

ARMENIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS AND
MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS (SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY)
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The debates surrounding historical relations between Armenians and Turks or the "Armenian question," have become an important issue in various European countries and the USA in recent years. This increasing international attention to the question of Armenian-Turkish relations has made it clear that the sound discussion of this issue in Turkey and Armenia is both necessary and obligatory.

In Turkey, the "Armenian question" has generated the demand for greater transparency by some segments of Turkish society. Among intellectuals, this demand has spurred initiatives for a re-evaluation of Turkey's accepted history, as well as a drive to foster dialogue between Turkish and Armenian communities. In Armenia the discussion of relations between the two countries is limited by the expectation that the current government of Turkey discuss and acknowledge as genocide the killing of Armenians in Ottoman Turkey in 1915.

The end of the bi-polar world order, symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, led to massive restructuring in Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union. The ensuing period of reconstruction and reformation had created effects that reverberated well beyond the former communist countries. Placing the Turkish-Armenian question within the larger context of geopolitical and economic transition reveals the complexity and multidimensionality of the issues at stake.

Armenia's economic transition and the Karabagh conflict between Armenians and neighboring Azeris intersect with Turkey's domestic and international problems and policies. As Turkish society continues to struggle with issues of national identity and social memory, the question of geo-strategic balance in the region contributes to the myriad obstacles to the development of friendship, trust and trade between Turkey and Armenia.

In line with the goal of increased understanding explained above, and as an initiative coming from Turkish and Armenian

researchers, we carried out this exploratory project focusing specifically on mutual perceptions in Turkey and Armenia.

We know that the findings of our research are far from giving a complete image of these perceptions. The results of this study do not point to any answers; the information we gathered may not be pleasing to all readers or easy to incorporate into political discussions of the issue. But in doing this research we have remained true to the principles of science and trust that the results will more fully inform the ongoing dialogue between the people of Turkey and Armenia.

METHODOLOGY

Data collection have been achieved by quantitative (face-to-face interview mediated through a questionnaire) method.

The questionnaire study have been carried out throughout Turkey and Armenia. In order to allow for comparison, the survey included the same questions (adapted to local context), as well as different questions designed to reflect local issues.

The infrastructure of the research (design and publishing of the questionnaires, the interviews and the quantitative analysis using SPSS) were carried out by S.A.M. Research & Consulting Center in Turkey and by HASA (Sociological and Marketing Research Center) in Armenia.

In Turkey, a sample of 1200 respondents were selected through a method of multi-stage stratified random sampling. The sample represents Turkey's urban population at or above 18 years of age. Field work was conducted through 34 provinces and 68 districts. Final verification at the SAM head office resulted in the approval of 1219 interviews for analysis.

In Armenia the sociological survey was done using randomized territorial proportional sample, based on official datas of 2001 Census. National sample for Armenia includes all 10 marzes (districts) plus Yerevan-marz. Respondents were selected through a multi-stage stratification sampling design. Armenia was stratified by region urban residence. There were eleven primary sampling areas, distributing the 1000 interviews proportional to the distribution of the population in every marz.

KNOWLEDGE

This chapter addresses the awareness of Turkish and Armenian respondents about each other's countries in general terms, mainly meaning the respondents' knowledge of basic geography, political order, foreign relations as well as the achievements of the neighboring country.

Table and charts below demonstrate respondents' estimates of territory and population of the countries.

Table 1. How would you describe contemporary Turkey/Armenia in terms of territory?

	Turkey	Armenia
It is a large country	52,4	7,2
It is a small country	4,2	39,8
It is neither a large nor a small country	41,0	18,5
Do not know	2,4	34,5

As Table 1 shows, majority of Armenian respondents (52,4%) view Turkey as a large country, and in the opinion of 41% of the respondents it is neither large nor small. While a big number of Turkish respondents (34,5%) had difficulty to express any opinion regarding the territory of contemporary Armenia, majority of the remaining 65,5% think of Armenia as a small country. One could expect such estimate, since, when answering to this question, respondents have more likely used the territory of their own country as a basis for comparison.

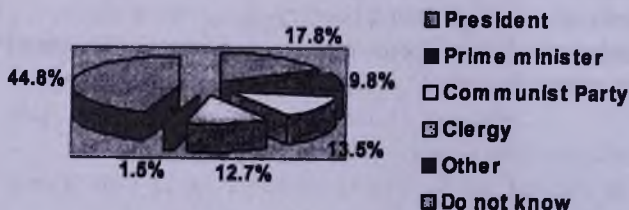
Both Armenian and Turkish respondents have a very vague idea about population of each other's countries. Thus, even though most of the answers of Armenian respondents regarding population of Turkey are concentrated around the correct interval of 40-60 million, the dispersion is still very big. At the same time, majority of Turkish respondents (51,3%) had difficulty to give any approximate estimate to population of Armenia and only 11,6% gave the correct answer.

Respondents' lack of knowledge of each other's countries is reflected in a number of questions that have been addressed during the survey.

Thus, although overwhelming majority of Armenian respondents (95,9%) know, that Turkey has access to seas, however minor percent of them could correctly name all those seas.

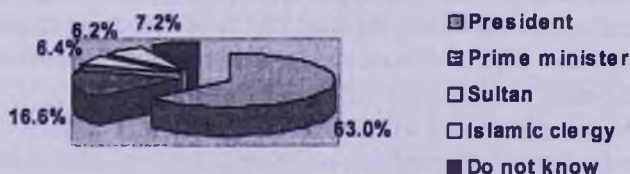
As we see, very small percent of Armenian respondents know that Turkey has access to Aegean and Marmara seas (accordingly 21,9% and 1,3%). The tables show that Turkish respondents have even less information: 40,3% of them does not know whether Armenia has a sea border, and approximately each sixth Turkish respondent is sure Armenia has an access to either Black or Caspian Sea.

Chart 1. Who dominates the government in Armenia?



As we see, nearly half of the Turkish respondents are not aware of the type of Armenian government. At the same time, majority from the respondents who answered this question have given the correct answer (17,8%). It is interesting that second biggest group of respondents (13,5%) is sure that Armenian government is still dominated by the Communist Party, meanwhile it is not even represented in the National Assembly. Such result was however predictable, considering the lasting influence of the Soviet era on the image of former Soviet republics.

Chart 2. Who dominates the government in Turkey?



According to the survey results, Armenian respondents also have no precise knowledge about political order in Turkey: majority of the respondents (63%), as Chart 2 shows, think that President is dominates the government in Turkey.

30,6% of Turkish respondents with higher education have answered the question correctly, whereas the percentage of correct answer of respondents with primary, middle or high school education turns around 16-17%. The percentage of respondents who have no idea about the political order in Armenia reaches 62,2% in the group of people without formal education.

Analysis of relationships has shown that Armenian respondents' knowledge of this issue does not strongly depend on the level of their education.

Compared to the other spheres touched by the survey, respondents have been most confident in terms of their knowledge of each other's religious affiliation.

Table 2. What is the religious affiliation of the majority of Turks/Armenians?

	Turks	Armenians
Buddhism	0,0	1,2
Christianity	0,0	54,6
Islam	99,2	1,3
Judaism	0,0	16,8
Other	0,0	25,5
Do not know	0,8	0,6

As we see, majority of respondents in both Turkey and Armenia have given correct answers to the question. (It is however interesting, that approximately each sixth Turkish respondent believes that the religious affiliation of Armenians is Judaism.)

In contrast, respondents in both countries have failed to answer correctly whether the neighboring country has an official religion or not. Majority of the respondents in Armenia (68,5%) and 40,4% of respondents in Turkey have, in fact, stated their belief that the neighboring country is not secular. Turkey has a much more "religious" image among Armenian respondents than Armenia in the eyes of Turkish respondents.

It is interesting that the higher the level of respondents' education is, the more they tend to give the wrong answer: 70,5% of Armenian respondents with higher education and 67,1% of those with secondary education, think Turkey has an official religion.

It is possible to observe a quite similar tendency in Turkey, but the ratios are much more inferior. In Turkey the percentage of those who believe Armenia has an official religion among the secondary education is 47%, and 46,5% among the respondents of higher education. 22,9% of Turkish respondents with higher education gave the correct answer. Should be add that those who don't know whether Armenia is secular or not reaches 64,9% among the respondents with low level education in Turkey.

The respondents who gave positive answers to the above-mentioned question were then requested to specify the religion. The answers have mostly repeated those already mentioned.

Overwhelming majority of Armenian respondents (94,6%) are sure Armenians have been first to appear on the historical scene, whereas majority of Turkish respondents (60,4%) claim Turks to be more ancient nation. At the same time, quite high percent of Turkish respondents (28,6%) has been more neutral in this question stating that both Armenians and the Turks are ancient peoples.

Table 3. Which one, the Armenians or the Turks, appeared on the historical scene first?

	Armenia	Turkey
Armenians	94,6	7,6
Turks	0,7	60,4
They are both ancient peoples	4,7	28,6

Such outcome, in our opinion, was conditioned by at least two factors: a) objective – that is, different views on world history, reflected in public education, and b) subjective – that is, tendency of people to perceive and transmit certain facts in a manner that is most favorable to them.

Table 4. Do you tend to agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree		Disagree		Don't know	
	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey
Turkish and Armenian peoples have common elements of culture such as music, folklore and gastronomy.	74,2	42,7	22,4	39,7	3,4	17,6
There was no conflict between the Turks and the Armenians until the early 20 th century.	0,6	37,7	97,7	34,4	1,7	28,0
Parts of nowadays Turkey (Anatolia) were inhabited by the Armenians before the Turks arrived.	97,3	61,3	0,5	15,3	2,2	23,4
Armenians who now live in Turkey came to Turkey after dissolution of the Soviet Union.	0,4	30,3	98,0	40,1	1,6	29,6
During World War I, much of the Armenian population living in nowadays Turkey (Anatolia) was forced to migrate to other places.	97,9	47,5	1,3	27,8	0,8	24,7

	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey
In the second half of 1910s, hundreds of thousands Armenians were killed in nowadays Turkey (Anatolia) and deported out of country	99,9	N/A	0,0	N/A	0,1	N/A
In the second half of 1910s, the clashes in Anatolia claimed many Armenian and Turkish lives.	N/A	72,1	N/A	11,6	N/A	16,3
There are Armenian churches and works of art in several places in Turkey.	97,4	80,3	1,1	6,2	1,5	13,5

Analysis of data obtained from Table 6 shows that Armenian respondents have been much more consolidated regarding the historical relations between the two nations, while Turkish respondents seem to take a rather more neutral stand *vis a vis* the issue.

Based upon Table 6, the following conclusions can be drawn:

a) Majority of Armenian and Turkish respondents believe that Turkish and Armenian peoples have common elements of culture such as music, folklore and gastronomy. At the same time, quite a big percent of Turkish respondents (39,7%) disagrees with the statement.

b) Overwhelming majority of Armenian respondents (97,7%) disagrees with the statement that there was no conflict between the Turks and the Armenians until the early 20th century. Only one third of the Turkish respondents disagree with the statement, while 28% does not have a clear idea about the subject.

c) Majority of respondents in both countries agree that parts of nowadays Turkey (Anatolia) were inhabited by the Armenians before the Turks arrived and disagrees with the statement that Armenians who now live in Turkey came to Turkey after dissolution of the Soviet Union.

d) Armenian respondents are absolutely convinced that during World War I, much of the Armenian population living in nowadays Turkey (Anatolia) was forced to migrate to other places. Nearly half of the Turkish respondents also agree with the statement, while more than one fourth of them reject the idea.

e) Almost all the Armenian respondents agree that "in the second half of 1910s, hundreds of thousands Armenians were killed in nowadays Turkey

(Anatolia) and deported out of country.”

As for the Turkish respondents (although the statement was formulated differently in Armenian and Turkish versions of the questionnaire), the picture seems to be different: Majority of them think that the clashes during the said period in Anatolia claimed many Armenian and Turkish lives from both communities.

f) Both parties agree that there are Armenian churches and works of art in several places in Turkey.

Foreign relations

In order to reveal the respondents' perceptions about basic foreign relations of the neighboring country we have requested to characterize the relations of Turkey/Armenia with several countries using the scale of bad-neutral-good.

Table 5. How would you describe Turkey's/Armenia's relations with the following countries?

	Bad relations		Neither good, nor bad		Good relations		Don't know	
	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia	Turkey	Armenia
Armenia	82,8	N/A	15,3	N/A	0,3	N/A	1,6	N/A
Azerbaijan	1,4	35,3	3,3	15,8	95,0	15,5	0,3	33,5
Bulgaria	19,0	7,0	38,2	19,6	20,8	28,6	22,0	44,8
France	45,4	3,9	34,3	10,5	9,9	49,1	10,4	36,5
Georgia	2,1	17,3	29,3	17,7	64,3	21,0	4,3	44,0
Germany	5,0	5,9	31,4	13,8	51,6	41,4	12,0	38,9
Greece	48,6	5,7	27,4	10,9	9,8	46,5	14,2	36,8
Iran	28,0	27,5	35,2	16,5	27,8	12,9	9,0	43,2
Israel	13,1	11,3	38,4	13,0	33,2	34,7	15,3	40,9
Russia	16,4	7,9	62,8	14,4	16,6	40,4	4,2	37,3
Turkey	N/A	40,1	N/A	42,2	N/A	11,5	N/A	6,2
USA	5,4	7,1	12,3	11,2	78,7	47,4	3,6	34,4

According to Armenian respondents, Turkey has the worst relations with Armenia, Greece and France, mostly neutral relations – with Russia, Israel and Bulgaria, and best relations – with Azerbaijan, USA and Georgia.

According to Turkish respondents, Armenia is in worst relations with Azerbaijan and Iran, in neutral relations – with Bulgaria and Georgia, and in best relations – with France, USA and Greece. One should note, that nearly equal percent of Turkish respondents characterize Armenian's relations with Turkey as

bad and neutral (40,1% and 42,2% accordingly). It is also worth mentioning that according to the Turkish respondents, Armenia's relations with Turkey are worse than with Azerbaijan.

In our opinion, answers to this question were dictated not by the respondents' actual knowledge of foreign relation of the neighboring country but rather by a) their knowledge of foreign relations of their own country and b) their mutual prejudice. The former (a) means that the respondents tend to think the better relations of a certain country are with Turkey the worse they are with Armenia and vice versa. The latter (b) mainly refers to respondents' belief that the religious belonging is the most decisive factor in foreign policy. Turkish respondents have shown an obvious manifestation of this form of prejudice believing Armenian-Iranian relations to be nearly as bad as Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. Despite the fact that among other neighboring countries Armenia is in best relations exactly with Iran, each fourth Turkish respondent thinks the relations are bad.

ATTITUDES

This chapter generally addresses mutual perceptions and attitudes of Armenian and Turkish citizens. Answers to a number of direct and indirect questions help uncovering the opinion of the respondents about past, present and future state of Armenian-Turkish relations, as well as revealing the images and stereotypes that Armenians and Turks have of each other.

Table 6. How would you describe contemporary Armenian-Turkish rela-

Very bad		Bad		Neither good nor bad		Good		Very good		Difficult to answer	
Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.
18,9	6,6	60,4	30,8	17,9	45,4	0,5	10,9	0,0	0,2	2,3	6,2

tions in general?

As the table shows, majority of Armenian respondents characterize Armenian-Turkish relations as bad, while nearly half of the Turkish respondents think the relations as neither good nor bad. One should also note that only 5 out of 1000 of Armenian respondents have evaluated the relations between Armenia and Turkey as good and none of them – as very good. At the same time, in the opinion of each fifth Armenian respondent, the relations are very bad, while each tenth Turkish respondent believes they are good.

It is interesting that majority of female respondents in Armenian survey have been supportive of the idea that the Turks generally dislike Armenians, and in contrast, higher percent of male respondents tend to agree that prejudice is an obstacle on the way of improvement of Armenian-Turkish relations.

We also have to note that in the two countries the older respondents are more inclined to agree that dislike best describes relations between Armenians

and Turks. But should be noted also that the respondents above 45 in Turkey think more than the others that Armenians get along well with Turkish people. Whereas in Armenia 32,2%, and in Turkey 28,7% of respondents aged 18-29 think it is prejudice that is characteristic of the relations.

Among the Turkish respondents, the most significant relationship can be found in relation with the level of education. The percentage of respondents thinking that Armenians dislike Turks is 16,7% among the people with lower education, whereas this percentage decreases to 9,7% among the university graduates. There is also a drastical difference concerning the opinion "prejudice prevents the improvement of relations". 46,5% of the university graduates share this opinion.

Opinion of Armenian and Turkish respondents coincides also in terms of evaluation of the Armenian-Turkish state relations.

Table 7. Which of the following statements in your opinion best describes the relations between contemporary Armenian and Turkish states?

Turkey/Armenia considers Armenia/Turkey as a friendly neighboring state.	0,4	12,7
Turkey/Armenia is a bordering country, with which Armenia/Turkey has no diplomatic relations.	36,0	23,5
Turkey/Armenia is a potential danger for Armenia/Turkey.	27,6	20,6
Turkey/Armenia is a country hostile to Armenia/Turkey.	33,6	23,4
Difficult to answer.	2,4	19,8

As the table shows, the main difference between Armenian and Turkish respondents lies in the fact that among Turkish respondents there is a non-negligible percentage of people who think that "Armenia considers Turkey as a friendly neighboring state" (12,7%); but also another important percentage of people who has not a clear idea about the question (19,8%).

Besides this, two opinions, supported by respondents come to the fore in both Armenia and Turkey: a) Turkey and Armenia are bordering countries with no diplomatic relations and b) Turkey and Armenia are countries hostile to each other. But it has to be mentioned that Armenian respondents evaluate Turkey as "a country hostile to Armenia" (33,6%) more than Turkish respondents do reciprocally (23,4%).

In Armenia, a relationship between the answers of the respondents and their gender, age and occupation is similar to the one presented above with respect to relations between Armenian and Turkish peoples. Thus, male respondents are more inclined to the neutral position, while female respondents tend to have a little bit aggressive approach. Depending on their age, respondents have been more or less inclined to think Turkey is a country hostile to Armenia:

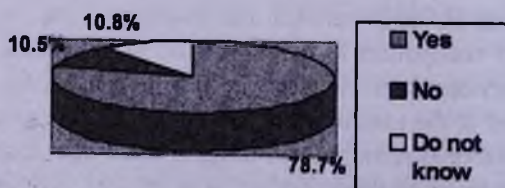
36,4% of respondents aged 60 and above think the statement is most suitable, while only 25,1% of those aged 18-29 do so. It is interesting that in this question as well, quite similar to the previous one, state employees, pensioners and housewives tend to have a negative, while academicians and teachers – rather neutral position.

In Turkey, the case of state relations present a different reflexion as for the gender. Even if male respondents are more inclined to the neutral position comparing female respondents, especially for the third option ("Armenia is a country hostile to Turkey") male respondents stressed more importance (25,9%) comparing to female respondents (20,7%). But we have also to notice that among female respondents, the proportion of those who have no idea about the issue is very high (25,4%).

As for the age groups, among the older respondents the proportion of those who are more inclined to think "Armenia is a country hostile to Turkey" is higher: 28% of those aged 45-59 and 41,1% of respondents aged 60 and above agree with this statement. Only 20,9% of those aged 18-29 share this idea while they mostly opt for the relatively neutral position (26,6%). In Turkey pensioners (34,7%), workers (26,9%), housewives (21,5%) chose to think "Armenia is a country hostile to Turkey". As in the previous observation, majority of students (41,9%) and a slight higher percentage of shopkeepers (27,3%) have opted for the neutral position. In the Turkish case, when we are looking at the level of education, it seems that there is a quite significant difference between the attitudes towards the Armenian people and state. For example the attitude of the university graduates who were clearly more positive towards the Armenian people, becomes more uncertain about the Armenian state. These respondents think that "Armenia is a potential danger for Turkey" more (31,9%) than the others, but also think that "Armenia is a country hostile to Turkey" less (17,4%) than the others.

Finally we can add that there is one detail worth mentioning. Judging from the percentage of Turkish respondents, who chose the first options (positive attitude) of the answers to both of the questions, it appears that they have been more tolerant in their evaluation than Armenian respondents have, especially concerning the attitude towards the Armenian people. On the contrary, the Turkish respondents' lack of trust vis-à-vis the Armenian state is seen from the chart below. Overwhelming majority of Turkish respondents think that given an opportunity Armenia would press for territorial claims from Turkey.

Chart 3. Do you feel that, given an opportunity today, Armenia would press for territorial claims from Turkey? (Question was asked only to Turkish respondents.)

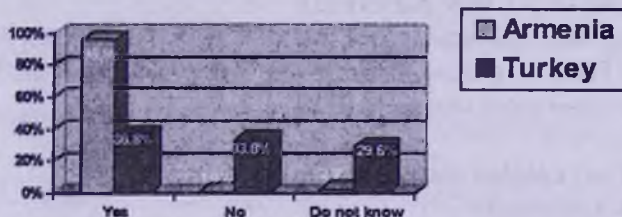


The respondents' opinion concerning past and future of Armenian-Turkish state relations is quite interesting. Majority of Armenian respondents think the relations remained unchanged in the last 10 years and will remain unchanged in the next 10 years. In contrast, Turkish respondents tend to think the relations have changed for the worse and will remain unchanged in the future.

However, with a more detailed glance on the distribution of the answers other interesting facts are revealed. It appears that while Armenian respondents are to a certain degree more satisfied with the past progress of Armenian-Turkish relations, Turkish respondents are to the same degree more optimistic about the future of these relations.

Answers of the respondents to the following question help explain the above-mentioned difference of opinions.

Chart 4. Do you feel that there is an important obstacle preventing the normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey?



As we see, overwhelming majority of Armenian respondents is sure there is an important obstacle on the way of improvement of Armenian-Turkish relations, whereas Turkish respondents remain quite undecided with this respect. Still one should note that less than 40% of the Turkish respondents believe that there is an important obstacle preventing the normalization of relations between the two countries.

It is now quite clear that Turkish respondents have been more optimistic about the future of Armenian-Turkish relations and why Armenians believe no change will occur. The fact that a part of Armenian respondents thinks the relations have improved can also be explained in this frames: some improvement (most probably speaking of economic cooperation) has been achieved.

To the request to name the most important obstacle preventing the improvement of Armenian-Turkish relations the following answers were given by Armenian respondents:

- | | |
|--|-------|
| a) Armenian Question/Genocide – | 81,7% |
| b) Armenian/Azerbaijani relationships/Problem of Artsakh - | 9,8% |
| c) Different religions - | 2,8% |
| d) Aggressive Pan-Turkism – | 1,4% |
| e) Other – | 3,7% |
| f) Don't know/diff. to answer - | 0,6% |

According to the Turkish respondents those obstacles are:

a) "Genocide" claims on the Armenian side –	19%
b) Land –	12,1%
c) Religious difference –	11,2%
d) History –	9,4 %
e) Foreign powers –	7,8 %
f) Armenia's territorial claims from Azerbaijan –	6%
g) Politics –	5,1%
h) Prejudice –	4,5%

(Note: The questions have been formulated in multi-reponse form in Turkey; so the sum of the answers is higher than 100%.)

Images and stereotypes

Respondents have been asked to describe their feeling or opinion about each other using the following five-grade scale: very negative (1), negative (2), neutral (3), positive (4), very positive (5).

Calculating the mean estimate, it appears that Armenian respondents' opinion about the Turks in general is rather negative (1,96), whereas Turkish respondents' attitude is close to neutral (2,73).

Table 7. Your opinion about the Turks/Armenians

	Mean
Armenia	1,96
Turkey	2,73

Table 8. Their opinion about you

	Mean
Armenia	1,73
Turkey	2,33

Such results, as subsequent reverse question revealed, did not match the expectations of the respondents of each other's attitudes. Thus, Armenian respondents think Turks in general have negative opinion about Armenians (1,73 on the same five-grade scale) and the Turkish respondents believe Armenians' attitude towards the Turks is somewhat better than it is (2,33).

We have to emphasize, that answers to this question as well, vary depending on the respondents' occupation. Thus, according to mean estimates, in Armenia, state employees and pensioners have the worst, while professionals, teachers, and intellectuals have the better attitude towards the Turks. Whereas in Turkey, comparing to housewives and workers, students, pensioners and shop-

keepers have better attitudes towards Armenians.

Table 9. If you were asked to characterize the Turkish people in one word, what would it be?

<i>Negative characteristics</i>	68,7
- Blood-thirsty	6,4
- Enemies	10,1
- Barbarians	9,1
- Killers	6,4
- Invaders	2,6
- Savage	3,6
- Other	30,5
<i>Positive characteristics</i>	6,0
<i>Neutral characteristics</i>	9,5
Do not know	15,8

Table 10. If you were asked to characterize the Armenian people in one word, what would it be?

<i>Negative characteristics</i>	34,3
Enemy	7,8
Negative prejudices	7,2
Evil	7,0
Egoist, selfish, prejudiced	4,5
Other	7,8
<i>Positive characteristics</i>	10,8
Good person	4,2
Friendly nation	1,4
Diligent, hard working	1,2
Very intelligent	0,9
Other	3,1
<i>Neutral characteristics</i>	13,6
Human	5,7
Christian	2,0
Armenian	1,6
Other	4,3
Do not know	41,0

It is worth mentioning that respondents of age 18-29 in Armenia have most frequently ascribed negative characteristics to Turks (70,9% of the respondents of the given age group), whereas age group 30-44 was the one to chose

neutral and positive traits more than the other age groups (18.3% of the respondents mentioned neutral or positive characteristic).

The most significant characteristic about this question for Turkish respondents lies in the fact that an important part of young generations couldn't answer it. Whereas 46.6% of 18-29 age didn't express an opinion, only 28.8% of the respondents above 60 years failed to answer. This "awareness" of older respondents has been reflected in their answer and they were those who attributed most negative (41,1%), positive (12,3%) and neutral (17,8%) traits to Armenians. It should be add also that the respondents of age 18-29, comparing to the other age groups, attributed negative characteristics to Armenians (32,5%) to a lesser extent.

In order to get a clearer understanding of the attitudes of respondents towards each other, we have requested them to describe their attitude to several possible situations.

Table 11. What would your attitude be to the following?

	Negative		Neutral		Positive		Don't know	
	Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.	Arm.	Turk.	Ar m.	Tur k.
Finding out that a Turkish/Armenian family settled in your city	37,1	19,7	52,9	55,9	8,4	20,7	1,6	3,7
A Turk/Armenian living in your apartment bloc or neighborhood	44,8	26,4	46,0	50,4	8,1	20,2	1,1	3,0
A Turk/Armenian working in your workplace	43,9	25,8	47,0	49,7	7,8	19,9	1,3	4,5
A Turkish/Armenian doctor attending to you in hospital	66,9	22,9	22,8	46,4	6,1	27,2	4,2	3,5
Your son marrying a Turk/Armenian	92,9	63,6	4,6	19,7	1,2	10,3	1,3	6,5
Your daughter marrying a Turk/Armenian	94,1	68,1	3,6	17,4	1,1	8,6	1,2	5,9

As the table shows, primarily we can say that both Turkish and Armenian respondents have mostly neutral attitude to the fact of possible, somewhat distant presence in their lives of people of the other's nationality. However, perspective of a closer relationship attracts neither Armenians nor Turks, especial-

ly for the children marrying a Turk or an Armenian. It could to be stated that Turkish respondents have less prejudice than Armenian respondents. This can be seen for the case of a "doctor attending"; majority of Armenian respondents (66,9%) would negatively react to the fact of being attended by a Turkish doctor in the hospital, while 73,6 % of Turkish respondents would show neutral or positive attitude in case Armenian doctor takes care of their health.

The survey shows that overwhelming majority of Armenian respondents approve establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey, whereas on the Turkish side, the approvals are diminishing, reflecting an important rate of undecided respondents.

The respondents also support opening border entries between Armenia and Turkey and development of economic cooperation between our countries.

In the opinion of majority of Armenian and Turkish respondents, diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey should be most emphasized in order to develop relations between the countries.

Table 12. Which one of the following should be most emphasized for developing relations between Armenia and Turkey to the advantage of both countries?

	Armenia	Turkey
Diplomatic relations between the states	74,8	57,8
Academic relations / relations among universities	1,4	3,0
Commercial relations – among businessmen	6,1	13,5
NGO relations	0,2	7,3
Relations between the parliamentarians	2,1	3,1
Tourist relations between peoples of the two countries	6,0	7,7
Fair solution of the Armenian question	6,0	-

According to the distribution of answers, issue of second importance is development of commercial relations. Respondents in both countries have also emphasized the necessity to develop tourism. One can also note that, unlike Armenian respondents, Turkish respondents believe development of NGO relations to be an important tool, while a certain percent of Armenian respondents claim fair resolution of the Armenian question is to be most emphasized. Respondents in both countries think that relations between parliamentarians and academic relations are least important for the improvement of Armenian-Turkish relations.

* * *

To conclude, what should definitely be emphasized and makes this research all the more meaningful is that it is a first experience. On the one hand, it represents an attempt to unravel mutual perceptions in Turkey and Armenia and on the other, it creates the knowledge which came out of an initiative and collective work of Turkish and Armenian researchers.

By all means, other comparative researches also will be shown that low level of knowledge of Turkish society is not particular to Armenia.

Neighbourhood country, Ermenistan is an unknown country. The analysis of interviews reveals the fact that, Turkish participants' have a very low level of knowledge;

Moreover there are also participants who believe that religious affiliation of Armenians is Judaism and Armenia is still lead by Communist Party, meanwhile the party that is not represented in National Assembly. In other words, everyday language covers maldefinitions and adjectives which reminds bad situations, for Armenians. The adjectives of "Armenian", "Jewish" and "communist" can be counted as examples for this. In other words lack of knowledge becomes more apparent as a source of fear and hatred.

The research also shows that Armenian/Turkish Question is perceived in a different manner; for Armenian citizens the conflict can be resolved only if it is recognized as historically rooted problem and for Turkish citizens Armenians are "other and "alien".

One of the relative important findings of the research is correlation between level of knowledge and level of prejudice in Turkey. Lack of knowledge, lowers the level of prejudice, and makes it more unstable. It is certain that different perspectives on historical events of 1915 have been handled in terms of state policy is very effective for the above mentioned finding. In other words, as Armenian national identity has been constructed on the axis of "genocide", all generations socialize within the given framework, in Turkey however Armenianess has been constructed as "otherness", and "1915" has remained as a stigmatized issue till today; caused lack of knowledge about historical events and being neutral about the issue.

For instance as if Turkey have a good relationship with a particular country then Armenia have a bad one and vice versa.

In both countries, religion is accounted as a critical factor for other country. Religious differences between two countries plays an important role in creation of prejudices. National identity and ideology have been mostly fed by dimension of religion

Turkish citizens are aware of their lack of knowledge which leads a confused image of Armenians. On the contrary Armenian citizens' knowledge on Turkey is more definite. Their knowledge comes from the information about Atatürk, Talat Pasha, Sultan Hamid, Young Turks as "enemies of Armenians" and leads formation of "historical and national consciousness".

The research shows that mutual perceptions have "similarities". As for

Armenian citizens there is no doubt that Turkish citizens have negative image of Armenians, Turkish citizens believe that Armenians do not think in a negative way about Turkish citizens. Armenians and Turkish citizens misunderstood each other in a sense; Armenian citizens do not know the level of positivity of Turkish citizens and Turkish citizens do not know the level of negativity. High educated segments of Turkish citizens seems in more positive mood to Armenian citizens.

The research also shows that high educated segments of Turkish citizens separate Armenian state from Armenian society clearly. The negative or at least hands off attitude over state may not be transferred to attitudes over society.

Certain findings of the research give the motivation of dreaming a potential positive future. In both country there is a room of psychological substructure for communication with other, even it derives from different motivations. Undoubtedly, the most sensitive issue between two country is evaluation of '1915'. According to respondents the main problem between Armenia and Turkey is Armenian Question/Genocide, with a proportion of 82% in Armenia, and 19% in Turkey.

As far as the differences between the levels of prejudices and the important role of '1915' and 'otherness' in the construction of national identities are concerned, the possibility of an attempt from Turkey seems more realistic. The reason for that lies in the fact Armenians have experienced 1915 as a deep rooted historical trauma and hence would expect Turks to make the first steps to respect this memory and provide psychological empathy. Additionally, despite the negativity of the data, there are also signals of potential dialogue.

In other words, Turkish can take the first step but Armenians also have ability of taking step. That is to say, for Armenians there is a historically experienced suffering which can not be forgotten and at least deserve respect of Turkey. Otherwise Armenian Question is never ended. However Armenians taking step for solving the problem at least in their minds.

The way of an alternative communication between two countries can be open by some kind of "pluralization of knowledge".

Ա մ փ ո փ ու մ

Հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունները և
փոխադարձ ընկալումները

Ֆ. Կենտել, Գ. Պողոսյան

Հոդվածում ներկայացված է իր տեսակի մեջ առաջին և առաջին միակ սոցիոլոգիական հետազոտության արդյունքները, հետազոտություն, որը հայ և թուրք սոցիոլոգները մույն ծրագրով և մեթոդով համատեղ անցկացրել են երկու երկրներում: Այն հատուկ նպատակ էր հետապնդում՝ պարզել, թե ինչպե՞ս են միմյանց ընկալում հարևան երկրների բնակչությունը, ինչպիսի՞ ստերեոտիպեր գոյություն ունեն, ինչպիսի՞ փոխադարձ գնահատականներ կան, ո՞րն է համդիսանում հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունների զարգացման գլխավոր խոչընդոտը և արդյոք մեր երկրների բնակչությունը պատրա՞ստ

է այդ հարաբերությունների զարգացմանը:

Չնայած բազմաթիվ դժվարություններին, որոնք առաջացել էին հետազոտության մախապատրաստման և անցկացման ժամանակ, երկու երկրների սոցիոլոգներին հաջողվեց ավարտել աշխատանքը և արդյունքների վերլուծություն անել:

Ինչպես հետազոտության արդյունքում պարզվեց, հայ բնակչությունն ավելի ամբողջական և ճշգրիտ տեղեկություն ունի իր արևմտյան հարևանի մասին, քան Թուրքիայում հարցվողները՝ Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին: Թուրք բնակչության մոտ զգացվում է ճշգրիտ ինֆորմացիայի պակաս՝ ժամանակակից անկախ Հայաստանի հանրապետության մասին:

Դրա հետ մեկտեղ, թուրքերի ընդհանուր վերաբերմունքը հայերի նկատմամբ ավելի բարյացակամ է, քան հայերի վերաբերմունքը թուրքերի և Թուրքիայի նկատմամբ: Մեծամասամբ, դա, իհարկե, բացատրվում է 1915թ. Թուրքիայում իրականացված հայերի ցեղասպանության ծանր ժառանգությամբ: Հայաստանում հարցվողների մեծամասնության (83%) և Թուրքիայում բոլոր հարցվողների մոտավորապես հինգերորդը մասի (19%) կարծիքով, հենց հայերի ցեղասպանության հարցն է համարվում ժամանակակից փոխում հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունների զարգացման փորձաքարը:

Նշենք նաև, որ, ինչպես սոցիոլոգիական հետազոտության արդյունքներն են վկայում, բնակչությունն՝ ինչպես Հայաստանում, այնպես էլ Թուրքիայում, ընդհանուր առմամբ տրամադրված են հարաբերությունների բարելավմամբ ու համագործակցությամբ՝ հարևան երկրների և երկու ժողովուրդների միջև:

Р е з ю м с

Армяно-турецкие отношения и взаимное восприятие

Ф.Кентел, Г.Погосян

Статья представляет результат первого и пока единственного в своем роде социологического исследования, проведенное совместно армянскими и турецкими социологами по единой программе и методике в обеих наших странах. Оно преследовало главную цель — выяснить как воспринимают населения соседних стран друг друга, какие существуют стереотипы, каковы взаимные оценки, что является главным препятствием в развитии армяно-турецких отношений и готовы ли населения наших стран к их развитию.

Несмотря на многочисленные трудности, возникшие во время подготовки и проведения исследования, социологам обеих стран удалось завершить работу и провести анализ результатов.

Как выяснилось в результате исследования, армянское население имеет более полные и точные сведения о своем западном соседе, чем опрошенное население Турции — об Армении и армянах. Чувствуется недостаток достоверной информации у турецкого населения о современной независимой республике Армении.

Наряду с этим, общее отношение турок к армянам более благосклонно, чем отношение армян к туркам и Турции. Это, в основном, объясняется тяжелым наследием геноцида армян в 1915 году в Турции. По мнению большинства опрошенных в Армении (83%) и почти пятой части всех опрошенных в Турции (19%) именно вопрос геноцида армян является камнем преткновения в развитии армяно-турецких отношений на современном этапе.

Отметим также, что как свидетельствуют результаты социологического исследования, население как в Армении, так и в Турции в целом настроено на улучшение отношений и развитие сотрудничества между соседними государствами и двумя народами.