frequency of "selected" minority groups' rights violation will be provided. Detailed analysis of Armenian legal environment (Constitution, Legislation, etc.), concerning the topic of study will be reported as well. And finally, a public opinion will be summarized and attitudes, prejudices towards these minorities in Contemporary Armenia by means of in-depth interviews with 5 experts, who will represent Armenian society. There

are many national minorities in Contemporary Armenia. In the result of the Karabakh Conflict, in 1988-1989 representatives of Azerbaijan minority almost entirely left Armenian territory, (because of Karabakh war). Of course, some of them are still living here but they are assimilated with Armenians. Some of the representatives of these mixed marriages migrated to European Countries as they claim that they were exposed to different kinds of persecutions, their rights were violated on the basis of their national identity, the others, so called "Azeris" just use this phenomenon to get official status of emigrant abroad. To find out assimilated Azeris in Armenia, to describe their living conditions and the reasons they are now migrating to European Countries is aimed at this report, inter alia.

To provide "Situation Analysis" by assimilated Azeris.

To find out the violation forms toward assimilated Azeris in Armenia.

To describe main problems assimilated Azeris face in their everyday life.

If possible to find out national "self-identity" of assimilated Azeris.

To find out the way these minority groups are discriminated from the majority population.

To clarify the Armenians' attitudes toward assimilated Azeris today.

To find out the reasons they are now migrating to European Countries and not to Azerbaijan.

The Sampling Frame is the list of all sects, sexual and national minority groups. The Analysis Units- the elements of the Formed Sampled Population- are the representatives of religious, sexual and national minority groups. These people are the sources of primary information. Within each stratum the selection of respondents will be based on the Snowball method. In this case study it is comfortable to use Interview Survey Method. Face- to- face individual interview technique will be used in the survey. All strata will be structured interviewed. Snowball method will be used for respondent selection in the survey. According to this method the first respondent is asked to nominate other respondents, possessing the necessary characteristics. This method is unique in forming vulnerable group lists, which are impossible to

"catch" while interviewing successive representatives of population. In order to provide true and sincere answers to questions the place and circumstances of interview must be comfortable for respondents, so they will appoint the meetings at any time and place they desire.

The scope of the problem: There are many national minorities in Contemporary Armenia. In the result of Karabakh conflict in 1988-1990, the 160 000 representatives of Azerbaijan minority left Armenian territory. Of course, parts of them are still living here. Some of them are indigenous Azeris, the others are descendants of mixed marriages. Some of these Azeris migrated to European Countries as they claim, that they were exposed to different kinds of persecutions, their rights were violated on the basis of their national identity, the others, so called "Azeris" just use this phenomenon to get official status of 'emigrant' abroad.

The Aim of this Case Study: To find out Azeris in Armenia, to describe their living conditions and the reasons, why they are now migrating to European Countries.

Methodology and Approaches: As this case study is an idiographic examination of a single individual, group or society its chief purpose is description, although attempts at explanation are also acceptable. Azerbaijan national minority was selected in this case study as a vulnerable national minority group. This is because of still existing conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis over the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

Fifteen representatives of Azerbaijan national minority were interviewed, though just 2 of them were pure (indigenous) Azeris and the others were the descendants of mixed marriages. The sampling frame, which was supposed to be used as mentioned in the project proposal, could not be maintained for them. Firstly, this is because almost all interviewed Azeris have changed their passports accepting Armenian or other surnames and secondly, Azerbaijan national minority does not established any NGO in Armenia, which caused much difficulties to the researchers.

A lot of difficulties were faced for finding representatives of Azerbaijan national minority. A lot of time was wasted for gathering information on their location. The approximate location of Azerbaijanis

was finally found out, thanks to the recent research conducted by Institute of Ethnography and Archeology of Armenian National Academy of Sciences, which is called "National minorities of RA in the current conditions of civil society formation". The research was conducted in Yerevan, Meghri, Sotq and Avazan. Sotq and Avazan were almost entirely settled by Azeris during Soviet Union. These two villages are about 10 km far from Vardenis close to the borderline with Azerbaijan. It lasts about 2 hours by car to get there from Vardenis. The researcher was accompanied by the local government representatives or local authorities, who knew the exact places where those Azeris were living. The neighbors of the villages also helped very much in finding them. As soon as their houses were found the accompanying persons were leaving the researcher alone. This was the main technique used for finding 7 Azeris in those two villages. Much time was required to find them. The other 7 Azeris were interviewed in Yerevan. The contacts were established with the help of a refugee from Baku, who knew their locations in Yerevan and could easily convince them to be interviewed. This was due to similar problems they faced in Baku and Yerevan in 1988-1990. This refugee also provided an interview with an Azeri in Meghri.

It was supposed that first respondent would nominate the others possessing the necessary characteristics but the respondents nominated only those who were their close relatives e.g. his sister; they insisted that they were unaware of the other Azeris.

A Face-to-face individual interview was conducted with 15 Azeris in three weeks. They all were semi-structured interviewed, which means that all the questions in the questionnaire were asked plus some further questions which were necessary for getting the whole picture of this situation.

The most interesting thing is that at first it was quite difficult to create confidence in them but after ten minutes of interviewing they began talking continuously even did not letting interviewer to ask next questions. As the study was quite delicate and sensitive one, the interviewer had to listen all details which may have no relation to the topic and that is why the average interview with an Azeri lasted for one hour. It was very difficult to track the interview all the time because of

high emotional flow coming from the memories that they have outlived and would have outlived even more. It was quite uncomfortable to hear all these stories and realize that nothing can be done about it.

And one more interesting thing: though it was told that this interview is anonymous and very confidential, some of the respondents residing in villages repeated their names for several times. The only reason they could do this was the fact that they were seeking relief. This also means that they were not afraid of being recognized as Azeris.

As it was mentioned in the proposal the interviews were conducted at the places where the respondents could feel free. All respondents were interviewed at their homes. All respondents were quite hospitable; some of them were suggesting some coffee and tea from time to time.

As an observer the interviewer provided very valuable information as well. The living conditions of those residing in villages were very low. There was no heating body in homes, any TV and radio, etc. The sense of lives seemed to be survival. They all were unemployed - the only income was either pension or relief. The same picture was given about the whole village.

The 5 males and 10 females were interviewed; the youngest was 18 years old and the oldest 81 years old. The fathers of 8 and the mothers of 5 descendants of mixed marriages were Azeris.

Analysis of the survey with Azeris

As it was already mentioned above, thirteen Azeri-respondents were the descendants of mixed marriages and two of them were indigenous. Here is their age distribution

AGE \ SEX	18 – 25	26 – 34	35 – 44	45 – 54	55 – 64	65 and more	Total
Male	2	3	-	-	-	-	5
Female	1	1	1	3	2	2	10
Overall	3	4	1	3	2	2	15

The answers to the question on how long the place of interview (concrete city or village) was respondents' place of residence were

distributed as follow:

Born and grown	More than 20 years	From 10 –20 years	From 5-10 years	From 1-5 years	Total
2	2	6	2	3	15

The number of respondents who had problems in the past and still have is as in next table.

The reason of the problem	In the past they had problems with	Now they have problems with
Religion belonging	0	1
Political views	1	0
National belonging	4	5
Economic situation	0	12
Sexual orientation	0	0
Cultural specificity	0	1
Specificity of own character	0	2

It was very difficult to explain those living in villages what means sexual orientation and cultural specificity. It was senseless to speak about cultural specificity with them as strong communal relations were dominating in the villages, where everyone has the same lifestyles, idols and visions independent of nationality. The respondents, in general, were politically inactive persons. Almost all respondents were telling the details of economic problems they face now, which they did not have in the past. As the results have shown thirteen respondents consider them as not being inclined to interpersonal conflicts. This is a very important factor. One third of respondents have national problems today. Among the life stories, about the most unpleasant and painful incidents that had happened to respondents on the ground of their national belonging in Armenia, one statement was highly touching to be cited. "I will never forget what had happened to me and my family . Azeris did slaughter my sister and mother in Azerbaijan. Armenians in their turn have stolen our cows, sheep and hens. They are now breaking our windows. We are always locking our doors. I live with my son and I cannot leave the house for more that 15 minutes otherwise it will be

robbed. I always fear of what can happen tomorrow. Drivers call my son "Turkish offspring". He learns in school only with excellent grades but he is not given "laudable document" because of the Azeri blood. There were times when we were living as kings among the Azeris. My father was the school director and Azeris respected us. We were the wealthiest family in the village. As soon as my father died everything went wrong. The awful events of 1988 are unforgettable for me. I have lost my sister and mother. Today we have no one in the world. The only reason I am afraid to die is not letting my son to be derelict child. The only dream I have today is to provide my son's nice future and help him to gain his goals. My son is physically disabled. The only income I have is the relief of "Paros". I fear very much and this feeling is killing my son and me. Before going to bed we are looking if there is anyone under the bed. I am often deceived in everyone. I have nothing - any property or money but anyway I will never leave my father's hearth. I will die in my village. I have no place to go in this world. I have no money for leaving my village. Believe me I have fought for my rights protection during Gorbachev ruling and nothing was done. Today I do believe in nothing." Armenians do treat us better than Azeris did. For sure it is better to live in Armenia than in Azerbaijan. I do not believe that one day Armenians and Azeris will become brothers. Let me tell you one tale. Once an old man is walking in the forest with his grandson and suddenly a snake is biting his grandson. After 15 minutes grandson dies. Grandfather cuts snake's tail in anger. Years are passing and man again is coming to walk in the forest. The snake again meets the man and suggests him to become friends. The old man answers that their friendship is impossible because he will never forget his grandson and snake will not forget his cut tail. So, Armenians and Azeris will never forget the things they have done each other."

Thus, it is clear that this respondent was a victim of the conflict. She was living very poorly. All the time she was scolding Armenians for the high rate of unemployment and Azeris for the willful actions against her family. She showed the bloody coat of her mother, which was sent back to her with the dead bodies of her mother and sister. She said she could never forgive Azeris for mocking at her by sending back the maimed dead bodies of her mother and sister. She could not forgive

Armenians as well for such kind of careless treatment of her disabled son and her. Summarizing the interview it became clear that the problems on national ground were left in far past though the pains and wounds of the past had left deep mark on her perception of life. At present she is much more worried about hard socio-economic conditions than anything else in the world.

The answers of the others on unpleasant incidents on national ground can be divided into two groups: in the first group main statement was about various manifestations of 1988-1993 conflict on national ground (7 respondents), especially robbery, flaming stuff, anonymous letters and in the second group the main factor was people's negative attitudes toward them as an Azeri of the same years (3 respondents), especially avoidance, difficult adaptation to the new environment and peoples loneliness. Despite everything 2 respondents were claiming that the incidents were, anyway, connected with the hard economic situation of their families and not with national issues. One of them was brought to criminal responsibility for aluminium pilferage in 2001 but no national question was raised. And one told that he has no such an incident to remember, everything was O.K on national ground.

If as an Azeri it would become impossible for them to live in Armenia they would find shelter in Russia (7 respondents), U.S (1 respondent), does not matter where only out of Armenia (3 respondents). Four respondents told they would never find shelter abroad .

They will find shelter in Russia because they have relatives there, know Russian and it is cheaper to get there than to the European Countries and finally you can find work there. There is no national problem in the U.S, it is a free country and it is built on resentful. Any country that has no national discrimination, where you can live peacefully, so it really does not matter where. This means that they have not plan yet to go abroad. Though Armenia was not included in the list of the answers (this comes from the logic of the question), Armenia was mentioned by those claiming that they were going to die in Armenia because they were born and grew up there. It was interesting that no reply to European Country and Azerbaijan was received. The fact that none of them would like to find shelter in Azerbaijan if as an Azeri it would become impossible for him/her to live in Armenia; follows that in

the unconscious they are not worried about national issues, otherwise, at least one of them would mention this country as his/her homeland. As one will see later the majority of the respondents are financially unable to pay even for travel costs to European Countries.

When they meet other people they never say them they are Azeris (6 respondent), they conceal that fact as much as possible (6 respondents), they say that only when people are asking them about (2 respondent), they always say proudly that they were Azeri's (1 respondent).

They think that in Armenia it is mainly violated the rights of Azeri minorities (5 respondents), Russian minorities (1 respondent), no minority (3 respondents). It was difficult to answer (6 respondents). In the list of minorities there were also Kurds, Georgians, Germans but respondents were quite unaware of other minorities.

In their opinion Armenian society, in general treats them kindly (8 respondents), neutrally (1 respondent), with hostility (3 respondents), with an awful hostility (1 respondent). It was difficult to answer (2 respondents). Many of them explained that all neighbors are in good relations with them, they are very kind, but they cannot say the same for the others.

The 6 Azeris have Azeri relatives and friends that have had problems or conflicts with Armenians the others do not have such relatives or friends. Other 6 Azeris have Azeri relatives and friends who found shelter in European Countries during the last 5 years (approximately 22 persons), 8 of them do not have such relatives and friends and one does not know if he has such relatives or not. Many of those 22 persons did it because of ethnic conflict - none of them left because of hard economic issues. 8 Azeris have Armenian relatives and friends who found shelter in European Countries during the last 5 years (approximately 38 families). All of them left because of poor social-economic conditions including unemployment additional many of them had relatives there.

Four respondents among those 8 identified themselves as "Yerevansman"(meaning inhabitant of Yerevan), 4 of them "Bakusman"(meaning inhabitant of Baku). 3 of them identified themselves as Azeris, 3 as Armenians and 2 as Metises. 6 of those 8

identified themselves as Christians and 2 of them as Atheists. 4 of them identified themselves as Asians and 4 as Europeans. The other 7 respondents said that they were inhabitants of their country, so they were "Armenians" and they refused to answer to the other questions about religion and continent identification considering the answers to be already clear for interviewer. It is interesting that 13 respondents were Christians and 2 of them were Atheists. Summarizing one see that 2 descendants of mixed marriages whose fathers were Azeris consider themselves as Christian Azeris. This means that the assimilation process of Azeris into Armenians begins with adopting Christianity. Besides, the descendants of mixed marriages are free to choose between 2 religions and it is a fact that Christianity is preferable for them.

The 12 respondents have never applied to a Human Rights Organizations because they do not trust them (6 respondents); they avoid publicity (2 respondents); they are not aware of them, their activities (2 respondents) and they had no such necessity (2 respondents). 3 of respondents applied to them and had no result.

The 6 respondents think that Human Rights Organizations in Armenia are still very far from fulfilling its real functions. 2 of them think that these organizations sometimes bring out beneficial results. And for 7 respondents it was difficult to answer to this question. No one thinks that Human Rights Organizations are always defending the rights of those who apply in person. The results again tell us that people have very little information about Human Rights Organizations and their activities. Besides, it would be interesting to know which percentage of citizens of RA knows what kind of rights they have and how to protect the violated rights.

The answers to the question on what are the prevailing attitudes of Armenian nation toward different minorities were distributed as follow in the next page.

One of the respondents says that various people of Armenian society have different attitudes toward national minorities, so it is difficult and almost impossible to summarize their attitudes. Again it is noticeable, that respondents are unaware of other minorities' statuses. At present, four respondents are worried about peace in the world, 13 - about their socio-economic conditions (unemployment, severe poverty

and etc), 2 - about the deception on paying salaries, 3 - about the disunity of their families.

Attitudes	National minorities	Sexual minorities	Religious minorities
Violates the rights of minorities	3	1	-
Indifferent to the minorities	2	2	1
Tolerant toward minorities	7	-	-
Tries to support the minorities	2	-	-
Difficult to answer	-	12	14
Overall	14	15	15

If respondents were given a choice where to live 6 of them would like to live in Russia, 5 - in Armenia, 1- in Azerbaijan, 1 - in Europe, 1 - in the USA and 1 - does not matter where just out of RA. The reasons they would like to live in Russia are the existence of many relatives and friends there, easiness to find job and absence of national discrimination in Russia. The reason they would stay in Armenia is that Armenia is their fatherland and they like it. One respondent could not explain why she would like to live in Azerbaijan. She said it was just longing. Another person also said he had no explanation but Europe was longing to him. Here is the citation of one respondent: "The USA is the only place in the world where you can really avoid national problems."

At present fifteen Azeri respondents have the following dreams and wishes :

<i>To join with the family,</i>	<i>To overcome hard socio-economic situation,</i>	<i>To work and help my disabled child,</i>
<i>To become jurist,</i>	<i>To depart from Armenia,</i>	<i>No dreams today they left in past,</i>
<i>To live better, Welfare and Peace,</i>	<i>To become champion in the "Taykwon Do",</i>	<i>Wishes Peace,</i>
<i>Dreams about big sport,</i>	<i>Wishes prosperity to Armenia and its children,</i>	<i>To marry with the beloved,</i>
	<i>To find a job and to marry,</i>	<i>To be able to make everyday bread.</i>

The marital statuses and education backgrounds of the respondents are as follow

Education Marital Status	Incomplete Secondary	Secondary	Special- Secondary	Incomplete Higher	Higher	Total
Married	1	2	1	-	-	4
Single	1	3	-	1	1	6
Widow/widower	2	-	2	-	-	4
Divorced	-	-	1	-	-	1

The social statuses of respondents and monthly average income per person in each family are as follow

Social Status Income per Person	Student	Pensioner	Unemployed	Housewife	Total
Up to 5000 drams (APRs. 10 \$)	1	1	8	2	12
From 5000 to 15 000 drams (APRs. 10–30 \$)	-	2	1	-	3
Total	1	3	9	2	15

As one can see the respondents mainly have low educational background and half of them are unemployed. In 12 families monthly average income per person is not even equal to 10\$, which means that these people live in absolute poverty. The exact figures reassert the assumption of the observer that sense of live seemed to be survival. As it is known in theory the subculture of the destitute brings to the chain of social problems such as apathy, high social estrangement, low self-appraisal, and unwillingness to plan the future etc. Surely the prerequisites of these social problems are already ripe in Armenian society for being crucial.

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY PERFORMED WITH AZERBAIJANIANS LIVING IN THE REPUBLIC OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH

For this purpose standardized interviews were performed with 20 representatives of Azerbaijanian minority living in the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh during May to June, 2002.

First of all it is necessary to mention that 19 of the 20 respondents were born from mixed marriages (10 of them being 25% Azerbaijanian, and 9 of them being 50 % Azerbaijanian) and only one of the participants is native Azerbaijanian. Simultaneously all respondents were born and grew up in Karabakh.

The respondents' sex and age distribution is following:

	Male	Female	Total
18-24	1	3	4
25-34	4	4	8
35-44	0	1	1
45-54	3	2	5
55-64	1	1	2
65 and more	0	0	0
Total	8	12	20

11 out of 20 respondents are married, 5 of them single, 2 of them widowed and another 2 are divorced.

The respondents' level of education is the following: not complete secondary education - 3 respondents, secondary education - 9 respondents, secondary professional education - 1 respondent, not complete higher education - 1 respondent, higher education - 6 respondents.

Among 20 participants of the survey there are 6 pensioners, 5 businessmen, 4 housewives, 2 students, 1 worker, 1 military servant and 1 state servant.

Average monthly income per person in families of 4 of the respondents varies between 15.000 to 30.000 AMD, in families of 8 of the respondents - between 5.000 to 15.000 AMD, while in families of the remaining 8 it does not exceed 5.000 AMD.

The tabulation of the respondents' income and social status has the following outlook:

	Less than 5.000 AMD	5-15.000 AMD	15-30.000 AMD	Total
Student	2	0	0	2
Military servant	0	1	0	1
Businessman	2	2	1	5
State servant	0	0	1	1
Worker	0	1	0	1
Pensioner	2	2	2	6
Housewife	2	2	0	4
Total	8	8	4	20

The correlation of the respondents' sex and social status is also worth attention:

	Male	Female	Total
Student	1	1	2
Military servant	0	1	1
Businessman	4	1	5
State servant	0	1	1
Worker	0	1	1
Pensioner	3	3	6
Housewife	0	4	4
Total	8	12	20

Fragmentation among employed respondents is fifty-fifty, with 4 male and 4 female each.

Regarding the question of the "most unpleasant incidents that the respondents have faced in connection with their ethnic background", 15 respondents stated that they did not face any unpleasant incidents of that kind. From possible answers remaining 5 respondents have mentioned each a fight in school, a conflict with neighbours, a verbal insult addressed to them, destruction of the family on ethnic basis, ceasing

relations with some of the Armenian friends, and relatives' departure to Azerbaijan for permanent residence in 1989-1991. Simultaneously, 19 out of 20 respondents (including those who have faced some educations of ethnic discrimination) have never applied to any of the human rights organizations. The reason for this according to the respondents was that there was no need to apply (10 respondents) and that they try to solve their problems by themselves or with the help of their friends (2 respondents).

One respondent has applied to a human rights organization on the topic of the insult addressed to her mother, but her answer-status was "achieved absolutely no result".

At this point it is necessary to note that 13 of the 20 respondents could not evaluate the effectiveness of activities of human rights organizations. 3 of the remaining 7 respondents think that these organizations are very far from fulfilling their real responsibilities, 2 more find that they sometimes achieve results, another 2 are sure that these organizations always achieve results.

Such distribution of answers can be explained by the lack of information that the respondents have concerning the activities of the human rights organizations (as well as, most probably, concerning their own rights). This, in turn, explains the fact that the prevailing majority of the respondents have never resorted for the help of such organizations. To mention also, there are only few of such organizations in Karabakh and they don't have enough working experience in that area.

Azerbaijani acquaintances of 2 respondents have faced some problems connected with their ethnic background in the past and the same 2 respondents have mentioned that some of their Azerbaijani friends/relatives have left Karabakh during the past years. The reason for this according to both of the respondents was the same: "they were mixed families, they left to sustain them".

It appeared that 17 out of the 20 respondents didn't have any problems connected with their ethnic or religious background, cultural distinctions, political views, or distinct characteristics of personality, neither in past nor in present. 2 from remaining 3 respondents mentioned that they had problems connected with their ethnic background in the past, but they do not have similar problems in present. In the interval

they have economical (financial) problems which they haven't faced before. One of the respondents mentioned that in the past, as well as in present, she has problems connected with distinct characteristics of her personality and today she has some problems with her ethnic background (whereby, ethnic matters were not present in her past).

Such a division of responses sounds quite contradictory if an emphasize is put at the perceptions of the respondents about the issues that presently worry them the most: 10 out of 20 respondents confessed that today the most important and vital issue for them is that of the financial sustainability whereas this statement was not fully reflected in the responses to the previous question. Most evident reason for such a contradiction is that the first question was being asked in the very beginning of the interview sessions, when the respondents were not ready yet to freely express their thoughts concerning some crucial issues. Hence the answers to the second, control questions must be taken into account and considered as a basis for further analysis.

Other issues that are of a big importance for the representatives of Azerbaijanian minority in Karabakh can be generalized and classified as follows: unemployment (5 respondents), final establishment of peace (2 respondents), impossibility to meet the relatives living in Azerbaijan (1 respondent), insufficiency of the living conditions (1 respondent), fear for the future of the children (1 respondent).

The opinion of the respondents concerning the attitude of Armenian population towards the ethnic minorities (Azerbaijanian minority in particular) is worth attention.

Firstly, one can notice that among vital problems the respondents face, none of them has mentioned any issue connected with ethnicity. Then, 13 respondents had difficulty to answer the question about which of the ethnic minorities rights are more frequently violated in Karabakh. 2 from the remaining 7 respondents think that Kurdish minority's rights are violated the most, and the 5 respondents state that it is the Azerbaijanian minority that is vulnerable the most.

Simultaneously, 17 respondents think that in general the attitude of Armenian majority towards them is welldisposed (including 3 of the 5 respondents who stated Azerbaijanian minority to be the most vulnerable) and the remaining 3 respondents consider the attitude to be

neutral, objective. Moreover, 10 out of 20 respondents assure that Armenians try to morally assist all minorities.

From the researcher's point of view such an outcome of the survey is determined by at least four reasons.

Firstly, the prevailing majority of the respondents (18 out of the 20) try not to reveal their nationality (11 respondents do not reveal their ethnic background under any circumstances, 2 respondents try to keep that fact in secret for as long as possible, 5 respondents reveal their nationality only if they are asked to do so, and only 2 of the 20 respondents proudly inform everyone about their ethnic background). It is quite possible thus, that negative attitude of native Armenian population in some cases is not being manifested because of this reason. At the same time one must not forget that the communal nature of the Armenian society in majority of cases brings to the impossibility to hide the details of one's personal life and thus mentioned explanation can not be sufficient.

Second reason was probably that of the respondents' fear of giving fair answers which has lead to presenting the reality from the most optimistic point of view.

The fact that all respondents were born and brought up in Karabakh due to which they are not seen as "foreign elements" in the eyes of the native population is probably another reason.

And lastly, this outcome can be explained by the consideration that the winning Armenian party is truly tolerant today and try to assist the few representatives of Azerbaijanian minority who occurred to be in relatively worse psychological condition.

The expectations and perceptions of the respondents concerning their future can be presented in the following way. If living in Karabakh as an Azerbaijanian becomes impossible they will find shelter in:

- Azerbaijan (1 respondent), as the relatives are living there;
- Russia (2 respondents), as they have Russian education and think that they can find there a job suitable to their profession;
- Germany (1 respondent), as the democratic institutions are more developed there;
- The USA (2 respondents), as they like it and think that living there is safe;

- In other countries (5 respondents) where they have relatives.

2 respondents will stay in Karabakh in any case, because they were born and have a family there, and remaining 8 respondents had difficulty to answer this question mainly reasoning that they don't know where they will feel more comfortable.

At the same time, if given a freedom of choice, the prevailing majority of the respondents (13 out of the 20) would chose to stay in Karabakh as it is their motherland, it is there that they have family, relatives, home and workplace.

One of the respondents would prefer to live in Azerbaijan because his relatives live there and he considers Azerbaijan to be his motherland, and 3 of the respondents would chose to live in the USA because they associate it with freedom and sustainability.

The ultimate dream of 14 out of the 20 respondents is to live in peace. 2 of the respondents wish to create a good family and live in happiness. The rest 4 respondents wish happiness to their children, dream to live in an economically developed legal state, meet the relatives living in Azerbaijan, and continue studies in Artsakh State University.

According to Azerbaijanian respondents living in Armenia the attitude of the Armenian population towards them is less tolerant (3 out of the 15 respondents think that the attitude is hostile and one respondent states that it is unbearably hostile, meanwhile none of the participants of the survey performed in Karabakh considers the attitude towards them as hostile).

6 of the 15 respondents in Armenia stated that their acquaintances have had problems connected with their nationality, while in Karabakh only 2 out of the 20 respondents mentioned a similar fact. At the same time none of the respondents in Armenia thinks that Armenians try to morally assist the ethnic minorities and in Karabakh 10 positive responses have been received to this question.

Only one respondent has applied to such an organization in Karabakh, while in Armenia 3 of the 15 respondents did. The reason for this is most probably the fact that the human rights organizations are more active in Armenia than in Karabakh.

Simultaneously, those of the respondents living in Armenia who have never applied to these organizations in majority of the cases didn't

do so because they don't trust them (6 respondents), while the participants of the survey in Karabakh reasoned this by not having the need in the help of such organizations.

It is also necessary to mention that none of the 15 respondents in Armenia thinks that the human rights organizations are always successful in protecting the rights of those who apply for their help.

Most of the Azerbaijanian respondents in Armenia would move to live in Russia if their life in Armenia as an Azerbaijanian became unbearable. During the survey performed in Karabakh such a response was received only twice.

Having an opportunity to chose the place of living 6 of the 15 respondents in Armenia still mentioned Russia, while in Karabakh this option was not considered at all. At the same time, the majority of respondents in Karabakh (13 out of the 20) stated their will to live exactly in Karabakh, and only 5 of the 15 respondents interviewed in Armenia expressed their willingness to live in Armenia.

One can also mention that the ultimate wishes of the Azerbaijanians living in Armenia have very few things in common, while 14 out of the 20 respondents interviewed in Karabakh have an ultimate dream to live in peace.

The fact that Azerbaijanians living in Karabakh had a more direct contact with the conflict than those living in Armenia and thus experienced a bigger psychological crisis, can serve as an explanation to the above mentioned difference.

In general, comparing the responses one can come to a conclusion that the answers of Azerbaijanians living in Armenia were more honest and free than of those living in Karabakh. This also speaks for the general atmosphere which exists there.

CONCLUSION

As it was already mentioned at present there is no violation of Azeris rights on the national basis - it should be concentrated on the possible latent sides of treatment and attitudes towards Azeris.

Taking into account that Armenia is a tradition-based country it becomes evident that the prejudices toward any national minorities,

especially Azeris are at a big stake. This is because traditions contain elements of similarity - people unlike those of a dominant group are treated in a different manner. Different manner includes both negative and positive elements. For example, Armenian local government representatives showed more care towards vulnerable groups than others by ensuring that the researcher will not harm the Azeri-respondent psychologically. And negative elements include avoidance and absence of relationship building with Azeris as many Armenians identify Azeris as Turks. The Armenian Genocide committed by Turks in 1915 and pogroms in Baku and Sumgait in 1988 and 1990 made this identification of Turks and Azeris stronger for Armenians. Anyway, it is possible to overcome such difficulties: everything depends on the personality of Azeri.

- It is necessary to reduce the prejudices toward Azeris
- It is necessary to weaken the power of traditions by promoting tolerance
- It is necessary to ensure Azeris that the future possible conflict will not affect on their security
- It is necessary to improve the legal field of RA
- It is necessary to realize social policy in order to protect citizens of RA against hunger and cold
- Due to globalization processes taking place in the world it is necessary to modify Armenian communal society into individual one, thus enabling the country to be law-based.

As a result of the survey it emerges that the rights of few Azerbaijanians living in the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh are not violated in fact. Moreover, the Armenian majority tries to morally assist them.

The survey did not allow to reveal the hidden sides of the relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanians living in Karabakh. Thus there is no reason to doubt about the rightness of the above mentioned statement and the fact that the majority of the 20 interviewed Azerbaijanians is not willing to leave their motherland also proves it.

At the same time, the bad social-economical conditions of Azerbaijanians can become a reason for migration and therefore need attention and steps for improvement to be undertaken on governmental level.

It is also important to mention that it is necessary to strengthen and develop the human rights organizations operating in Karabakh.

CONDITIONS OF SEXUAL MINORITIES

There was a time when in Armenian society the existence of people, who are sexually oriented towards representatives of their same sex, was not apparent. Till recent years, values and norms of homosexual people and the special legal field regulating their daily life were not included in cultural sub-system of our society. Health care institutes were also ignoring the problems of homosexuals. But in course of years the fact that there are a lot of such people among us, who differ from others by their particular sexual orientation and also by their system of values, norms and related problems which have great impact on people, has become more obvious. Thus, it is almost impossible to avoid questions, such as, whether the representatives of sexual minorities living in Armenia have certain conflicts that characterize this social group. If yes, with which layers of the society do they happen, what kind of conflicts are they and how are they developed and solved? Can they become causes for people's migration?

The description and analysis summarized in this report can give answers to this and relating questions. In next pages of the report, methods of information gathering, obstacles that the authors came across during the research, analysis, conclusions and recommendations are presented.

History of sexual life.

Sexual life is a forbidden and close theme in Armenian society. It's discussed neither in schools, nor in Institutes of higher education and or among the family members. Main responsible is a lack of information especially among young people. They consider homosexuality and especially homosexuals as something worth humiliation and contempt. Surely this is a result of our national mentality. Our forefathers, parents and even we accept only sexual relations between a woman and a man. Homosexual relations are not normal for us.

In the legislative field of the Republic of Armenia and subsidiary juridical literature, one can find a very small number of fragments concerning the theme of sexual minorities. In the juridical literature there is no concept of "Sexual minority". It's a group of citizens who do not have traditional sexual orientations.

Before speaking about international standards or experience it's important to mention that an individual's intimate life and homosexual relations were free and inviolable even in the antic period and were regulated by various norms.

In spite of the fact that the west-European civilization is based on Roman and Greek cultures, our attitudes to sexual life differ greatly.

Homosexual relations were not considered to be indecent in antique Greece. They were treated in a very normal way as heterosexual relations. The Greeks took homosexuality as naturally as heterosexuality for us today. They didn't criticize homosexual and heterosexual relations from that point of view of morality. In spite of all this, sexual relations between a man and a young boy had a very important place. Greeks elaborated scrupulous rules on the relations between a man and a young boy, whereas there was no codex concerning man-woman relations. That relation was founded on the mutual love and respect. According to the rules mentioned below the man should begin his attempts and the boy should refuse at first. Only after taking presents and sweet words from him, the boy could agree. In this case violence was forbidden: love was free. A close sensitive relation between the man and the boy appeared. When the boy became a man, the sexual relations between them turned to a great friendship. Later the boy who was now a man married a woman and then made a sexual relation with a boy.

In spite of their attitude to homosexual relations between men, Greeks criticized and humiliated the same kind of relations between women, in other words lesbians. The reason of such attitude was perhaps the low status of women in Antique Greece. Nevertheless the earliest literature in western culture expressing any idea of Lesbianism was the poetry of Sapfo (612 b.c.). Sapfo was born on the island Lesbos, that's why homosexual relations of women were termed "Lesbos".

In Antique Rome Romans treated sexual life like the Greeks. The only difference was that man-woman relations were more accepted than

man-boy relations. The reason was that the first kind of relations provided the continuance of generation and eternity of spirit. So they could give important advice to heterosexuals as for the importance of man-woman relations, whereas such kind of things did not exist among Greeks.

Let's come to present time. Still in 19 century doctors revealed and made known the difference between homosexual and heterosexual relations. At the end of the 19 century American and European doctors showed interest in what caused sexual orientation different from the normal one. They were especially interested in the sexual activity between men. They differentiated the types of homosexuality having studied this activity.

At first there were not any terms to determinate homosexuality and heterosexuality. For example Freud (1856) and Ellis (1885) used the term sexual devaluation to determinate homosexuality. In 1860s the word "homosexuality" was invested. The term heterosexuality appeared later to complete the meaning of the term "homosexuality". But only homosexuality was thought worth to be studied in detail from the point of view of "the way of life". On the contrary, sexual devaluation was already accepted and they were a little interested to study it.

When we talk about homosexuality we should understand sexual relations between unisex people. This is not a new phenomenon at all. Only homosexuality is interpreted in another way. "Homosexual" means sameness, something deeper and steadier than ordinary sexual acts. Homosexuality is to give an idea about something special, that is to say homosexual relations not between a man and a woman but between people of the same sex.

Homosexuality was forbidden in Jewels' culture. According to Christian traditions homosexuals were considered to be "Sodomians", but they differed in two important points. First, the term "Sodomian" concerned those who did forbidden acts in their sexual activity. If they gave up doing such things, they stopped to be "Sodomians". According to this theory, the homosexuals who gave up homosexual behavior continued to be homosexuals from the point of view of their morality. Second, the idea of the term "Sodomian" expressed the way of activity as much as the sexual life of the participants was. But nothing is

mentioned about homosexuals in the story of Sodom. Sodom was the sign of wretchedness on the whole. Only from the year of 200 B.C. till 200 A.C. sexual guilty and homosexuality among them began to be mentioned as crimes. Before that it was looked upon only as something wretched.

At the end of the 19th century, sexual orientation became a means to characterize the essence of a man's sexual desires. Mentioning the changes taking place in that period, the thinkers were of the opinion that "being a Sodomian was a temporary mistake, but homosexuals were a new type of people".

As thinkers of that time noticed, at the 19th century the homosexual was a prominent person, past, a page of history with mysterious psychology and anatomy. Nothing is left unchanged from his whole body as a result of his homosexuality. It is always on the basis of his behavior, because it was the principle of it; it is expressed on his face and body, it is in his blood as it was a self-revealing secret and continues to be. It is inseparable not as an ordinary guiltiness but as a special essence.

Modern Theory

The theory of natural rights is in the basis of modern law. According to that theory everybody has inborn and inviolable natural rights to life, freedom, security in his/her person, etc. Law consolidates this.

That is why in modern justice only the laws which coincide with human rights are accepted. The laws limiting those rights are not accepted. That is to say, fundamental rights, duties and freedom are important elements of juridical status of the person. These are the rights which the person, the citizen can't be devoid off; they belong to any person who appears to be a subject of law, independent of the recognition of his rights by the latter. That is why the Institute of determining the juridical status of the citizen occupies a special place in the constitutional law of all the countries. The chapter "Fundamental rights and freedoms of a person and a citizen" of the RA acting constitution has also consolidated this. One of the most important

elements of the RA Constitution found its concrete expression in the consolidated norms of rights and freedoms according to which "The State provides the protection of human rights and freedoms according to the Constitution and laws, matching the principles and norms of international law" (chapter 4 of the RA constitution). Nevertheless the rights and freedoms of a person and a citizen are not defined by the Constitution but they must be acknowledged (guaranteed, protected) by the State as already existing human rights and freedoms.

Such documents as the "International Convention on Human Rights" accepted by the chief Assembly of UNO on December 10th, 1948, the European Agreement on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1950, the International Agreement on Political and Civil Rights in 1966 were the basic for the consolidation on Human Rights and Freedoms.

With all this the RA was included in the Council of Europe /25.01.2001/ and legislative process /and particularly on Human Rights is realized by the National Assembly according to the demands of that European Institution/.

National Assembly mentions the letters of the RA president, the chairman of the National Assembly, the prime minister, and the political parties represented in the National Assembly and consolidates that the RA is responsible to accept the 2 /special/ chapter of the RA Criminal codex in the European legislative field within 6 months which will put an end to the punishment by death and the homosexual relations of mature people by mutual agreement will not be considered as punishable by law /accepted by the National Assembly on June 28th, 2000 /21 session//.

The constitutional rights and freedoms are not all the rights and freedoms a man has but the greatest, the most important part of them. The 43 chapter of the RA Constitution proves that the rights and freedoms set forth in the Constitution are not exhaustive and shall not be construed to exclude other universally accepted human and civil rights and freedoms. It means that the essential part of the rights and freedoms of a man and a citizen is regulated by other branches of law which are not fundamental in their content and consequently are not consolidated by the Constitution.

The rights and freedoms most essential for a man, for the society and for the State are consolidated in the constitution and that's why they are called fundamental. F. e. the social-economic rights and freedoms are considered to be natural rights and freedoms which are consolidated in the Constitution of the State.

The rights and freedoms which respect the dignity of person are not only essential for person. It's well known that individuals can exist only in society, keeping relations with other members of the last one. In the same time every person is an individual in his turn, and he has his intern world, mentality, psychology, and intimate relations, which are close with his dignity. So he needs to protect them from the extern invasion, and the State constitutionally consolidates these rights, which consists the essential part of fundamental human rights and freedoms. The other reason of their constitutional consolidation is their first meaning, i.e. they are the moral norms, which regulates social relations but not in a concrete way. That's why they are called "norms-principles". Moral norms depend on people's way of life, occupation, social status, political and social sphere and as a rule they have been evolving step by step and for a long period. They don't have objective and material meaning and that's why they are not written, formulated and expressed in any sources.

Speaking about personal rights and freedoms of an individual it's important to pay a special attention to his dignity, which is equal to the right to be respected and to respect. When the person begins to feel his freedom and his equality with other persons, and he understands the importance of his role in the society, his dignity begins to develop. The meaning of this word includes also the acceptance and recognition of some moral and intellectual values of individuals.

Freedom makes people to hide their private life from the rest of the society and keep it away from extern contacts. It expresses the intention of persons to have their own personal world of intimate and business interests, which should be protected from extern invasions. It means that nobody has the right to get information about one person's family without his agreement. Collecting data about business activity, finance sources and intimate life /relations/ is also forbidden.

As a method of gathering information for the research, the in-

depth interview was selected. The investigators received standardized information from one element of the research - people having non-traditional sexual orientation (particularly, homosexuals, lesbians and bisexuals)², and from the other, i.e. experts - by the method of deep interview³.

It was very difficult to find homosexuals while conducting the research. The unbearable attitude of Armenian society makes them hide their non-traditional sexual orientation. In the process of seeking homosexuals ASA came across more obstacles as thought, as there was another reason besides above-mentioned-Constitution accuses homosexuals (according to the Constitution, only gays are criminally responsible, but nothing is said about lesbians)⁴. Thus, homosexuals try to hide the peculiarities of their sexual life as hard as possible, because of the fear of being revealed by civil police. So the lack of homosexual clubs in Armenia is conditioned with these reasons, which also hardens finding the subjects of research.

In the result of such obstacles the interviews with homosexuals within their acquaintances become unavoidable, then for implementing "snowball" method⁵. The latter is implemented by two principles - in the first case, the telephone number of homosexual is taken, in other case the place of his office was found out. In the second case, when the researcher had the opportunity to meet the unisexual directly, to talk to them, to explain the purpose of the research, to present the details, they were not avoiding to speak about their homosexual life. The appointment by phone call is somewhat different. In this case the distrust strictly increased. Homosexual people (in this case gays) are trying to avoid foreigners. This fear was based on the fact that people, who had given phone numbers, wanted to stay unknown. In this case there were such conflicts, which happened when a gay came to a preliminary telephone-made appointment with 5-6 boys, who supposedly had to protect him from an interviewer and a woman, who appeared to be his psychologist.

Besides, in order to conduct a research, a researcher should have been aware of homosexual people's relations, learnt about several elements of their culture¹, so that he could gain trustfulness. Certain skills were necessary; i.e. the role² of interviewer should satisfy the respondents' expectations. For playing the above-mentioned role, it was

necessary to know the certain system of words, expressions and beliefs, so that the respondent could accept the researcher in the concept "we", not "they".

In the process of homosexual people's selection the "snowball" method helped a lot, but the experts were chosen according to professional direction, conditioned with the fact that they have much experience in homosexuals' issues.

The Analysis of Results of the Survey

However, in what way do they solve the problems with sexual minorities' rights and obligations which appeared in RA social visible field? On one hand the resolution of the problem depends on the values and norms of Armenian mentality, on the other hand the correspondence of legal field with documentation about human rights to international standards. The majority of homosexuals agreed that everyone has rights by birth. The others were claiming that everyone has the right to do the things that are not limited by international laws. And only one homosexual mentioned that the state itself decides the rights and responsibilities of its citizens (see table).

Answers	Male	Female	Total
1. Each person has rights for everything since his/her birth	6	4	10
2. Person has no rights	0	0	0
3. Each state itself decides the rights and responsibilities of its citizens.	0	1	1
4. Person has the right to do everything that is not limited by international laws.	2	2	4

Furthermore should be discovered to what extent homosexuals are intended to conceal their sexual orientation and why. To answer this question, it is necessary to discuss the obstacles faced during the field phase. What concerns the lesbians, they did not refuse to answer the questions and in the frames of reliable people they were not concealing their sexual orientation. This is due to the fact that they do not have criminal responsibility according to the criminal codex of RA. As for gays, here the problem is somewhat different - both RA Legislation and

Armenians' system of values and norms appear to be threatening for them. The attitude of heterosexual people, having Armenian traditional culture, towards girls with non-traditional sexual orientation is comparatively bearable. One can not say the same for the case of gays, as they try to hide the peculiarities of their sexual life as much as possible. They speak about it only when they accept their company either as carriers of their subculture or as people who at least accept their affection.

Here it is necessary to mention the peculiarities of that subculture and its carrying groups. One can meet such homosexuals who socialize only with homosexuals. It is almost impossible to have a conversation with representatives of that group, as they don't consider the researcher to be a member of "we". Besides, their daily life, their attitude towards sexual relations and their chosen way for sexual satisfaction provoke conflicts between members of homosexual groups and various layers of the society, especially civil police (in comparison with homosexuals described below). That is why this group of homosexuals is more closed and the sexual orientation of its members is more hidden. The other group of homosexual people is comparatively open, as it consists not only of homosexuals, but also of heterosexuals - so-called naturals, who have at least a mild attitude towards homosexual life of their acquaintances.

It is interesting that most of interviewed lesbians manage to hide their sexual orientation from their family members. It cannot be said the same in case of gays. Families of six homosexuals out of eight were aware of the peculiarities of their son's sexual life (two of them have informed about it themselves). In four families out of above-mentioned six this fact was accepted without any serious conflicts, but in two of them it brought to tragic events. They were under psychological and moral pressure. One of them was even kept locked in the house by his parents, he had to escape from the house, and the other was forced to give up the homosexual way of life.

Some of them speak about it in the following way:

"At first when my family members learnt about my affinity, they got very upset (especially my mother), but later when they felt that I liked my way of living, they got used to that fact, although now there are still

some disputes about it" (says a barber of 27 years old).

"That was terrible.... They forbade me to go out of the house; there were quarrels all the time in our house. My family couldn't get used to that idea" (a student of 19 years old says).

"They have accepted that fact very calmly though, perhaps they didn't show me, that they were shocked" (A singer of 32 years old).

"Extremely bad ... My father kept accusing my mother. Now, at home they keep calling me a fool" (an actor of 19 years old says).

But, despite of family conflicts in homosexuals families, to the question with which layers of the society they had conflicts most frequently, the majority of them answered: "With people having traditional sexual orientation and police".

With which layers of the society do you usually have conflicts?

	Male	Female	Total
People having traditional sexual orientation	8	3	12
Relatives	0	2	2
Police	6	0	6
Haven't had conflicts	0	1	1

Three gays said that they had to give up the style they had chosen, as many people had negative attitude towards it. According to their answers, sometimes conflicts with heterosexuals transferred from mockery into beating.

Two lesbians said (16 and 20 years old), that they were sometimes discriminated, when going to some entertaining places.

What refers to lesbians, their conflicts are not as sharp as gays' conflicts are. They usually happen with people having non-traditional sexual orientation. Nobody of interviewed lesbians mentioned conflicts with police. The same cannot be realized for gays.

"There was a time, when police used to "gather" homosexuals and beat them, maybe they needed some money. All of them were released by giving bribes, each gave 300-20000 USD, except one who invited a human rights protector for his case" (27 years old barber says).

"... Police 'catches' gays, often uses them (he means forced sexual

relations).

... Everything was all right, I can't say that they've treated me badly in police, they just electro shocked me in order to make me speak ..." (19 years old actor).

That is how homosexual people speak about RA civil police.

In general, homosexuals speak about their conflicts with great difficulties - some of them were afraid, others couldn't remember the events that had been so painful for them. But in spite of this, questions about the protection of sexual minority's rights were answered very easily, as there was nothing to speak about. Analyzing the results of 15 interviews, one can say that though the majority of respondents (11 people) thought that first of all the Government should protect Human Rights, and then people in their own, only one of them has mentioned that in case of problems he would apply for state bodies' protection (to the question whether he protects his rights, the same person answered "No, it is useless").

In your opinion, who should protect human rights?

	Female	Male	Total
Person himself	7	2	9
Group of my friends	3	3	6
Family	1	1	2
State bodies	4	7	11
NGOs	2	0	2
International organizations	2	4	6

If you had problems, whom would you first apply to?

	Female	Male	Total
I would protect myself	2	4	6
Friends	4	3	7
My family members	0	1	1
State bodies	1	0	1
NGOs	0	0	0
International organizations	0	0	0

In such cases the majority (7 people) is inclined to apply to their friends, most of them (6 people) only rely on themselves, a part of them (4 girls) choosing the way of self-protection, interpret:

"I ignore those people, who violate my rights. I consider myself intellectually higher than they are (20 years old student).

"I don't care about others. I do whatever I want. Sometimes if something happens, I protect myself (she means physical strength) (20 year olds sportswoman).

The way of self-protection a lesbian chose is pretending to be a boy (20 years old singer).

The majority of interviewed gays (9 people) mentioned, that despite of numerous causes, they don't apply to Human Rights protector for solving conflicts, considering it useless, (they usually believe that in RA, organizations of Human rights protection are far from implementing their real mission). Only one gay has applied to a Human rights protector and had desirable results.

Have you ever applied to Human Rights Protection organizations?

	I haven't applied, there was no need	I haven't applied, as it was in vain	I haven't applied, I didn't know whom to apply	I have applied, but in vain	I have applied and had some results
Male	0	6	1	0	1
Female	3	3	1	0	0
Total	3	9	2	0	1

It is necessary to emphasize once more the consequence, that the phenomenon of homosexuality became comparatively apparent in Armenia during recent years. That is why; the problems of sexual minorities' representatives are not included in activities of Human rights protection institutes and other ones in Armenia. There aren't certain mechanisms for these problems' solutions, as well as in health care and psychological sphere, in particular.

It is interesting that though the half of gays (7 people) thinks that people having non-traditional sexual orientation can avoid problems concerning

their sexual orientation outside Armenia; they are not usually inclined to migrate for avoiding them .

In your opinion, can homosexuals, living outside Armenia, avoid problems related to their sexual orientation?

Answers	Female	Male	Total
Can avoid	4	3	7
Cannot avoid	3	4	7

Would you like to leave RA in order to avoid problems related to your sexual orientation?/ Would you leave in case you were not a homosexual?

Answers	Female	Male	Total
Yes/ yes	3	4	7
No/yes	2	2	4
Yes/no	0	1	1
No/no	2	1	3

As it is shown in tables, seven homosexuals from 15 respondents want to leave Armenia in any case. They are inclined to leave Armenia not only because of conflicts on their homosexual way of life, but also to avoid difficulties with general conditions in Armenia (11 of them can't get used to some element of Armenian national culture). Four people wanted to leave Armenia, but that had nothing to do with problems concerning their sexual orientation. Three respondents didn't intend to migrate in any case and only one gay said that he would like to leave only for one reason, i.e. he has difficulties related to his homosexual life in Armenia. Anyway, they say that the homosexual life of a person is well protected in Holland. However, interviews with homosexual people show that despite of psychological, moral and physical pressures; interviewed homosexuals are not particularly inclined to migrate, though the motivation of their migration is based on legal context as well.

CONCLUSION

The research showed that there is a group of people with non traditional sexual orientation, who very often have quite severe conflicts with other stratum of society in Armenia. When we have the possibility to know the reasons of homosexuality or see earliest periods of person's life during our conversation, we get certain answers "Life was hard for them". There were persons who were violated during the early period of their life by their own father, and began to hate male representatives. There were also people who grew up in incomplete families, without necessary attention and in loneliness. Today homosexuals live in a country considered as democratic and humanities one, but the rights of many RA citizens, who have not traditional sexual orientations, are not protected; but are also violated.

Anyway how can the ignorance toward the rights of homosexuals be stopped?

The first step is done already. It's decided to review the article N 116 and to exclude the first part of the last one.

It's necessary to elaborate and realize a system, which will stop the violation of homosexual's rights and restore them. The problems of homosexuals must be involved in Social Policy and medical spheres. In the range of obstacles for realization all this plans stands the fact, that the homosexuality is not accepted by our national culture.

Yerevan, 2002



“Noyan Tapan” Publishing House

Address: St. Issahakian 28

Tel: (374+1) 56 19 05

Fax: (374+1) 52 42 79

E-mail: contact@noyan-tapan.am

URL: <http://noyan-tapan.am>