



European
University
Institute

ROBERT
SCHUMAN
CENTRE FOR
ADVANCED
STUDIES

EUDO CITIZENSHIP OBSERVATORY

COUNTRY REPORT: ARMENIA

Shushanik Makaryan

Revised and updated March 2013



<http://eudo-citizenship.eu>

European University Institute, Florence
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
EUDO Citizenship Observatory

Report on Armenia

Shushanik Makaryan

Revised and updated March 2013

EUDO Citizenship Observatory
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
in collaboration with
Edinburgh University Law School
Country Report, RSCAS/EUDO-CIT-CR 2013/17
Badia Fiesolana, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI), Italy

© Shushanik Makaryan

This text may be downloaded only for personal research purposes.
Additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copies or electronically,
requires the consent of the authors.

Requests should be addressed to eudo-citizenship@eui.eu

The views expressed in this publication cannot in any circumstances be regarded as
the official position of the European Union

Published in Italy
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy
www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/
www.eui.eu
cadmus.eui.eu

Research for the EUDO Citizenship Observatory Country Reports has been jointly supported, at various times,
by the European Commission grant agreements JLS/2007/IP/CA/009 EUCITAC and HOME/2010/EIFX/CA/1774 ACIT
and by the British Academy Research Project CITMODES (both projects co-directed by the EUI
and the University of Edinburgh). The financial support from these projects is gratefully acknowledged.

For information about the project please visit the project website at <http://eudo-citizenship.eu>

Armenia*

by Shushanik Makaryan

1. Introduction

The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and fifteen former Soviet republics acquired independent statehood. Redefinition of territorial boundaries by the Soviet authorities, the immigration of skilled labour-force (mostly Russians), voluntary and forced migration, as well as intense assimilation into Russian culture had transformed the ethno-demographic composition of many republics (Anderson & Silver 1989, Castells 1997, Brubaker 2000). These transformations were so momentous that in some republics, such as Latvia, ethnic minorities could have soon outnumbered the titular nation (Brubaker 1992). Thus, when the Soviet Union collapsed, citizenship laws were among the first laws adopted. These laws were intended to halt the immigration of other ethnic groups, and to help constitute control over domestic demographic dynamics in the republics.

Within four years of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, fourteen of the fifteen post-Soviet republics had already established a new citizenship regime (IOM 2006). Various aspects of Soviet and pre-Soviet historical legacies left their imprint on the choices that post-Soviet republics made when adopting their citizenship laws. Some states, such as Latvia or Estonia, caught the attention of the international community when they adhered to citizenship regimes that marginalised ethnic minorities, primarily Russians, from the polity of the post-Soviet state (Helsinki HRW 1992). In contrast, Armenia and most other republics adopted the ‘zero-option’ and extended citizenship to all persons who were permanent residents in their republics since Soviet times (Helsinki HRW 1992).

This report examines the institutionalisation and transformation of Armenia’s citizenship regime since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In contrast with other Soviet republics, Armenia did not experience heavy assimilation into Russian culture and remained ethnically homogenous throughout the 70 years of Soviet rule. However, Soviet policies still left heavy footprints on Armenia’s citizenship regime.

In the 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, implemented reforms that allowed freedom of speech (glasnost). These reforms sparked nationalism and ethnic tensions across the Soviet Union. The legitimacy of Soviet assimilation policies was challenged as ethnic tensions escalated into conflicts in many regions of the Soviet Union. One of those conflicts erupted in the autonomous district of Nagorno-Karabakh – an Armenian enclave of Armenia’s neighbouring Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. According to the 1989 (last) Soviet population census, 75 per cent of Nagorno Karabakh’s population consisted of ethnic Armenians, and the other 25 per cent were Azeris (cited in Helsinki HRW 1994). The Armenian population of Karabakh demanded that the enclave be transferred to Armenia. This led to anti-Armenian riots in Azerbaijan. Eventually the ethnic violence escalated into a war in Nagorno-Karabakh and led to a large

* Address for correspondence: shushanik.makaryan@email.wsu.edu I thank Rainer Bauböck and Jo Shaw for useful comments on earlier drafts of this report. I also thank Karapet Harutyunyan from the Standing Committee on State and Legal Affairs of the National Assembly of Armenia for his valuable input in helping clarify various aspects of the Citizenship Law of Armenia, as well as for providing support in compiling information on citizenship.

flow of Armenian and Azeri refugees. While at war, Azerbaijan (and Turkey - acting in solidarity with Azerbaijan) imposed an economic blockade on Armenia that resulted in high unemployment. This unemployment, combined with corruption and political instability, forced many people to emigrate in search of better life opportunities outside of Armenia.

The independence of Armenia also rejuvenated hopes that after Soviet rule was lifted new ties could be established between Armenia's large diaspora and the homeland that they still cherished. Thus, the decisions that Armenian authorities made about Armenia's citizenship regime were shaped by the Nagorno Karabakh war, high emigration rates on the part of Armenia's population, inflows of refugees into an economically and politically unstable Armenia, as well as the presence of a large diaspora both in the West and in the former Soviet region – the so called Near Abroad. This report examines in detail how these conditions have affected Armenia's citizenship regime.

Before I proceed, some terms should be clarified. In the Armenian language 'citizenship' (*քաղաքացիություն*) and 'nationality' (*ազգայնություն*) are distinct notions. This distinction is also reflected in the legal texts. The Constitution and the Citizenship Law of Armenia use the term 'citizenship' to refer to the legal bond of the individual with the state and to the bundle of rights of citizens. 'Nationality' is used to refer to the ethnic origin of the individual. The Citizenship Law of Armenia uses the terms 'persons of Armenian nationality'¹ or 'persons of Armenian descent' to refer to the ethnic origin of the person, i.e. the nationality (as clarified in Article 13, Citizenship Law of Armenia).²

My analysis highlights the impact of various provisions of the Citizenship Law on certain groups, such as refugees or members of the diaspora. My findings reveal that Armenia's Citizenship Law, adopted in 1995, is heavily based on the *ius sanguinis* principle. The *ius soli* citizenship applies only to children of stateless parents or to foundlings when both parents are unknown.

In 2007 the Citizenship Law was amended to allow for dual citizenship. Dual citizens enjoy the same rights as Armenian citizens who hold no other citizenship. However, dual citizens cannot become members of the National Assembly of Armenia (the parliament), run for the Presidency, or become members of the Constitutional Court of Armenia. Dual citizens can vote in the elections only if they are entered on the electoral register and are in Armenia at the time of elections.

Naturalisation is conditional on three years of permanent residency in Armenia, proficiency in the Armenian language and the knowledge of Armenia's Constitution. Persons who have a spouse, a child or a parent of Armenian citizenship are eligible for facilitated naturalisation without meeting the residency and the language proficiency requirements. Persons of Armenian nationality are eligible for naturalisation without meeting the requirements of residency, the language proficiency and the knowledge of the constitution. Facilitated naturalisation is also offered to persons who since 1 January 1995 by their own application had renounced Armenian citizenship.

The three years residency requirement for naturalisation is one of the shortest among all the former Soviet republics. During 1997-2007 Armenian citizenship was mainly acquired by refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh. After the introduction of dual citizenship in 2007, the

¹ Until the amendment of 8 December 2011 the Citizenship Law of Armenia also used the term "persons of Armenian origin" to refer to ethnic origin of the person. The term "origin" was deleted from the Law in 2011 to make it consistent with the Constitution of Armenia as amended in 2005 that uses "persons of Armenian nationality" rather than "persons of Armenian origin" to refer to ethnic Armenians.

² Citizenship Law of Armenia, adopted on 6 November 1995, entered into force on 16 November 1995, last amended on 6 April, 2010.

number of both citizenship applications and naturalisations has increased drastically. This trend is likely to continue in the near future.

The next section is a brief summary of Armenia's history. I discuss the pre-conditions that led to the formation of Armenia's large diaspora which eventually came to play a key role in shaping Armenia's citizenship regime. After discussing Armenia's citizenship within Soviet framework, I examine the post-Soviet era. Here I discuss the public debates that have surrounded Armenia's citizenship regime since 1995 – when the Citizenship Law of Armenia was adopted. I conclude my report by summarising the main features of Armenia's current citizenship regime.

2. Historical Background

Armenia's history dates back to the Kingdom of Urartu in the 9th century BC. In the 6th century BC this Kingdom was ruled by an Armenian dynasty. Between 95-65 BC, under King Tigran Mets (Tigranes the Great), the Kingdom reached its peak. In his time the Kingdom of Great Armenia was one of the most powerful kingdoms to the East of the Roman Empire. Its territories extended from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea and spanned the geographic landscape of the Caucasus, today's Syria, Lebanon and parts of Turkey (Gale Group 2003, Encyclopaedia Britannica 2010). In 301 AD King Tiridates III was the first to declare Christianity the state religion (the Roman Emperor Constantin did so only in 313 AD).

Located on an important travel route between the East and the West, from the 4th to the 19th century the Armenian Kingdom lost territories to the Byzantine, Persian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires (Gale Group 2003). In the 16th century Armenia fell under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. During the Persian-Turkish wars in the 16-19th centuries, parts of Armenia were incorporated into Persia. Later, during the Russian-Persian war (1824-1828) and Russo-Turkish war (1828-1829), the Russian Empire acquired some parts of Armenian territories from the Ottomans and the Persians.

At the beginning of the 20th century, in 1915, radical Ottoman Turkish nationalism escalated into the genocide of Armenians. Scholars argue that several factors led to this traumatic event, such as the geopolitical destabilisation at the beginning of the 20th century and economic privileges that Christians enjoyed in the Ottoman Empire (Mann 2005), the perception among radical nationalists that the Ottoman hegemony and superiority was in decline (Akcem 2004), as well as the revolutionary transformation promoted by the Young Turks (Melson 1996) that sparked anti-Christian sentiments.

World War I marked the end of the Ottoman Empire and the onset of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution. Armenian territories managed to gain independence from the Russian and Ottoman Empires. Thus, a short-lived first Democratic Republic of Armenia was born (1918-1920). During the Turkish-Armenian war in 1920 the post-Ottoman Turkish state was able to regain lost territories from Armenia. However, later that year Soviet troops invaded and forced the Turks to leave. By several treaties the Soviet Union and Turkey divided amongst themselves and exchanged parts of Armenian territory. Turkey acquired several territories, including the ancient Armenian cities Ani, Kars and Ardahan (Barseghov 2002). In exchange, Turkey ceded Adjara (currently part of Georgia) to the Soviet Union. Turkish and Soviet authorities agreed to assign Zangesur to Armenia, whereas Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh were allocated to Azerbaijan as autonomous units (Barseghov 2002, Europa Publications 2000). Hence, the contemporary boundaries of Armenia were drawn.

In 1922 Armenia officially became part of the Soviet Union and, along with Georgia and Azerbaijan, was incorporated into the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (SFSR). The Transcaucasian SFSR was dissolved in 1936, and the Soviet authorities created three separate Soviet Socialist Republics (SSR) – Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan.

2.1. Soviet Citizenship Law and the Citizenship of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic

During Soviet times republic-level citizenship was regulated by the Soviet Union Citizenship Law. The citizen of a particular republic was also a citizen of the Soviet Union. While each republic had its own citizenship law, that law was almost identical to the Soviet Union Citizenship Law. To acquire citizenship in a Soviet republic and, hence, also Soviet citizenship, the only requirement one had to fulfil was to simply obtain a permanent residency status in the particular republic (Ginsburgs 1983).

After World War II Soviet authorities tried to consolidate Soviet Armenia as the homeland for all Armenians in the world. Hence, the Soviet government started a campaign to facilitate the repatriation of people of Armenian origin – dispersed around the world due to the 1915 genocide and the collapse of the Russian Empire. To foster the process, Soviet authorities issued a decree which allowed repatriated Armenians to build private housing in the territory of Soviet Armenia – with 50 per cent of the cost being paid by Soviet authorities (Avakov 1957 cited in Ginsburgs 1968). By the 1946 decree, persons of Armenian nationality who returned from abroad into Soviet Armenia were declared Soviet citizens as soon as they had arrived in the Soviet Union (Ginsburgs 1968: 33). Turkey forbade the repatriation of 30,000 Armenians from Turkey. Nevertheless, during 1946-1947 around 60,000-80,000 Armenians were able to repatriate into Soviet Armenia from Lebanon, Syria, Greece, Egypt, France, Bulgaria, Romania and Iran (Vernant 1953 cited in Ginsburgs 1968). Another wave of returns occurred in the mid 1960s.

Soviet authorities made no mandatory provision to require that Armenian repatriates renounce their previous citizenship, which unintentionally created a possibility for *de facto* dual citizenship (Ginsburgs 1968: 199).

2.2. Debates Surrounding Armenia's Post-Soviet Citizenship Regime

The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, and the international community recognised the independence of fifteen former Soviet republics. As sovereign states, the republics now had to define the initial constituent citizenship body of the newly independent state. In the Baltic republics this became a controversial issue. Labour immigration by Russians and other ethnic groups, as well as high fertility rates among ethnic minorities were among the key factors that had transformed the ethno-demographic structure of Latvia and Estonia (Brubaker 1992).

In contrast, the Armenian SSR was one of the most ethnically homogenous republics among all fifteen former Soviet republics (Anderson & Silver 1989). In the 1989 Soviet Union population census, Armenians comprised 93.3 per cent of the republic's population (see Table 1). The Armenian public therefore did not share the same concerns about ethnic minorities that were present in the Baltic states during the early years of post-Soviet statehood. Hence, already in 1990 the Declaration of Independence of Armenia stated that

‘[a]ll citizens living on the territory of Armenia [are] granted citizenship of the Republic of Armenia’ (Article 4).³

Table 1. *De iure* Population of Armenia by Ethnic Composition in 1989 and 2001 Population Census Results.

Ethnicity	1989 Population Census		2001 Population Census	
	Total Population (in persons)	%	Total Population (in persons)	%
Total	3,448,600	100.0	3,213,011	100.0
Armenian	3,217,544	93.3	3,145,354	97.9
Azeri	89,664	2.6	Not available	0.0
Kurd	58,626	1.7	Not available	0.0
Russian	51,729	1.5	14,660	0.5
Yezed	Not available	Not available	40,620	1.3
Other	31,037	0.9	12,377	0.4

Sources: Europa Publications (2000); NSS (National Statistical Service) of Armenia (2003).

In 1995, after the Constitution of Armenia was adopted, the parliament of Armenia enacted a citizenship law. Two main issues – dual citizenship and citizenship rights for the Armenian refugees from the neighbouring country Azerbaijan – were at the centre of the debates about the citizenship regime.

Debates over Dual Citizenship

The first issue was dual citizenship. Post-Soviet independent Armenia had a large diaspora in Western Europe, North and Latin America, as well as in the former Soviet region – the Near Abroad. While the diaspora in the West was primarily formed due to the 1915 genocide of Armenians by Turkey, the diaspora in the Near Abroad (primarily settled in Russia) had formed during the Soviet years and shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The last Soviet population census held in 1989 stated that there were over one million persons of Armenian nationality living in other republics of the former Soviet Union (Anderson & Silver 1989). Moreover, post-Soviet economic hardships had forced many citizens to leave Armenia in the early 1990s in search of better job opportunities in Russia and other former Soviet republics. Due to the intended temporary nature of emigration, many of these labour migrants, despite being absent for years, did not alter their place of permanent residence from Armenia and remained eligible to vote in elections (IFES 1996 [1998]).⁴ These persons could

³ Declaration of Independence of Armenia, adopted 23 August 1990 by the Supreme Council of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). <http://www.armeniaforeignministry.am/arm/index.html>, 14 June 2010.

⁴ According to IFES (1996 [1998]: 38), the Law on Conduct of the Referendum and the Law on the Election of National Deputies to the National Assembly stated that Armenian citizens were eligible to vote in elections if they had become eighteen years old or higher and had resided in Armenia for one year prior to the day of the election. These rules regulated the 1995 national elections to the parliament and the national referendum on the constitution, both held on 5 July 1995. However, given that the Citizenship Law of post-Soviet Armenia was not adopted at the time, and the process of replacement of Soviet passports with Armenian passports was still ongoing, the Central Election Committee (CEC) decided that those citizens of the former Soviet Union who

eventually settle in host countries and acquire second citizenship. Thus, there were concerns among the Armenian legislators that many Armenians who now lived in the Near Abroad could be eligible for dual citizenship.⁵ This large number of potential dual citizens could have an impact on elections, and could thus challenge the political stability of Armenia.

There were also fears that dual citizenship would allow many Armenian citizens to avoid military service at a time when Armenia and the neighbouring Republic of Azerbaijan were engaged in a conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh territory:⁶ a cease-fire was achieved in 1994 – only one year prior to the adoption of the Citizenship Law.

The issue was further complicated by the hostility that existed between the Armenian government and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF, also known as Dashnaktsutyun political party). After Armenia became part of the Soviet Union, the ARF, created in the 19th century, was banned from Soviet Armenia, and hence the ARF remained active in the exile among the Armenian diaspora in the West (ARF-D n.d.). The ARF ‘strongly opposed Armenia’s first post-Soviet government led by [then President] Ter-Petrosian from 1991 to 1998 [who] controversially ... banned [ARF] in 1994’.⁷ The Armenian authorities also feared that dual citizenship would allow Armenians in the West to interfere and shape the domestic politics and foreign policy of Armenia.

Eventually, in April 1995 the Supreme Council (i.e. the parliament, since 1995 renamed as the National Assembly of Armenia) decided to ban dual citizenship from the final draft of the constitution that was put on the ballot during the national referendum in July of the same year. This Constitution did not allow Armenian citizens to possess multiple citizenships (Article 14).⁸ However, the Constitution also stated that persons of Armenian nationality were eligible to acquire Armenian citizenship in a simplified manner (Article 14, 1995 Constitution of Armenia). As I discuss later, the 1995 Citizenship Law made persons of Armenian nationality (descent) eligible for facilitated naturalisation without meeting the mandatory three years residency requirement. However, the 1995 Law was vague on regulating the renunciation of previous citizenship.

Citizenship Status of Armenian Refugees

The second issue was the citizenship status of Armenian refugees from the Nagorno-Karabakh territory – an Armenian enclave in the neighbouring Republic of Azerbaijan. Since 1988, when conflict erupted in Nagorno-Karabakh between ethnic Armenians and Azeris, hundreds of thousands Armenian refugees fled to Armenia and Russia, among other destinations. It was estimated that over 400,000 Armenian refugees left Nagorno-Karabakh, and more than 300,000 settled in Armenia (Regional Surveys of the World 1999 cited in UNHCR 1999). This flow of refugees was equivalent to roughly 10 per cent of Armenia’s population at the time (see the 1989 population census in Anderson & Silver 1989). The

resided in Armenia, had a permanent residence permit, and met the one year residency requirement were eligible to vote in 1995 elections (CEC decision of 24 May 1995 cited in IFES 1996 [1998]: 38).

⁵ Supreme Council of Armenia (1995), *Հայաստանի Հանրապետության Գերագույն Խորհրդի նիստի արձանագրություն* [Transcripts of the Parliamentary Hearings of the Supreme Council]. May 2 1995.

⁶ ‘Ter-Petrosyan Holds Press Conference. 4 October, 1997’ *Azbarez* [Armenian daily newspaper], 16 October 1997.

⁷ Musayelyan, S. (2009), ‘Ter-Petrosian Pushes For Broader Opposition Collaboration’ *Azatoryun Radiokayan* [Radio Liberty], 12 June 2009. <http://www.azatoryun.am/content/article/1753151.html>, 17 June 2010

⁸ The [First] Constitution of Republic of Armenia. Adopted 5 July 1995 by the Supreme Council of the Armenia. <http://www.president.am/files/output.php?fid=111>, 10 May 2010.

citizenship status of these refugees was one of the issues to be formulated in the post-Soviet citizenship law.

The Citizenship Law of the Soviet Union remained in force until 1995 when the new post-Soviet citizenship law was finally adopted. The Soviet Citizenship Law did not regulate the matter of refugees among the republics: citizens of a certain republic were all citizens of the same Soviet Union. Thus, during 1990-1991 the Government of Armenia decided the status of citizenship applications of Nagorno-Karabakh refugees on a case-by-case basis. Armenian authorities granted citizenship by descent – i.e. to ‘all the members of a family who applied for citizenship if one of the parents was a citizen of Armenia. Families whose heads were both citizens of Azerbaijan were not entitled to Armenian citizenship’ (Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada 1994).

2.3. The Citizenship Law of 1995 and the Subsequent Changes

The Initial Body of Citizens

When the Citizenship Law was finally adopted (entered into force 16 November 1995), Article 10 specified the initial constituent body of citizens of Armenia. Several groups of people were addressed in that category – previous citizens of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (Article 10(1)), refugees from the neighbouring republic Azerbaijan and stateless persons or citizens of other republics of the former Soviet Union (USSR) who were living in Armenia and did not have other citizenship (Article 10(2)), as well as the post-Soviet Armenian diaspora and migrants from Armenia (Article 10(3)). Article 10(2) reinforced the zero-option, and made Armenian citizenship available to all former USSR citizens that were permanent residents in Armenia for three years prior to the enactment of the 1995 Citizenship Law and who had not acquired foreign citizenship. Specifically, the following categories of persons were declared citizens of post-Soviet Armenia (IOM 1996):

- 1) Citizens of the former Armenian SSR permanently residing in the Republic of Armenia who prior to the enactment of the Constitution [1995] [had not] acquire[d] citizenship of another state or renounced it within a year as of the day of enactment of the present Law;
- 2) Stateless persons or citizens of other republics of the former USSR who [were] not aliens and who prior to the enactment of the present Law permanently resid[ed] in the Republic of Armenia for [previous] three years and who, within a year as of the day of the enactment of the present Law, appl[ied] for the acquisition of the citizenship of the Republic of Armenia;
- 3) Citizens of the former Armenian SSR residing [since] 21 September 1991 outside the Republic of Armenia who [had not] acquire[d] citizenship of another state, as well as citizens of the former Armenian SSR who [were] Armenians by origin and who [had] resided before outside Armenia and [had] not acquire[d] citizenship of another state and prior to the enactment of the present Law were on the consular record.

Between 1997 and 2012 the Citizenship Law of 1995 was amended nine times (twice in 2011), and in each of these amendments (except in 2001 and in 2011) Article 10(2) was

modified. The refugee population was slow in acquiring Armenian citizenship.⁹ Table 2 depicts the naturalisation rate of the total annual number of refugees, identified so by the UNHCR, that were present in Armenia. The UNHCR (2004a) estimated that there were 334,000 refugees in Armenia identified as refugees by the UNHCR in 1993 – roughly 10 per cent of Armenia’s population (Table 2).

Table 2. Amendments to Article 10(2) of the Citizenship Law of Armenia and the Number of Annually Naturalised Refugees in Armenia by the End of the Year.

Year	Total Annual Number of Refugees	Citizenship Law Adopted/ Amended	Refugees Naturalised Annually
1992	300,000		
1993	334,000		
1994	304,039		
1995	218,950	Citizenship Law adopted	
1996	218,950		
1997	219,000	Art. 10(2) amended	
1998	310,012		7,000*
1999	296,216	Article 10(2) amended	7,497
2000	280,591		15,631
2001	264,337	Amendment not affecting Art. 10(2)	16,259
2002	247,550	Article 10(2) amended	9,055
2003	239,289	Article 10(2) amended	8,287
2004	235,235		4,149
2005	219,550		2,274
2006	113,226		1,200
2007	4,566	Article 10(2) amended	700
2008	3,953		733
2009	2,700		400
2010	3,296	Article 10(2) amended	Not available
2011**	2,918	Amendments not affecting Art. 10(2)	420
2012	Not available		214
Total			73,819

* Total number of refugees naturalised prior to 1998 (UNHCR 2004b).

** In 2011, amendments were made to the Citizenship law of Armenia on two separate occasions-- on November 30, 2011 and on 8 December 2011.

Sources: UNHCR (2004a, 2004b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012); for naturalisation in 2012 see Aysor 2013.

In 2005 there were still around 220,000 refugees in the country (UNHCR 2007a).¹⁰ By the end of 2008 only a total of 73,185 refugees (Table 2) had acquired Armenian

⁹ Many refugees believed that by acquiring Armenian citizenship they would hence become not eligible to claim property rights and receive property compensation from Azerbaijan (UNHCR 2004c).

¹⁰ By the end of year 2006, the number of registered refugees in Armenia decreased from 219,555 to 113,714 persons. The UNHCR (2007b: 24) attributes this drastic decline to ‘other’ unspecified reasons that do not include resettlement, voluntary repatriation and naturalisation. Many refugees are believed to have moved to other destinations, such as Russia and other CIS republics, or the United States and Europe.

citizenship.¹¹ Thus, Article 10(2) was repeatedly amended in order to extend the time for refugees to file applications for Armenian citizenship. In 2010 the Arab Spring and the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East generated a new wave of refugee flows to Armenia. This explains the slight increase in the number of refugees for 2010 and 2011 (see Table 2). Thus, the amendment made in 2010 extended the deadline for Article 10(2) to apply for citizenship until 31 December 2012.

In 2001, the citizenry of Armenia was again redefined. This time the change was made to Article 10(3). The paragraph was re-written to refer only to the Armenian diaspora of the former Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. Specifically, the new wording extended citizenship only to ‘citizens of Armenian origin of the former Armenian SSR who were living outside of Republic of Armenia and had not acquired citizenship of another country’. The amendment of December 2011 reworded article 10(3) to make the reference to ethnic Armenians consistent with the Constitution of Armenia as amended in 2005. In particular, the wording “...citizens of Armenian origin” was replaced with “citizens of Armenian *nationality*” (emphasis added).

Acquisition of Citizenship

The 1995 Citizenship Law heavily relied on the principle of *ius sanguinis* (Article 11). The *ius soli* principle applied only if the child was born in Armenia to stateless parents (Article 12).

Foreigners could apply for citizenship if they were able to communicate in the Armenian language, were familiar with the Constitution of Armenia and had lived in Armenia for three years prior to filing an application for citizenship (Article 13). Once granted citizenship, the person was required to read a loyalty oath in Armenian language and sign it.

The three years residency requirement was waived if the person had married an Armenian citizen or had a child or a parent of Armenian citizenship (Article 13). This requirement was also waived for a person who was an Armenian by birth and had established residence in Armenia (Article 13). This provision was a rather limited waiver that members of Armenian diaspora were entitled to by law. After all, Armenia’s Citizenship Law was largely driven by the principle of *ius sanguinis*, and Article 14 of the 1995 Constitution of Armenia explicitly stated that ‘[i]ndividuals of Armenian origin [should] acquire citizenship of the Republic of Armenia through a simplified procedure’.¹² However, one should not forget that the 1995 Citizenship Law was drafted during times when relations between the Armenian government and the Armenian diaspora in the West were strained. Those were years when the ARF political party that enjoyed the support of diaspora Armenians was banned in Armenia and was accused of trying to overturn the Armenian leadership.

Among all the former Soviet republics Armenia’s citizenship law had one of the smallest number of requirements for naturalisation. In fact, the three-year residency requirement was one of the shortest among all post-Soviet republics. Nevertheless, until 2007 only 1,735 persons had acquired Armenian citizenship.¹³ The most plausible explanation for

¹¹ The Armenian government cites a different number – a total of 81,300 refugees by 2008 (official Armenian statistics cited in UNHCR 2009).

¹² The [First] Constitution of Republic of Armenia. Adopted 5 July 1995.

¹³ Press-conference of the Head of the Passport and Visa Bureau of the Ministry of Interior of Armenia, Mr. Norayr Muradkhanyan. Novosti-Armenia (Armenia News), 23 December 2008. One must assume that Mr. Muradkhanyan was referring to naturalised foreign citizens rather than the more than 81,000 refugees or stateless

this discrepancy is that citizenship of Armenia remained largely unattractive to foreign citizens, including the Armenian diaspora, as long as the economic and political situation of Armenia failed to improve.

Dual Citizenship

When Armenia adopted its first post-Soviet Constitution in 1995, Article 14 specified that ‘[a] citizen of the Republic of Armenia may not be a citizen of another state simultaneously.’ Article 1 of the 1995 Citizenship Law restated this principle. However, the Law failed to specify whether acquiring another country’s citizenship would *automatically* result in the loss of Armenian citizenship. Thus, the Law did not regulate or prevent instances that could allow *de facto* dual citizenship. Moreover, the renunciation of the other citizenship was never explicitly made a requirement for foreigners who wanted to naturalise (see Article 13 of the 1995 Citizenship Law). In contrast, for example, in Latvia’s Citizenship Law of 1994, Article 12.1(7) explicitly stated that Latvian citizenship could be granted only if the applicant had met several naturalisation requirements, among these providing a statement of renunciation of former citizenship or a document proving loss of that citizenship (IOM 1996).

Article 23 on termination of Armenian citizenship did not directly make reference to dual citizenship either. This article vaguely mentioned that the citizenship of Armenia could be terminated on the basis of ‘changing the Armenian citizenship’ and ‘other reasons defined by [the Citizenship] Law’. Instead, Article 25 stated that the person ‘*could be* deprived of Armenian citizenship... if [he or she] had acquired citizenship of another state by violating the Citizenship Law of Armenia’ (Article 26(3), emphasis added).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, many citizens of Armenia had emigrated as (undocumented) labour migrants to the United States, Russia and other former Soviet republics. Unfortunately, the population census and alternative measures for annual migration statistics have failed to provide reliable estimates for annual migration dynamics (Makaryan 2012). However, according to Armenia’s Aviation Department, during 1990-1999 630,000 more passengers had left the country than had arrived (Yeganyan, Badurashvili, Andreev, Mesle, Shkolnikov, & Vallin 2001). This was roughly 20 per cent of Armenia’s 2001 population size (see Table 1). Russia’s 2002 population census reported 136,841 citizens of Armenia (5 per cent of Armenia’s 2001 population size) living in Russia at the time of the census (Rosstat 2004). Moreover, in Russia alone the proportion of persons of Armenian nationality (not citizenship) had more than doubled since the 1989 (last) Soviet population census. There were 779 Armenians (compared with 362 in 1989) per 100,000 persons in Russia in 2002 (Rosstat 2004).

As economic conditions failed to improve, and emigration continued to remain at high levels, the issue of dual citizenship remained a topic of public debate during the next decade.

Loss of Armenian Citizenship

Article 25 of the Citizenship Law also specified the basis for the loss of Armenian citizenship. Acquiring citizenship of another state or providing false documents and information to

persons that had acquired citizenship of Armenia by 2008 (official Armenian statistics cited in the UNHCR 2009).

acquire Armenian citizenship could lead to the termination of Armenian citizenship (Article 25(3 and 2)).

Controversy surrounds point 1 of Article 25 which stipulates that ‘if the person has acquired Armenian citizenship under Article 13 of this Law [i.e. citizenship through naturalisation], and by being a permanent resident abroad has failed to file for consular registration for seven years without reasonable justification’ then the Armenian citizenship may be revoked. Already in the 1994 draft version of the Law, the UNHCR objected to this wording and insisted that instances of statelessness could occur if the person had resided abroad for seven years and had not acquired another citizenship. ‘In such cases the loss of Armenian citizenship would make him/her a stateless person.’¹⁴ Thus, the UNHCR suggested limiting the wording to only those persons who possessed second country’s citizenship. Yet, when the Law was adopted in 1995, this advice of the UNHCR was neglected.

Nevertheless, what is peculiar is that Article 25(1) targets specifically naturalised citizens and does not extend to persons that acquired Armenian citizenship at birth based on the Armenian citizenship of the parent. Had the statement in 25(1) also included those Armenian citizens by birth, then thousands of Armenian citizens that had left the country as undocumented labour migrants and had lived in Russia, the United States and other countries for many years would have been in danger of losing their Armenian citizenship. In the context of the high emigration trends, this could have led to the depopulation of Armenia. Thus, one could assume that the wording of Article 25(1) was chosen carefully to target only those naturalised aliens who, after acquiring Armenian citizenship, had left the country and could potentially influence Armenia’s domestic politics from outside.

The amendments of 8 December 2011 to the Citizenship Law of Armenia modified the procedure for termination of Armenian citizenship. The controversial clause in Article 25 objected by the UNHCR earlier - on termination of citizenship for naturalised persons who as permanent residents abroad had failed to file for consular registration for seven years without reasonable justification (Article 25 (1)) – was fully deleted from the Citizenship Law. Article 25(2) was merged with Article 23, and as a result Article 25 was fully deleted from the Citizenship Law, as amended in December 2011.

Controversies Surrounding Citizenship of the Armenian Diaspora

Citizenship and residency in Armenia have often been used by Armenian authorities to create obstacles to political competition or political opposition. Members of the opposition have often been from the Armenian diaspora in the West or the Near Abroad. Among the most salient cases, and perhaps also the most publicly debated, was the citizenship status of Mr. Raffi Hovhannisyanyan, an American Armenian who in 1989 settled in Armenia and in 1991-1992 was the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of post-Soviet Armenia.¹⁵

¹⁴ The letter of the Head of the UNHCR in Armenia Mr. Reinout Wanrooy to the Head of the Parliament of Armenia Mr. Babken Ararktsyan, 24 January 1994.

¹⁵ Dashtents, A. (2001), ‘Դաֆֆի Հովհաննիսյանին շնորհվել է ՀՀ քաղաքացիություն [Raffi Hovhannisyanyan was Granted Citizenship of Armenia]’ in *Azatutyun Radiostation* (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Armenia office), 31 August 2001. <http://www.armenialiberty.org/content/article/1568815.html>, 5 May 2010.

In 1991 Mr. Hovhannisyanyan applied for Armenian citizenship,¹⁶ which was granted only nine years later in 2001.¹⁷ The media and the general public maintained that the Armenian government delayed and denied Mr. Hovhannisyanyan's citizenship application to marginalise him in the presidential race of Armenia.¹⁸ As a person of Armenian descent, Mr. Hovhannisyanyan was eligible for facilitated naturalisation that waived the three-year residency requirement. The Office of Citizenship by the President of Armenia stated that the citizenship of Mr. Hovhannisyanyan was approved already in 1996 – on condition that Mr. Hovhannisyanyan would renounce his American citizenship.¹⁹ In April 2001 Mr. Hovhannisyanyan renounced his US citizenship, re-applied for Armenian citizenship, and remained a stateless person until August of 2001 when finally by the decree of the President of Armenia Mr. Hovhannisyanyan was granted citizenship of Armenia.²⁰

In 2003 and 2008 Mr. Hovhannisyanyan publicly expressed his desire to run for Presidency of Armenia during the upcoming elections. However, the refusal to grant citizenship to Mr. Hovhannisyanyan in the 1990s disqualified him as a candidate for presidential elections in 2003 and 2008. By Article 50 of the Constitution of Armenia (as amended on 27 November 2005) a person is eligible for the Presidency of Armenia if the person had been a citizen of Armenia, as well as a permanent resident in Armenia for the preceding ten years.²¹

In 2001, after being granted Armenian citizenship, Mr. Hovhannisyanyan filed a complaint with a first instance court and demanded that the court rectify the date of issue of Armenian citizenship to 1991 when he had initially filed his citizenship application having already been a resident in Armenia since 1989.²² Had the court's decision favoured Mr. Hovhannisyanyan, he would have become eligible for registering with the Central Election Committee as a candidate for the 2003 presidential elections of Armenia. However, the court denied R. Hovhannisyanyan's claim based on the testimony of the representative of the President Kocharyan of Armenia, who insisted that no citizenship applications were received during 1991-1995, and that the first complete application dated to 1997.²³ This testimony contradicted the information received from the former Minister of Justice²⁴ who stated that R. Hovhannisyanyan had applied for Armenian citizenship earlier than 1997. In sum, the court denied the claim by Mr. Hovhannisyanyan, and thus rendered him ineligible for the office of the Presidency.²⁵ The Appellate Court did not overturn the ruling of the first instance court (OSCE 2003).

During the 2008 presidential election campaign Mr. Hovhannisyanyan petitioned President Kocharyan and asked again for the rectification of the date of his Armenian citizenship. The request was denied on the basis that at the time the Constitution of Armenia

¹⁶ Qalantaryan, K. (2003), 'Դատարանը մերժում է Բաֆֆի Հովհաննիսյանի հայցը [The Court Denies the Claim of Raffi Hovhannisyanyan]', 9 January 2003 in *Azatoryun Radiostation* (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Armenia office). <http://www.azatoryun.am/articleprintview/1570625.html>, 5 May 2010.

¹⁷ Dashtents, A. (2001).

¹⁸ The 1995 Constitution of Armenia stated that '[e]very person having attained the age of thirty five, having been a citizen of the Republic of Armenia for the preceding ten years, having permanently resided in the Republic for the preceding ten years, and having the right to vote [was] eligible for the Presidency' (Article 50).

¹⁹ The Head of the Office of Amnesty, Citizenship, Awards and Titles by the President of Armenia—Ms. Jemma Hakobyan cited in Dashtents (2001).

²⁰ Dashtents (2001).

²¹ Constitution of Armenia (as amended on 27 November 2005).

<http://www.parliament.am/parliament.php?id=constitution&lang=eng>, 16 April 2010.

²² Qalantaryan (2003).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

did not support dual citizenship, and that Mr. Hovhannisyán renounced his US citizenship only in 2001. Hence, Mr. Hovhannisyán had to withdraw his candidacy from the 2008 presidential campaign.

Mr. Hovhannisyán was finally able to run for the Presidency of Armenia in the February 2013 elections. The incumbent President Sargsyan won the Presidency for a second term by 58.6 % of the total votes, whereas Mr. Raffi Hovhannissyan came second and received 36.7% of the votes²⁶. The opposition leaders, among them Mr. Hovhannisyán, have rejected the official results of the presidential vote and have insisted that the elections were compromised by massive voting fraud initiated by the incumbent President Sargsyan.²⁷

2.4. Constitutional Amendments and Changes to the Citizenship Regime Since 2005

When succeeding President Ter-Petrosyan (1991-1998), President Kocharyan (1998-2008) made a public promise to support dual citizenship for diaspora Armenians. Through the national referendum of 27 November 2005, the Constitution of Armenia was amended and a clause on dual citizenship was introduced into the Constitution.

Now the Armenian legislator had to decide whether dual citizenship would be available to (1) only citizens of the Armenian state, (2) and/or persons of Armenian descent worldwide (and hence dual citizenship would help formalise the membership of the Armenian diaspora in the Armenian state), or (3) whether dual citizenship would also be open to foreign citizens more generally (Solomonyan 2006).²⁸

In 1994, the parliament of Armenia had adopted the Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens.²⁹ This Law granted Special Residency Status (SRS) to persons of Armenian descent (Article 21). The SRS allowed the holder to reside in Armenia for ten years and enjoy the same rights as Armenian citizens, except the right to vote or be elected. Nevertheless, the proponents of dual citizenship insisted that by formally introducing the option of dual citizenship, diaspora Armenians would feel more attached to the Armenian state.

In April 2006 the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF, also known as the Dashnaksutyun political party) unveiled to the public a legislative proposal on dual citizenship. The ARF, popular among the Armenian diaspora in the United States, Iran, and Lebanon, emphasised that dual citizenship would organise Armenians around state interests, help integrate and strengthen the Armenian community worldwide, improve the relations with the Armenian diaspora, protect Armenia's history and culture, as well as protect the rights of Armenians abroad (ARF 2006). This position was also shared by the Armenian government and the larger public.

However, there were also fears that many current citizens of Armenia would acquire second citizenship, and due to slow economic progress, political repression and high unemployment, would eventually renounce their Armenian citizenship and abandon Armenia

²⁶ RFE/RL (2013a). "How Credible Are The Official Results Of The Armenian Presidential Election?" in *Caucasus Report*, February 20, 2013

²⁷ RFE/RL (2013b). *Armenian Opposition Leader Rejects Official Results Of Presidential Vote*, February 21, 2013.

²⁸ Ms. Narine Solomonyan is a representative of the Ministry of Justice of Armenia.

²⁹ Law of Republic of Armenia On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in Armenia. Entered into force 17 June 1994, replaced by the Law on Aliens of 25 December 2006.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20011214134631/www.parliament.am/Am/>, 20 September 2010.

(Solomonyan 2006). This would lead to the depopulation of Armenia and, hence, jeopardise the national security in a geopolitically unstable region.

When the ARF unveiled its proposal on dual citizenship in 2006, the proposal specified that dual citizenship would be available to persons of Armenians descent only (ARF 2006). Most importantly, the proposal also stated that those citizens of Armenia who had renounced their Armenian citizenship in order to acquire another citizenship would not be eligible to re-apply for Armenian citizenship later and to acquire dual citizenship this way (Article XIII).

Three main issues became subjects of debates when various drafts on dual citizenship were circulated to the public: military service, tax duties, and voting and political rights of dual citizens. In the ARF proposal, tax payments were regulated by governmental treaties. The military service was to take place in the country where the dual citizen had been a permanent resident before reaching the age for army service. As the reader remembers, the ARF political party was banned in Armenia during the 1990s because it was suspected of preparing a coup. Thus, the ARF wanted to ensure the public and the Armenian authorities that it did not intend to influence the Armenian politics from outside by using the dual citizenship of the Armenian diaspora (Ohanyan 2004). And hence, in the ARF proposal dual citizens would be eligible to participate in national elections only if they had established permanent and uninterrupted residency in Armenia. However, by linking voting rights to territorial residency, the ARF proposal excluded from the electorate a large body of Armenian citizens who had been living abroad as permanent residents (National Assembly of Armenia 2006). At the time, the legislation allowed Armenian citizens abroad to cast their ballot at Armenian consulates and embassies (Article 15(4) of the Electoral Code of Armenia).³⁰ In the ARF proposal this right was revoked.

Various bodies and representatives of the government and the judiciary publicised their ideas on dual citizenship. The Constitutional Court suggested retaining the right for dual citizenship only for the members of the Armenian diaspora³¹ (see also Solomonyan 2006: 5-6). The Deputy Minister of Justice Mr. Malkhasyan proposed that the dual citizen himself choose the country of his citizenship where he intended to carry out his military service (Ohanyan 2004: 293). Mr. Malkhasyan also suggested that dual citizenship be granted through naturalisation, and the residency requirement be increased from three years to five years, in order to prevent a ‘degrading’ of the institution of Armenian citizenship (Ohanyan 2004: 293). The proposal of the Ministry of Justice granted dual citizens the same rights and responsibilities enjoyed by Armenian citizens, including the right to run for an elective public office. However, the proposal banned dual citizens from occupying appointed positions in Armenia’s executive and judicial offices. Thus, while dual citizens could run for the Presidency, they were banned from holding high-level offices in the executive and judicial branches, such as being prime minister, a minister, a member of the Armenian Constitutional Court, etc (Ohanyan 2004).

The ARF suggested adopting a separate law on dual citizenship,³² whereas other members of the parliament proposed regulating the issue within the already existing Law on Citizenship.³³

³⁰ Electoral Code of Armenia. Adopted 5 February 1999 (as amended by 22 December 2006). <http://www.parliament.am/legislation.php?sel=show&ID=2020&lang=arm>, 8 August 2010.

³¹ Interview with the Chairman of the Constitutional Court of Armenia Mr. Gagik Harutyunyan in Yerkir Daily Newspaper, 5-20 September 2005. <http://www.yerkir.am/interview/>, 6 September 2010.

³² ARF 2006.

Finally, on 7 February 2007 the package of draft legislation on dual citizenship was put on the agenda of the National Assembly of Armenia. This motion was initiated by the Government of Armenia. The legislative package proposed an amendment to the existing Citizenship Law (adopted in 1995), and to several other laws affected by the amendment. The amendment was incorporated into the Law in the same month after the second hearing on 26 February 2007. The vast majority of members of the parliament – 66 votes in favour of the amendment vs. five votes opposed to it and one vote undecided – supported the amendment on dual citizenship.³⁴

3. Current Citizenship Regime

3.1. Main Characteristics of the Current Citizenship Regime

The current citizenship regime is based on an amendment of 26 February 2007 (in force since 3 March 2007) that introduced dual citizenship, as well as on the amendments made on 30 November 2011 (in force since 1 June 2012) and on 8 December 2011 (in force since 1 January 2012).

Dual Citizenship

The amendment of 26 February 2007 introduced dual citizenship into the Law. A new clause was added to Article 1. This clause states that obtaining another country's citizenship does not automatically lead to the loss of Armenian citizenship (Article 1, as amended on 26 February 2007).

The 2007 amendment also introduced a new article to the already existing Article 13 and denoted it with a superscript– Article 13¹. A superscript was also used to denote legislative change in several other laws, as discussed in the following sections, that were affected by the dual citizenship amendment.

The current Law states that '[f]or the Republic of Armenia a dual citizen of the Republic of Armenia shall be recognised only as a citizen of the [Republic of Armenia]' (Article 13¹). Dual citizens enjoy the same rights and have the same responsibilities as citizens of Armenia.

During public debates on dual citizenship concerns were voiced that, given Armenia's national security interests, dual citizenship should be reserved only for the members of the Armenian diaspora. Nevertheless, the amendment of 2007 extended the right to dual citizenship to all persons. According to Article 13¹, dual citizens of Armenia are considered those persons that besides Armenian citizenship also possess citizenship of another state.

³³ National Assembly of Armenia (2006), *'Երկրադաքացիության հիմնախնդիրները, միջազգային իրավունքը եւ պորժը' թեմայով խորհրդարանական լսումներ [Parliamentary Hearings on the Theme 'Key Problems on Dual Citizenship, International Law and Experience']*, 23 June 2006

³⁴ National Assembly of Armenia (2007a), *Ninth Session of the Third Convocation of the National Assembly of Armenia*, Transcript N. 99, 26 February 2007.

Armenian citizens who acquire second citizenship are required to inform the Passport and Visa Agency of the Armenian Police within one month of the date the second citizenship was granted.³⁵

The citizenship of Armenia may be denied if the person's activities conflict with the security of the Armenian state and its citizens. Importantly, the 2007 amendment added a vague statement according to which Armenian citizenship could be denied without stating the reasons for denial (Article 13, as amended on 26 February 2007). In light of Armenia's slow progress towards democracy, and given that citizenship has often been used by Armenia's authorities to exclude various members of Armenian diaspora from gaining political power and leadership positions in Armenia, it is likely that this provision will be abused by the authorities to eliminate potential competitors and opposition members. Moreover, for a small and ethnically homogenous nation whose tolerance towards other ethnic and religious minorities needs much improvement, a denial of citizenship without a requirement of justification can potentially lead to discrimination of certain categories of people based on religion or ethnicity.

Citizenship by Birth (ius soli) and by Descent (ius sanguinis)

Since 1995 the citizenship regime of Armenia has heavily relied on the principle of *ius sanguinis*. Article 11 (on citizenship of a child born from parents of Armenian citizenship) and Article 12 (on citizenship of a child born to stateless persons) remained unaffected by the 2007 amendment.

According to Article 11, the child born to parents of Armenian citizenship is declared an Armenian citizen. This also implies that the child born to Armenian (dual) citizens is still considered to be a citizen of Armenia. Article 11 also states that if only one of the parents is an Armenian citizen, then the child acquires Armenian citizenship if the other parent is unknown or stateless. In circumstances when one of the parents of a child is a foreign citizen, and the other parent is an Armenian citizen, the child receives Armenian citizenship upon the written agreement of both parents. When such agreement cannot be reached, the child still acquires Armenian citizenship if born in the territory of Armenia.

There are a few legal implications that are derived from Article 11 and Article 13¹ (on dual citizenship). During parliamentary debates, the Minister of Justice Mr. Davit Harutyunyan clarified to the members of the National Assembly that those Armenian citizens *and their children* who had acquired another citizenship since 1 January 1995 and had not renounced their Armenian citizenship according to the procedure established by the Law, or had renounced it unilaterally (and thus, were not released from Armenian citizenship), were still recognised as citizens of Armenia³⁶ (Article 13¹ as amended on 26 February 2007). Under the dual citizenship amendment (Article 1, Article 13¹), these persons (and their children that left with them) are considered dual citizens but are still required to perform their obligations to the Armenian state, including military service regardless of whether they have

³⁵ Government of the Republic of Armenia (2007a). ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը ՀՀ քաղաքացու կողմից այլ պետության քաղաքացիություն ստանալու մասին ՀՀ կառավարության լիազոր մարմնին հայտնելու կարգը սահմանելու մասին [Decree of the Government of Armenia on Establishing Procedure on Armenian Citizens Informing the Authorised Body of the Armenian on Acquiring a Foreign Citizenship], N 1110-Ն. Adopted 20 September 2007, entered into force 1 October 2007.

³⁶ National Assembly of Armenia (2007b), *Ninth Session of the Third Convocation of the National Assembly of Armenia*, Transcript N. 94, 7 February 2007.

served in the army of another state (see also Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States n.d.a).³⁷ The duty of military service is waived only for foreign citizens who, before acquiring Armenian citizenship as dual citizens, had carried out twelve months military service or eighteen months alternative service in the armed forces of another state, except for those countries specified by the Armenian government (Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States n.d.a).

Naturalisation

The amendment of 26 February 2007 (in force since 3 March 2007) and of 8 December 2011 (in force since 1 January 2012) also affected the naturalisation procedure. The 2011 amendment added a clarification to ensure that only persons *legally* residing in Armenia or in other countries were eligible to apply for citizenship of Armenia (Article 13). Thus, this amendment excluded any person who was an undocumented migrant in any country from qualifying for Armenian Citizenship. According to the current naturalisation procedure, any capable (զործունակ)³⁸ person 18 years and older who does not have citizenship of Armenia and legally resides (is present) in a foreign state or the Republic of Armenia has a right to apply for citizenship of Armenia if s/he has permanently resided in Armenia for three years prior to the application, is also able to communicate in the Armenian language and is familiar with the Constitution of Armenia (Article 13). Permanent residency status (PRS) is granted for five years to those aliens who (1) are close relatives (a brother, a parent, a grandparent, a child, a spouse) of a person who is a citizen of Armenia or has a Special Residence Status in Armenia and the alien is guaranteed with a place of residency, has sufficient financial means in Armenia and has resided in Armenia for at least three years prior to filing an application for PRS (Article 16, Law on Aliens); or (2) the alien is a person of Armenian nationality or is a person conducting an entrepreneurial activity in Armenia.³⁹

Facilitated naturalisation is available for several categories of persons-- (a) persons who have married a citizen of Armenia or have a child who is an Armenian citizen; or (b) have a parent who previously held Armenian citizenship or was born in Armenia, then these persons are eligible for facilitated naturalisation if they have applied for citizenship of Armenia within 3 years after becoming 18. Before 2007, only the three years of residency requirement was fully waived if the person met any of those criteria. Since the 2007 amendment, both the three years residency and the language proficiency requirements have been waived for all these eligible persons. Moreover, the 2007 amendment added two new categories of persons for this waiver mentioned above -persons whose ancestors were Armenians by ethnic origin (edited and replaced with a new clause in 2011 amendment), and persons who since 1 January 1995 had renounced Armenian citizenship by their own application (Article 13).⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ As stated by the former Minister of Justice Mr. D. Harutyunyan, the term ‘capable’ (զործունակ) refers not to the employment capacity or the job status of the person, but describes the person from the perspective of the civil law. Mr. Harutyunyan stated that ‘if the person was incapable of acquiring rights and duties by his or her own action, then the person’s will to acquire Armenian citizenship was no longer an objective proposition, and hence, the person’s application for citizenship could be denied’ (National Assembly of Armenia 2007b).

³⁹ Law of the Republic of Armenia on Aliens (adopted 25 December 2006, as amended 29 December 2011).

⁴⁰ The three years residency and the knowledge of Armenian language requirements were also waived for persons with at least one parent who was a citizen of Armenia in the past or was born in Armenia if the person had applied for Armenian citizenship within three years of reaching 18 years of age (Article 13[2]).

The amendment of 8 December 2011 expanded the facilitated naturalisation for persons with Armenian origin. All requirements for naturalisation three years of permanent residency in Armenia prior to the application, language proficiency and knowledge of the Constitution were fully waived (Article 13). These requirements were also fully waived for the person who had provided distinguished service to Armenia.

Those persons who qualify for facilitated naturalisation and do not have to meet the residency and the language proficiency requirements can file their applications in the Armenian embassies abroad (Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States n.d.a).

The application fee is 1,000 Armenian Drams (Article 8 and Article 13, Law on State Fee)⁴¹ which is equivalent to two US dollars.⁴² Applications are submitted to the Passport and Visa Agency of the Armenian Police.

Language proficiency is determined by a test that consists of 30 multiple choice questions.⁴³ The test is in Armenian language and addresses various characteristics of Armenia's political system. The applicant passes the test if more than half of the questions are answered correctly. If the test is failed, the applicant can retake it as many times as needed until the sufficient number of questions is answered correctly.

The current Citizenship Law of Armenia does not require any additional condition for naturalisation. If the citizenship application is approved, then Armenian citizenship is granted one year later (Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States n.d.a). Once citizenship is granted, the person reads a loyalty oath in the Armenian language and signs it (Article 13). The person also receives a copy of the Armenian Constitution and a guide to Armenia's legislation, prepared by the authorised body of the Armenian government (Article 13). If the person is granted citizenship of Armenia, then the population register records the name and the permanent address of the person, and for dual citizens permanently living abroad the address of the country of residence.⁴⁴

Group naturalisation is allowed by the decree of the President for such cases as repatriation or other instances defined by law (Article 15).

The person may be denied Armenian citizenship if he or she presents a threat to the Armenian state and poses health risks to the society, or jeopardises the rights, freedoms, and the honour of Armenian citizens (Article 13). If the citizenship application is denied, the person can reapply from one year after the date the first application was denied (Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States n.d.a)

Although Armenia's Citizenship Law was adopted in 1995, the Government of Armenia established the procedure for granting Armenian citizenship only two years later.

Thus, naturalisations started only in 1997 (Novosti Armenia 2008). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, harsh economic conditions, political instability and corruption had forced many people to emigrate from Armenia. Thus, the number of persons seeking Armenian citizenship was very low. As Table 3 and Figure 1 indicate, during 1997-2006 only 1,508

⁴¹ Law of Armenia on State Fee, adopted 27 December 1997, last amended on 16 September 2010.

⁴² Embassy of Armenia in the United States (2013).

⁴³ Government of the Republic of Armenia (2007c). *ՀՀ Կառավարության որոշումը ՀՀ քաղաքացիություն ստացող անձանց համար ՀՀ Մահմանադրության եվ հայրց լեզվի իմացության ստուգման կարգը սահմանելու մասին* [Decree of the Government of Armenia on Establishing Procedure on Testing the Knowledge of the Armenian Language and the Constitution of Republic of Armenia for Persons Acquiring Armenian Citizenship], N 1040-Ն. Adopted 30 August 2007, entered into force 13 October 2007.

⁴⁴ A1+am Armenian News (2011).

persons acquired Armenian citizenship. Statistics presented in Table 3 exclude naturalisations of refugees and stateless persons (that were presented earlier in Table 2).

Table 3: Statistics on Naturalisation and Termination of Citizenship of Armenia, in Persons

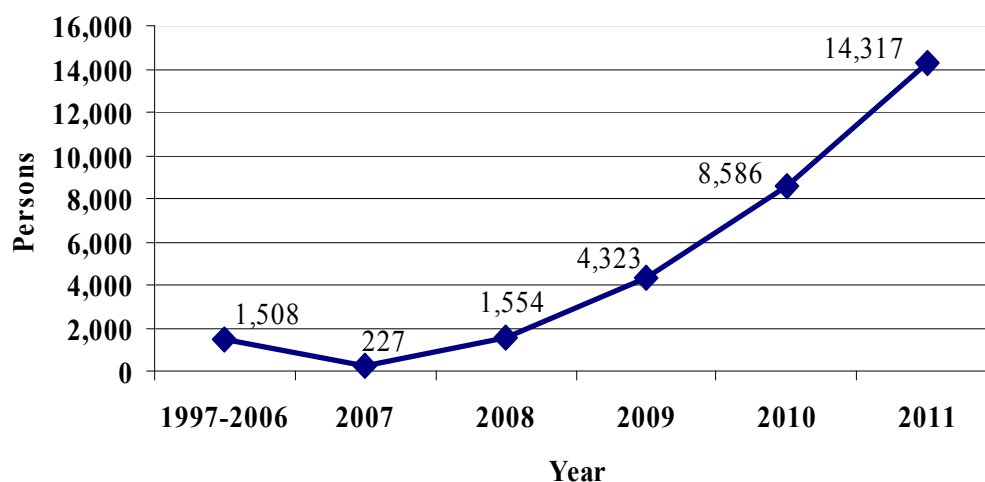
Year	Naturalised as Dual Citizenship	Total Naturalised	Application for Citizenship Denied	Citizenship Terminated
1997-2006	Not applicable	1,508	Not available	Not available
2007	Not applicable	227	Not available	319
2008	1,249	1,554	10	328
2009	3,514*	4,323	9	427
2010	Not available	8,586	0	501
2011	Not available	14,317	Not available	655

*Only for January-October months.

Sources: Years 1997-2007: Novosti Armenia (2008); Year 2008: Novosti Armenia (2008); Year 2009: A1+am Armenian News (2010a), Noyan Tapan News and Analytic Agency (2009); Year 2010: A1+am (2010b); Armenian Times (2012); Statistics on denied applications: Ministry of Diaspora 2009.

Since the adoption of dual citizenship in 2007, the number of those acquiring Armenian citizenship through naturalisation has sharply increased. Most of the persons concerned are dual citizens of Armenian descent. In contrast to 1,508 persons naturalised during 1997-2006, in the short period of 2008-2011 more than 28,700 persons have been naturalised (see Table 3). In 2008, 80 per cent of applications accepted for naturalisation were dual citizenship applications.

Figure 1: Persons Naturalised, 1997-2011



Source: See Table 3.

There is a large Armenian diaspora in the West (mostly in the USA, Canada, France) and also in the former Soviet region (mainly Russia). Statistics indicate that during 1991-2007 (before Armenia adopted legislation on dual citizenship) in the USA alone 28,357 persons who were born in Armenia and had since emigrated to the USA had acquired American citizenship (INS 2000, Department of Homeland Security of the United States 2009). Unfortunately, the Armenian government has not released statistics that would reveal whether persons acquiring dual citizenship in Armenia are persons from the older Armenian diaspora in the West or former post-Soviet Armenian citizens who have emigrated and renounced Armenian citizenship since 1991. Nevertheless, given the trends depicted in figure 1, the naturalisation rate is likely to increase in the near future due to dual citizenship applications.

Citizenship of a Child if Parents Obtain or Lose Citizenship of Armenia, or in Case of Adopting a Child

This section of the Law was modified when the most recent amendments were adopted on 8 December 2011.

Before the 2011 amendment, Article 16 defined that a child of 14 years of age or older would obtain citizenship of Armenia if both parents obtained citizenship of Armenia. Nothing was mentioned about children younger than 14 years. Similarly, before 2011, Article 16 stated that if only one parent obtained citizenship of Armenia, then the child of 14 years or younger was granted citizenship of Armenia with the consent of parents, or if the child lived in Armenia and the parent who was a citizen of Armenia had given consent for child's Armenian citizenship. As the reader can see, this time children 14 years or older were left out from the law. These inconsistencies led to subjective interpretations of the law. The amendment made in December 2011 aimed to eliminate these inconsistencies.

The amendment of 8 December 2011 re-stated Article 16 with a new wording: if the child is 14-18 years old, s/he is required to give a written consent for obtaining Armenian citizenship. Article 16 also specifies that if both parents obtain citizenship of Armenia, the child also obtains citizenship of Armenia. If only one parent obtains Armenian citizenship while the other parent is a foreign citizen or a stateless person, then the child is granted citizenship of Armenia with the parents' written consent, or if the child lives in Armenia and the parent who is a citizen of Armenia has consented to the child's Armenian citizenship. The child of those parents who have obtained citizenship of Armenia receives citizenship of Armenia through the established legal procedure.

The inconsistency related to the age benchmark of 14 years was also present in Article 17 which regulated the citizenship of a child in case of parents' loss of citizenship of Armenia. The amendment made in December 2011 eliminated this inconsistency as well. If the child is 14-18 years old, then the child upon his/her written consent loses the citizenship of Armenia if s/he has no unfulfilled duties to Armenia, as specified in the Law on Military Service to Armenia. Since the 2011 amendment, Article 17 also states that in case of loss of parents' citizenship of Armenia, the child loses Armenian citizenship if he or she obtains citizenship of another state. If only one parent loses the citizenship of Armenia, and the other parent continues to retain Armenian citizenship, then their child loses citizenship of Armenia if both parents consent, or if the child lives outside of Armenia and the parent who is a citizen of Armenia has consented that the child loses the citizenship of Armenia.

Given the changes introduced to Articles 16 and 17, to eliminate the repetitiveness, the 2011 amendment also deleted from the Citizenship Law- Article 22 which earlier specified

the need for a consent of the child when changing the citizenship of a child who is 14-18 years of age.

Articles 18-21 remain unchanged since 1995. Articles 18-19 regulate the citizenship of a child in case of adoption. It is important to note that both Articles 18 and 19 use the word "spouse" rather than "parent" in reference to the child's guardianship. According to Article 18, a child adopted by citizens of Armenia obtains Armenian citizenship. If only one adopting spouse is a citizen of Armenia, and the other spouse is a stateless person, then the child is granted citizenship of Armenia. If one spouse is a citizen of Armenia and the other spouse is a foreign citizen, then the child obtains citizenship of Armenia with the written consent of both spouses; the child lives in Armenia and the spouse who is a citizen of Armenia has consented to the child's Armenian citizenship; the child is a stateless person or would become stateless unless granted citizenship.

According to Article 19, a child who is a citizen of Armenia retains citizenship of Armenia if s/he has been adopted by foreign citizens or by spouses one of whom is a citizen of Armenia and the other spouse is a foreign citizen. In such circumstances, the child can lose Armenian citizenship only by an application of his/her adopters. A child also retains citizenship of Armenia if s/he has been adopted by stateless persons or one of the adopting spouses is a stateless person and the other spouse is a citizen of Armenia.

Foundlings whose both parents are unknown are citizens of Armenia (Article 20). If one of the parents or guardians is discovered, the child's citizenship changes according to the Citizenship Law of Armenia (Article 20). A child who is a citizen of Armenia and is given to another person for custody or has a guardian, retains citizenship of Armenia regardless of whether his/her parents renounce Armenian citizenship. In such circumstances the child can withdraw from citizenship of Armenia only upon application by the parents if they are not deprived of their parental rights (Article 21).

Loss of Armenian Citizenship

Until the December 2011 amendment, Article 23 of the Citizenship Law defined four conditions that lead to the loss of Armenian citizenship: renunciation of Armenian citizenship, withdrawal of citizenship by the state, cases provided for by international treaties to which Armenia is a party, as well as loss based on the provisions of the Citizenship Law.

The amendment introduced on 8 December 2011 corrected a few inconsistencies that had existed in the Citizenship Law since the Constitution of Armenia was last amended in 2005. The Constitution stipulates that no Armenian citizen of Armenia can be deprived of citizenship (Article 30.1 Constitution of Armenia as amended in 2005). Accordingly, the clause on withdrawal of citizenship by the state was deleted from the Citizenship Law on 8 December 2011. Additionally, Article 25 was combined with Article 23.

According to Article 23 of the current Citizenship Law, there are three grounds for loss of Armenian citizenship: due to renunciation of Armenian citizenship, due to acquiring citizenship of Armenia on the basis of fake documents or by providing false data; and in cases provided for by international treaties to which Armenia is a party.

Persons of eighteen years and older can renounce their Armenian citizenship by an application. The application fee is 25,000 Armenian Drams, approximately 69 US dollars⁴⁵ (Article 8 and Article 13, Law on State Fee).⁴⁶ To avoid statelessness, the application should also contain a document from the appropriate foreign authority certifying that the person's foreign citizenship application has been approved (Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States n.d.b.).

The person's application for renunciation may be denied if there is a criminal investigation or a court decision pending (Article 24(1-2)). The renunciation can also be denied if it contradicts the national security interests of Armenia (Article 24(3)) or if the person has unsettled obligations to the state of Armenia (Article 24(4)).

3.2. Specific Rules and Rights

Rights and Duties of Dual Citizens

According to the Electoral Code of Armenia (adopted May 26, 2011), citizens of Armenia, including dual citizens, cannot vote in elections of Armenia if they are not present in Armenia at the time of elections. The exceptions are the members of the governmental personnel working abroad in consular or diplomatic missions of Armenia. Article 8, paragraph 4 of the Electoral Code stipulates that persons who are not registered in the population register of Armenia can submit an application to be included in the supplemental voting lists of the electoral precincts closest to their residence address in Armenia seven days prior to the election day.⁴⁷ Prior to 2007 Armenian citizens who lived abroad could cast their ballots at precincts set up at the Armenian consulates and embassies. However, since the introduction of dual citizenship in 2007 this right has been revoked, and elections are held only in the territory of Armenia.

According to various legislative acts and amendments, dual citizens are not eligible to run for Presidency of Armenia (Article 77, Electoral Code),⁴⁸ or become a Member of Parliament (Article 105, Electoral Code).⁴⁹ Persons are eligible to run for the Presidency of Armenia if they are not citizens of another country, have been citizens of Armenia and have been permanent residents in Armenia in the preceding last 10 years prior to running for the Presidency (Article 77, Electoral Code). Similarly, to become a Member of Parliament, persons cannot be citizens of another state, and must have been citizens and permanent residents of Armenia for five preceding years prior to executing their right to be elected (Article 105, Electoral Code).

Dual citizens are also not eligible to become a member of the Constitutional Court of Armenia (Article 3(1), Law on the Constitutional Court).⁵⁰

⁴⁵ The rate is calculated as \$1= 361.28 Armenian Drams, the Central Bank of Armenia, 12 October 2010.

⁴⁶ Law of Armenia on State Fee, adopted 27 December 1997, last amended on 16 September 2010.

⁴⁷ Electoral Code of Armenia, adopted 26 May 2011, last amended on 13 November 2012.

<http://www.parliament.am/legislation.php?sel=show&ID=4216&lang=arm>, accessed on November, 10, 2012

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Law of the Republic of Armenia on the Constitutional Court of Armenia. Adopted 14 June 2006, entered into force 14 June 2006. <http://www.parliament.am/legislation.php?sel=show&ID=2623&lang=arm>, 18 February, 2013.

During public debates on dual citizenship, there were suggestions to deprive the Prime Minister of the right to possess dual citizenship. However, this suggestion was not transposed into law. According to Armenia's Constitution, 'on the basis of the distribution of the seats in the National Assembly and consultations held with the parliamentary factions, [the President of Armenia] appoint[s] as Prime Minister the person enjoying confidence of the majority of the Deputies[,] and if this is impossible[,] the President ... appoint[s] as the Prime Minister the person enjoying confidence of the maximum number of the Deputies' (Article 55(4), Constitution of Armenia as amended in 2005).

Thus, the National Assembly decided that since the President and the Members of Parliament have power to choose the Prime Minister, denying these public offices to dual citizenship would ensure that no appointments could jeopardise Armenia's national security. This will also allow dual citizens to occupy appointed positions in the government, such as the position of the Prime Minister, based on the qualifications of the person and the needs of Armenia.

Special Residency Status (SRS)

In 1994, the parliament adopted the Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens. This Law was replaced with the Law on Aliens, enacted on 25 December 2006 (the law entered into force on 16 January 2007). The law specifies the basis upon which foreign citizens are granted temporary, permanent or special residency status in Armenia.

Special Residency Status (SRS) is reserved for persons of Armenian descent or for distinguished persons that conduct cultural or economic activities in Armenia (Article 18(1)). Thus, those members of the Armenian diaspora who do not intend to acquire Armenian citizenship, but still want to live in Armenia can apply for SRS. The SRS is granted for ten years and is renewable (Article 18(2)).

Persons with SRS can enter Armenia without a visa (MFA n.d.), work in Armenia without work permit (Article 23(1), Law on Aliens), and are entitled to the same rights as Armenian citizens. However, holders of the Special Residence Status cannot vote or be elected, as well as get involved in political organisations (MFA n.d.). These persons are also exempt from military service (MFA n.d.).

4. Current Political Debates and Reforms

4.1. Policy on Repatriation

In 2005 the Yerkir Union of NGOs for Repatriation and Settlement published a draft law on repatriation. The Union also sent an open letter to the National Assembly of Armenia and petitioned for adopting the proposed law, as well as developing a national policy on

repatriation.⁵¹ According to media sources, the parliament did not approve the proposed draft and suggested further revisions before a hearing could be scheduled.⁵²

The draft framework of the national policy on repatriation and the revised draft law on repatriation were published in April 2006 (Yerkir Union of NGOs 2006). Dual citizenship was mentioned as one of the mechanisms to attract repatriates. However, the proposed policy pre-conditioned dual citizenship on first acquiring a status of a repatriate (Article 12[3]). Repatriates were entitled to receive citizenship of Armenia within one year from the date of repatriation if they had not committed a crime since arrival in Armenia (Article 12.2.1) and had proficiency of the Armenian language (Article 12.2.2).

The same month when Yerkir Union of NGOs proposed its draft legislation on repatriation the ARF unveiled draft legislation on dual citizenship. In February 2007 the National Assembly of Armenia amended the Citizenship Law of 1995 and introduced dual citizenship. The matter of repatriation has since then not been in the spotlight of public debate, and no legislative proposals on repatriation have been introduced in the National Assembly (National Assembly of Armenia 2010).

5. Conclusion

In 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed, and Armenia acquired its independence. Heavy post-Soviet emigration, political instability due to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the inflow of Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan and the historical legacy of having a large diaspora in the West and the former Soviet region have largely shaped the institutionalisation of Armenia's citizenship regime in the post-Soviet era.

Armenia adopted its Citizenship Law in 1995. Despite the presence of a large Armenian diaspora both in the West and also in the Near Abroad, Armenian legislators decided not to accept dual citizenship in the 1995 Citizenship Law. The decision was driven by fears that dual citizens could influence election processes and increase political instability in the country. Moreover, given the ongoing Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, legislators feared that dual citizenship could allow young Armenian citizens to avoid the mandatory military service.

In 2005 the Constitution of Armenia was amended to allow for dual citizenship. Subsequently, in 2007 the Citizenship Law was amended and supplemented with new provisions on dual citizenship. The amendment did not change other aspects of Armenia's citizenship regime, which is still firmly based on the *ius sanguinis* principle. Only children born in Armenia of unknown citizenship or to stateless persons are granted Armenian citizenship at birth (Article 12).

The ordinary naturalisation process remained unchanged and is preconditioned on three years of permanent residency in Armenia, proficiency in the Armenian language and knowledge of Armenia's Constitution (Article 13). Persons who have married an Armenian citizen, have a child or a parent of Armenian citizenship and former Armenian citizens who since 1 January 1995 have renounced Armenian citizenship by their own application can be naturalised without meeting the residency requirement and without showing proficiency of

⁵¹ Armtown News (2006). *Մշակվել է Հայրենադարձության մասին օրենքի նախագիծ [Outline of the Law on Repatriation Drafted]*, 22 May 2006. <http://www.armtown.com/news/am/prm/20060522/5732/>, 27 July 2010.

⁵² Ibid

the Armenian language (Article 13). Persons of Armenian ancestry are exempt from all three conditions of naturalisation.

While the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, high unemployment, or emigration based on economic and political conditions in Armenia have provided real challenges for Armenia's development, Armenia's citizenship regime was rarely been challenged until dual citizenship was adopted. Since the 2007 amendment on dual citizenship, another major round of amendments occurred on December 2011 which expanded the facilitated naturalisation possibilities. Nevertheless, since the collapse of the Soviet Union Armenia has still remained an ethnically homogenous nation-state. As a country with high emigration rather than immigration flows, Armenia has not received many applications for citizenship. Thus, neither procedure of granting citizenship, nor the public's tolerance towards other immigrants and ethnic groups have really been put to test. Persons acquiring Armenian citizenship have predominantly been ethnic Armenians. In fact, during 1997-2007 very few persons—only 1,735 individuals and refugees of Armenian descent from the Nagorno Karabakh region-- have acquired Armenian citizenship. Since the introduction of dual citizenship, the number of persons who have applied for and have been granted Armenian citizenship has increased drastically. One can expect that this trend will continue in the coming years. However, the persons applying for Armenian citizenship in future are still likely to be primarily ethnic Armenians.

One has to yet see how the regional dynamics will affect Armenia's economic and political development, and whether these changes can make impact on the future citizenship regime of Armenia.

Bibliography

- Akcam, T. (2004), *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*. Zed Books.
- Anderson, B. A. & Silver B. D. (1989), 'Demographic Sources of the Changing Ethnic Composition of the Soviet Union', *Population and Development Review*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 609-656.
- Arel, D. (2002), 'Demography and Politics in the First Post-Soviet Censuses: Mistrusted State, Contested Identities', *Population*, vol. 57(6), pp. 801-827.
- ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] (2006), *Concept Paper of the Law of the Republic of Armenia on 'Granting Dual Citizenship Status of the Republic of Armenia*. Presented at an AIPRG [Armenian International Policy Research Group] conference on Dual Citizenship: Alternative Arrangements, Economic Implications, and Social Dimension, Yerevan, Armenia, 17-18 June 2006.
- ARF-D (Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun) (n.d.), Background to ARF-D. <http://www.arfd.info/background/>, 4 September 2010.
- Armenian Times (2012). 29000 Dual Citizens. February 9, 2012. <http://www.armtimes.com/31427>, accessed on 19 February 2013
- Avakov, M. (1957), 'Oktyabrskaya Revoliutsiya i Sovetskoe Granzhdanstvo' [October Revolution and Soviet Citizenship], *Uchenye Zapiski (Belorusskii Gosudarstvenni Institut Narodnogo Khoziastva imeni V.V. Kuibisheva)*, issue 4, pp. 291-318.
- A1+am Armenian News (2010a), 4323 հոգի դարձել է ՀՀ քաղաքացի [4323 Persons Became Citizens of Armenia], 29 January 2010.
- A1+am Armenian News (2010b), 6426 հոգի ստացել է ՀՀ քաղաքացիություն [6426 Persons have Acquired Armenian Citizenship], 19 July 2010.
- A1+am Armenian News (2011). Interview with the Head of the Passport and Visa Department of the Police of Armenia Mr. Norayr Muradkhanyan, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AaBjwfZ0WrI>, accessed on 13 February 2013.
- Aysor Newspaper. 2013. 2012 թ.-ին ՀՀ քաղաքացիություն է ստացել 214 փախստական [In 2012 Citizenship of Armenia have Received 214 Refugees], January 14, 2013; <http://www.aysor.am/am/news/2013/01/14/armen-gevorgyan1/downloaded> on 16 January 2013.
- Barseghov, Y. (2002), Геноцид Армян: ответственность Турции и обязательства мирового сообщества. Документы и комментарий [Genocide of Armenians: The Responsibility of Turkey and Duties of the World Community], vol. 2. Moscow: Gardariki.
- Brubaker, R. (1992), 'Citizenship Struggles in Soviet Successor States', *International Migration Review*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 269-291.
- Brubaker, R. (2000), 'Accidental Diasporas and External "Homelands" in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present', *Political Science Series* no. 71, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.
- Castells, M. (1997), *The Power of Identity*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

- Department of Homeland Security of the United States (2009), *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2009*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, issued 2010.
- Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States (n.d.a), Citizenship: How to Apply for Citizenship of Armenia, <http://usa.mfa.am/en/citizenship/>, 1 January, 2013
- Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in the United States (n.d.b), *Տեղեկատվություն Հայաստանի Հանրապետության քաղաքացիությունից դուրս գալու մասին [Information on Renunciation of the Citizenship of Armenia]*. http://www.armeniaemb.org/ConsularAffairs/DualCitizenship/assets/Renouncing_Armenian_Citizenship.pdf, 13 October 2010.
- Embassy of Armenia in the United States (2013). *State Duties 2013 for Consular Services Provided by the Diplomatic Representations and Consular Offices of the Republic of Armenia*, http://usa.mfa.am/u_files/file/consulate/STATE_DUTIES_2013_USD_ENG.pdf, accessed on 19 February 19 2013.
- Encyclopædia Britannica (2010). 'Armenia' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/35178/Armenia>, 8 July 2010.
- Europa Publications (2000), *Eastern Europe, Russia and Central Asia*. London: Europa Publications Limited.
- Gale Group (2003), *Countries of the World and their Leaders*, vol. 1. Detroit: Thompson Gale.
- Ginsburgs, G. (1968), *Soviet Citizenship Law*. Leyden: A.W Sijthoff.
- Ginsburgs, G. (1983), *The Citizenship Law of the USSR*. The Hague, Boston, Lancaster: Martinus Lijhoff Publishers.
- Helsinki HWR (Helsinki Human Rights Watch) (1992), *New Citizenship Laws in the Republics of the Former USSR*. Vol. 4, issue 7, April 15, 1992.
- Helsinki HWR (Helsinki Human Rights Watch) (1994), *Azerbaijan, Seven Years of Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh*. New York, Washington, Los Angeles, London, Brussels: Human Rights Watch.
- IFES (International Foundation for Elections Systems) (1996 [1998]). *Technical Assistance to Armenia: July 5, 1995 National Assembly Elections and Constitutional Referendum*.
- Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada (1993), *Armenia: Information on the Current Status of Citizenship laws*, 1 November 1993, AMN15558.E. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6ad1114.html>, 22 June 2010.
- Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada (1994), *Armenia: Information on Whether there was a Process in Place to Consider Citizenship Applications from 23 August 1990 to the end of 1991*. 1 September 1994, AMN18189.E. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6abaf8c.html>, 22 June 2010.
- INS (Immigration & Naturalisation Service of the United States) (2000), *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service*. U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., issued 2002.
- IOM (International Organisation for Migration) (1996), *Legislative Acts of the CIS and the Baltic States on Citizenship, Migration and Related Issues*. IOM, Moscow and Helsinki.

- Korobkov, A & Zaionchkovskaia Z. (2004), 'The Changes in the Migration Patterns in the Post-Soviet States: the First Decade', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 37, pp. 481-508.
- Makaryan, S. (2012), 'Estimation of International Migration in Post-Soviet Republics' in *International Migration*. Doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2012.00740.x.
- Mann, M. (2005), *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge University Press.
- Melson, R. (1996), *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ministry of Diaspora of Armenia (2009), *Նորություններ. ՀՀ քաղաքացիության ձեռքբերման գործընթացը թափ է հավաքում [News: Acquisition of Armenian Citizenship Accelerates]*. 17 July 2009.
<http://www.mindiaspora.am/am/News?id=361>, 13 September 2010.
- MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia) (n.d.), *Special Residency Status in Armenia*.
<http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com>, 20 September 2010.
- National Assembly of Armenia (2006). *ՀՅԴ խմբակցության աշխատանքային նախագիծը՝ «Արտերկրի հայերին ՀՀ երկքաղաքացիության կարգավիճակ տալու մասին» ՀՀ օրենքի հայեցակարգի մասին [Working Draft of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation: Concept on the Law of Dual Citizenship for Armenians Abroad]*.
- National Assembly of Armenia (2010), *Draft Laws: Included into the Agenda, Not Included, Fully Adopted*. <http://www.parliament.am/drafts.php?lang=arm>, 30 September 2010.
- Novosti Armenia [Armenia News] (2008), *2008 թվականին Հայաստանի քաղաքացիություն է ստացել 1309 մարդ. ՀՀ ոստիկանություն [In 2008 1309 Persons acquired Armenian Citizenship, Police of Armenia]*, 23 December 2008.
- Noyan Tapan News & Analytic Agency (2009), *Առաջարկվում է փոփոխել «Երկքաղաքացիության մասին» ՀՀ օրենքի որոշ դրույթներ [It is Suggested to Amend Several Provisions of Dual Citizenship Law of Armenia]*, 26 November 2009.
- NSS (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia) (2003), *ՀՀ 2001 թ. մարդահամարի և բնակչության պայմանների հաշվառման արդյունքները [The Results of the 2001 Census and Housing Conditions of Population]*. Yerevan.
- Ohanyan, A. (2004), 'The Promise and the Perils of Dual Citizenship: The Case of Post-Communist Armenia' in *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol. 13, n. 2/3, Fall/Winter 2004, pp. 279-305
- OSCE (The Organisation for Security & Cooperation in Europe) (2003), *Final Report on Presidential Elections in Armenia, 19 February and 5 March*, Warsaw, 28 April 2003. 2003. http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2003/04/1203_en.pdf, 5 May 2010.
- Regional Surveys of the World: Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)* (1999), London, U.K.
- Rosstat (Federal Service of State Statistics of Russia) (2004), *Rossiski Statisticheski Ejegodnik 2004 (Annual Statistical Yearbook of Russia)*. Moscow.

- Solomonyan, N. (2006), *The International Experience of Some Issues of Dual Citizenship /English Summary/*, presented at an AIPRG [Armenian International Policy Research Group] conference on Dual Citizenship: Alternative Arrangements, Economic Implications, and Social Dimension, Yerevan, Armenia, 17-18 June 2006.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (1999), *UNHCR CDR Background Paper on Refugees and Asylum Seekers from Armenia*, 1 October 1999.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2004a), *2002 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook Country Data Sheet – Armenia*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2004b), *Some 65,000 Refugees from Azerbaijan Gain Armenian Citizenship*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2004c), *Local Integration for Refugees in the CIS*. <http://www.unhcr.org/4027a53a4.pdf>, 1 June 2010.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2007a), *2005 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook Country Data Sheet – Armenia*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2007b), *2006 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2008), *2007 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2009), *2008 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook Country Data Sheets: Statistical Annex, Table 1*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2010), *2009 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*.
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2011), *Global Trends: 2010: 60 Years are Still Counting*. <http://www.unhcr.org/4dfa11499.html>
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2012), *Global Trends: 2011: A Year of Crisis*. <http://www.unhcr.org/4fd6f87f9.pdf>
- Vernant, J. (1953), *The Refugee in the Post-War World*. New Haven.
- Yeganyan, R., I. Badurashvili, E. Andreev, F. Mesle, V. Shkolnikov, & J. Vallin. (2001), 'Life Expectancy in Two Caucasian Countries', *Demographic Research*, vol. 5, article 7, pp. 217-244.
- Yerkir Union of NGOs for Repatriation and Settlement (2006), '*Դեպի Արարատ. Հայրենադարձության ազգային ծրագիրը՝ Հայաստանի զարգացման հիմնարար պայման [Towards Ararat: National Policy on Repatriation as a Fundamental Pre-Condition for Armenia's Development]*', *Ezerq* series, issue 1, April 2006.

