# ANNUAL REPORT

# Reflecting on a Year of Change

In 2022, we took a moment to reflect on our work. Despite the challenges in our society, we found inspiration and fresh ideas that kept us moving forward. This Annual Report showcases our dedication, creativity, and teamwork during this year.

## Improving Communication and Trust

EPF worked on enhancing the capacities of the Constitutional Court of Armenia through the "Enhancement of the Communication Strategy and Professional Media Relations Capacities of the Constitutional Court of Armenia" project, supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The project aimed to strengthen the court's communication abilities and build public trust in the judiciary.

As part of this effort, we developed sustainable and long-term visibility products, including video content and a brand book. We also crafted a comprehensive communications strategy. Moreover, the project focused on enhancing the professional capacity of the Constitutional Court's staff, involving the Justices and key personnel in training activities covering public relations, communication, and the application of international court precedents. It also welcomed experts from the Netherlands who shared their experience with the Judges of the Court.

## Non-violence

Over the years, EPF has developed many signature products that distinguish the organization and make it unique. Among these products, we can highlight not only the trainings, workshops, and social innovation camps with a unique methodology developed by the organization's team, but also a series of publications under the *EPF University* heading.

Among these publications, we want to make special mention of the "Dictionary of Criminal Speech." This publication is the first of its kind that addresses this issue in Armenian. It was important because, in today's Armenia, the language of criminals, inherited from the times of the Soviet Gulag camps, has been shown to affect the behavior of our society.

This dictionary helped us understand where these words and expressions come from, their history, and how they affect and influence behavior. As the authors, human anthropologists Aghassi Tadevosyan and Nikol Margaryan explain, learning of and research on criminal culture may reduce or prevent violence in society, including in schools and the military, as well as instances of domestic violence. The dictionary can be accessed via the EPF website. The publication is in Armenian, with a brief English abstract.

## Strategy building

In October 2022, we reached an important milestone by completing development of our strategy for the years 2023-2027 and sharing it with our major partners, donors and policy contacts. We remain committed to addressing issues that no other organisation addresses, connecting people who otherwise wouldn't meet, working on policy changes to make Armenia more just and developed, assisting communities which are in duress, and promulgating critical thinking across society.

## Empowering Networks

In December 2022, we concluded the year by organizing a meeting where people from various civil society groups in Armenia came together. These were civil society organizations supported by our subgrants from the project we implemented, funded by Swedish Sida. We supported 48 subgrants over a two-year period. Participants all shared a common goal of encouraging societal changes through civil society efforts. They engaged in productive discussions, which generated new ideas for the next periods of their activities. As one attendee stated, "I felt the need to think, analyze, and only then propose new actions."

The projects we undertook had tangible impacts and influenced decisions and policies at various levels. Civil society groups in Armenia became stronger and brought about positive changes. As we compile this Annual Report, we are reminded that our work is not merely a series of events but a collective endeavor to create a more peaceful and inclusive future. We express our gratitude to everyone who supported us in our endeavors in 2022, and we eagerly anticipate new achievements in 2023.

If you wish to join us and contribute to our work and goals, you can follow us on social media[1] and visit our website[2]. You can also learn more about our activities in 2022 by exploring other sections of this Annual Report.

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1  EPF website, Social Presence, https://epfarmenia.am/online-presence

2 EPF website, https://epfarmenia.am/

# Assessing the Impact of Critical Thinking Schools: Evaluation Analysis

Since 2010, Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF) has been organizing Critical Thinking Schools (CrTS) as part of its programs. The main objective of the CrTS is to enhance participants' critical thinking and analysis skills through learning about the differences between thinking and critical thinking; complemented by activities such as text analysis, data verification, identifying fake news and misinformation, and decoding propaganda messages. As different from media literacy trainings, these Schools focus on the intentions contained in texts, and the power relations that are expressed through those texts. It is not always possible to check the veracity of miscellaneous information; also, power manipulations are attempted not only in-and-by news media, but also in opinion pieces, as well as other texts, social media posts, books, textbooks, films, podcasts, etc.

These Schools are customized for specific professional groups, students, or the general public. They follow a logical structure, focusing on dismantling stereotypes and myths, analyzing texts for signs of media manipulation, and developing project thinking and logical planning skills. EPF's experience shows that many participants undergo a transformative experience after completing the three-day program. They often revise their views, adopt new approaches, or even change their way of thinking as a result of dismantling stereotypes.

In the course of the past year, EPF held three Schools for young people from all regions of Armenia. In pre-school questionnaires, as well as during the CrTS, many participants stated that manipulative content is encountered in the news on an almost daily basis, primarily focusing on political and security issues of significant public concern. These news pieces feature sensational headlines and distorted information. A portion of the participants hold the belief that following the second Karabakh war and its outcome, the psychologically oppressed and depressed Armenian society is becoming more vulnerable to media influence. As for the participants themselves, the most impactful approach to combat media manipulations is through education, specifically by enhancing media literacy within society. The post-school assessments reveal that the participants' knowledge and comprehension expanded not only with regard to media manipulation, but also in understanding the underlying cause-and-effect relationships, challenging stereotypical thinking, and embracing a comprehensive examination of phenomena and concepts. This, according to post-questionnaires, is useful both in everyday life, and in professional settings. As one participant notes:

> *"In my daily life and work, the critical thinking skills I acquired in school will enable me to challenge and dismantle stereotypes, avoid manipulation, and prevent the negative consequences of manipulation."*

Another one notes:

*"As I am a political scientist, these skills will enhance my ability to analyze political events and statements with a deeper understanding."*

Several participants openly acknowledge that prior to attending the program, they frequently fell victim to unconscious manipulation, without critically examining the text, words, and their contextual implications. As one participant openly expressed:

*"Until now, I never paid attention to stereotypes, and I used them automatically. I now see that I often have been a manipulator myself. Moreover, I fell under the influence of propaganda as I did not have appropriate knowledge. However, everything has changed now. I can assert with confidence that I am departing from here with a profound sense of enthusiasm and fulfillment."*

*"Working with media texts was very interesting and challenging, because texts with complex and often unpleasant connotations were chosen. However, this work helped to look deeper and often notice or find what is missing at first glance",*

notes another one.

Throughout the teamwork excercises participants methodically deconstruct each sentence and reconstruct the meanings of texts, deriving contextual understanding to detect possible manipulations contained therein; after the exercises, they note that they understood the purpose, sub-purpose and hidden implications of the materials.

Participants contend that it is the ongoing practice of comprehensive analysis and self-education that will aid in avoiding the pitfalls of stereotypes, but it is equally important to possess the courage to embark on this journey. One participant expressed the view that:

*"Each individual must discover the inner strength to challenge stereotypes,"*
while another emphasized the need to

*"fearlessly embrace change, both within oneself and in others, to transform stereotypical thinking."*

Several participants highlight reflection as an effective approach for dismantling stereotypes, with the term being unfamiliar to many before the CrTS. As one participant expressed,

*"the first step is cultivating reflection skills,"*

which involves the capacity to view situations from a detached standpoint or through various alternative perspectives. Another participant stated that his initial focus would be applying reflection to himself, by questioning his own beliefs, and subsequently

*"attempting to extend it to the people around me."*

The after-school opinions of participants show that they unanimously agree that CrTS successfully facilitates a shift from "surface" thinking to deeper discussions of issues and problems. Moreover, their perspective has shifted significantly since realizing the impact of stereotypes on shaping society's future. They now perceive any shallow or limited stereotype as a direct instrument which is perpetuating societal underdevelopment. Many participants state that they have developed a strong capacity to navigate decision-making tasks by overcoming the influence of stereotypes, which otherwise could complicate the process and lead to wrong choices. Through the application of critical thinking, they approach situations from a comprehensive perspective, considering all aspects before drawing conclusions. And as one participant notes:

*"The school has opened my third eye."*

Attendees noted that the school provided them with the means and methods to approach questions and problems at a more advanced level. They learned to critically analyze news and articles, considering factors such as authors' motives and the context in which information was presented. According to the participants' evaluations, they were able to challenge several stereotypes while attending the school, including unfounded glorification of one's nation, gender stereotypes, preconceived notions about what women can or cannot accomplish, etc.

In post-course questionnaires, participants provide examples of how they plan to apply the skills they learned in their daily life or work. They aim to base their judgments on reasoned explanations rather than emotions; consider issues from various perspectives when engaging with their surroundings and undertaking projects; bring about changes at their university by expressing their opinions clearly even if they differ from the majority; and approach questions with a broader outlook by considering different viewpoints.

In this paper, we analyzed the opinions of a group of 84 participants attending three different schools, ranging in age from 14 to 30. Since we began working on critical thinking in 2010, EPF has successfully addressed the needs of about 600 beneficiaries by equipping them with critical thinking skills.

However, the demand now is to extend our efforts to a much larger portion of the population, as critical thinking skills have become *a sine qua none* in today's complex world. These skills are essential for citizens to navigate information more effectively, avoid manipulation, and make informed decisions. EPF took the initiative to develop the first-ever manual on critical thinking in Armenian, which has already published two editions. Building on the experience gained through conducting CrTS, EPF plans to expand and publish the third edition. EPF has also created a brochure outlining how to incorporate critical thinking and other necessary skills, like project-learning and agency-building, into the state school curricula to enhance civic education (available here). Thanks to the support of its donors, particularly the EU and Sida, EPF aims to promote this approach at both school and university levels in 2023-2024.

# The War's Impact and Attempts at Recovery: Armenia's Civil Society Story

The 44-day war in Artsakh had a profound impact on Armenia, touching on a variety of society's aspects, including economy, politics, and international relations. Eurasia Partnership Foundation's "Civil Society Support for Ensuring Impact on Reforms" (CS Support) project, supported by Sida, was conceived before the war. However, it was launched in November 2020, and its flexible design allowed for the immediate addressing of the consequences of the war via its sub-granting scheme. This project connected with other civil society projects in providing a very important message to civil society in Armenia, demonstrating that Sweden and in general the international community and European Union do not abandon Armenia in dire circumstances.

The project aimed to support civil society in Armenia through building its capacities and strategic positioning to successfully address the needs created by Covid-19, the post-revolutionary, as well as the post-war events; specifically in the areas of human rights, anti-discrimination and non-violence, anti-corruption and conflict of interest, the environment, as well as urban planning and development, along with several others.

The war resulted in a significant loss of life and displacement of people. Many soldiers and civilians were killed or injured, and thousands were displaced from their homes. The war also caused emotional distress and trauma among the country's population. The conflict also had a negative impact on Armenia's economy. The disruption of trade routes and infrastructure, as well as the destruction of key economic assets affected industries and businesses. Also, it hampered foreign investment and tourism, further straining Armenia's economic situation.

Of all the affected areas, the impact on civil society has been profound and multifaceted. CSOs were struggling to operate effectively due to limited resources, security concerns, and shifting priorities. The humanitarian crisis diverted the attention and resources away from long-term development initiatives. The war also led to the erosion of trust among citizens, making it difficult for CSOs to foster collaboration and collective action.

However, in the midst of adversity, some civil society organizations demonstrated resilience and determination to address pressing issues. Local organizations and individuals stepped in to fill gaps in essential services, advocate for human rights, and promote peacebuilding efforts. These efforts showcased the potential of civil society to drive positive change even in the most challenging of circumstances.

Thus, the impact of the war on civil society has been a complex interplay of challenges and opportunities. While it severely disrupted the growth of civil society, the resilience and determination of individuals and organizations also fostered positive change even in the most adverse conditions. Rebuilding and nurturing civil society in the post-war period have been essential to achieving a return to normalcy. EPF and its beneficiaries are very grateful to Sida for supporting that effort.

As a part of the *CS Support*, EPF announced an open call for sub-grants. During the whole period of its implementation, EPF received more than 120 project proposals from Yerevan-based and regional organizations. In total, 46 projects were implemented, out of which several addressed issues that arose directly after the war. Below are descriptions of some of these projects.

## Visual Innovation Studio: Post-war stories

Those who experienced the war - particularly young people - were given the chance to share their stories, as well as receive post-war trauma therapeutic sessions. A contest for short documentaries and video stories was announced for novice content creators. Video products reflecting on human stories that were absent in public discourse in the year-and-a-half after the ceasefire or addressing well-known stories from a new angle, through the eyes of young people, were created.

The commencement of the first academic year of Hetq Media Factory coincided with the war. Factory's students Susina Khachatryan and Karin Manukyan met and started filming a story about young men from Artsakh, however events in the region caused the filming[1] to be stopped. The contact with the people whose story journalists were telling was interrupted. The story was not published. A year-and-a-half later, Karin and Susina went to Stepanakert to follow up on the story.

> For 25 years the family of Abgaryans lived in Artsakh. After the end of the war in 2020, they left for a village in Armenia, Shinuhayr. Brothers Abgar and Norayr were beekeeping in Artsakh. During the conflict, most of the bees flew away and never came back. The Abgaryans brought the remaining 30 beehives with them to Shinuhayr, and now they have 120 beehives. The brothers clearly divided the work between them. Abgar prepares the hives, which are also for sale, whereas Norayr is a "bee expert" and knows the secret of getting good honey.

## Aghasi Tadevosyan: The 44-day war according to participant's stories: An anthropological research

War is one of the most extreme manifestations of human activity, and it is extreme in that one person kills another in a supposedly meaningful and justified way. The shocking feature of war is that it represents a legitimate act of collective killing. This is a unique form of human behavior that renders the issues of life and death extremely tangible.

This research has been an attempt to study and present the war through the stories of participants. The study not only describes the course of the war, but also other phenomena typical of armed conflicts; such as perceptions of heroism, patriotism, betrayal, life and death, the image of the enemy and the description of self-image, the role of defeat and victory in making sense of and redefining identity, new technologies and human helplessness, manifestations of fear and horror, the process of transformation caused by war, and other such issues.

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1 Returning to Native Shinuhayr: The Beekeeping Brothers, https://fb.watch/mWUxLNuWpK/

The most characteristic feature of this particular war was the unequal confrontation of humans versus technology.

> *That war did not last very long, it wasn't really very long at all. Forty-four days, if you compare with world history – what war ever lasted just 44 days, if you think about that? But probably there's never been such a war on the face of the Earth, where from one side only technology fought; this was a new war, it was a real 21st Century war, where weapons were fighting, not men.*

<div align="right">Conscript, 22 year-old, male</div>

The war is also described as having been very intense or "dense." The Azerbaijani side kept up a quite intensive schedule of bombing and offensive operations. The amount of shelling and drone attacks were also intense.

> *Well, our task was to eliminate the enemy's drones and planes, but it didn't work. It was impossible, because so many shells were raining from the sky, you just couldn't. By the time you'd got it in the cross hairs, to shoot down the drone, it was too late… There were too many tanks, too many drones, too many shells. No one imagined it would be on such a large scale.*

<div align="right">Former conscript, 21 year-old, male</div>

This project has received co-funding by the EU. You can find the extended version[2] of the research in Armenian on our website. Additionally, a five-page brief of the research in English is available in the EPF Annual Report 2020, accessible through this link[3].

## Open platform: DOK & THEATER. A platform retelling modern text

docuTHEATER's goal was to create a platform for documentary plays, where through various types of performing arts (dramatic performance, various media plays, etc.) a wide range of artists would have an opportunity to reflect on the events (the 44-day war, the Covid-19 pandemic, the Velvet Revolution in 2018, etc.) taking place in Armenia. A platform, where the play's content engages its performers' and the audience's life. The purpose of the platform was to move the modern text, the active public discussion on current issues, from the online space to a real place of imagery and interaction.

> *What was the reason for my defeat?*
>
> *The Endgame is an experience to transmute the post-war depression, the shameful pain of defeat, into a conscious analysis that the volunteer of war named Alone experiences through chess.*

<div align="right">ENDSHPIL - multidisciplinary media performance<br>Author, director and performer: Garik Hovhannisyan</div>

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2 The war according to participant's stories. anthropological research, Aghasi Tadevosyan, https://epfarmenia.am/sites/default/files/Document/Tadevosyan_Anthropology_of_War.pdf

3 The 44-day war in the stories of participant's anthropological research. Brief Summary, Aghasi Tadevosyan https://epfarmenia.am/documents/The-44-day-war-in-the-stories-of-participants-anthropological-research

*Modern reality separates A Person from A Person, offering chaos instead. The play is a solo performance based on memories, associative images and comparisons. Depicting the past, present and future through body sensations and images.*

CONTACT - pantomime, mummery
Author, director and performer: Hamlet Chobanyan

*The play addresses the need for coexistence and peaceful living with neighbors. It is about two enemy soldiers who, obeying the state of things, seek a relationship. In case of having equal status and will, there can be certain interactions that will lead to a peaceful life for two nations.*

PEACEFUL LIVING - drama
Author and Director: Mher Asatryan
Performers: Mher Asatryan, Arshak Aloyan

## 4Plus Documentary Photography Center: Post-war, post-truths

The project[4] "Post-War Truths" is a collective effort, the determined work of six photographers who have carried their own pain with them as they seek to define the narratives that must not be forgotten, the narratives that will help light the way forward. They understand that aftermath is the next chapter; that aftermath is, in fact, the prologue of the future. These are narratives that must continue to be written and to be seen.

It's something that many people around the world know only too well – war is only half the story. And it's something the people of Armenia have known for a long time.

Photos of the war depict various stories: a displaced family seeking to rebuild a sense of normalcy and security; a villager living on a newly defined border struggling to maintain the way of life that has been handed down by ancestors from a generation to a generation; a soldier trying to forget the war. Everywhere there is the memory of war – and the echoes of conflict long gone. Longing, loss, love, life.

## Haverzh: Rethinking the code of conduct in media covering war and post-war crisis

The project team analyzed media articles covering issues related to soldiers and their families in the war and post-war situations. They developed a methodology of the analysis and identified media outlets to observe the quality of their production from the perspective of sensitivity. Based on the media analysis, a guidebook was developed and published. The guidebook offers ethical norms that should be followed by journalists and media outlets to properly work with conflict affected soldiers and their family members.

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4 4Plus documentary photography center, Post-War Truths, https://www.4plus.org/post-war-truths

## Public Agenda: The Mechanism of Distortion of Peace Messages and How to Combat it

The war in April 2016 was a very important and unequivocal signal that the situation around the conflict of Artsakh had radically changed and its previous frozen status was no longer acceptable to the new situation in the region and the balance of forces. However, a question arises as to whether the active segment of the Armenian public, the political groups and the media realized this with sufficient clarity. In particular, whether in the aftermath of the war in 2016, various segments of the Armenian public (political forces, NGOs, business actors, etc.) publicly discussed the possibility of a new large-scale war and what to do to prevent it.

Within the project, surveys with media experts were conducted in order to assess the quality and content of media outlets in Armenia that operated before the 44-day war. The final research, along with other findings, concludes that narrow party propaganda prevailed in the media sector when it came to the discussions about a possible war, and this propaganda was particularly waged by the supporters of the former authorities who used the war as an important opportunity to try to regain power. Apart from this, external influence was visible in the media sector, and the association of that line of propaganda with such groups was clear, especially with an aim to annihilate or discredit the paradigm of peace. Discussions on the possibility of a large-scale war were not of a profound nature and not accessible to the broader public.

> *From time-to-time there were predictions on the possibility and even inevitability of war. However, the reasonings were not of a profound nature and didn't stimulate serious discussions among the diverse segments of the population.*
>
> Boris Navasardyan, Yerevan Press Club

> *I do not recollect any broad and in-depth discussions on the subject. They were largely event-dependent, very few and not intended to involve the public in them. It should be stated that even Armenian-Azerbaijani joint projects were holding this discourse in a limited manner in view of the restrictions existing in Azerbaijan and other important events taking place in Armenia.*
>
> Nune Sargsyan, Media Initiatives Center

## Civilitas Foundation: Raising public awareness and promoting participation in the electoral and post-election period

The aim of the project was to raise citizens' awareness of political processes, so that they are well informed and participate in elections by considering the content of the programs the candidates offer. There was an urgent need for balanced and verified coverage of political process to ensure that the public receives unbiased information on political parties, the ongoing developments in the country and election-related developments.

Civilnet actively covered the summer 2021 election campaign and developments in the country before, during and after the elections through several formats. Interviews were conducted with ruling and opposition parties, experts and activists, aimed at presenting the agendas of the parties, and their approach to the priorities of the country. Before the elections, Civilnet initiated public discussions covering the topic of border security.

Before and after elections, Civilnet also organized debates between political parties and alliance representatives. One topic of the debate was the hate speech and environment before the elections, as well as the Nagorny Karabakh issue and its future. Another topic was the request to the Constitutional Court submitted by the opposition to cancel the results of snap parliamentary elections. Participants were discussing the post-electoral situation in the country, political developments, the new parliament and the challenges of the country for the coming years.

In addition to the elections and security issues, Civilnet also covered ongoing reforms in the country, such as: judicial, public administration, the economy etc.

## Boon foundation: Policy and policies: BOON talks

The project aimed at increasing the effectiveness of public policy development processes through triggering constructive dialogue between civil society and state representatives on the issues of public importance in the aftermath of the 44-day war. The project's need was underlined by the fact that the war interrupted proper communication between civil society and freelance experts, on one hand, and the governmental officers on the other hand. Rebuilding of trust has also become a very urgent need.

At the beginning of the project, closed discussions between civil society and state representatives were held, based on the 'Chatham House Rule.' Within this confidential setting, participants engaged in conversations covering a range of vital subjects. These included Armenia's sovereignty in the context of international relations, the efficacy of state institutions and the vision for state development, demographics in Armenia with a focus on trends, challenges, and potential actions, the media's role in societal dynamics, constitutional reforms, as well as the need for judicial reforms..

Each event engaged eight to twelve participants representing civil society, expert community and state representatives. The closed format of the meetings allowed participants to discuss the most sensitive issues and point out major problems that existed in the field. After each meeting, the project team developed brief minutes from the discussion with no names and references and disseminated it among the participants. Based on these materials, open public broadcasts were later broadcasted via the Boon TV channel.

# Support to the Armenia-Turkey Normalisation Process (ATNP)

## Highlights from 2014-2022

The ATNP was launched in 2014 with the support of the EU, and it has been implemented by a Consortium of four Armenia-based organisation - Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF), Civilitas Foundation (CF), Regional Studies Center (RSC), Public Journalism Club (PJC), and four Turkey-based organisations - Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), Anadolu Kültür (AK), Hrant Dink Foundation (HDF) and Citizens' Assembly (CA). Since 2014, the Consortium has witnessed both valuable cooperation in various fields between counterparts from Armenia and Turkey, as well as obstacles shutting down the doors for cooperation. Nevertheless, despite all the existing and emerging hurdles, the Consortium has paved its way through with weighty outcomes.

### *ATNP Stage One (2014-2015)*

- CF's **"Increasing Understanding of Turkey"** activity produced 500 video and text outputs with more than 6 million views from Armenia, Turkey and beyond.

- PJC and TEPAV organized the biggest ever **industry-to-industry exchange** in 2014, with over 30 young and established technology entrepreneurs, industry leaders, ICT experts from Turkey visiting Armenia to get to know Armenia's ICT industry.

- HDF's **Turkey-Armenia Travel Grant** supported 210 persons (154 from Turkey and 56 from Armenia) to establish cooperation avenues in the neighbouring country, while the **Fellowship Scheme** made it possible for 18 long-term fellows to carry out professional exchange in the neighbouring country.

- One of the Sub-Grant Scheme beneficiaries, Versus Studio LLC, produced a 55-minute **documentary titled "Dialogue over the Closed Border"** (2015) on the political and diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey over the last 25 years. The film was presented to public in Armenia in October 2015. It was translated into Turkish, English and French, and was screened among diplomatic communities in Armenia and Turkey, as well as in EU and USA. Up until now it is one of the most comprehensive and accessible sources on the history of negotiations between Armenia and Turkey.

- PJC's **Exchange of Entrepreneurs** resulted in the Armenia-based SkyCryptor company ending up in the top 15 startups pitching in front of 4,000 attendees during StartupIstanbul in October 2016. It also organised a visit of a representative group of investors from Germany, US and Turkey to Armenia to participate in the first-ever **Armenia-Turkey Investor Day** in May 2017.

- HDF's **Turkey-Armenia Travel Grant** further supported 243 beneficiaries, whereas the **Fellowship Scheme** had around 90 potential host organisations, and supported 15 long-term and 7 short-term fellows.

- EPF's event **"Regional and National Security Dynamics: Armenia-Turkey Relations"** organised with the Center for Civilization and Cultural Studies at the Yerevan State University brought together local and international researchers and experts, as well as high-level figures and policy experts working with the governments of Armenia, Turkey, Georgia, Iran and Russia, as well as the Embassies of EU and US, and Chinese experts. The conference drew the attention of policy makers to the issue of regional stability and Armenia-Turkey relations.

- AK continued working on tangible and intangible cultural heritage bringing this heritage into today, which included an unprecedented system of **cooperation between Armenia- and Turkey-based, as well as international architects and art historians**, and joint visits by these groups to sites of Armenian cultural heritage in Turkey, such as Ani, Mush, Artvin. AK's **Armenia-Turkey Cinema Platform** sustained dialogue and discussion platforms between filmmakers from the two countries, arranging for dozens of pitches for documentary projects on Armenia-Turkey relations, Armenians in Turkey and suppressed memory, and supporting 20+ films, of which some made into renowned international festivals.

- One of the Sub-Grant Scheme beneficiaries, Turkish Publishers Association, organised a meeting in Istanbul with participation of **Armenia- and Turkey-based publishing houses**. The event brought together major publishing houses from both countries and established a sustainable cooperation mechanism between them for translation and publication of works of various genres. This cooperation was capitalised upon by other initiatives later on. For instance, a workshop for literary translators was organised by the Armenian Committee of Helsinki Civil Assembly NGO in 2017. It enabled a group of literary translators from Armenia to come together and jointly work on **the translation of the book "Huh!"** by a Turkish contemporary writer Birgül Oğuz.

- An outstanding sub-grant project was implemented by the Fundamental Scientific Library (FSL) of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia in partnership with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Taksim Atatürk Library (IMMTAL) as a follow-up to the research which started back in 2018 within HDF's Fellowship Scheme programme. FSL furthered its research work in creating bibliographic databases of Armenian prints preserved in the libraries of Turkey, specifically at IMMTAL. As a result, 1,787 Armenian prints and 198 new book titles were discovered, studied, and included in the **"The Armenian Book in Turkey: Volume A"** bibliographic book. A thorough study was carried out for about 400 Armenian books and books in Turkish with Armenian script.

- The Sub-Grant Scheme also supported Hrag Papazian and Salim Aykut Ozturk, two anthropologists based in Armenia and Turkey, who conducted a **research project** "Making a Move from Turkey to Armenia: Issues of Dual-citizenship, Immigration, and Return" that looked into the overlooked components of human mobility and interconnections between Armenia and Turkey. The findings were disseminated through co-authored academic articles, public talks and interviews via local and international media.

- RSC provided **policy-related analytical support** to such important actors as the Armenian National Security Council, EU Special Representative (EUSR), Swiss Foreign Ministry, Armenian MFA, diplomatic community in Turkey (Australian, Finnish, French, Swedish, Swiss, and U.S. Embassies). This support extended also to journalists and analysts resulting in several dozens of publications of media articles and reports focusing on Armenia-Turkey normalisation. RSC organized 20+ online analytical briefings for the diplomatic community and international organisations in Armenia.

- The Consortium also supported 4 small-scale projects as follow-up initiatives stemming from projects that were implemented within ATNP-1 and ATNP-2. It is worth singling out the **Armenian translation of the "The Armenian within us" book**. The Turkish-language original of the book was published in 2015 by one of the leading Turkish publishing houses, Can Yayınları, with the initiative of the writer and literary translator Yiğit Bener. The book was written by 35 distinguished contemporary Turkish writers. The idea of the book was triggered by the 100th year of the Armenian Genocide, and in memory of Hrant Dink.

- HDF carried out a **dialogue programme on theatre and choral music** with the participation of the Yolcu Theater Group and Lusavorich Choir. During this programme the play «Gomidas» was staged in Yerevan, Armenia, for about 200 invited spectators.

- PJC and TEPAV worked closely with local experts from the SE industry and project partners to carry out the translation into Armenian and adaptation for the Armenian market of the **Social Impact Measurement Toolkit (SIMT)** that was originally produced in Turkey, and conducted training workshops based on SIMT for interested Armenia-based social entrepreneurs.

### DATA: Data for Accountable and Transparent Action Program

Eurasia Partnership Foundation, Funded by USAID, June, 2020 – August, 2022

During 2020-2022, EPF implemented the DATA program with the goal to contribute to an improved evidence-based policy making cycle by enhancing CSOs' capacity to use sound, robust data, analyze and communicate it effectively, and generate expertise and support from other stakeholders.

DATA program partners – the Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF) in a consortium with SOCIES Expert Centre NGO, Boon TV Foundation, Youth Cooperation Center of Dilijan NGO and Sose Women Issues NGO – developed methods (such as the How to Write Policy Recommendations, The Problem Identification Toolkit, and others) and processes that contributed to CSO capacity building for evidence-based policy intervention.

DATA program helped 5 thematic Network Consortia (NC), including 19 CSOs, to practically engage in policy processes in specific fields. The NCs included CSOs, research, Media, Think Tanks and grassroots organizations, and worked with experts, the private sector and government representatives.

Below we present two of the projects implemented.

### *TAAP NC: Transparent, Accessible and Accountable State Procurement*

<u>NC implementing partners</u>: NGO Center - Civil Society Development NGO (NGOC), Freedom of Information Center of Armenia NGO, Community and Youth NGO.

The goal of the TAAP project was to promote the efficiency, transparency and management of Public Procurement systems. The project focused on *Sole source procurement*. Sole source procurement is one of the risky sectors in terms of the possibility of using various manipulative and corruption mechanisms in non-competitive processes. In 2018-2020, the share of sole-source procurement system by the State had grown to more than 40% among all public procurement methods, which is a considerably high ratio.

The TAAP NC conducted research on the volume of sole-source procurement purchases and the possibility of alternative methods, such as competitive bidding procurement methods. The electronic system of public procurement and the content of ToRs were also analyzed to identify the constraints on smooth and transparent organization of procurement announcements and selection.

The research identified the barriers in the systems that hinder the access of SMEs to procurement services, the complaint mechanisms, as well as transparency and public accountability, and corruption risks related to state spending.

Among the major findings of the research were the following: the large volume of sole source procurement is due to the fact that the State has adopted a new policy: to provide funding through this procedure, as opposed to direct funding, to the healthcare system (70% of the total spending), which often has a monopoly position in the market (each hospital is unique and needs specific items). Another caveat in the system is the justification for sole source financing based on the 'lack of competition': when a short period of time is proposed for the competition, up to 3 days, and the procurement is organized through the 'sole source' system.

TAAP developed a set of recommendations (policy document) for reforms in the field of public procurement. Among the directions of the recommended reforms are: the creation of non-judicial mechanisms for examining procurement complaints and blacklisted participants; re-equipment, renewal and rectification of technical problems in the electronic procurement systems, Armeps.am and e-Auction; introduction of electronic-based procurement processes; drafting tender technical specifications in a more competent and non-discriminatory manner; and limiting as far as possible purchases from one person with an exclusive right. The recommendations were discussed with and presented to the Ministry of Finance. This process was accompanied by an active communication campaign in the media and discussions with various stakeholders.

In addition, the Consortium developed sample Terms of Reference documents for 400 products to assist policy makers and procurement service users, for proper and unbiased formulation of the public procurement announcements.

The project revealed a significant number of problems and corruption risks, which require further study and policy improvement. The Ministry of Finance is currently reviewing its procurement procedures, and the majority of the TAAP recommendations have been considered to be included in the reforms. If these recommendations go forward, the results of this project will also have a positive impact on the anti-corruption policies of the government.

## Labor Rights NC: Improving data-driven policy process in the field of labor rights

NC Implementing Partners: Armavir Development Center (ADC), Prisma Research Center, Law Development Center NGO, Public Journalism Club. This goal of the Project was to contribute to the protection of labor rights in Armenia by identifying and addressing the constraints in employer-employee contractual relationships. The project's objective was to improve employer-employee relations by encouraging the parties to enter into contracts as prescribed by legislation.

The NC addressed the violation of rights of the most vulnerable working population, who work without contracts due to lack of knowledge of their own rights or the fear of losing scarce job opportunities if they raise their concerns and demand their rights. The NC analyzed the state of labor rights of construction and service sector workers and the existence of contracts, and worked with state representatives, employers and CSOs to recommend measures for improving the contractual arrangements in labor relationships, as the major rights protection mechanism.

The research conducted by the NC demonstrates that the practice of verbal agreements of employment terms is prevalent in Armenia – around 22% of respondents reported having no contracts. The research also identified a correlation among various factors that are cross-related and impact the availability of contracts, such as gender, age, education, employment sector, number of employees of the organization, and the size of salary. The absence of a contract is more common among respondents aged 17-25 and 66-75, with a lower level of education, working in the private sector and small organizations, and for low wages. The NC developed a few solutions and resources to assist employers and employees to become better informed, and therefore protected in employer-employee relationships.

A platform www.ashkhiravunk.am has been developed where typical and sample job contracts, labor legislation and other related resources are placed, that are useful for both employers and employees. The NC launched a media series on social media, titled "Simple Questions" to inform the public on complex issues in a simple language. The short videos and multimedia content were developed for Instagram and Tik-Tok to target young people who are entering the job market and need knowledge to protect their rights. Some of the recommendations of the NC include:

- Employees often do not learn about their rights and read contracts, even if available, prior to their enrollment; they do so only when there is a violation of their labor rights. Therefore large-scale awareness and education campaigns are necessary to inform the public that successful protection of rights depends on being aware of the text of contracts. Employers should ensure that employees read the contents of the contract upon/before enrollment.

- The option of applying to the Inspection Body was not considered by any of the respondents to the survey. It was recommended to include sufficient information in employment contracts on the right to apply to the Labor Inspection Body.

- Since the Covid-19 pandemic had a significant impact on labor relations, in particular, on the methods of contracting, it was recommended to develop and promote the digitization of contracts. This recommendation was among the most discussed and disputed, mainly due to the risks of personal information leaks, lack of capacity among small businesses and employees to utilize technology, and other concerns. The proposal was that a unified electronic platform with digital contracts would make it easy to resolve labor disputes more promptly, and would be connected to the State Revenue Service; thus, the platform would reduce cases of non-signing of contracts. At the time of this report, the Government has adopted draft law No. 1568-L dated 6 October 2022 setting out a 2022-2024 Action Plan within the framework of the "Open Government Partnership". The tenth commitment thereof provides for introduction of an electronic system of employment contracts for both the public and private sectors.

- Since employees avoid resolving labor disputes through the court due to the time, cost, and the possible consequence of deterioration of their relations with the employer, it is proposed to create an non-judicial body for the resolution of labor disputes, such as the mediation system, in which trade unions, employers' unions, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the Inspection Body will be involved.

The process of revising the Labor Code had been launched by the state, and the advocacy efforts contributed to drafting some of the amendments. The NC promoted the establishment of a compulsory system for electronic contracts; this recommendation was incorporated in the draft law on "Amendments to the Labor Code of the Republic of Armenia" published on e-draft.am on November 1st, 2022.

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Other policy initiatives that were addressed through the DATA program include: addressing the inclusion of social and ecological problems in local government strategies, evaluating rights-based approaches in the management of the care of people with mental health problems, and studying and introducing human security contexts and their reflection in local government strategies in the border communities of Syunik region affected by multiple crises (military and pandemic).

The DATA implementing partners have become today a significant resource that presents CSOs' ability to constructively influence evidence-based decision making.

# Aghasi Tadevosyan, Nikol Margaryan
# Explanatory dictionary of criminal ("thief") slang

## *Summary*

During a lecture held at one of Yerevan's colleges, one of the students discussed the prevalence - and impact - of semi-criminal behavioral norms in daily life, concluding that this phenomenon plays a significant role in regulating relationships within neighborhoods and communal areas. Without it, they argued that "life can descend into chaos." This behavior is often associated with the 'thief' subculture and its distinct speech patterns, which are familiar to many in Armenia.

Despite  exerting significant influence on public life and behavior, this phenomenon has, however, remained a taboo topic in Armenia, with no serious research devoted to it until now. This explanatory dictionary marks the first attempt to address this issue. What sets this dictionary apart is its comprehensive approach; not only does it provide explanations for the words and concepts underpinning the 'thief' language but also delves into their societal impact, particularly the impediments they pose to the development of democracy and civil society. Consequently, the significance of this work extends beyond lexicology: it holds sociological importance. Additionally, this dictionary can act as a valuable resource for policymakers.

The dictionary consists of two parts. The first and primary section covers the concepts and words commonly used in criminal slang. The second part includes two analytical articles. The first article explores the culture that shapes the vocabulary and concepts of  criminal slang, tracing its historical development and dissemination. The second analyzes the adverse effects of it on public life, examining the key factors and circumstances that foster the spread and advancement of this anti-social and anti-democratic phenomenon.

The dictionary comprises more than 200-word entries. Each entry provides the meaning of the word (mean.), its origin (orig.), historical background (hist.), conjugation (conj.), and the alternative sense (alt. sense). The *meaning* section encompasses the word's usage within the criminal subculture and colloquial street speech. In the *origin* section, we focus not only on the linguistic origins of the word but also on its etymology – the story of its inclusion in criminal language. Occasionally, we present the linguistic origins of the word to enhance clarity. The *history* aspect covers the formation and development of the concept within Armenian or foreign environments, including its adoption from foreign languages into Armenian, and more. The *conjugation* entry includes linguistic expressions formed by combining the given word with others or by altering its endings. Lastly, in the *alternative sense* section, you'll find details about how the word is used in various contexts – whether it's in criminal slang, street slang, or colloquial speech. You'll also discover which generation typically employs the word.

Additionally, we provide information about behavioral practices influenced by the word's usage, along with details regarding other usage.

The influence of the so-called 'thieves-in-law' (or 'gogh' in Armenian) in Armenia began to intensify in the 1950s. These 'thieves-in-law' constituted the highest-ranking criminal group within the Gulag[1] and prison systems during the era of Stalinism and exerted control over all other inmates. This dominance spread across the former Soviet Union, including in Armenia. In criminal slang, 'thieves-in-law' are also referred to as 'zakonnik' ('zakon' means 'law' in Russian).

*'Zakonnik'*

Mean.: *An authority with the highest status in the criminal world*

Orig.: *Loanword from the Russian criminal phrase* 'законник'. *It consists of the root* 'закон' *(zakon) and the suffix* '-ник' *(-nik), which originate from the Old Russian and Old Slavic* 'законъ' *(law, canon).*

Hist.: *It has been active within a criminal context since the early 1930s, primarily within Gulag camps and prisons across the former USSR.*

Alt. sense: *The word gained popularity both in the Gulag camps and prison environment and on the streets. It made its way from prison to the streets without any change in its meaning. It is synonymous with the term 'kerob[2].' In face-to-face conversations, the 'thieves' weren't typically addressed with the word 'zakonnik;' instead, they were more commonly referred to using the term 'kerob.'*

The primary factor that led to the proliferation of the 'thieves-in-law'' influence in urban settings was the release of a significant number of the Gulag camps' population as part of an amnesty following Stalin's death in 1953. Many convicts, who had spent decades in the Gulag camps, were set free, carrying with them the behaviors, traditions, and language of the criminal world into civilian life. Many of the released convicts were notable for preserving their unity and for their efforts to establish influence within the working-class population. During the 1970s and 1980s, in cities like Yerevan, Gyumri (formerly Leninakan), and Vanadzor (formerly Kirovakan), criminal concepts and their associated behaviors and customs had permeated everyday life to such an extent that one could argue they became the foundation for organizing relationships among men, especially young ones.

Even after Armenia gained independence, this situation persisted with certain modifications, and it continues to significantly influence the worldviews, values, and

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1 Gulag – Гулаг, Государственное управление лагерей (Rus.) – the concentration camp system for convicts, covering the entire USSR, particularly uninhabited areas of the Far North and Siberia. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's famous 'The Gulag Archipelago' (1973) for the first time revealed to the world the scale and terror of this system.

2 'Քերոբ' (Arm.) = 'Cherub' (Eng.), there is also an Armenian name Kerob.

behaviors of teenaged boys and young men to this day. The vocabulary used in the slang characteristic of this subculture consists mainly of *concepts* with specific meanings, often referred to as 'panyat[3],' rather than ordinary words. Each 'panyat' carries a highly specific and distinct meaning, serving as a unique behavioral guideline that clearly differentiates 'right' from 'wrong.' To secure a certain status in everyday life, especially within neighborhoods and local environments, teenaged boys and young men must master this language, familiarize themselves with its concepts, and employ them in their interactions with peers of their age group. Any conduct that deviates from the norms defined by these concepts is deemed 'wrong.' Even if a 'wrong' action results from ignorance, it can be responded to with severe physical and psychological violence, and in some cases, even lead to homicide.

*'Wrong life'*

Mean.: *1. The life of those who do not adhere to the principles and rules of the criminal world.*

*2. The life of those who follow a different set of rules, unrelated to those from a criminal context.*

Orig.: *The antonym of the 'right life' concept used in criminal language.*

Hist.: *It began to spread in local and street speech from the 1950s. After the Second World War (WW2), the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR declared a fight against code-bound thieves ('thieves-in-law'). As a response, all those who refused to live a criminal lifestyle were labeled as leading a 'wrong life'. This resulted in a 'civil war' between two groups of criminals – those who cooperated with the government (e.g. they participated in WW2) and those who refused. The war took place both in the camps and in civilian settings. Several tens of thousands of people were killed, and the 'suki' and 'pridurki' – those who agreed to cooperate with the State – prevailed.*

Alt. sense: *It is primarily used within the community of older and middle-aged individuals who are familiar with this slang.*

If we attempt to summarize the essence of this concept in one sentence, it can be described as being antagonistic towards state and civil institutions, while aiming to keep society, especially young men, under the dominance of the highest criminal authorities - the 'thieves.' According to this concept, the highest status in the public sphere is reserved for those who loyally adhere to this behavior. The latter are often referred to with a specific term: 'good guys.'

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3 'Panyat' (պանյատ) is derived from the Russian word 'понятие' (ponyatiye), meaning 'concept' or 'notion' in English.

*'Good guy'*

Mean.: *1. A man engaged in a life of crime and holding a respected position among other men, criminal and non-criminal.*
*2. A young man in the neighborhood, living according to street criminal principles.*

Orig.: *Russian word 'хороший' (khoroshiy), meaning 'good'*

Hist.: *The Armenian version has gained popularity since the 1970s.*

Conj.: *The good ones, good guys.*

Alt. sense: *It's a commonly used word. In street settings, this term was used to describe individuals living a criminal lifestyle. In army circles, a semantically similar term is 'yakhshi[4],' referring to influential soldiers who resolve issues within the military unit.*

The dictionary was compiled based on qualitative research data collected through methods used by cultural anthropology. We conducted 45 in-depth interviews and 10 expert interviews. The in-depth interviews took place in correctional facilities and within neighborhood settings in large and medium-sized cities (such as Yerevan, Gyumri, and Goris) among individuals associated with the 'thief' subculture. We also considered generational factors when selecting interviewees. For the expert interviews, we engaged professionals with experience in working with convicts in prisons and conducting research on this issue.

Based on the interviews, a preliminary list of 350 words was compiled, from which 200 were selected to create the main word list for the dictionary. Several principles guided the selection. Firstly, it was essential for the words and expressions in the dictionary to accurately represent and comprehensively reflect the chronological evolution of the language. This list includes both relatively recent terms and phrases that have gained prominence, as well as those that are now rarely used. We also highlighted the semantic changes that some words and phrases have undergone over time. Based on their origins, the words included in the dictionary can be categorized into the following groups:

- Direct loanwords from Russian

- Translations of Russian jargon terms

- Armenianization of Russian words by adding Armenian verbs

- Addition of Armenian plural suffix to borrowed words

- Armenianized words through transliteration

- Words and phrases originating in Armenian criminal language.

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4  'Yakshi,' coming from ancient Indo-European origins, is used particularly in Turkish and Azebaijani and means 'good' in English.

The dictionary contains words, phrases, and concepts that capture the essence of the slang, providing a comprehensive overview, even though it may not encompass the entire lexicon. It specifically includes groups of words and concepts that hold a special significance within 'thief' speech, including those that:

- Define the statuses and hierarchy within the criminal world; delineate the statuses and types of relationships within that world and among other inmates in the prison environment;

- According to the inmates' status, define their position within the prison facility, from cell assignments to communal spaces for detainees;

- Define the principles for interactions between inmates and prison authorities, outlining permissible and prohibited behaviors;

- Define what is permissible and what is not, making a clear distinction between 'right' and 'wrong;'

- Define the types of penalties for deviating from criminal concepts and breaching the norms and practices of criminal etiquette;

- Define the rights and obligations of members of the 'thief' world;

- Define the key institutions responsible for maintaining order and governance within the 'thief' world, including the financial and economic ones; define the mechanisms ensuring operation of these institutions.

The words featured in the dictionary extend beyond mere concepts and expressions confined to a criminal - or exclusively criminal - context. Most of these words are known even to individuals who have never been in prison. Many people have employed and continue to use these words in their daily interactions, be it in friendships, neighborhood dynamics, or even professional settings. However, as these criminal concepts have entered into people's everyday relationships, some of them have undergone adaptations and changes in meaning. This has led to the inclusion of meanings in the dictionary that are not only specific to the narrow criminal environment but also widely accepted in everyday life.

Various factors within neighborhood settings contributed to the spread of the criminal subculture. Foremost among them was the widespread distrust of the Soviet Union's justice system and legal institutions. Working-class citizens, being the most vulnerable to the arbitrary and corrupt practices of the judicial system, often avoided seeking legal solutions to evade unnecessary complications. Within these societal strata, the authority of neighborhood-based 'thieves', coming out of prison, gained popularity. They advocated for people to rely on them rather than the state's legal system when faced with injustice, resolving issues according to the 'right and wrong' principles defined by criminal concepts. In many cases, they effectively resolved everyday disputes, determining who was in the 'right' and who was in the 'wrong.' They punished

those who needlessly resorted to violence and intimidation, all the while insisting that people should follow criminal principles, ignore state laws, avoid working with authorities, and, most importantly, refrain from reporting the 'thieves' and 'good guys' to the police. By the 1960s and 1970s, the most condemnable action in everyday urban interactions was 'gorts tal' (to snitch).

*'Gorts tvogh[5]' (snitch)*

Mean.: *A person who contacts or cooperates with judicial authorities to provide information about crimes and individuals involved in criminal activities.*

Orig.: *It gained prominence in the 1960s when details about the Stalinist repressions came to light, revealing that a significant number of criminal cases were initiated based on secret accusations (донос[6]). As these accusations led to legal cases against individuals, those who provided these accusations came to be known as 'case givers.' There's a hypothesis that this term originated from the fact that the numbered folders containing a convict's criminal file had the word 'Case' printed on them.*

Hist.: *It is equivalent to the Russian word 'доносчик[7]'*

Alt. sense: *Not to be confused with 'stukach' who are representatives of the lower class of the criminal world.*

The collected data indicate that while this subculture may have had certain educational and socio-cultural limitations in the past, over the subsequent 40 years or more its influence has expanded to include public education and university student environments. In other words, this phenomenon has undergone a transformation and has extended beyond the realms of criminal or everyday neighborhood interactions to infiltrate various spheres and institutions of public life. This slang is noticeable and, to some extent, representative even within the ranks of law enforcement personnel, the state administration system, and even among members of the National Assembly.

The dictionary serves as a diagnostic tool for understanding the widespread and deeply ingrained nature of this pressing issue. It can be viewed as the first step in more extensive research into this worrying phenomenon on the road to the formulation of policies designed to address it effectively.

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5  Informant (derogative term). Literally translated as 'case giver,' in English also the term 'employer' is used. British alternatives would be 'grass'or 'rat' (although 'rat' – крыса – is used also in Russian and Armenian (կրիս) to denote an infiltrator) while USA ones would be 'stoolie' or 'stool pigeon'

6 донос (donos) (Russian) – the English equivalents may be 'squeal;' 'song'

7 доносчик (donoschik) (Russian) - snitch, informant, or squealer

## A Brief Summary

War is one of the most extreme types of human activity. The societal condemnation of killing is temporarily set aside. Soldiers are extended a right, more correctly a duty, to kill members of an out-group. The shocking feature of war, therefore, is that it is a legitimized act of collective killing. War is justified by 'great ideas'; it rebrands murder as virtuous. It is notable that war is widely used in the myths of identity formation. Many national identities link their origin with war. War destroys life, the environment, the past, present, and future. The lasting pain and trauma of war are intrinsically linked to this destruction of a person's world, both its external and internal (psychological) components.

Individuals experience war in different ways. The experience of those who were immersed in the war directly was finding oneself on the precipice between life and death. Those who have looked at it from a distance, from a position of one of the parties to the conflict, experience the war as a clash of interests of the parties to the conflict. Those who had children, relatives, or close associates directly immersed in the war had a very different experience from those who did not have loved ones in such a predicament. As a number of war anthropologists have noted, war affects and transforms society, which adapts to the war. Some societies adapt easily to going to war, while others, on the contrary, tend to resist it.

## The Firsthand Perspective

This research is an attempt to take an anthropological approach to studying the 44-day war in the Armenian reality. The main aim is to present the war from the perspective of the participants, both military and civilian. While political and intellectual elites tend to play a key role in shaping the perception of war, they generally do not take part in the war in person. The discourse they shape about the war often diverges from the view of the people who witnessed it firsthand, who had the most at stake, whose bodies experienced the war directly upon themselves. This research is an attempt to study and present the war through the stories of those participants. The study describes the impact of the war on people, and typical phenomena such as perceptions of heroism, patriotism, betrayal, life and death, images of the enemy and the self, the role of victory and defeat in making sense of and redefining identity, new technologies and human helplessness, experiences of fear and horror, the process of transformation caused by the war, and similar issues.

The main questions are: "How did the individual go through the war?", "What did he/she see during the war?", "How did what he/she saw affect him/her?", "What did the war change in the individual?", and "How did the individual try to rediscover and reinterpret their life after the war?".

The research was conducted by recording oral histories from Armenians in the time period of July 2021 to September 2021; 60 in-depth interviews were conducted, 45 with soldiers who participated in the war, and 15 with civilians. Military interviewees included conscripts, professional (contract) soldiers, reservists and volunteers. Civilian interviewees were selected among people who, in one way or another, felt the war very close to them, and went through the chaos of the war.

As a result of the research, based on the recorded oral histories, several topics emphasized by the participants of the war were singled out. They concern:

- the description of the war
- the army's image of itself
- feelings during the war and their moral and psychological dimensions

## The Description of the War

In the stories dedicated to the ***description of the war***, participants distinguish a number of features to characterize it. First of all, the attack launched by Azerbaijan is described by everyone as completely unexpected. Soldiers in the army understood that the situation was generally tense, and there could be clashes. However, many people were surprised by the inadequacy of the army's procedures aimed at predicting the war, developing resistance scenarios in the case of an enemy attack, and preparing the appropriate state of combat readiness.

> *We were not in the least bit informed. If only we had a slight idea that something like this could happen, at least we could have been better prepared to do something. At least on the frontline, we thought that the situation was normal, that's it, that there weren't going to be any problems. And especially in terms of all-out war, no one had any idea. None of us imagined that such a thing could happen...*
>
> *25-year-old male contract soldier[1]*

Another descriptor of the war in the participants' stories is a *lack of organization*. This concerns not only the overall disorganization of the army, but also disorganization among the high level commanders that affected the rank and file. Many combatants did not receive clear tasks, other than to fiercely counter the enemy's offensive actions and defend themselves.

The 44-day war is described as a battle of survival, both on a personal and group level.

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1 Age is done for the time of the interview

The main goal of many soldiers on the battlefield was not so much to solve a military problem, but simply to stay alive. In many descriptions, the war is interpreted as a situation in which the Azerbaijani side constantly kept the Armenian army under attack, while the Armenian soldiers were not particularly focused on accomplishing military objectives, but simply tried to defend themselves and stay alive.

A characteristic feature of this war is the *human vs. technology* confrontation and its imbalance.

> *That war did not last very long; it wasn't really very long at all. The 44 days, if you compare against world history, what other war lasted for only 44 days, if you think about it? But there has probably never been such a war before on the face of the earth, where only technology did the fighting. This was a new kind of war; it was a real 21st century war, where weapons did the fighting, not men.*
>
> **22-year-old male conscript**

This asymmetry gave rise to a sense of existential crisis, which on occasion manifested itself in feelings of nullification of the human factor, meaninglessness, and extreme powerlessness. This disproportionality sometimes caused fear and panic by triggering a perception of guaranteed death as the only possible outcome.

The war is also described as very intense. The Azerbaijani side kept an intensive schedule of bombing and offensive operations. The shelling and drone attacks were extremely intense.

> *Well, our task was to eliminate the enemy's drones and planes, but it didn't work. It was impossible, because so many shells were raining from the sky, you just couldn't. By the time you had it in the cross hairs, to shoot down the drone, it was too late... There were too many tanks, too many drones, too many shells. No one imagined it would be on such a large scale.*
>
> **21-year-old male conscript**

One of the characteristic features of this war is its *inhuman nature*. This statement is remarkable in that, although war itself is an anti-human act, it also has some perceptible limits of cruelty, which were severely violated during the 44-day war.

> *To tell the truth, we have seen war three times. This war was an unbelievable war. I can't call it a war; this was murder, simply murder. The meat grinder was set up; it chewed up everything. That's all, so many people perished in the meat grinder.*
>
> **61-year-old female military cook**

## The Army's Image of Itself

In the stories of almost all the participants, the Armenian conscripts are distinguished from contract, volunteer, and reserve soldiers. They are described as the most prepared and organized

fighters who were able to overcome the fears that arise during combat most successfully. They were brave, alert, and took on the main burden of resisting and fighting the enemy.

> *I, for example, did not imagine that our 18-year-old soldiers could be so much more mature than our, say, 30- or 40-year-old reservists and volunteers that they could be better and could fight against so many states and so many mercenaries for 44 days. I could not have imagined that so many things could be done, and using old weapons at that. Our enemy didn't use such weapons; they didn't even have such old weapons.*

> ***Middle-aged male volunteer soldier***

Contract servicemen were differentiated into two groups. The first group included those who happened to live in a settlement near a military unit, went to work there primarily as a means of employment, and did not have special professional or combat training. The second group includes soldiers with special military training and skills who played an important role during the war, significantly contributing to the combat effectiveness and defense of conscripts and the Armenian army in general.

> *Generally, the first thing that stood out was the forces, the conscripts, because they are only 18-, 19-, 20-year-old boys who, until the last moment, the last drop of blood, fought at their post and did not take a step back, not at all. The second was the officer corps. In addition to the commanders, there were contract soldiers who were really serving (<u>rather than marking time – note by an editor</u>). Among them as well, not a single person ran away. They basically fought like the conscripts and always told them: we are with you, we're not above you or anything like that, we're your equals, your brothers, everything. There were even times they said: we can even hear your thoughts, understand, for example we can see what to do and how to do it so that things are easier and more convenient for you.*

> ***20-year-old conscript, intelligence soldier***

Volunteers and reservists are described as the most vulnerable parts of the army. There were good things said about those volunteers who quickly mastered the use of different types of weapons, had a certain level of moral and psychological training, and were able to usefully participate in combat operations on the battlefield. A significant number of volunteers are also described negatively. They are mainly those who volunteered without having an adequate idea about the war and, appearing at the heart of the hostilities, panicked. This description is also often ascribed to many reservists.

While describing the Armenian army, respondents often compared it to the Azerbaijani army. In these comparisons, interviewees described the Armenian army as poorly-armed, technologically-behind and badly-organized.

One of the most negative aspects of the description of the Armenian army was the lack of a *system*. It is often said that, even though the Armenian army was poorly-armed and lagged

behind in terms of military equipment and management technologies, the soldiers, especially the conscripts, were good, with a high fighting spirit: smart, quick-witted, brave, and reliable fighters. That is, as individuals, soldiers were not inferior to the Azerbaijanis, but as an army, the Armenian forces were inferior. A common formulation was that "In the war, the Armenian soldiers were not defeated; the army was defeated," or "Although the Armenian army was defeated, the Armenian soldier was not."

> *People say that we were weak. But those people haven't served, nor do they really know… Those people who say that our army is weak, they are wrong. OK, now we have lost; we are weak. Back then as well, we were weak. Weak in the sense that there was no education, no processes, no adequate system, but as individuals we are not weak. We just need to create a system to unite those individuals. That's all.*
>
> **26-year-old male volunteer soldier**

Another narrative is that the army did not lose the war, the political elites did. The proponents of such an interpretation generally mean that the army fought above and beyond the limits of its strength. However, due to the incompetence of both past and present political authorities, the army lacked the necessary management standards, high-quality command staff, modern weapons and ammunition, and diplomatic support. The main reasons for the low combat effectiveness of the army and for the defeat are attributed to the disunity of political elites, the subordination of state and national interests to group and party interests, the spread of propaganda leading to disintegration within the army, etc.

## Emotions and Moral-Psychological Problems Related to the War

According to interviewees, the main emotion that the 44-Day War brought up was the fear of death. Obviously, fear is a typical phenomenon during war. The studies of military anthropology and psychology set out a number of mechanisms for overcoming fear. *Existential* and *professional* mechanisms for overcoming the fear of death are considered to be the most effective. Through an existential mechanism, ideas and values that help alleviate or minimize the feeling of fear are formed. Through the professional mechanism, the military's fighting capabilities are developed, which increases self-confidence and reduces fear.

The fear factor was especially great in cases where existential and professional mechanisms were weak in the military.

The immediacy and intensity of the feeling of death caused many soldiers to contemplate their own mortality, which is unnatural in youth, when death should seem far away. This experience of an existential crisis caused many people to change their attitude about life. Many say that they have come to love life more and to appreciate every moment of life. Attaching importance to life has affected the value perceptions of young people. Interviewees shared an awareness of prioritizing the human being as the main value.

This change in values has affected perceptions of war and peace. In their stories, many

interviewees mention the extreme importance of peace for themselves personally. The likelihood of war is seen as a new death threat directed specifically to their own lives.

The war also affected notions of patriotism. In the recorded stories, there are often discussions of the contradictory manifestations of patriotism in word and deed. The meaning of patriotism migrated from abstract ideas to serving the statehood, in particular the strengthening, development, and improvement of people's living conditions through the statehood.

> *I thought that patriotism was listening to songs. Yes, I mean seriously, studying poems by heart, reading books to know what happened in your history, and constantly saying that you are always ready. For me, patriotism now is to not litter, for example. For me, patriotism is not talking about Syunik when you're sitting in Yerevan. Once you've been to Syunik, then you can talk about it. For me, most of the time, it is not about talking big, but doing work.*
>
> **22-year-old female volunteer nurse**

> *I came back, and I got married a month later. Then my friend got married. Our marriage was not about holding a big wedding; I don't know what it was really... We have to stay here and make life attractive; people like us have to make it attractive.*
>
> **26-year-old male volunteer soldier**

Since they experienced the danger of death in the war and felt that all the responsibility for fighting has been left to their generation, many young people feel entitled *to take responsibility for the future of the statehood*. It is noteworthy that this awareness of responsibility is associated not with "toasting patriotism" but with a practical patriotism to treat the state with care and attention. In other words, **the young generation who participated in the war is transitioning from an abstract form of patriotism to *civic* patriotism**.

**Author:** Aghasi Tadevosyan

For many years, Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF), with the support of its donors, and in collaboration with a variety of partners and networks, has been engaged in advocacy work, aimed at influencing the policies of the Armenian government in the areas related to human rights and freedoms. This work has been based on thorough analysis and planning, as well as creative advocacy and flexibility. Apart from a thorough study of the need and developing evidence-based recommendations, a serious advocacy impact requires also communication skills to constructively engage with decision-makers, alongside a long-term perspective. It is thanks to this perspective (which its donors have given it over the years) that EPF is able to claim important results. Since acquiring significant locally-tailored advocacy experience, recently EPF has also been empowered to support and motivate its sub-grantees to use the same approach in their work; thereby expanding the culture of successful policy advocacy in Armenia. Below are examples of some of the notable advocacy processes that EPF and the civil society of Armenia have undertaken.

## Removing Discriminatory Provisions And Making Amendments To The Draft Law On Equality, (2015-2021)

The ban on discrimination is stipulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia as well as a number of legislative acts; such as the Labor Code, Law on Education, Criminal Code, etc. However, there is no law defining the notion of discrimination; types of discrimination and protected grounds, hence the right of an individual to be free from discrimination is not yet secured in practice. Existing legislative acts do not provide effective means for legal defense, nor do they provide mechanisms for effective protection against discrimination. In 2015, EPF conducted legal research entitled *Is it expedient to adopt a separate non-discrimination law?* which highlighted the need for adopting a stand-alone anti-discrimination law in Armenia. Based on this research, an agreement was reached with the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) to draft a new non-discrimination law. The adoption of comprehensive stand-alone anti-discrimination legislation has been prescribed as one of the specific conditions under the EU Direct Budget Support Agreement with Armenia. The Law on Equality combating discrimination was drafted by two independent experts and two representatives of the MoJ. Problematically enough, Article 6 of the draft law gave special status to the Armenian Apostolic Church. EPF and its partners' advocacy efforts resulted in the removal of the interpretative clause of the draft law which risked leading to restricted protection for certain minority groups, including women and LGBT persons. Since then, EPF has submitted several packages of recommendations primarily referring to definitions used in the draft law, including the concept of the burden of proof, limited protected grounds, an independent Equality Body, etc. While the Law is not yet adopted, advocacy efforts for improving the draft are ongoing.

## The Withdrawal Of A Discriminatory Draft Law On Freedom Of Conscience And Religious Organizations (2017)

The area of freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief is currently regulated by the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia in 1991. This Law has a number of deficiencies, contains numerous contradictions, and fails to comply with Armenia's international obligations. On June 1, 2017, the MoJ developed and circulated the draft Law on Making Amendments to the Law of the Republic of Armenia on the Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Organizations. The draft, however, included disappointing content suggesting a number of restrictive and discriminatory provisions. The draft suffered from unclear wording on several occasions, and showed a lack of understanding of human rights, the universe of religion, and the context of religious life. EPF approached the OSCE/ODIHR Senior Adviser on Freedom of Religion or Belief, who suggested that the Ombudsman of Armenia should officially apply to OSCE/ODIHR with a request to provide a review of the draft. Thanks to timely advocacy measures, the issue became widely known to local and international stakeholders, and a possible risk of passing the Law with no public discussions was prevented. The legal opinion of OSCE/ODIHR was delivered on October 16, 2017. As an outcome of the campaign, the draft Law was withdrawn from consideration.

## The Compulsory School Subject History Of The Armenian Apostolic Church Has Been Opted Out As A Result Of A New Government Decision (2020)

According to the Armenian Constitution, everyone shall have the right to education, and pursuant to the Law on Education, all schools in Armenia should be secular. However, a course called *The History of the Armenian Church* has been imposed on all children from primary school age. This course presents exclusively the history of the Armenian Apostolic Church (AAC). The course is approved by representatives of the clergy of AAC. AAC enjoys the right to participate in the development of the program and textbooks for the course, as well as to nominate and evaluate teachers. In practice, the entire teaching process of this course has been controlled by the Church. No alternatives were offered to students of other religious groups or atheists. Such children were also not allowed to skip these classes, they were required to perform religious rites in class or - as reported in the case of the Yezidi children in some schools - to stay in school corridors while others prayed in the classroom. Over the years, EPF and partners collected evidence that some teachers of this course displayed a negative attitude towards children from religious minorities. Throughout the years, EPF advocated to revise the teaching of *The History of the Armenian Church* compulsory school subject and to ensure that it is in line with the secular spirit of the Law on Education of Armenia. In 2020, Armenia's Ministry of Education circulated a draft regulation on New Standards for General Education, a public education system reform plan. According to the new standards, *The History of*

*the Armenian Church* is incorporated into *Armenian History* and a new subject called *Me and My Homeland*. Based on these new standards, the subject will be taught in the fifth and sixth years of school. The two new courses will cover Armenian history, culture, religion, geography, and more. Church history will be taught as a part of history classes in the seventh and eighth years of school.

## Removing Employment Restrictions For Religious Minorities In The Laws On Rescue Service, Penitentiary Service, Compulsory Enforcement Service And The Law On Public Service Of The Republic Of Armenia (2020)

The Constitution of Armenia states that everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and only allows restrictions on this right in order to protect state security, public order, health and morals, and/or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others. Also according to the Constitution, religious organizations enjoy legal equality and are vested with autonomy. Contrary to these rights and principles, the legislation still contains restrictions on the rights of religious minorities. Several laws restrict employment rights of members of religious minority groups. Using national and international platforms; such as the UN Universal Periodic Review, EU-Armenia Human Rights Dialogue, Human Rights Action Plan discussions, and direct communication with the Ministry of Justice, EPF advocated for the removal of the restrictions against followers of a religious organization (these restrictions do not apply to members of the Armenian Apostolic Church). As a result of EPF's recommendations as well as joint actions with partners, advocacy work, and consistency in focusing on freedom of religious belief issues, several laws containing discriminatory clauses - which were affecting employment rights of members of religious organizations - have been reworded. With the new wording, the Laws on Rescue Service, Penitentiary Service, Compulsory Enforcement Service, and on Public Service no longer prohibit the employment of members of religious organizations. This is a significant achievement in the fight against institutional discrimination in Armenia. Restrictions are still intact in the Laws on Service in the National Security Bodies and on Service in Police. However, on February 18, 2020, the Constitutional Court declared the religious ban for police officers unlawful and unconstitutional. EPF will be following the situation.

## Recommendations To The Law On Higher Education And Science Were Accepted To Empower Student Councils, As Well As To Allow A Non-Limited Number Of Such Bodies To Be Established At Higher Education Institutions (2021)

Intending to reform the management of education and science, in 2021 the Government presented the new draft Law on Higher Education and Science. EPF with the *Restart* student initiative prepared observations and recommendations to the draft. Their recommendations were discussed with several MPs, and were included in the draft prior to the second hearing at the National Assembly. The EPF/Restart amendments proposed to empower the Student Councils,

and to allow an unlimited number of them to be established at Higher Educational Institutions. The Law on Higher Education and Science has been passed including these recommendations.

## Mandatory Mediation Process For Family-Related Disputes, Development Of Referral Procedures, And Other Related Recommendations Have Been Included In The Draft Amendments To The Law On Mediation (2021)

In 2020 EPF conducted a study on arbitration and mediation, revealing the loopholes in legislation and practice of these activities. The expert team developed a number of recommendations aimed at improving the application of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. The study was presented to the decision-makers and, in discussions with the MoJ, some of its recommendations were included in the draft package of amendments to the Law on Mediation. Recommendations proposed by EPF and accepted included; the requirement of compulsory mediation in selected domestic disputes prior to application to the courts, selection of a mediator via electronic system by a judge, and giving honorarium to the mediator in all cases.

## Recommendations To The Law On Commercial Arbitration (2022)

In 2022, the draft law on amendments to the Law on Commercial Arbitration was circulated for public discussion. The draft law includes recommendations proposed by EPF, particularly to discuss a number of issues related to arbitration (such as releasing a judicial act enforcement decision and annulling the arbitration award) in one hearing, which will make the process more efficient.

# EPF GENDER POLICY

EPF is an organization of equal opportunities, and it pays special attention to gender equality and justice.

EPF's approach to gender issues is hinged on its approach to other social issue areas. EPF defines critical thinking as the ability to observe the distribution of power relations in the act of communication, that is, to analyze what goal the communicator is pursuing and what he/she wants to impel the perceiver to do.

In the same way, EPF views the whole sphere of public life as a diverse, balanced or unbalanced sphere of power relations. Cases of unbalanced power relations are often manifestations of some type of violence from one actor of society (individual, organization, limited or long-term institution, etc.) against another actor or actors. Balanced power relations are not merely those in which the cooperating actors equally share the "power", according to their own understanding, but also if, from the point of view of a third party, there is no exploitation in these relations, i.e. where the "agreement" of one of the actors with the given position, is not because of public or social (institutional) pressure and therefore is not a manifestation of structural violence in the course of life. In other words, if the cooperating actors have equal chances using the opportunities provided by society, and their freedom of choice has not been restricted either consciously or "unconsciously".

This approach not only allows one to "correct" the imbalances that currently exist in public relations (for example, giving people equal opportunities, regardless of gender or other characteristics), but also to profoundly re-evaluate the history of the past in order to properly formulate and implement current reforms. For example, the assumption that there are supposedly specific "occupations" of men and women is based on the distribution of power in past social relations, simply put, on the "map" of structural violence inherited from the past. In the past, there were "few" women writers, not because literary artistry was or is more "specific" to men than women, but because the socio-economic situation of societies did not allow women to find "time" (spare resources), to specialize in that occupation and receive public encouragement for doing that.

In the same way, political activity is not an area based on violence and coercion and "therefore" a "masculine" behavior par excellence: simply social division of duties did not allow women to be as active in that activity as men due to structural violence. As a result, this activity began to be considered "rough", "immoral", "offensive", etc.: traits that are also formulated as indications of "masculinity". Today's participants of politics in Scandinavian countries or the peaceful political movement in Belarus are examples of a policy in which women are equal, and where it is not necessary to have the above mentioned characteristics to participate in politics.

The same also applies to other gender stereotypes and prejudices. For example, the case of embarrassing men for engaging in allegedly "feminine" work (childcare or doing the laundry),

and depriving them of the opportunity to participate in such work through the combined means of public reproach and the structure of socio-economic relations, also falls in the same category.

EPF, obviously, does not disregard sexual difference between women and men and the social differences that result from it. But in all the above cases the social situations are not directly dependent on biological differences. If in the past people simply did not think about these issues due to economic hardship, in the present day there is simply no need to continue these practices anymore. Humans have already proved historically that they can and should "artificially" build their society and the future, regardless of their biological characteristics. For example, through the creation of artificial technologies humans can soar in the air, although they do not have wings.

Patterns of structural violence, as one can see, have given specific genders an advantage in engaging in a given activity, created obstacles to attempts of changing this situation and have predetermined the ethical-valued "coloring" of certain activities, for example: men should engage in politics and/or war because those are "not a women's job".

It is this socio-structural imbalance and the value mindset that EPF challenges in its work.

Addressing this issue brings a new perspective on history, according to which, for example, it is not simply that there were more male writers than there were female writers, but also that the unjust distribution of power and the social "trajectories" of structural exploitation have deprived us of the creations of female writers and of the ability of the entire literature to be completely different. Because if in the past female writers were the same in number (or more) as male writers, their work would have changed humanity's attitudes, influenced by fiction; moreover, influenced by the work of their fellow female writers, male writers would also have changed their styles and other features of their professional output.

This approach goes even deeper because, according to a saying attributed to Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Nazism destroyed thousands of Mozarts, that is, not only were there few female writers in the past centuries because of unjust socio-economic systems, but all genders, including a large number of male creative people, were not able to bring their talents to fruition because of socio-economic and political difficulties (first and foremost, a culture of widespread violence). Thus the phenomenon called "structural violence" determined the type of civilization we live in, including the behavioral culture of today's societies and the trajectories ("path dependency") of the political economy of today. Thus, addressing the gender issues, among alia, is, by nature, political and goes to the heart of the issues of fairness and human dignity as prerequisites for the development of the global human civilization.

And so today we must not only fight for gender equality, but also work on re-evaluation of what humanity and history would have been like if gender inequality had not been

there, and if power imbalances had not so deeply distorted the face of human history. And it is from the point of view of that re-evaluation that gender inequality is unjustified today. That re-evaluation requires not just upholding equality today, but "positive discrimination."

A question arises: imagine that in one case there are a hundred male writers, and fifty male and fifty female writers in another case. Isn't the variety of their outputs sufficient in both cases? In other words, is it not discriminatory to consider that one of the genders is so important that the absence of its voice has impoverished humanity's merits in the fields of beauty, production, development, and humanization? Naturally, the answer is no. Fifty male and fifty female writers, as well as the equal presence of all possible genders in any group, enabling people to express their views from different gender "angles", enriches diversity and hence also the merits and well-being of humanity. In the absence of diversity, truth suffers, as it is only accessible by gaining insight through the combination of multiple approaches.

And the many instances of encroachment on the truth that we are witnessing today in the digital age, in the conditions of the internet "post-truth" "pandemic", are also proof that defending the truth is difficult because there have been so many approaches that are missed in today's human "voice library," including class, racial, ethnic, cultural, gender, geographical, religious, linguistic and other varieties.

The time has come to restore the pluralism of humanity in all possible spheres. This will only help to establish the truth, and it is the best way to defend against encroachments on the truth.

There is one more "criticism" of gender equality policy. Its essence is that, since humanity is built on the notion of man as the dominant gender (patriarchy), women's active entry into the public sphere only strengthens its power-unjust, hierarchical, violence-based structures, since the structure, being perpetual, dictates the actor's behavior. Thus, female judges or teachers in Armenia have not changed the corrupt, ineffective nature of these institutions, and there are many women in the public sphere who express aggressive ideas and values.

It should be understood here that EPF does not consider, and there is no reason to believe, that women, as mothers, sisters, wives, bear more "humane" or "gentle" values than men. Equalizing the rights of females and other genders with that of males, the formation of pluralism, and freedom from discrimination will simply enrich the plethora of common approaches. The question is not what values "women in general" hold; the issue is that for centuries half of society has been deprived of power for public presence and equal participation in public activities. It is clear that lifting this ban will enrich society. The struggle for gender equality has been going on for a long time and is still going on. The appearance of "male nurses" alongside the "female nurses" was at the time a small revolution. Imagine how many new concepts and their corresponding phenomena would have developed if there had been no gender or other types of discrimination in societies. Sometimes it is helpful to look at humanity in such a **different** way (Lyotard's **The Differend** fits here too). For example, instead of rigid hierarchical systems, teamwork might have been more advanced. Instead of the concept of "leader", the concept of "facilitator" might have been more widespread; leadership and power might have been defined not as a rigid hierarchy based on the threat of violence, a top-down pyramidal system, but as

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responsibility, a bottom-up pyramid; the institution of the "Ministry of Development" might have been established in many countries sooner than it was; instead of corrupt judges, civil mediators – reputable people, whom parties address voluntarily to settle disputes amicably outside of the judiciary, could have played a much bigger role. There might be many social roles in the world which have not yet appeared or have already unjustifiably faded, and maybe many roles which exist wouldn't have existed – for example, the roles of "thief-in-law" or "kyartu". Let's think about what these new social roles, professions, social subjectivities should be as we are still going through the process of institutionalizing gender equality.

Let us end with a well-known story about the first female member of the US Supreme Court: the late Ruth Ginsburg.

"How many women do you think should be in the nine-member Supreme Court to be fair?" She was once asked.

"Nine," she replied, which aroused much surprise.

"There have been nine men for centuries, but that did not come as a surprise," Ruth said.

# EURASIA PARTNERSHIP FOUNDATION (EPF) CAPACITY STATEMENT

## About EPF

EPF's guiding **vision** is of a South Caucasus that is peaceful, conflict-free and cooperative with civically engaged citizens, socially responsible businesses, and sustainable, accountable and effective third sector organizations. Because our operating landscape is one of political unrest, military confrontation, economic crisis and limited regional cooperation, we must harness the potential of community activism and local philanthropy to make a contribution to peace- and confidence-building.

EPF's **mission** is to empower people to effect change for social justice and economic prosperity through hands-on programs, helping them to improve their communities and their own lives.

EPF has accumulated 25 years of experience in program implementation, grant making, and cooperation with Armenian civil society. EPF has shaped a unique portfolio of services to position itself as a 'think and do' tank with expertise lying in the nexus of project design and management, network building and consortium management, civil society capacity building, policy research and advocacy, alternative content development, critical thinking and peace building. EPF's **values and principles** include focus on human rights, gender, minorities and anti-corruption; cross-fertilization of programs; the slogan 'organizational development is fun and creative'; capitalizing on the opportunities; innovation and creativity; long-term focus for achieving sustainable impact; teaching via practice; and the motto 'apply your preaching to yourself.'

# EPF'S CAPACITIES

## Forming and managing consortia (partnerships)

EPF has a valuable experience establishing, leading and/or training multi-partner consortia for large-scale programs funded by major donors, such as USAID, EU, Sida. EPF can help with developing a pre-teaming agreement and/or memorandum of understanding that includes consortium guidelines, work principles, ethical rules, etc. directed towards strategic implementation of a joint program. EPF can assume the function of a consortium manager and/or build the capacity of the lead organization in the above-mentioned areas.

## Donor-funded large scale program management

Experienced in managing USAID- and EU-funded programs, EPF can help with (a) building annual work plans and management documents, such as ME, report formats, grant management systems

and procedures, grant announcement, justification memoranda, grant agreements, service contracts, as well as (b) programmatic and financial management of programs and sub-grants, including donor visibility and communication guidelines.

## Grant-making

One of the major tools that EPF has used over the years to provide support to CSOs is grant-making. EPF has a comprehensive approach to - and extensive experience in - grant making, and includes grant-making in most of its projects and work directions. In addition to grants selection, distribution, evaluation, and oversight, EPF builds the institutional capacity and internal controls of its sub-grantees. Prior to grant implementation, EPF staff work jointly (co-creation) with grantees on project design, implementation schedules, evaluation processes, and risk mitigation. Afterward, EPF program officers guide and coach partners further through the grants implementation process. EPF accompanies the implementation of its sub-grantee projects to enhance their quality, and at the same time, EPF maintains the line of not intervening in the creativity of the grant recipients. EPF calls it the *accompaniment* of the grantees. EPF employs a unique proprietary grants management system, which allows for strict fiscal oversight of grant recipients. EPF's accounting practices comply with the highest international standards. In its grant-making, EPF adheres to the human rights-based approach, trying to promote inclusion and participation at all levels. Thanks to its well-established procedures and experience, EPF has earned a reputation throughout the South Caucasus for administering efficient, results-oriented grants.

Over 25 years of its operation, EPF and its predecessor, the Representative Office of the Eurasia Foundation have allocated around $30 million in grants in Armenia. The majority of this money came from USAID; a number of other donors also entrusted EPF with grants and program management. The list of donors includes SIDA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, United Kingdom, the EU, and others. In 2008-2019, EPF awarded around 400 grants totaling $8.5 million.

One reason that donors entrust their grants management to EPF is that the EPF has earned a strong reputation as a neutral actor in a field where polarized issues tend to pull stakeholders apart. EPF is recognized by state and non-state actors as an honest facilitator in dialogue mechanics. This reputation allows EPF to bring various stakeholders together, ultimately having a greater impact, and to conduct work without the risk of conflict of interest. The rigorous grants selection process and management systems are critical to this perceived neutrality.

Usually, EPF provides grants for civil society development, local governance, human rights, anti-corruption, conflict transformation, media development, and youth. EPF's grants program has proven to be an effective means to spur innovation; and to support new and experimental pilot projects, or projects whose need is time-sensitive. This approach helps EPF stay in touch with the needs on the ground, and helps small, grass-roots organizations to address the salient needs of their communities which are often ignored by larger donors.

EPF provides various types of grants: open door grants based on open competition procedures; targeted (thematic) grants; invited grants; and grants to individuals and unregistered groups. EPF has procedures for allocation of grants to organizations, individuals and groups (consortia), non-profits and, in some cases (such as the media) for-profits, based in Armenia or elsewhere.

## Policy advocacy and influence on legislation

For many years, EPF, with the support of its donors, and in collaboration with a variety of partners and networks, has been engaged in advocacy work, aimed at influencing the policies of the Armenian government in the areas related to human rights and freedoms. This work has been based on thorough analysis and planning, as well as creative advocacy and flexibility. Apart from a thorough study of the need and developing evidence-based recommendations, a serious advocacy impact requires also communication skills to constructively engage with decision-makers, alongside a long-term perspective. It is thanks to this perspective (which its donors have given it over the years) that EPF is able to claim important results. Since acquiring significant locally-tailored advocacy experience, recently EPF has also been empowered to support and motivate its sub-grantees to use the same approach in their work; thereby expanding the culture of successful policy advocacy in Armenia. Below are the examples of some of the notable advocacy processes that EPF and the civil society of Armenia have recently undertaken:

- Removing discriminatory provisions and making amendments to the draft Law on Equality, 2015-2021;

- Withdrawal of a discriminatory draft Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations (2017);

- The compulsory school subject History of the Armenian Apostolic Church has been opted out as a result of a new government decision (2020);

- Removing employment restrictions for religious minorities in the Laws on Rescue Service, Penitentiary Service, Compulsory Enforcement Service and the Law on Public Service of the Republic of Armenia (2020);

- Recommendations to the Law on Commercial Arbitration (2022);

- Mandatory mediation process for family-related disputes, development of referral procedures, and other related recommendations have been included in the draft amendments to the Law on Mediation (2021);

- Recommendations to the Law on Higher Education and Science were accepted to empower Student Councils, as well as to allow a non-limited number of such bodies to be established at Higher Education Institutions (2021); etc.

EPF has built strong constituencies who engage in policy advocacy, including the religious communities' network - a unique one in Armenia, the anti-discrimination legislation network, and the judicial reform network. EPF is also engaged in public councils adjacent to the Police, Ministry of Justice, working group of the Council of Women's Affairs with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, working group on Combating Hate Speech established by the Standing Committee on Human Rights Protection and Public Affairs of the National Assembly. In this

and other work with government, EPF advises the government agencies on how to make these councils more productive and effective. EPF also has a special consultative status with the United Nations ECOSOC.

Through its Data for Accountable and Transparent Action program co-created with USAID, EPF has developed tools, media products and methods for Policy engagement of CSOs, has built the capacities of CSOs to implement policy research and recommend improvements in the areas of Mental Health, Labor Rights, State Procurement, Human Security and Social-Environmental LG strategies.

EPF's proprietary methodology of coalition-led advocacy includes facilitation of the engagement of multiple organizations with specific skill sets: grass-roots, academia, think tanks, media/communication entities, businesses, etc.; enhancing their skills through training and project implementation *accompaniment* based on their functions and needs; facilitating the policy engagement work based on evidence-based research and policy paper development; and building the capacity of CSOs to network, communicate and advocate policy recommendations to stakeholders.

## Networks, contacts and high quality research

EPF has developed a proprietary database with more than 10,000 contacts of Armenia-based and international CSOs, experts, development consultancies, researchers, think tanks, and policy-makers with whom it has worked in recent years. This set of active contacts and contact-management methodology allow EPF to find needed high quality experts or potential partners, both locally and internationally, relatively easily.

EPF pays special attention to collecting evidence for its policy advocacy work. EPF is specialized in both commissioning out and implementing qualitative research of highest quality. EPF has special quality assurance procedures to deliver credible and useful research results. EPF's papers influence public policy, become recommendations included in draft laws and influence Armenia's international obligations. The recent research topics include: the problem of early marriages and access to education of Yezidi children; CSO capacity assessment for working on migration issues; Armenia's implementation of concluding observations on the Rights of the Child; on the Rights of Women; and Social and Economic and Cultural Rights; COVID-19-related vulnerabilities among migrants in Armenia; human security issues; study on the implementation status of the revised European Social Charter by Armenia; successful business responses to the crises (COVID-19 and the 2020 war); gaps in state-level medical services for people with disabilities; current needs of CSOs, the population's and state employee's perceptions of civil society; reflections of the war participants; etc.

## Institutional strengthening of implementing partners

EPF supports civil society organizations (CSOs), initiative groups and individuals engaged in them seeking to strengthen their competencies, build organizational sustainability and set new standards for organizational excellence. EPF strives to continuously improve the services

it provides to organizations and individuals, and incorporates new practices and innovation in the process of consultancy. EPF strengthens the capacities of CSOs in management and governance, strategy development, organizational accountability and transparency, policies and procedures, planning financial sustainability of the organization, budgeting, fundraising, financial management, grant management, human resource management, program design and management, financial planning, funding application development and submission, consortium management, proposal writing, communication and public relations (external communication, public relations materials, electronic tools, etc.).

## The InfoTun Network

In 2011, within the framework of the USAID-supported "Alternative Resources in Media" project, EPF, in cooperation with the members of a consortium led by Media Initiatives Center, established a network of regional information hubs (InfoTuns) to promote internet and media literacy in the regions of Armenia. One of the main features of the InfoTun model, which ensured its sustainability and effectiveness over time, was the establishment of these hubs adjunct to the existing strong local CSOs. Throughout the 10 years of its operation, the InfoTun Network that currently covers every region of Armenia (there are 10 InfoTuns, one in each of the regions) has organized and hosted more than one thousand events. The work with the InfoTun Network allows EPF essentially to cover the entirety of Armenia with any activity that requires full country coverage. If a project has a significant success worth replicating, it can be replicated and adopted by other InfoTuns. InfoTuns are recognized hubs of local expertise, extensively used by local and international development actors which need access to the regions of Armenia.

The InfoTun Network has developed and applied various tools and methods to organize and promote non-formal education, public participation, community mobilization, monitoring and evaluation of reforms and institutions, as well as research and analyze policies at the central and local levels. The past decade of the InfoTun Network operation illustrates that InfoTuns are equally effective as individual hubs acting at the regional or community level and as a network of local actors with unified methodologies and approaches that are based on universal values, such as respect to human rights, promotion of democracy, intolerance towards corruption and violence, as well as on extending the understanding of the public good and the rights of an individual in its context. Since 2020, EPF has been implementing its Civil Society Support project funded by Sida. This project signified a new phase for the InfoTun Network development with coverage of new sectors and topics, such as anti-plagiarism, conflict of interest, urban development, anti-discrimination and others. There are many significant outcomes and achievements that EPF will capitalize on with the InfoTun Network to boost progress and development in the localities of Armenia in the spheres of social protection, human rights, anti-corruption, civic education, community development, participatory democracy and civic journalism.

## Communication and outreach training

Under CSO DePo program (2014-2019), EPF has provided training on external communication to 320 organizations, and advised on their internet presence. EPF created and maintains the

DePo Portal where CSOs display their profile, learn CSO news, see opportunities, and connect with each other. Since its inception in 2015, it has an average of 4,000 monthly visitors. EPF also provided CSOs with media literacy skills to orientate in information and avoid fake-news (see above the information on the work of InfoTuns and below - on Jam Sessions). EPF also worked on improving society-CSO communication via engaging media as intermediaries, to make the CSO work more understandable to the media and therefore to the public. In 2014-2021, 23 instances of media-CSO cooperation took place, and 120 films and other media stories were produced about CSO work. EPF also works as an intermediary-facilitator of CSO-government and CSO-business dialogues, supporting CSO efforts to reach the government and businesses. EPF also recently developed the communication strategy of the Constitutional Court of Armenia to increase its outreach and public trust.

## Tools and methodology development

To ensure the sustainability of projects and activities, EPF develops tools and methods that can be applied by beneficiaries continuously. Examples include an *advocacy tool* for designing and implementing advocacy activities; the Capacity Enhancement Tool (CET) for CSO institutional capacity assessment and improvement; and the Systemic Thought Activity (MSTA) for effective organization of collective thought and identification of out of the box solutions to complex issues. The Municipal Capacity Enhancement Tool (MCET) to improve the functioning of the Local Government is another proprietary instrument developed by EPF and successfully piloted in some consolidating communities; this tool allows for the planners to see the gaps in their LG capacities and plan actions to fill these gaps. EPF adjusted the *Positive Youth Development (PYD)* methodology to Armenia's realities (including the translation of *Youth Programs Assessment Toolkit (YPAT)* – a tool that helps organizations measure the implementation of youth programs' effectiveness and identify areas that need strengthening or further development) for developing meaningful youth engagement and self-actualization. A *Problem Identification Checklist* helps CSOs research and validate the reform subject. A recent addition to this set of tools is *The gender mainstreaming in the policy processes* tool for facilitators.

## Formal education

While a lion's share of EPF's entire work can be characterized as non-formal education, based on EPF's methodology (see the link to EPF's Education and Learning strategic document), EPF has also worked on formal education, e.g. supported the piloting of nonprofit management course with AUA. Through its current Student Democracy Now program, funded by the EU, EPF promotes the establishment of various types of student unions ensuring involvement of students of various social backgrounds to educate them on students' rights protection. EPF also developed the methodology for the National Assembly Education Center. EPF can further work with schools and HEIs to support the mainstreaming of social inclusion and other priorities of the Call in their programs, as a way to ensure the sustainability of the outputs. This is particularly important given the Armenian governments' priority of reforming the educational system and making it competence-oriented; civic competences in this new system play a key role.

## Mardamej social innovation camps

EPF has developed a specific proprietary format aimed at boosting the creativity of young people in Armenia while addressing the issues of public interest or concern. The Mardamej Social Innovation Camp (Mardamej) is a format designed specifically to promote the development and implementation of innovative projects with social impact tailored to the needs of the regions of Armenia. It was first held in 2014, and it has been organized every year since; with 650 young people participating in total from all regions of Armenia. At Mardamej, young people learn to be creative, cooperate with each other in their regions as well as across the country, pitch their development projects, and implement the winning ones. Thanks to this process, many young people have entered the field of public participation, and have been empowered to become leaders in their communities and beyond. EPF and invited donors together supported 40 projects developed at Mardamej events. The projects addressed issues of local governance, human rights, social services, anticorruption, transparency and accountability, media literacy and critical thinking. EPF plans to continue organizing Mardamej at least once a year in the period 2023-2027.

## Conflict Transformation School (CTS) and Critical Thinking School (CrTS)

EPF has developed a specific proprietary methodology to enhance the skills of civil society members, particularly youth, in conflict transformation and critical thinking. CrTS and CTS are very close in their methodologies. More than 700 participants from Armenia and Nagorny Karabakh have attended these two types of schools starting from 2012. When appropriate, EPF, in cooperation with partners from Georgia and Azerbaijan, conducts CTS for mixed groups of young Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians. EPF plans to hold at least one CTS and one CrTS every year in the years 2023-2027.

Conflict Transformation School (CTS). Civil society peacebuilding and conflict transformation approaches constitute the *forte* of EPF and one of the methodological pillars on which a major part of its work is based. The CTS approach is based on citizen peacebuilding: it paves the way for civil society actors from different sides of the conflict to build trust using critical thinking skills and accumulating experience via joint undertakings. EPF runs CTS for a variety of actors, from civil society representatives, media, youth, and international organizations' personnel to state employees, both Armenia-based as well as international. The CTS is not a traditional educational institution but rather a coherent, continuous and methodologically determined peacebuilding learning and sharing process. EPF sees the CTS as a sustainable platform to support the new generation of civil society peacebuilders to access alternative sources and counterbalance mainstream propaganda with critical thinking skills.

The CTS' methodology is based on an assumption that critical thinking and rationality are the basis for a dialogue, and that the best mutually beneficial solution to the conflict will come when both sides accept that the truth is born from a constructive dialogue between the two, and that it is not fully owned by either of them.

Critical Thinking School (CrTS). Since 2017, EPF, in cooperation with Media Initiatives Center, within the framework of the 'Media for Informed Civic Engagement' (MICE) and PeaCE

programmes, commenced the Critical Thinking School. The participant to the CrTS develop critical thinking skills and competencies, engaging heavily in text analysis, data verification, discerning fake news and disinformation, as well as dismantling propaganda messages. The purpose of CrTS is for the beneficiaries to become more conscious and literate media users and producers, and learn to recognize the propaganda and manipulation tricks and their impact on the audience. During 2017-2019, EPF held CrTS for about 120 participants from Yerevan, the regions of Armenia and Nagorny Karabakh. EPF developed the first edition of its Critical Thinking Handbook (2018, second print run 2021), the only handbook that exists in Armenian on critical thinking. EPF plans to expand this edition and develop the second volume, as well as develop a handbook for CTS and CrTS trainers/facilitators.

## YouthBank

The youth civic engagement and leadership program called YouthBank (YB) helps youth to positively participate in community improvement. The YB employs a unique, participatory learning model designed to involve young people in civic and community activism. The YB Armenia is part of YouthBank International Network operating in 27 countries worldwide and applying similar methodology of youth-led participatory grant-making. All YBs follow the *Golden Rules* of equal and inclusive participation. Over the last 15 years, EPF's YB methodology promoted community participation and volunteerism, conflict transformation, cross-cultural, entrepreneurship and business skills development, environmental awareness, human rights and other themes related to building local democracy mechanisms and capacity. YB is also a personal development program that builds young people's self-esteem and confidence, YB initiates a big number of volunteer and charity actions and projects in the targeted communities. YB participants indicate that their engagement in the YB program has a positive impact on their employability. EPF implemented the YB program in all 10 marzes of Armenia.

## Creative games

The Methodology of Systemic Thought Activity (MSTA) and its application in the format of Creative Games are an innovative tool for strategic planning, community resource and needs visualization, mapping, and planning. The MSTA is a combination of several methodological tools aimed at effective organization of collective thinking and finding out-of-the-box, often breakthrough solutions to complex issues. The rationale behind the method is the 'unpacking' of the mind and getting rid of 'snail-paced' thinking and 'tunnel vision,' which hamper human creativity to a great extent. The application of MSTA mechanisms builds the screen of collective thinking and develops a group vocabulary that allows participants to be on the same page while speaking about this or that notion and process. The collective thinking screen also secures the flow of thinking from abusive interferences, since the flow is visible for the whole group, and any idea can be caught, developed, used or criticized by each member of the group. Please see the brochure here.

## EPF University

Education and learning are the primary areas that need improvement and development in Armenia. EPF has been producing video presentations (called 'Jam Sessions') and off-line publications under the heading 'EPF University.' EPF has worked on and explored specific topics that have not been much articulated or debated in Armenia including research on such values as democracy in Armenian literature; the roots of violence in Armenia; expressions of tolerance and intolerance in literature and education; a study of 20th century Armenia with special emphasis on the impact of Soviet times on today's Armenia and alternative history education; the concept of power and its various manifestations. EPF has developed several practical manuals on conflict reporting by media, critical thinking, Armenia and the European Union, democracy and human rights, gender, various aspects of judicial reform, religious tolerance, etc. These publications are disseminated in online and print versions. They are available on EPF's on-line resource platforms such as CSO Depo portal and EPF's website which have a unique archive that stores numerous lectures, publications, research papers, books and articles. They are also disseminated via international publication networks, such as academia.edu and goodreads. In Armenia, these videos and publications are disseminated widely among the public, as well as educational and research institutions, libraries, CSOs, governmental, international and other organizations. They are also used by EPF as well as others in trainings, strategic discussions, and other knowledge-relevant activities. These materials are intended to provide civil society with a deeper level of knowledge on the topics that are important for it to function successfully. The need for such materials is determined by the fact that most of the time these issues are not discussed at the sufficient depth in either formal education institutions or outside of them, whereas the capacity to orientate in these issues determines the success of concrete undertakings and projects of civil society.

"EPF University" covers four large thematic directions: Critical Thinking; War and Peace; Civil Society; Education, methodology of history, culture and values

## Other resources

- EPF has <u>conference facilities</u> consisting of three rooms – conference room, small meeting room and an open space area. The conference room is equipped with state-of-the-art communication and presentation facilities, which makes it suitable for holding conferences and workshops, online conferences, hybrid events, media events and video-recorded focus-group discussions. The room comfortably accommodates up to 50 participants in a 'theater' setup and up to 30 participants in a 'U-shape' format.

- EPF has also developed a 'Publishing algorithm,' a unique guide in Armenian to guide beneficiaries on the process of preparing documents for publication, and can train them on that.

- EPF has a developed methodology of engaging interns and fellows, both from Armenia and internationally, and providing them with a learning environment to enhance their skills, as well as contribute to EPF's activities.

# FOUR STORIES ABOUT POWER

**Authors:** Naira Mkrtchyan, Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan, Varser Karapetyan, Armen Grigoryan

The collection was compiled by Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF) within the framework of the "Support to Judicial Reform" program. The project is implemented by EPF in cooperation with Helsinki Association NGO and Human Rights Power NGO. The book examines the nature and development of power, the process of developing ideas about state power, transitioning from the idea of exercising power over human to human rights-based modern governance models. The issues discussed include the concept and features of the state, the principles of organization and activity of the state system, the sources of law and the issues of legal responsibility and the fairness of the public-state order. Each article outlines various manifestations and types of power. The content of the articles and the views expressed are those of the authors and may not necessarily reflect the views of Eurasia Partnership Foundation, the Helsinki Association NGO or Human Rights Power NGO.

## Abstracts

### Human Coexistence, Justice, Power or How to (Re)solve the Paradox of Existence

**Author:** Naira Mkrtchyan

The article raises the fundamental issue of the possibility of human coexistence, thematizing it in close relation with the phenomena of power and justice. The focus of the examination is the public-state order. Starting with the point of view of the prominent representatives of socio-political thought, Aristotle and T. Hobbes, and bringing to the fore a number of modern theoretical developments, the article aims to show the constructive and destructive tendencies inherent in human coexistence, and as a consequence its danger and vulnerability (that is: the paradox of human coexistence) which in the best way are (re)solved in that public-state order which is historically and traditionally deemed to be more progressive and demanding of qualitatively different characteristics, commitments and capacities from human beings, presuposing a certain, fair construction of a public-state order.

**Keywords:** *Justice, public order, Aristotle, Rawls, Arendt, Derrida, state, human coexistence, violence, public-state order.*

## Power

**Author:** Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan

The text is based on the transcript of a video presentation entitled "Power". An attempt is made to survey the manifestations of power and the problems related to them. Reference is made to the concept of "power", the pyramid system of power, power's various manifestations, approaches to it, international relations, "security dilemma", etc. Various types of power are presented, from the ones based on violence and coercion to the more participatory types. John Locke and Thomas Hobbes established the two main opposing approaches to power, which we are still guided by. Hobbes notes that everyone is obliged to obey the state and the law, regardless of whether the law is right or not. Locke considers the state-society relationship within the framework of a social contract, when the parties agree on what the law is, how power is formed, and so on. The modern system of power, developed on the basis of democracy and infrastructural power, is a most complex one. It contains all kinds of manifestations of power at different levels. Some institutions work on the round table principle, some on a pyramid principle, some by duplicating the principle of state power on a smaller scale, by referendum, etc. Due to its complexity, this system is flexible and adaptable. That is why it is very difficult to destroy it. We are immersed in power all day, we make decisions, we negotiate with powers, with our own power and that of others, with state and social power – the power which 'oppresses' our freedoms and imposes taboos. The usual description of power is largely limited to either representing it as a pyramid, or a junta, or as a democracy, etc., without explaining the semantic connections between them, transformation of one type of power to the other. But in this text a paradigmatic, abstract-ideal, and, in a sense, an ontological image of "power" is set out. The concept of social construction of reality creates new opportunities to comprehend the essence of power. Concepts like "structural power" and "structural violence" are explained.

**Keywords:** *power, willpower, will, freedom, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Michel Foucault, power, pouvoir, violence, violent, force, security dilemma, international relations, Gulag, democracy, legitimacy, rebellion, pyramid, legalism/legism, junta, infrastructural power, transparency, adaptation, decision making, soft power, influence, coercion, order, negotiation, international relations, recognition, non-recognized states, social construct of reality, human rights, rights-based approach, liberalism, systemic thought activity, structural power, structural violence.*

## What is Obligatory to Know about the Legislative System of Armenia?

**Author:** Varser Karapetyan

Without civil society and the legally literate and demanding individuals who are a part of it, it is impossible to ensure the rule of law, the further establishment of a rule of law-based state and the strengthening of democracy. The purpose of the article is, by analysing the

legal-constitutional experience of Armenia over the last 30 years, to present issues concerning the forms of states and the types of state authorities. The article also deals with legal acts and their types and, in particular, issues related to public discussions of draft legislative acts. Consideration is given to violations and legal liability, with the aim of presenting clearly and accessibly as possible issues which often seem complicated, such as, for example, certain types of violations and the characteristic features of each of them. This section concludes with a brief description of the procedure and cases of providing free legal aid, and provides practical information.

**Key words:** *Armenia, state apparatus, state power, constitution, governance, authorities, court, norms of law, sources of law, legal system, offense, legal responsibility, civil society, participation.*

## State Power and Governance Models in the Context of the Political Evolution of the Visegrad Countries

**Author:** Armen Grigoryan

This study briefly presents the origins of the idea of separation of powers into executive, legislative and judicial branches, and the checks and balances system. An introduction to presidential and parliamentary systems follows. The models which emerged as outcomes of democratisation and transition experience of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia are presented, with attention to the regime types, preconditions for democratization and the modes of transition as possible determinants. The study also includes a concise review of the role of local government bodies, civil society, media and corporations.

**Keywords:** *Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czechoslovakia, division of powers, Montesquieu, democratization, system of governance, local government, civil society, mass media, business power.*

# CULTURE OF VIOLENCE IN ARMENIA

**Authors:** Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan, Gayane Hovakimyan, Hayk Smbatyan, Davit Petrosyan

This collection of studies examines the roots of violence in the Armenian reality, focusing specifically on the origins of criminal culture, manifestations of violence in school, army and family. The book analyzes the connection between violence and criminal morals, language and behavior, and reveals the nexus between poverty and domestic violence. Each article outlines policy steps, policy proposals for all the stakeholders ranging from government to individual.

The publication is intended for decision-makers, policymakers, scholars, as well as general reader.

## Abstracts

### The Influence of Criminal Habits, Language and Behavior on the Manifestation of Violence in Social Relations

**Author:** Gayane Hovakimyan

The aim of the research is to study the connection and impact of various elements and means of influence of criminal subculture on the formation, manifestation and spread of violence in social relations, within the framework of social institutions and groups.

The study includes an analysis of historiographical, fictional, archival and written materials, including studies of previously unexplored experiences, as well as summaries of expert sources, oral histories and summaries of interviews with those who bore them.

As a final result of the research, a guide was developed with proposals for institutional and long-term public policy solutions, which is aimed at establishing non-violent social relations and ensuring more effective operation of social institutions.

### Causes of Violence and Prevention Mechanisms in the Field of Secondary Education in the Republic of Armenia

**Author:** Hayk Smbatyan

The research attempts to identify the causes of violence in the field of secondary education, the forms of its manifestation, the subjects and objects of violence, as well as the consequences and mechanisms of prevention. The research was conducted using the "grounded theory"

methodology. The methodology, through a small number of in-depth interviews, gives an opportunity to get a broad picture of the process of manifestation of school violence, its elements and key actors. Using in-depth interviews with seven pupils in Yerevan secondary schools, the study analyzes the specifics of the school violence through the eyes of pupils.

## Analysis of Existing Criminal Morals and Behavioral Models in the RA Armed Forces

**Authors:** Davit Petrosyan, Yuri Avagyan

The study attempts to reveal the manifestations of interpersonal violent relations in the RA Armed Forces, the main causes of violence, as well as its consequences and opportunities for prevention. The research was carried out through focus group discussions and individual interviews with teenagers and youths who were about to be conscripted, as well as demobilized youths and former officers. The discussions with these 3 groups gave an opportunity to form a picture of the type of informal relations in the army life and the causes of violence in soldier-soldier and soldier-officer relations.

## The Link Between Poverty and Domestic Violence: How Does Poverty Affect the Occurrence and Manifestation of Domestic Violence?

**Author:** Shushanik Khurshudyan

The study looks at the link between domestic violence and poverty, whether or not they are interrelated, and discusses the poverty-violence linkage chain. Violence in the family is the manifestation of power and assertion of control by the perpetrator of violence. Domestic violence, being a violation of human rights and freedoms, is also an obstacle to the exercise of other fundamental rights and freedoms. Through studying the specifics of domestic violence it is revealed that the impact of the poverty factor may to some extent be reflected in a family already experiencing violence, affecting the type of manifestation or escalation of violence, but not the actual use of violence. Those who are poverty-stricken and lack opportunities are more vulnerable to violence. There is no clear causal link in the sense that poverty is automatically the cause of violence. However, there are many situations where the poverty factor increases the likelihood of violence. Moreover, in an environment of violence, as a rule, the problem of poverty exists. The impact of violence on poverty in deepening poverty creates a culture of violence and a simultaneous need to address poverty through a systematic strategy.

# MANIFESTATIONS OF TOLERANCE
# AND INTOLERANCE IN ARMENIAN LITERATURE

**Authors:** Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan, Anush Margaryan, Hayk Hambardzumyan, Mher Komunts

The studies titled "Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Armenian Literature" aim to examine the roots of tolerance and intolerance and their manifestations in Armenian language texts passed on from generation to generation, as well as to present this through an academic and popular approach, and attempt to foster a meaningful debate on these issues. The studies include Armenian medieval sagas, the classic prose of the 19th and 20th centuries along with the literature of the Diaspora, the prose of post-Soviet Armenia as well as textbooks. The book essentially provides a guided tour through the whole body of Armenian literature which, in turn, provides a particular pleasure to the reader and presents a condensed image of the tendencies for development in Armenian literature. This collection is intended for a broad range of readers and can be used as an educational manual.

## Abstracts

## (In)Tolerance in Armenian Literature: Brief Reflections

**Authors:** Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan, EPF Chief Executive Officer, Anush Margaryan, EPF Project Manager

The authors examine various aspects of the Eurasia Partnership Foundation's (EPF) idea of conducting studies entitled "Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Armenian Literature," noting the uniqueness of the project and distinguishing several revelations of the content in some of the studies. The studies and their in-depth analysis have produced results similar to a thesaurus and word map for the term "tolerance" and its application. The stages have been presented for the formation of tolerance or intolerance in both the individual and society as a whole. The thesis has been confirmed that modern tolerance is a relatively young value – it has taken shape during the stage of human history when the number of people with equal rights has increased in society.

The authors are convinced that this collection of articles provides a unique opportunity for in-depth discussions on the fundamental value of "tolerance" with representatives of human rights, education, politics, culture, and other sectors, from the point of view of its correct perception and reinterpretation in Armenia. A recommendation that has been noted is that the studies could be particularly useful in educational processes.

**Keywords:** *(in)tolerance, old, new and modern Armenian literature, (in)tolerance and textbooks, the right to differ; collaboration*

# Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance Towards the Enemy in Armenian Medieval Sagas and the Epic "The Daredevils of Sassun"

**Author:** Hayk Hambardzumyan, cand. phil. sciences, associate professor

The concept of tolerance in today's sociological sense of the term, as an expression of respect or patience towards those belonging to other ethnic or religious groups, holding differing viewpoints, maintaining different lifestyles, behaviors and traditions, was not as common to the feudal environment of the Middle Ages, because the medieval world was led not by a moral or ethical individual or societal code but rather by the principle of belonging to a clan or class, and the norms of obligation and service.

The concepts of tolerance and intolerance towards other nations, cultures or other differences arise in much later periods. However, based on a comparative study of Medieval Armenian and European folk sagas and epics, one can state that the seeds of these concepts or their initial manifestations were seen in the medieval code of chivalry, and partly with the knightly sagas and medieval epics and folk tales that are related to them.

In the pages of Armenian medieval literature, the sagas of the "Persian War" and "Taron's War" as well as the "Daredevils of Sassun" national epic display unique manifestations of the literary motifs of tolerance and intolerance towards enemies or foreigners.

These motifs have traditionally been seen and interpreted in the national-ideological context, without studying the actual material of the epic—the tales told in traditional dialects—and the genre-specific characteristics of the sagas. Based on specific stereotypes of the Soviet-era analysis of epics, only those motifs from the sagas and "Daredevils of Sassun" have been highlighted that correspond to the self-perception of the Armenian people as a fair, esteemed, magnanimous, calm people who do not seek new conquests and wage wars only in self-defense. Little attention has been paid to those motifs in the epics and the characteristics of the medieval environment in which they circulated what would be considered cruel examples of intolerant behavior based on the moral standards of today.

Naturally, these features are characteristic of our heroes and, in some cases, are novelties in comparison with the other epics, but isolating them and presenting them out of context, or attempting to modernize them, would create a defective image of epics and sagas, lending cause to the perceived haughtiness and exclusivity in the self-perception of the nation.

We have examined tolerance and intolerance, based on the reasons that motivate them, in the context of the medieval code of chivalry, considering the specific characteristics of our national behaviors, religious and ethnic intolerance, the love of clan-based or national honor and vengefulness.

**Keywords:** *national/religious (in)tolerance, medieval Armenian sagas, epics, "Persian War", "Taron's War", "Daredevils of Sassun", code of chivalry, clan honor, vengefulness, Soviet epic studies, David of Sassun, Mushegh Mamikonyan, Vahan the Wolf*

# Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Kh. Abovyan's Folkloric Work

**Author:** Mher Kumunts, cand. phil. sciences, associate professor, Lusine Nersisyan, cand. phil. sciences, associate professor

The topic titled "Manifestations of tolerance and intolerance in Armenian literature" is one that is both modern and also assumes a study of history, a comparison of literary works and the topics covered by them based on time period, random narrative, protagonists and, after all, the worldview of the author and the creative reproduction of the proposed issues.

Tolerance is so important for the world especially in these times, when any product of intolerance spreads out quickly throughout mankind. It seems that the victims of this intolerance end up not just being the ones who bear its weight, but also those who receive information about them. Intolerance is the root of the evil of this century and its opposite side, which can help suppress it, is tolerance, originating in humanity's oldest documents – the Bible, folk epics, and legends. For example, these human emotions were strongly expressed in the Iliad, the Odyssey, ancient Greek tragedies, and then again in the period of the Renaissance, and then in the literary Age of Enlightenment, and in the various genres of literature that developed after it.

The article titled "Manifestations of tolerance and intolerance in Kh. Abovyan's folkloric work" aims to analyze and reveal universally human ideas in people's lives. It is just as important to speak about negative phenomena so that one appreciates the values enshrined in the statement "homo homini amicus est." The acts of forgiving and not forgiving have been prominently expressed in this writer's work, and they play a guiding role in the history of mankind and the process of developing human relations.

The success of fiction is greatly facilitated by topics that directly relate to human life and survival. Human thoughts, emotions and feelings have a particular manifestation in this sub-genre of literature folklore. Bit episodes from folklore can sometimes serve as the dough from which voluminous pieces of writing are kneaded. Many renowned and popular writers have found the material for their works from the folklore of the nation. From the very beginning of Armenian writing to our times, the writers who fictionalized Armenian folkloric material included Agatangeghos, M. Khorenatsi, N. Shnorhali, Frik, Kh. Abovyan, A. Isahakyan, H. Tumanyan, A. Bakunts, H. Shiraz, H. Khatchatryan and many others. For example, Kh. Abovyan's epic poems, poems, parables, and prose are based completely on folklore. Many of these tales can also be seen among other peoples. The writer has not satisfied himself with breathing a life of fiction and lyricism into the folklore narrative. His stories on tolerance and intolerance are so profound and timeless that they can be assumed to be both centuries old and a modern creation. Folkloric material usually lives from generation to generation, which each generation giving it a new interpretation or a different life, until that beautiful folkloric narrative acquires appreciation as part of literature.

In the study, folkloric material that has been collected over a period of eight years has already been analyzed with Kh. Abovyan's works in an attempt to distil the manifestations of tolerance

and intolerance in folklore. A variety of rich literature has been used and analytic tables developed, presenting topics that have resulted in the progress of civil protection, tolerance and intolerance, through a scientific approach with a broad audience.

**Keywords:** *tolerance, folklore, Kh. Abovyan, fiction*

## Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Armenian Literature. Tolerant Speech

**Author:** Valeri Mirzoyan, doct. philosophical sciences, professor

The topic of the study is communication through speech from the point of view of the existence of various kinds of tolerance and intolerance. The paper examines various manifestations of intolerant behavior in the works of Armenian authors religious, national (including within a single nation), age-based, sexual and so on, and their argumentation has also been described. Tolerant speech has been described and has been examined from the point of view of overcoming intolerance both from the individual and societal points of view. Study objectives determine how we speak and debate, and to what extent we are tolerant of an opinion, conviction, belief, position, or behavior that differs from ours.

How do we express our disagreement? What facts, emotions and sophistic tricks do we use? What examples are provided by Armenian writers, public figures and proverbs when it comes to taking responsibility for our own words? What advice, whether direct or indirect, is being given to readers about being more patient and respectful, about understanding, tolerating, being at peace, and ready to compromise? This is the first study on this topic and is addressed to all those individuals who deal in their professional or personal work with the theoretical and practical issues related to human communication through speech.

A report (31 pages in length) has been prepared on this topic to the Eurasia Partnership Foundation, and one academic article has been published – "Tolerant Speech in the Public Governance System" (Herald of the Armenian State University of Economics, 2016, No. 3, pp. 83-105). The monograph "Tolerant Speech" is undergoing publication (A4 format, 304 pages, English abstract).

**Keywords:** *(in)tolerance, tolerance speech, argumentation, debate, argument, quarrel, proverb as behavior guideline*

## Surprising and Unprecedented Tolerance in the Writings of Hakob Mndzuri

**Author:** Gayane Mkrtchyan, journalist

Hakob Mndzuri's writings provide an impressive display of tolerance and humanity. Very little is known about this, because the writer did not leave Istanbul after the Armenian Genocide, and following the period of the Soviet Union, it only became possible to publish his work in the 1990s.

Hakob Mndzuri's work provides an example of how to interact with our neighbors through the language of literature, while preserving our memories but ruling out the language of hate. Mndzuri is unique in Armenian literary culture. He recalls the Turks and Kurds living together with such neutrality and mildness that one would think this co-existence continues in those villages to this day. Other writers were intolerant of Mndzuri's work despite themselves, because the tragedy of the situation was much more acutely felt from a distance and within the general context.

He, an exiled writer, did not have the right or means to even say "alas," much less call the situation a villainous deportation, as did the Irish exile Joyce. All that was left for him to do was to recall his own home as if in a fairy tale, his 85-year old grandfather, his 55-year old mother, his four children, the last one nine months old, and the mother of those children – his 28-year old wife. In this obedient, peaceful—tolerant, using this new terminology—and, through his literature, triumphant manner, Mndzuri was a symbol of restraint and patience, demonstrating how one can interact without spite through literature, through the ungrateful pages of newspapers, where he unwillingly engaged in covert literature for fifty years.

While conducting the study on the "Surprising and Unprecedented Tolerance in the Writings of Hakob Mndzuri," we discovered a noteworthy phenomenon. The mountain valleys and their surroundings in Dersim, the setting for Mndzuri's work, have long been the focus of historians' attention as a special location, a unique free zone of sorts, where various religious groups have celebrated festivals together, which is truly unprecedented. Mndzuri's literature has provided such a comprehensive and accurate picture of the region that modern Turkish literary critics also gain insights on the lifestyle of Turks from Mndzuri's stories.

**Keywords:** *tolerance, Turk, Kurd, Dersim mountains*

## Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Modern and Recent Armenian Literature

**Authors:** Lilit Avdalyan, sociological analyst, Narine Hovsepyan, literary expert

The aim of the article was to describe the development of the concepts of tolerance and intolerance through a study of the works of the main writers in the modern and recent periods of Armenian literature and the contexts of their creation. This, in turn, would allow one to be familiarized with events in the modern and most recent literature that reflect the concepts of tolerance and intolerance, and to develop parallels based on the time period. The article presents the impact of (in)tolerance on the individual and social levels. The study presents a radical analysis of the concept and international approaches related to it.

**Keywords:** *(in)tolerance, international approach, radical analysis, component of objection, indifference, confirmation, acceptance, rejection*

## The Kyartu Character as a Representation of Intolerance in Modern Armenian Prose

**Authors:** Ashot Gabrielyan, Arkmenik Nikoghosyan, cand. phil. sciences

The article presents the intolerant attitude of a representative of the so-called "kyartu" sub-culture as a representation of intolerance in general. In other words, it shows that the kyartu character in modern Armenian prose has become the main means for the presentation of intolerance. Various manifestations are discussed of intolerant behavior by kyartu characters in the works of modern Armenian writers, demonstrating religious, national (including intra-national), age-related, gender-related and other intolerance, and a factual basis is presented for them. Various specific components have been elaborated and discussed, such as the kyartu and the concept of being kyartu, the kyartu language, the functions of a kyartu character in literature, kyartu intolerance in the army, the threat posed by the kyartu to the national and civil profile, the paternal side of being kyartu, the kyartu as a natural presence, the kyartu side of traditional characters and historical settings. Each of these is presented using examples from the texts of Armenian authors of various genres, thus revealing the rules of the phenomenon of being kyartu.

**Keywords:** *kyartu, sub-culture, character, (in)tolerance, traditionalism*

## The Topics of Tolerance and Intolerance in the 9th, 10th and 11th Grade Textbooks on Armenian Literature, Armenian History and History of the Armenian Church

**Authors:** Karine Khojayan, cand. pol. sciences, Armine Davtyan, social pedagogy expert

The aim of this study is to examine and determine the manifestations of intolerance in the textbooks for the school education sector, under the supervision of the RA Ministry of Education and Science, in particular for the subjects of Armenian Literature, Armenian History, and History of the Armenian Church (humanitarian stream).

The study was conducted on the basis of a qualitative analysis; in particular, the method of qualitative content analysis was used. The RA Constitution was used as the basis to classify an event as a manifestation of intolerance; the provisions on intolerance and discrimination in the Constitution are based on a series of international conventions.

The result of the conducted study determined the most commonly seen occasions of intolerance in these school textbooks. An attempt was made to determine the cause-and-effect related to each of them and several recommendations were presented that could support the process of school education and the formation of a culture of tolerance, the implementation of the obligations set by the RA Constitution and several international conventions, as well as the development of a culture of tolerance among learners.

**Keywords:** *intolerance, ethnic-national, gender, religious, occurrence, textbook, human rights, high school, Armenian literature, Armenian history, history of the Armenian Church*

## Manifestations of Ethnic Tolerance and Intolerance in the Textbooks of Armenian Literature

**Author:** Taught in RA Secondary Schools, Sona Melikjanyan, sociologist

The study aims to present the manifestations of ethnic tolerance and intolerance that occur in the Armenian Literature textbooks used in RA secondary schools. The study employs the method of content analysis and uses E. Bogardus' Social Distance Scale to examine the Armenian Literature textbooks for grades 7 through 12. The study has allowed the determination of the number of times that different ethnicities are mentioned, what proportion of the overall text this constitutes, and has provided an overview of the context in which they are mentioned and how they are described (positive, negative, neutral), after which it has analyzed the portrayal of each ethnicity and the use of the "us-them" context for each case.

**Keywords:** *ethnic (in)tolerance, positive-negative-neutral descriptor-context, ethnicity, ethnic, "us-them," "you-yours," foreign, foreigner, homeland, patriotism*

## On Some of the Impressions from the Articles in the EPF Series "Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Armenian Literature"

**Author:** Ara Nedolyan, theater critic, public figure

When analyzing the collection of articles "Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Armenian Literature", we have strived to distinguish those definitions that relate in the first place to its public and interpersonal dimensions.

In Ashot Gabrielyan and Arkmenik Nikoghosyan's article "The Kyartu Character as a Representation of Intolerance in Modern Armenian Prose," being kyartu is recognized as a holistic institutional, social and cultural system of intolerance, while modern Armenian literature is supposed to be an element that counters it. Valeriy Mirzoyan's work "Tolerant Speech" makes an attempt to methodologically analyze all motives for communication that lead to intolerance, categorize them and give examples and methods of overcoming each one based on samples taken from Armenian literature and folklore. According to the author, communication errors constitute the reason for the centuries-old lack of regular and effective debates on the most important issues in Armenian society, and this problem can be overcome by studying methods that secure a system of tolerant speech and their centralized implementation.

Following Hayk Hambardzumyan's study "Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance Towards the Enemy in Armenian Medieval Sagas and the Epic The Daredevils Of Sassun," we see that the careless modernization of or direct equivalence with the values and behavioral approach of medieval society or the world of epic literature to the communication values of today would "create a defective image of epics and sagas, lending cause to the perceived haughtiness and exclusivity in the self-perception of the nation, and the formation of an atmosphere of discrimination against other peoples."

The study by Karine Khojoyan and Armine Davtyan "The Topics of Tolerance and Intolerance in the 9th, 10th and 11th Grade Textbooks on Armenian Literature, Armenian History and History of the Armenian Church" provide clear examples of how the authors of textbooks have produced items that have transformed from things that make students (or readers) think, familiarize them with public and personal conflicts, produce ways to comprehend, model and resolve them, to a series of crude slogans, slogans that do not even exist in the literature being used and have actually been developed by the textbook authors.

And finally, coming to the textbooks on the history of the Armenian Church, the researchers have produced examples that demonstrate that these are not textbooks that are ABOUT the Armenian Church, its view and history, but they consist of a text of mainly the church's views on history, humanity, and anything at all, where there is an absence of a view that reflects on the church's doctrine, not to mention criticizing it, and not even one that, at the very least, assesses it, clarifies it, or places it in some historic context.

**Keywords:** *tolerance – translation, exchange of worldviews, a positive feeling of the "other", diversity, differentiation, intolerance – one's own, the self that denies, "be tolerant"*

## Literature and Tolerance as a Topic for Interdisciplinary Research

**Author:** Vardan Jaloyan

When speaking of the definition of (in)tolerance and its relation to ideas of enlightenment and modernity, one should specifically emphasize the role of literature and empathy in the establishment of tolerance. Literature is an ideal environment for the formation of tolerance to diversity with the force of empathy; through literature, we can narrate and disseminate our unique, personal life experience.

The studies conducted within the scope of the "Manifestations of Tolerance and Intolerance in Armenian Literature" competition can be divided into two large groups – (in)tolerance in Armenian literary works and manifestations of (in)tolerance in Armenian textbooks. Some of the presented works are sociological study of Armenian literary and educational texts, which are of great significance for the analysis of any patterns in manifestations of (in)tolerance, and can facilitate the effective teaching of ideas of tolerance.

"Tolerance and literature," which forms a part of the larger topic of "tolerance and society," includes a complex combination of ideas of law, sociology and political science. Thus, the development of this topic of "tolerance and literature" does not just facilitate the dissemination of ideas of tolerance in society, and the appreciation of literature as a source of tolerance, it also sets the stage for a much more complex issue – the function of literature in society. A tolerant society needs to overcome certain sociological, ethnic, political and other stereotypes and clichés, but in order for that to happen, the ability to convince is necessary, which is possessed by literature.
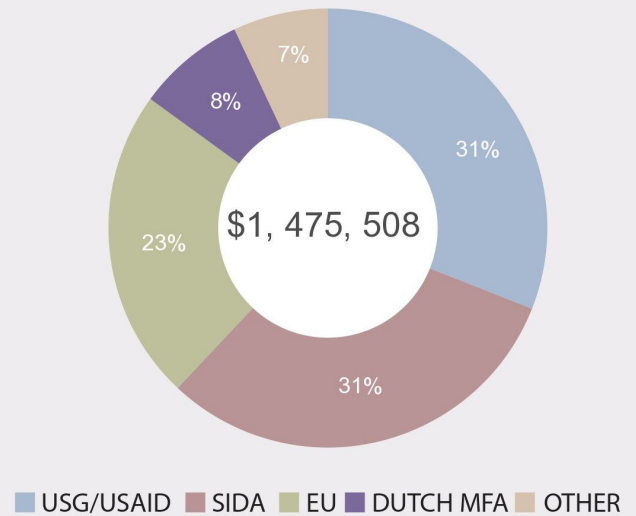
**Keywords:** *(in)tolerance, interdisciplinary studies, new empathy, culture of modernity, function of literature, kyartu persona*

## Financials 2022

| EURASIA PARTNERSHIP FOUNDATION DECEMBER 31, 2022 | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 31.12.22 | 31.12.21 |
| USD Exchange Rates | 393.57 | 480.14 |
| | As of December 31, 2022 | As of December 31, 2021 |
| **ASSETS** | | |
| *Non-current assets* | | |
| Property and equipment | 566, 932 | 463, 770 |
| Intangible assets | - | - |
| Deferred tax assets | - | - |
| Prepayments for acquisition of property and equipment | - | - |
| Subtotal | 566, 932 | 463, 770 |
| *Current assets* | | |
| Accounts receivable | 143, 499 | 435, 100 |
| Term deposits | 428, 396 | 810, 718 |
| Bank balances | 544, 605 | 605, 659 |
| Subtotal | 1, 116, 500 | 1, 851, 477 |
| Total assets | 1, 683, 432 | 2, 315, 247 |
| LIABILITIES AND RESERVES | | |
| *Non-current liabilities* | | |
| Grants related to assets | 65, 345 | 33, 034 |
| Subtotal | 65, 345 | 33, 034 |
| Current liabilities | | |
| Accounts payable | 144, 434 | 113, 365 |
| Deferred income | 1, 069, 022 | 1, 631, 687 |
| Current income tax payable | 8, 824 | 4, 570 |
| Subtotal | 1, 222, 280 | 1, 749, 622 |
| RESERVES | | |
| Accumulated result (unrestricted) | (107, 902) | 121, 396 |
| Founder's contribution | 399, 931 | 399, 931 |
| Foreign currency translation reserve | 103, 778 | 11, 264 |
| Subtotal | 395, 807 | 532, 591 |
| **Total liabilities and net assets** | **1, 683, 432** | **2, 315, 247** |

$1, 475, 508

- 31% USG/USAID
- 31% SIDA
- 23% EU
- 8% DUTCH MFA
- 7% OTHER

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