



# CITIZEN'S AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION IN ARMENIA SURVEY 2001





CITIZEN'S AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION IN ARMENIA SURVEY

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SAMPLE:

1500 Total Oversample N=331

FIELDWORK:

JUNE 10 – JUNE 22, 2001

INTERVIEWING: THE ARMENIAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, ARMENIA

YEREVAN 2001





This publication was made possible through support provided by the DSRO/USAID/Armenia, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, U.S. Agency for International Development, under the term of Grant No. 111-A-00-00-00168-00. The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessary reflect the views of the U.S. Agency for International Development or IFES.

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# I. INTRODUCTION

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) conducted a national survey in Armenia between June 10 and June 22, 2001. Dr. Thomas Carson was responsible for designing the survey, overseeing implementation, and analyzing the results of the survey. Belá Lehosik assisted in the analysis of the data. The Armenian Sociological Association (ASA) under the direction of Dr. Gevorg Pogossian conducted fieldwork for the survey. Samson Mkhitaryan was directly responsible for overseeing the project for ASA. Shoushanik Makaryan of IFES Armenia, who was the project assistant, provided much support throughout the research.

Overall, 1500 adults were interviewed for the Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey. Of these, 1169 were randomly selected as a representative sample of adults in Armenia, 18 years of age and older. An additional 331 were randomly over sampled from areas in which IFES trainers are concentrating their program efforts. The final data is weighted by age, gender, location, and settlement type to correct for the over sample.

On average, interviews took 44 minutes to complete, ranging between 20 – 87 minutes in length. Interviewers rated respondents' cooperation in the interview. 43% of respondents were quite cooperative in answering the questions and providing details in their responses. Another 42% cooperated, but did not provide much detail in their answers. Only 15% reluctantly finished the interview, another 5% did not fully complete it.

The theoretical margin of error for a sample of 1000 is +/- 3.2 at a 95 percent confidence level. The additional 169 responses in the national sample component of the survey marginally improve on this margin.

\* \* \* \* \* \*

The following report is organized in seven sections, a conclusion and appendices. Section I, above, provides an introduction to the report, while Section II highlights some of the most important findings from the body of the report. Following this, Section III covers the source of information that is available to the public about political and economic issues and other topics relevant to enabling citizens to better understand the working of their democratic institutions in Armenia. Section IV describes attitudes toward basic social and political processes and institutions. Section V examines attitudes toward women's participation in decision-making and the support for women's rights in Armenia. Section VI describes actions that citizens have taken to effect political change, and provides reasons why they have not taken these steps. The next section, VII provides data on the general knowledge citizens have of their country's political process. Section VIII, the conclusion, relates these findings to IFES' Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia program. Appendixes 1 & 2 contain the survey's methodology and the June 2001 topline data. Appendix 3 provides general information about IFES/Armenia's current work and how to contact its offices.

# **II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Civic awareness and participation requires resources and motivation to initiate the basic steps to move citizens away from inaction and apathy and toward action and involvement. At the same time, favorable or stimulating conditions are necessary in order to build upon these first steps and allow them to develop into movements that encompass wide segments of society. Information and human capital is the main resource in a country struggling with economic decline. This describes Armenia today. Favorable conditions include social and institutional structures that encourage and reinforce participation. This year's Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey sought to measure each of these factors within the framework of three main questions:

- 1. Under the current political conditions in Armenia, what is the current status and future demand for information about the economy, civic rights, national and local developments in government and the responsibilities and expectations of government performance?
- 2. What factors shape the role women will have in the decision-making process of the future?
- 3. What factors shape citizen participation?

Key findings to these questions are outlined in this overview of the report. Foremost among these is the finding that there is a large gap between what people believe they need for informed decision-making in political life and what they get today.

**Information and the Political Situation.** Many respondents – 65% of the total population – state that there is at least a fair amount of information about political developments on the national level. However, the quality of this information does not meet expectations. Concerning the amount of information available to 'make a wise decision' when choosing a candidate to vote for in elections:

- Only 13% state that they receive 'enough information' needed to make informed decisions;
- 38% receive 'barely enough';
- 20% receive 'very little' information;
- 17% receive 'no information at all'; and,
- An additional 6% spontaneously stated that the information they receive 'does not correspond to reality.'

At the same time, only 5% are actually 'not interested' in receiving this information in the first place. This is one indication that there is an unmet need for independent and reliable information about political life in Armenia.

The lack of information is greater for political developments at the local level. In total, 59% receive 'not much' or 'no' information about local political developments.

On the local level, television is the main source for information about local political and economic events. Radio, newspapers, local political officials, or NGOs are <u>not</u> sources of information about local politics for many people.

Another indication that there is an unmet need for information is the relative shortage of content-rich information about major political developments that have occurred in Armenia.

This is compounded by a lack of alternative, non-government information on key topics desired by the public. Only 18% have received any information on the following topics from non-governmental sources:

- The rights of citizens;
- The activities of government;
- Elections; and,
- Civic education.

People have received slightly more information about the activities of the government and elections (each at 9%) than the other topics. Very few received any facts on civic education (4%), while more received details on the rights of citizens (8%). At the same time, about one in three wish to receive additional information.

This lack of information co-exists with rising levels of interest in political life. Survey data shows that:

- 46% are 'somewhat' interested in political developments; and
- 13% are 'very' interested a total of 59% interested in political events in Armenia.

This political interest, however, comes with a continued belief that the normal citizen has no power to influence the outcome of politics. Efficacy of the power of the vote is quite low and a majority disagrees with the following statement:

Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in Armenia. (46% 'strongly' and 17% 'somewhat' disagree.)

Lack of political efficacy, the belief that citizens can influence the political process, cuts across social categories and is endemic in Armenian society. This survey continues to support previous findings, which affirm that the electorate remains focused on political affairs in Armenia, while at the same time these developments continue to erode their sense of efficacy.

Today in Armenia:

- Only 15% clearly state that Armenia is a democracy;
- Another 16% replied Armenia is only 'somewhat' of a democracy;
- 8% 'did not know' or gave no answer; and,
- 62% stated that Armenia is not a democracy.

Of those who do not believe Armenia is a democracy, 59% do not believe it is headed in this direction.

The outlook for NGOs is mixed. Confidence is relatively high in these organizations as an overall institution. However, the lack of name recognition and low levels of public participation limit the extent to which NGOs can be effective in ameliorating the situation in the country.

# The Role of Women in Decision-Making.

Regardless of age, women state that equal treatment of women compared to men is:

- 'very important' (69%);
- 'somewhat important' (20%).

Overall, 89% of women, regardless of age, believe equal treatment is important.

Men also believe equal treatment of women is important:

- 'very important' (53%);
- 'somewhat important' (29%).

Overall, 82% of men, regardless of age, state that this is important.

Both men and women agree that women are not treated equally in society. Inequality is greatest in:

- Positions of leadership; 30% (31% women, 29% men)
- Politics; 28% (29% women, 28% men)
- All government positions (except healthcare); 18% (18% women, 18% men)
- In villages; 14% (15% women, 12% men)
- In all spheres; 15% (15% women, 16% men)

Institutions in society that support women's activism facilitate increasing women's participation. Social support for women is <u>indirectly measured</u> through the respondent's assessment of the image of women portrayed in media and their assessment of the extent that politicians pay attention to women's issues.

Men and women hold similar opinions concerning the media's treatment of women. In their opinion, media is:

- Positive in how it depicts women (45% of both men and women);
- Negative in how it depicts women (11% of women, 10% of men); or,
- Neutral (30% of women, 31% of men).

These figures suggest that media in Armenia depicts women in a manner socially acceptable to both men and women.

Respondents feel that political leaders, however, do not pay serious attention to women and their issues. Public opinion shows that:

- 46% of women, 35% of men state politicians pay 'no attention';
- 34% of women, 34% of men state politicians pay 'just some attention' to men and women; and
- 10% of women, 15% of men state that politicians pay 'a lot of attention' to women.

In the respondents' opinions, the failure of politicians to address women's issues can be changed:

- Through political actions (10% women, 9% men); or
- Through the unity of women, women's organizations (9% of both men and women);
- By increasing participation through women leaders (8% women, 6% men); or
- By involving women in politics by electing more of them (2% of both men and women);
- By creating political positions for them (1% of both groups);
- And by changing the qualities of women (3% of both sex groups), or men (1% of women, 2% of men).

Support for increasing women's participation in decision-making is <u>directly assessed</u> through public attitudes toward women's involvement in areas other than family life, education, and social welfare. This support is further measured by examining the respondent's willingness to vote for women political candidates. One final measure of support is whether parents (actual and potential) would encourage their daughters to become involved in political life.

- 68% of 18 29 year old women compared to only 45% of men the same age are 'very likely' to vote for a woman;
- 71% of 30 44 year old women compared to 54% of men the same age are 'very likely' to vote for a woman; and
- 63% of 45 and older women compared to 53% of men the same age are 'very likely' to vote for a woman.
- 50% of 18 29 year old women compared to only 42% of men the same age would encourage their daughter to run for political office;
- 50% of 30 44 year old women compared to 41% of men the same age would encourage their daughter to run for political office; and
- 48% of 45 and older women compared to 47% of men the same age would encourage their daughter to run for political office.

**Factors Shaping Citizen Participation**. Respondents are able to identify a long list of issues that are of the utmost concern for their communities. However, overall, 80% are not doing anything toward resolving the issues they mentioned.

Respondents retain confidence in President Kocharian and still look to the President to change the overall direction of this country. Respondents also have relatively high levels of confidence in local governments. These two institutions may serve as focal points for change. Local government and its actions are a priority because people are more likely to see the results, if they occur, on this level. However, many do not become involved in the process of local governance because they do not believe local governments have power over the financial resources needed to improve their lives. However, there are situations in which local governments do have power, but the public seems unaware of this.

The relationship between public awareness and official responsiveness is off-track in Armenia. The public is not convinced that anything is 'at stake' within the sphere of action of their local government or LGU. Local governments, if they had power over decision-making and resources, could do much to instill some hope that one's personal life may improve. Other institutions have farther to go before they could instill enough confidence, and therefore support, to turn the country toward a better future.

There is an overall feeling in Armenia that solutions require resources (such as money) that are not available, and that political leaders will not listen or care to take actions to resolve the problems facing this country. It is easy to feel powerless while witnessing events occurring in Armenia since the collapse of the Soviet economy. However, what is needed here is to concentrate on those efforts that are taken, that is, the successes and accomplishments that are achieved by social action. Information and resources are needed to enable these to occur. It is evident that resources must be targeted in an area where they are limited. This report argues that information must also be targeted to be effective. In many ways Armenians have been confronted with a waves of information provided by international donors. However, solutions to specific problems are needed, solutions which will motivate people to attempt action and obtain a favorable result.

In the opinion of this analyst, information campaigns and efforts to widely distribute information publicly should closely connect the materials on which they concentrate resources to the ability

of citizens to improve current conditions. The data collected by this survey indicates that Armenians need to be shown that they can use the information they are provided to change their lives. It will not be enough to tell them that this is the current situation in Armenia. Perhaps the greatest need is to publicize that positive outcomes do occur, despite the obvious hurdles everyone already knows about.

# **III. PUBLIC INFORMATION AND MEDIA**

Information is an asset for promoting economic and political progress in society. The capacity to perceive the importance of information, assess the adequacy of what is available, and the ability to make use of this tool once obtained, is closely associated with education. Armenia should be well positioned to make full use of information. Armenian culture places high value on education, and educational levels are very high. This is reflected in the characteristics of the sample for the 2001 Citizen's Awareness and Participation Survey. Of the representative sample of adults, only 9% have achieved no higher than an elementary level of education, 69% have completed secondary school and 31% have attended some college, if they have not attained a degree.

This survey assessed opinions in several domains relevant to information: amount and adequacy of political and economic information; respondents' sources for political and economic news; whether they have received additional information on civic rights and responsibilities and the actions of their leaders; and about what topics respondents wished to receive additional information.

#### The Amount of Political and Economic Information Available in Armenia

Most respondents state that they receive 'a fair amount' (55%) or 'a great deal' (10%) of information about political developments in Armenia. We can combine the two responses — 'a great deal' and 'a fair amount' — to give the number that report there is at least a fair amount of information. Women are less likely than men to report they receive at least a fair amount of information (only 59% compared to 72%). The perception that there is enough information about political developments also rises steadily with age, but declines among the oldest respondents (59% of those 18 – 29, 67% of those 30 – 44, 74% of 45 – 60 year olds, compared to only 65% of those 60 and older).

While many report that enough information is available, only 13% state there is 'enough' information available to make a 'wise' choice when it comes time to vote in an election. More people believe they receive 'very little' of the information they need to make a 'wise' decision, than believe they receive enough (20% compared to 13%). A plurality state they receive 'barely enough' of the information they need at election time (38%).

An additional 6% stated that the information they receive 'does not correspond to reality,' while only 5% are 'not interested' in receiving this information in the first place.

A majority states that they receive at least a 'fair amount' of political information ('enough' plus 'barely enough'); however, 43% states this information is not enough for them to make a wise decision when voting (combining the responses 'very little,' 'no information at all,' and 'the information does not correspond to reality'). These findings suggest there is a problem with the content, rather than the quantity, of the information respondents receive about political developments in Armenia. There appears to be a gap between the information that is delivered and what is needed in Armenia.

There is less information available about local government. Overall:

- 7% state they receive 'a great deal' of information about the activities of their local government;
- 32% state they receive 'a fair amount';
- 23% state they receive 'not very much'; and

- 36% state they receive 'no information' at all about the activities of their local government.
- An additional 2% 'do not know' or did not answer the question.

Responses about levels of economic information suggest that more information about political developments is available than information about economic developments. This is particularly true on the local level and issues regarding the local budget.

Concerning information on national economic developments in Armenia:

- 7% state a 'great deal' is available;
- 51% state 'a fair amount' is available;
- 20% state 'not much information' is available; and,
- 20% state 'no information' is available.

An additional 2% replied 'do not know' or did not answer the question.

Respondents were then asked: 'How well informed are you about the budget in your city or village and how the funds are spent? Here:

- Only 3% state they are 'well informed';
- 12% state they are 'somewhat informed';
- 16% state they are 'not well informed'; and,
- 67% state they are 'not at all informed' about their local budget and how funds are spent.

An additional 2% 'do not know' or gave no answer for this question. Figure 1 summarizes the findings on information levels.

Figure 1: Political and Economic Events, National and Local Levels, in %									
		Age				Education			
	<b>Total</b> (n=1500)	<b>18 – 29</b> (n=506)		<b>45 – 59</b> (n=252)	<b>60 +</b> (n=258)	Elementary (n=141)	Secondary (n=892)	University (n=467)	
National Political									
None at all	18	22	16	13	20	32	20	10	
Not very much	16	18	17	13	15	21	18	12	
A fair amount	55	53	60	56	47	39	54	62	
A great deal	10	6	7	18	17	6	8	17	
DK/NA	1	2	0	0	1	1	1		
Local Government				_		-			
None at all	36	35	37	34	39	49	39	28	
Not very much	23	28	18	20	25	22	21	28	
A fair amount	32	30	36	36	23	22	32	34	
A great deal	7	5	7	9	10	4	7	8	
DK/NA	2	1	1	2	3	3	1	1	
National Econom	nic					-			
None at all	20	23	19	13	24	36	24	9	
Not very much	20	21	20	19	17	25	19	19	
A fair amount	51	49	55	53	47	31	49	61	
A great deal	7	5	4	12	10	3	6	10	
DK/NA	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	1	
Local Budget	r		1						
None at all	67	69	65	65	65	73	72	53	
Not very much	16	16	17	12	19	15	13	23	
A fair amount	12	10	12	17	13	8	11	16	
A great deal	3	2	4	5	1	1	2	6	
DK/NA	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	1	

Figure 1: Political and Economic Events	. National and Local Levels. in %
I igure it i endeal and Economic Evente	

\* SES: Social Economic Status, is coded from a combination of the respondent's self-assessment of their economic condition, and the interviewer's own assessment.

# Sources of Information about Political and Economic Developments

Television is the most popular source of information about political developments on the national level. Figure 2 displays the distribution of sources among the total sources of information about national politics, as well as the main sources for this information.

Armenians use a variety of national and international media sources for information. Armenian public television is a source of information for 89% of the respondents. Prometevs is mentioned next in frequency (64%), followed by the Russian station RTR (40%), and National radio (the network) (22%). Local television is mentioned as a source of political information by 17%.

We then asked which of these media sources was the respondent's single main source of information. Overall, television is the main source of political information on the national level:

- Armenian Public television 65%;
- Prometevs 6%;
- A1+ 6%;
- Armenia 3%;

- the Russian stations RTR (3%) and ORT (2%); and,
- No other media outlet is a 'main source' for more than 2% of the sample.

On the local level, television is the main source for information about local politics and economic events. In total, 41% are informed about the activities of their local government through television. Radio (8%), newspapers (7%), public officials (10%), and NGOs (1%) are all secondary sources of information. As discussed above, many state they do not receive information about their local government (36%).

A disparity in the availability of information about local and national political developments is clear. It was shown above that 59% receive 'not much' or 'no' information about local political developments. Perhaps one reason is that radio, newspapers, local political officials, or NGOs are <u>not</u> sources of information about local politics for many people. Most rely on television for information, and local politics does not seem to be covered well. This may reflect the condition of local television – the resources available for local television programming, or the amount of discretion local television producers have in providing local content.

The information gap is largest for information about the local budget. In total, 16% are 'not well informed' about their local budget, and 67% are 'not at all informed'. According to 26%, television is the source for this information. Public officials were the source for only 6%, while other forms of media [radio (4%) and newspapers (6%)] were not an important source for many. NGOs are not mentioned as a source of information about local finance.





Another finding, which seems clear from the data is that the Internet will not meet the information gap in the near future. In total, 16% do not know what Internet is. Over 3 out of 4 have never used it (78%). While 92% of those under 30 years of age appear to know what the Internet is, only 14% have used it. Usage declines among older respondents.

# **Sources of Additional Information**

We asked respondents whether they received information about the following topics from any organizations besides government sources:

- The rights of citizens
- Information about the activities of government
- Elections
- Civic education

Very few people have received information on any of these topics from non-governmental sources. In total, 18% have received information on at least one of these topics, and 82% state they have received no information on any of them. People have received slightly more information about the activities of the government and elections (each at 9%) than the other topics. Very few received any data on civic education (4%), while more received some information on the rights of citizens (8%).

Figure 3 displays the different organizations or sources from which respondents have received information. As shown, media is the leading supplier of additional information people have received in each category. Television is the form of media mentioned most frequently. Political parties are mentioned next in frequency for all topics except Civic Education. NGOs are mentioned in third place for all topics except the Activities of Government.

Figure 3. Sources of Additional Information
(Number of respondents who have received information
from each source listed $n = 1500$ )

Responses	Count						
Responses	Count						
The Rights of Citizens							
Media	47						
Political parties	26						
NGOs	17						
Personal connections	3						
Other	3						
From the National Assembly	1						
	I						
The Activities of Government							
Media	83						
Political parties	27						
Personal connections	5						
Other	2						
NGO	2						
Different organizations	1						
Flastiana							
Elections Media	57						
	<u>57</u>						
Political parties NGO	19						
	6						
Local political leaders Other	3						
Personal connections	3						
Civic education	3						
Media	22						
Educational system	3						
NGO	3						
Other	2						
Political parties	2						

Question: "Do you remember if you have ever received or seen any information about the following issues from any organization besides the government?"

# Information Gap: Additional Information Desired by Respondents

About one in three respondents wish to receive additional information from non-governmental sources. Respondents gave a wide range of answers when asked what information they wished to receive. Answers were categorized and are presented below in Figure 4.

General political events are the most mentioned category. This category covers several different issues. Chief among these is the desire of citizens to receive additional information from non-governmental sources about the October 27 assassination of leading political figures (mentioned by 3%). An issue related to the migration of people out of Armenia is another important topic (mentioned by 1%). Many also wish to have additional information about jobs and employment issues (4%).

(n = 1500)					
Category of Information desired	%				
Do not wish to have additional information	40				
Do not know	19				
About general political events occurring in Armenia	9				
Other	9				
Finances, budget	6				
About the current situation here (jobs)	5				
Politics in general (what their leaders are doing)	2				
Cultural issues (education)	1				
Rights (of children, women, human)	1				

Figure 4. Additional Information Desired by Respondents (n = 1500)

Question: "Is there any additional information that would be important for you to receive?" Note: Categories above may be combinations of several response categories.

Supplying information, in itself, is not everything; some respondents are indifferent to the lack of information and others not aware that there is an information vacuum. Many (40%) do not wish for any information. Another 19% 'do not know' what information they want. Figure 5 examines differences between those who desired information on a specific topic and those who did not know or did not wish to know any additional information.

Age is not a very significant factor in describing the desire for additional information. The level of education is more important. The less educated the respondent, the less likely they are to want any additional information from non-governmental sources. This might be expected. The more interesting finding is that the desire to obtain additional information increases with the level of Social Economic Status of the respondent. The better off respondents are, the more likely they are to request more information. Two factors may explain this. One, those who are better off are also better educated, and their desire for additional information is linked to higher ability to use information. (Education and SES correlate at .32, which suggests a moderate correspondence between the two.) However, it may also be that respondents at the lower levels of the economic ladder just do not see the use for such information in improving their immediate situation.

		Age				Education			SES		
	Total	18 – 29	30 - 44	45 - 59	60 +	Elementary	Secondary	Univ.	Low	Modest	Moderate +
Specific answer given	38	36	37	43	40	30	33	52	35	39	62
Do not wish additional information, or do not know	62	64	63	57	60	70	67	48	65	61	38

Figure 5. Analysis of Don't Know and Do Not Wish Responses, in %

# Summary

In general, Armenians believe that there is a great deal of public information available regarding political developments. However, fewer are convinced that the available information is enough to enable them to make a wise decision when voting. Less information is available about economic issues, particularly with regard to the local budget and how these funds are used. More information is available about national rather than local events and developments. This

may reflect structural problems resulting from an inability to fund local media. Most Armenians rely on television for information. Most resources are limited to the support of local television. Radio and newspaper, while less expensive than television, have thin coverage outside of Yerevan. This may be due to limited financial resources and thereby could limit the supply of local information.

Many have received little or no information from sources outside of the government on important areas of their life, such the activities of their leaders and civic responsibilities. This apparent gap in information seems to raise a relatively limited amount of concern among Armenian adults. When asked, 40% state they 'do not wish additional information' and another 19% state they 'do not know' what additional information they would want. This should be a concern for those involved in promoting social change and an improvement of the situation in Armenia. Nearly 60% are unsure, or unconvinced, that information alone is enough to improve their current situation.

# **IV. GENERAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES**

Armenians remain interested in political life despite the October 27, 1999 assassinations in the National Assembly, questionable outcomes of elections, and a sense that their political leaders are more concerned with improving the financial condition of their own families than in improving the condition of Armenians in general. This public interest was remarked upon in the 2000 IFES survey report by the second author, Dr. Gevorg Pogossian:

Hand-in-hand with the sense of alienation and a mistrust of elections is a heightened politicization of the Armenian electorate. Many more are interested in politics than found in earlier surveys. This increase in political interest may seem at odds with the loss of efficacy in the voting process many report. However, the increased interest toward politics among the population has an unhealthy character. It is not the increased interest of normal people, who feel their participation, involvement in solving big problems, and responsiveness for the country's fate. Unfortunately, this increased interest toward politics is based on the deep disappointment, dissatisfaction toward authorities, political alienation, and full distrust of authorities.<sup>1</sup>

# **Political Efficacy and Trust**

The 2001 Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey data shows that a majority of Armenians are interested in politics (46% 'somewhat' and 13% 'very'). Generally, men are more interested than women. These results are shown below.



Figure 6. Political Interest (in %, n=1500)

Political interest, however, is associated with the continued apathy; that is, normal citizens believe they have little to no power in influencing the outcome of politics. Efficacy of the vote is guite low and a majority disagrees with the statement:

Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in Armenia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carson, T. & Pogossian, G. Electoral Experience, Confidence in Leadership and Civic Participation in Armenia: Public attitudes toward political life (Washington: IFES 2000).

This attitude is resolute -46% 'strongly disagree' and 17% 'somewhat disagree.' This reflects the generally held belief that previous elections were not honest and that the final results did not reflect the actual vote. This has been a consistent finding in all previous IFES research in Armenia. There is little difference between men and women on this issue.

Parallel to this is the attitude that 'politics is so complicated that people like me cannot understand what is really happening?' Given the relatively high levels of education in Armenia, agreement with the question reflects the turmoil of recent political developments in Armenia rather than characteristics of the respondents. Over one out of three (35%) 'strongly agree' with the statement, and another 29% 'somewhat agree.' Females are more likely to 'strongly agree' than males, and less likely to 'strongly disagree.'

Looking at responses across educational levels illustrates the frustration many have with political developments in Armenia over the past decade. The percentage that 'strongly agrees' that politics is 'too complicated' to understand does decline with rising levels of education; however, the absolute percentage is still high. Of those without a secondary education, 49% 'strongly agree' with the statement, as do 38% of those with a secondary education. However, even 25% of those with some university education 'strongly agrees' that politics is too complicated to understand. Another 28% 'somewhat agrees.' In total, 53% of those with university education believe politics is too complicated to understand.

As may be expected, a majority 'strongly agrees' that 'people like me have little or no influence on the way things are run in Armenia,' an attitude held by 63% of females and 54% of males.

As a result, 73% at least 'somewhat agree' with the statement, '*No matter who we vote for, things will not get any better in the future.*'

Lack of political efficacy, the belief that citizens can influence the political process, cuts across social categories and is endemic in Armenian society. This finding has been repeated in all of IFES' surveys conducted in Armenia, and no improvement is seen here.

#### **Confidence and Trust in Institutions**

The IFES survey asked respondents about their confidence in several public institutions and personalities. Armenians have the highest level of confidence in the President and in local government. A majority (51%) have a 'great deal' or a 'fair amount' of confidence in President Kocharian. Almost the same (48%) have at least a 'fair amount' of confidence in local government. Males are slightly more confident than females for both, but the differences are slight.

The average confidence rating is actually slightly higher for local government than President Kocharian. More people report 'a great deal' of confidence in local government, and fewer report 'no confidence at all' in the local government when compared to the President. This produces a higher average score. This is reflected in Figure 7, which presents the mean or average confidence rating as well as the percentage that has a 'great deal' and a 'fair amount' of confidence for each institution.

After this, the Marzpet has the highest confidence rating with 41% reporting at least a 'fair amount' of confidence. NGOs, International Organizations, and Women's Organizations are similar with a 40% - 41% confidence rating. The National Assembly (32%) and the Courts (25%) are rated lower.

These results are presented in Figure 7.

	(n=1500)	
	% Responding Great Deal/Fair Amount	Average Rating
President	51%	2.30
Local Government	48%	2.30
Marzpet	41%	2.21
International Organizations	41%	2.25
Women's Organizations	40%	2.30
NGOs	40%	2.20
National Assembly	32%	1.89
Courts	26%	1.80

# Figure 7. Confidence in Leaders and Institutions (n=1500)

Question: "I am now going to ask you about several government bodies and individuals. For each, please tell me how much confidence you have in them using the answers on your list. Do you have a great deal of confidence, a fair amount, not very much, or no confidence in each that I read?"

On a related question, a majority disagrees with the statement: 'I trust the Justice system to protect me from unjust treatment of the state.' Of these, 50% 'strongly' disagrees and 18% 'somewhat' disagrees. Similarly, 65% disagrees that 'If I were wrongly accused of a crime, I am sure our judicial system would acquit me.'

Trust in the judicial system is higher among women than men.

#### **Attitudes Toward Democracy in Armenia**

The Armenian Sociological Association's 1999 report for USAID indicated that the decline in the performance of the national economy over the past years has led many Armenians to question the value of democracy, and to desire a return to the previous system and the better times of the past. This conviction has also been found in all research IFES has carried out in Armenia. This has even led a majority of Armenians to consider a return to the pre-independence era. These hardships also shape Armenian's understanding and desire for democracy. The IFES focus group research carried out in 2000 stated:

[T]o many of the participants in the focus groups, democracy still primarily means the possibility to have limited civil freedoms. But this is only the positive meaning, which is understood by the concept of 'democracy.' The data seems to show that a majority of associations that democracy evokes tend to be negative in nature. Dissatisfaction caused by bad economic conditions, unemployment, and very low standards of living is connected in the ordinary consciousness with the democratic reforms of recent years. The result is 'the devaluation' of democratic values and the idea of democracy in public consciousness. Participants also expressed the view that 'democracy' as it is understood in western terms does not exist in Armenia.<sup>2</sup>

Respondents evaluated Armenia democracy poorly according to the data. The 2001 data shows that:

- Only 15% clearly state that Armenia is a democracy;
- Another 16% replied Armenia is 'somewhat' of a democracy';

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Thomas Carson, *Electoral Experience, Confidence in Leadership and Civic Participation in Armenia: Public attitudes toward political life* (Washington: IFES, 2000).

- 8% 'did not know' or gave no answer; and,
- 62% stated that Armenia is not a democracy.

Those who stated that Armenia is not a democracy were then asked: 'Do you think that Armenia is becoming a democracy?'

- 59% do not;
- 10% do believe Armenia is moving in that direction;
- 18% only believe it is 'somewhat' moving in that direction; and,
- 13% do not know or gave no answer.

Figure 8 classifies evaluations of Armenian democracy by the definition respondents gave for the meaning of democracy. Respondents who believe that Armenia is moving toward democracy frequently define the concept in terms of 'freedom' and 'people's possibility to effect power.' Respondents who are more critical about Armenia's status as a democracy are more likely to define the concept in terms of 'equality of all in front of the law' and 'justice and/or rule of law.' Those who use a human rights definition of democracy are also more likely to be critical about Armenian democracy, but this pattern is less striking than the differences just mentioned.

	(					
	Yes, Strongly	Yes, somewhat	No, But moving there	No, Moving There Somewhat	Not Becoming a Democracy	
Freedom	20	22	6	7	9	
Equality of all in front of law	7	5	18	7	10	
Observance of human rights	5	10	9	13	11	
Social guarantees, social protection	7	8	4	12	10	
People's possibility to effect power	17	19	11	15	18	
Transparency in economic and/or political life	-	-	1	-	0.3	
Representative government / power of elected representatives	9	6	7	4	6	
Justice / rule of law	2	8	25	12	10	
Other	18	16	20	21	21	
Material prosperity	2	6	2	8	4	
Respect in society/respect toward government/social harmony	8	9	11	8	8	
Cannot imagine this	1	0.3	1	2	1	
DK	11	5	3	7	6	

# Figure 8. Assessment of Democracy in Armenia by Definition, in %

(n = 1500)

Note: Above is a crosstabulation of the following questions:

Question: "Do you think Armenia is a democracy?"

Question: "[If No] Do you think that Armenia is becoming a democracy?"

Question: "What does the term democracy mean to you?"

#### NGOs

The outlook for NGOs is mixed. Confidence in these organizations as an overall institution is relatively high. As discussed above, 40% state that they have at least a fair amount of trust in International Organizations, Women's Organizations, and NGOs. Many (43%) also believe that NGOs serve an important role in Armenian society.

Respondents were asked: *How necessary are non-governmental organizations, or NGOs, in Armenia?* 

They replied that NGOs are:

- essential 20%
- very necessary 23%
- not very necessary 22%
- not at all necessary 16%
- Do not know 19%.

NGOs are at least necessary according to 43%, versus 38% who state they are not. The older the respondent, the more likely they are to firmly support NGOs.

Though respondents may think NGOs important, relatively few people can think of specific NGO organizations. Respondents were asked which NGOs they knew. Figure 9 provides the organizations most frequently mentioned. The first column lists the names freely mentioned by respondents (no list was shown to them). The second column gives the percentage of respondents that mentioned each organization. As shown below, the Red Cross is mentioned by 39% of respondents as an NGO about whom they are aware. Mothers of Soldiers is mentioned by 13%, the Green Union by 10%, and the Women's Republican Council by 9% of the sample. A wide range of NGOs was mentioned, and many of them appear below.

Figures for the number of respondents who know each NGO are quite low in this Figure. One reason is that respondents were not 'aided' on this question. They were not shown a list of NGOs and then asked which they knew about. This question relied on their unaided recall. In general, when respondents are aided with a list to prompt recall, the percentage that 'knows' or remembers organizations (or anything) increases. In short, if they had been shown a list, more respondents would probably have remembered the different organizations and these frequencies would be higher.

Those who knew of the NGO were next asked about their level of trust in the NGOs of which they were aware. The wording of the question is given at the bottom of Figure 9. Columns 3 - 6 provide the frequency for each response: 'very much trust,' 'somewhat,' 'not very much,' and 'not at all.'

Reviewing the third and fourth columns shows that respondents have a high level of trust in all the organizations that they know. Combining 'very much' and 'somewhat' levels of trust reflects high levels of trust for those organizations that enough people actually knew in order to provide reliable figures.

Three other questions were asked for each of the NGO that respondents knew. Respondents were asked two questions about volunteer activities:

Have you ever done any voluntary, unpaid work for any of these organizations?

Which of these organizations would you be willing to volunteer time for if you had the time?

Their responses are provided in columns 7 and 8. As shown, few people have volunteered their time. More people think they would volunteer their time.

This finding was explored in depth in IFES' 2000 focus group survey. For a minority, membership and participation in NGOs is a way to overcome the limited influence they have in their work or on the political outcomes in their country. Many also joined or volunteered time in their desire to help others. However, for many the primary reason for volunteering time and becoming involved in NGOs is related to the opportunity to directly improve their current situation. This may come from earning money, which NGOs usally cannot provide, or from learning job skills or gaining contacts that may be used to gain employment in the near future. This research did not cover these issues directly, but it is suggested that few believe volunteer time with NGOs will 'pay off' now. Involvement with NGOs is seen as a source of income when other avenues toward employment do not exist.

# Respondents were also asked: *Have you ever approached any of these organizations to help solve a problem that you had?*

Only three NGOs frequently mentioned by respondents as ones they approached in order to resolve problems they had. The Red Cross is mentioned most frequently (8%), followed by the Union of Warrior and Women Veterans (6%) and the Green Union (3%). Besides these organizations, almost no one has gone to an NGO in order to get help for their problems.

(n=1500)											
NGO	Know NGO <sup>1</sup>	Very much	Tru Somewhat	Not very much	Not at all	Have Volunteered <sup>3</sup>	Would Volunteer 4	Gone to for a Problem⁵			
The Red Cross	39	23	55	14	8	5	47	8			
Mothers of Soldiers	13	18	57	11	13	1	29	0.4			
Green Union	10	15	39	29	17	9	28	3			
Union of Warrior and Women Veterans	9	13	59	21	7	4	35	6			
Women's Republican Council	9	12	47	26	16	2	22	1			
Union of Refugees	7	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Armenian Relief Society	5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Save the Children	5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Maternity Fund	4	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Sakarov Fund	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Women's Rights Center	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
"Pyunik" Handicap Children Union	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Young Lawyers union	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			

# Figure 9. Attitudes toward NGOs, in %

1. Which NGOs do you know something about?

2. How much trust do you have in the activities of these organizations- very much, somewhat, not very much, not at all?

3. Have you ever done any voluntary, unpaid work for any of these organizations?

4. Which of these organizations would you be willing to volunteer time for if you had the time?

5. Have you ever approached any of these organizations to help solve a problem that you had?

\* Cell count too low for reliable statistics.

Note: Results above only list NGOs which were mentioned by over 2% of respondents.

#### Commitment to Stay in Armenia

Surveys conducted by IFES and USAID between 1998 and 2000 have found that the citizens of Armenia share a view that is generally expressed in the press, that is, that the population of Armenia is hemorrhaging out of the country and those who stay behind voice increasing hopelessness and cynicism about the socio-political and economic future of the Republic of Armenia. To monitor the public's opinion regarding this subject, IFES asked:

In your opinion, is it better to stay and work for a better future for you and your family here in Armenia, or to leave the country and immigrate abroad, if you have this opportunity? Please pick a point on the scale, where 1 indicates a strong decision to stay in Armenia and 7 indicates a strong decision to go abroad when the opportunity comes up.

#### Overall:

- 46% say 'stay' and choose the highest value for this response (1);
- 23% say 'emigrate' and choose the highest value for this response (7);
- 13% lean toward staying;
- 10% lean toward emigrating; and,
- 6% are right in the middle between the two options.

These answers are easier to follow when the extreme responses on the scale are isolated and examined separately. The higher their education, the more likely respondents would choose to leave rather than stay. For example, 22% of those with some university level education would leave, while 25% of those with only secondary level education would do so. Of the youngest respondents 18 - 29, 33% would stay while 29% would leave; most of these respondents choose the extreme end of the scales.

#### Summary

The 2001 Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey continues to support previous findings that indicate the electorate remains focused on political affairs in Armenia, while at the same time current political developments - such as the October 27, 1999 assassinations in the National Assembly - continue to erode their sense of efficacy. Year after year, the sense that people are unable to effect change contributes to the downward cycle of events in Armenia. Election after election people continue to vote; however, the majority is convinced that the outcome of elections are decided somewhere else and that the results will not reflect the will of the people. This leads many people, including many with high levels of education, to claim that politics is too complicated to understand what is going on. Respondents retain confidence in two institutions. Nearly half the sample has at least a fair amount of confidence in President Kocharian, and in local governments. These two institutions may serve as focal points for change. People still look to the President to change the overall direction of this country. Local governments, if they had power over decision-making and resources, could do much to instill some hope that one's personal life may improve. Other institutions have farther to go before they could instill enough confidence, and therefore support, to turn the country toward a better future. NGOs, while they retain support as an important part of Armenian society, have little name recognition. It is hard to predict that these organizations could rally enough support to press for major change in the general situation if they lack the recognition needed to gather mass support for their efforts. As a result, many claim democracy is in poor shape in this country, and that the will of the people is not realized through political developments. In the meantime, young, educated, and motivated people continue to look for opportunities abroad.

# V. WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE

The seed of democracy lies in the principle that the legitimacy of the power to make decisions about peoples' lives, their society, and their country should derive from a choice by those who will be affected.<sup>3</sup> However, as in many countries, women in Armenia continue to confront obstacles to advancing universal enfranchisement. These impediments are embedded in cultural, religious, patriarchal, and economic norms.<sup>4</sup> The IFES 2001 Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey went into detail on women's attitudes on several issues such as women's rights and responsibilities, women's participation in decision-making, the sources of information and the role of advocacy groups and NGOs.

Utilizing local expertise and experience, IFES held several meetings in late April 2001 with an Armenian women's group to help design some of the content in the IFES 2001 survey. This was done so that the survey could support and provide relevant information for activities designed to increase women's participation in political and social life in Armenia. This work focuses on two main goals: 1) to make people (women) aware of their rights, and 2) to increase women's participation in decision-making.

Two main themes emerged from discussions on women's rights. These themes represent opposing sides of an argument. One side of the argument is that men and women do not have rights distinct from each other, that is, women have the same rights as men. Under this approach, the goal of program activities is to encourage women and men to accept and enact the legal statute that both sexes have equal status under the law. In further discussion, other concerns were mentioned as rights specific to women. This is the right to equal opportunities to employment, the right to rest and have free time, and the right for support in the raising of young children. These distinctions were reinforced in other discussions with IFES trainers in the field.

The right of women to have access to jobs is a large issue, and many women are divided on this issue. In traditional Armenian culture, women's roles in the work force are secondary. (However, this was not true under the Soviet era.) Traditional beliefs are reinforced in an era when employment opportunities are scarce and resulting levels of unemployment are high. Women interviewed in preparation for the research in Yerevan and out in the field stated that many women would prefer that the husband work, rather than the wife. The reason for this is that, in the general climate of unemployment now prevalent in Armenia, having work would tie the man to the family and keep him from drifting to idle use of his time and alienating his family. Additional support for women's employment would come with the opening of employment centers and an intention to dedicate many of them specifically to helping women find work, rather than replacing men with women in the work force.

Analyses within this report will focus on the differences between men and women concerning women's rights and their roles (and responsibilities) in society. The difference between generations is also important and will be looked at as well.

There are at least two aspects to this issue directly relevant here. For one, the change in political systems has led to an evident decline in women's role in political life after the Soviet era. There was once a quota for women political leaders under the Soviet system because all regional communist parties needed women as deputies. Now there is not. Analysis will examine public support for guaranteeing a place for women in political life by setting aside

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Azza Karam, Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers, Hand book Series 2 (Stockholm: International Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance, 1998).
<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

political seats, quotas, in elected office. Is there support for establishing a quota for women political representatives? Or, do many believe it is more important to raise the quality of women political leaders to make them competitive with men? Those who support increased representation of women in political decision making could argue for either position.

The second aspect here is the political support for women's participation in all aspects of social life. This support is <u>directly assessed</u> through public attitudes toward women's involvement in areas other than family life, education, and social welfare. This support is further measured by examining the respondent's willingness to vote for women political candidates. One final measure of support is whether parents (actual and potential) would encourage their daughters to become involved in political life.

Social support for women is <u>indirectly assessed</u> through the respondent's assessment of the image of women portrayed in media and their assessment of the extent that politicians pay attention to women's issues.

Another goal of this study is to raise awareness of women's issues. It became clear when discussing this topic that nearly all issues are also women's issues. Few topics stand alone as specific to women that need to be addressed on a national level. The questionnaire, however, does contain a few questions on issues involving women that are not categorized into one of the above categories.

#### Women's Rights and Responsibilities

Regardless of age, nearly 69% of women state that equal treatment of women in society is 'very important.' Approximately 20% believe this is 'somewhat important.' Combining the two responses shows that 89% of women believe equal treatment is important, an attitude held by all ages covered in this survey.

Men also believe equal treatment of women is important, and 82% state that this is important regardless of age. Of this, between 53% believe it is 'very important.'

The percentage who believe equal treatment is 'very important' rises steadily with age for both men and women. It is perhaps surprising that those 45 years of age and above are much stronger in this view than the younger respondents. This is true for men and women.

Both men and women agree that the reality, however, is different. When asked: "Do you think women are treated equally to men in Armenia":

- 48% of women state they are not; and,
- 40% of men state women are not treated equally.

These findings are presented in Figure 10, below. The Figure also includes answers to a question concerning women's equal right to jobs.

Opinions on the statement "There are not enough jobs for everybody, and a woman should not take a job that a man could do?" are split between those who agree and those who do not. Overall, 48% agree as opposed to 48% who do not. The older the respondent, the more likely they will agree for both men and women. Respondents in the prime years of employment (30 - 44) are the most likely to agree to this statement, regardless of sex. It is also interesting that those who 'strongly disagree' with this statement are more likely to be 18 - 29 regardless for both men and women.

However, there are important differences between the sexes. 52% of men agree that a woman should not take a job that a man could do. This compares to 44% of women.

	<b>Women 18-</b> 29 (n=250)	<b>Women</b> <b>30-44</b> (n=249)	<b>Women</b> 45+ (n=272)	<b>Men</b> <b>18-29</b> (n=257)	<b>Men</b> <b>30-44</b> (n=235)	<b>Men</b> <b>45+</b> (n=238)	<b>Total</b> (n=1500)		
How important i	s it that wom	en have ec	ual treatm	ent as men	in society	?			
Not at all important	5	3	3	13	6	8	6		
Not too important	5	6	4	4	8	8	6		
Somewhat important	19	24	19	30	34	25	25		
Very important	69	66	71	50	51	57	61		
DK/NA	1	1	3	3	1	1	2		
Do you th	ink women a	re treated e	equally to r	nen in Arm	enia?				
Yes	10	11	13	15	18	13	13		
Somewhat equal	12	16	12	17	15	19	15		
It depends on area	22	20	20	19	25	19	21		
No	46	49	48	44	37	40	44		
DK	10	4	6	6	5	9	7		
Do you agree or disagree with this statement: There are not enough jobs for everybody, and a woman should not take a job that a man could do?									
Strongly agree	13	24	24	24	31	27	24		
Agree somewhat	26	23	21	26	23	26	24		
Disagree somewhat	19	16	19	16	15	19	17		
Strongly disagree	36	34	32	28	27	24	30		
DK	5	4	4	6	3	3	4		

# Figure 10. Gender Attitudes Part 1, in % (n = 1500)

Both men and women agree that women are not treated equally in society. In an open-ended question respondents were asked to name the areas where inequality is greatest. Responses were than coded by theme.

Overall, both men and women agree upon these areas equally. The most frequently mentioned sectors are listed below.

Positions of leadership; 30% (31% women, 29% men)

Politics; 28% (29% women, 28% men)

All government positions (except healthcare); 18% (18% women, 18% men)

In the villages; 14% (15% women, 12% men)

In all spheres; 15% (15% women, 16% men)

Do not know; 13% (14% women, 12% men)

Nearly 7% report that there is equality between the men and women in all spheres of society (6% of women, 9% of men).

The extent of agreement between men and women suggests that the situation of women in Armenian society is clear and known to all. Both men and women see the obvious fact that women are not equally represented in leadership positions and in politics. There is a slight, but significant difference between the two regarding the situation in villages. Women are more likely than men to believe they have unequal status in the rural areas. This finding suggests an important topic for further work.

Respondents also stated that women have an unequal status in the military (11% women, 12% men), at work (7% women, 8% men) and in the family (7% women, 8% men). Very few respondents think that women are at a disadvantage in business (5%). This may reflect Armenian culture in which women have always been active in business and trading.

# Women's Participation in Decision-Making

Another series of questions concern support for women in the political sphere. Respondents were asked the extent of their agreement to the following statement: "A woman should not be involved in political events."

Responses indicate that:

- A majority of women 'strongly disagree' with this statement at the youngest age levels (55% 18 – 29, 57% 30 – 44), while less than a majority of women 45 and older 'strongly disagree' (44%).
- In comparison, only 32% of men 18 29 'strongly disagree' while approximately 40% of men 30 years of age 'strongly disagree.'

In contrast:

- 17% of men and 10% of women 'strongly agree' with this statement.
- 19% of men and 16% of women 'somewhat agree.'

There is a clear difference between men and women in their attitudes to this question, and this difference is related to age as well as sex. Older women tend to be less opposed to the idea that women should not be involved in politics. This may reflect a belief that women should stay at home. At the same time, it is the younger men that are more likely to hold this view -21% of men 18 - 29 'strongly agree' that women should not be involved in politics. In this case, this may reflect concerns over competition rather than traditional views on gender roles.

Overall, 64% do disagree with the statement. Approximately 70% of women disagree compared to 58% of men.

Respondents were asked about the likeliness that they would vote for an equally qualified woman political candidate. Overall, 80% said it was at least 'somewhat likely' that they would vote for a woman. Of these:

- 68% of 18 29 year old women compared to only 45% of men the same age are 'very likely' to vote for a woman;
- 71% of 30 44 year old women compared to 54% of men the same age are 'very likely' to vote for a woman; and
- 63% of 45 and older women compared to 53% of men the same age are 'very likely' to vote for a woman.

The gender gap concerning women's role in politics is also seen when respondents consider whether they would encourage a daughter to run for political office. Overall, 46% say they would consider this, of these 24% would 'strongly' consider it. Of these:

- 50% of 18 29 year old women compared to only 42% of men the same age would encourage their daughter to run for political office;
- 50% of 30 44 year old women compared to 41% of men the same age would encourage their daughter to run for political office; and
- 48% of 45 and older women compared to 47% of men the same age would encourage their daughter to run for political office.

It is interesting that older men and women have similar opinions on this issue, while the younger respondents differ greatly between sexes.

These findings are presented in Figure 11.

(n = 1500)										
	<b>Women</b> 18-29 (n=250)	<b>Women</b> <b>30-44</b> (n=249)	<b>Women</b> <b>45+</b> (n=272)	<b>Men</b> <b>18-29</b> (n=257)	<b>Men</b> <b>30-44</b> (n=235)	<b>Men</b> <b>45+</b> (n=238)	<b>Total</b> (n=1500)			
Do you agree or disa	gree with this	statement: A	woman sho	uld not be i	involved in	political ev	ents.			
Strongly yes	7	8	14	21	17	13	14			
somewhat yes	13	18	18	17	21	20	18			
somewhat disagree	21	14	18	23	19	22	20			
Strongly disagree	55	57	44	32	39	41	44			
DK	4	3	6	7	5	4	4			
How likely is	s it that you w As equa	ould vote for lly qualified a			lidate, if sh	e was				
Very unlikely	7	8	9	15	12	13	11			
somewhat unlikely	2	4	4	5	7	7	5			
somewhat likely	20	14	19	28	23	23	21			
Very likely	68	71	63	45	54	53	59			
DK	3	2	5	6	4	4	4			
W	ould you enco	ourage a daug	ghter to run f	or political	office?					
Strong no	16	23	19	27	28	24	23			
Weak no	13	16	12	12	16	14	14			
Mixed support	8	5	12	10	10	9	9			
Weak yes	25	24	22	18	16	26	22			
Strong yes	25	26	26	24	25	21	24			
DK/NA	13	6	8	9	5	6	8			

# Figure 11. Gender Attitudes Part 2, in %

From 771 women in the sample, 88 stated they would be unlikely to vote for a woman candidate, even if she was equally qualified. Among 729 men, 144 shared this opinion. These respondents were then asked about their reasons for this attitude. There was much similarity in the reasons between the two gender groups.

Those who were unlikely to support a woman political candidate give the following reasons:

• Only men are capable of this (30% of women in this group, 14% of men);

- Women cannot be politicians because they are not good in politics (14% of women, 24% of the men);
- They should concentrate on family (21% of these women, 17% of these men)
- By nature, they [women] are not capable (10% women, 13% men);
- They should concentrate on their work (8% women, 4% men); and
- Do not trust women (5% of women, 14% men).

A related question concerns support for setting aside seats in political offices for women candidates, or the use of quotas to ensure women's participation. Respondents were presented two statements and asked their level of agreement:

A. To ensure fair representation, we should set aside a certain number of seats in the National Assembly for women.

B. Setting aside seats for women is unnecessary, since women should compete with men for the same elected positions.

Overall, more respondents agree with statement B (48%) than statement A (42%). (The remaining 13% consists of mixed positions on this policy, or those who do not know, or did not answer the question.)

Younger and older women are more likely to agree with statement B, while those 30 - 44 are more likely to agree with statement A. In contrast, over 50% of men agree with statement B at each age level. Not surprisingly, men are less supportive of quotas that reserve political offices for women candidates.

Those who support the use of quotas suggest that 28 seats, on average, should be reserved for women. Women tend to state a higher number than do men, but the difference is not large. Many respondents answered this question using percentage figures rather than absolute numbers. On average, respondents believed that 34% of seat should be reserved for women. Women wished that 37% of seats be reserved, while men wished 30%.

While there is overwhelming support for the equal treatment of women under the law, there is less support for empowering women by enabling them access to political positions. From 1500 respondents in the survey, 482 can be classified as those supporting equality of women under the law, but who would not vote for a woman political candidate even if she were equally qualified. Both men and women fall into this category: 49% of them are women, and 51% are men. There is a slight possibility that this group has a higher proportion of 30 - 44 year olds in it than in the general population (36% compared to 30% overall). There are not significant differences by other indicators such as education or Socio-Economic Status (SES). There is one major difference that stands out about this group. Overall, 40% of them are from Yerevan itself. This compares to 29% in the overall population.

This data is presented in Figure 12 below:

(1 – 1500)									
	Women 18-29 (n=250)	<b>Women</b> <b>30-44</b> (n=249)	<b>Women</b> <b>45+</b> (n=272)	<b>Men</b> <b>18-29</b> (n=256)	<b>Men</b> <b>30-44</b> (n=235)	<b>Men</b> <b>45+</b> (n=238)	<b>Total</b> (n=1500)		
Agree with Statement A	41	50	45	35	42	35	41		
Agree with Statement B	46	37	44	54	52	52	48		

Figure 12.A: Support for Set Asides for Women Candidates, in % (n = 1500)

Question: "Agree/Disagree: A. To ensure fair representation, we should set aside a certain number of seats in the National Assembly for women.

B. Setting aside seats for women is unnecessary, since women should compete with men for the same elected positions."

	Women 18-29 (n=250)	Women 30-44 (n=249)	Women 45+ (n=272)	Men 18-29 (n=256)	Men 30-44 (n=235)	Men 45+ (n=238)	Total (n=1500)
Number of seats set aside (Q37) mean	27.5	29.5	30.6	24.2	24.8	25.6	27.5
Percentage of seats set aside (Q37) mean	36.7	37.0	36.1	30.0	31.9	28.8	33.8

#### Figure 12.B: Average Number of Seats Mentioned

Respondents were finally asked one last series of questions on this topic. First, respondents were given a list of eight sectors in society and asked: *"For each, please rate how much involvement women have in each. Are women greatly involved, somewhat involved, not so much involved, or not involved at all?"* The list included:

- 1. Family
- 2. Education
- 3. Health care
- 4. Social welfare
- 5. Local decision making
- 6. National decision making
- 7. Business
- 8. Military

They were also asked to rank each in order of importance where 1 = the sphere that is most important for woman to be involved in and 8 = the sphere least important for women to be involved in. In the questionnaire, a low score, on average, represents a number close to 1, or the most important sphere for a woman to be involved in. In this report, the scores have been recalculated to simplify the discussion for the reader; here, the higher the number, the more important it is that women are involved in that sector.

Respondents could also mention another area they believed was important (few did).

Figure 13 displays men and women's estimates of the extent women are involved in each sector. The response categories for 'greatly involved' and 'somewhat involved' were added together.

As shown below, there is little difference between men and women in their estimates. Nearly 100% of both sexes state that women are at least somewhat involved in the family, education, and healthcare systems. Respondents estimate that women are slightly less involved in the area of social welfare. From this point, respondents of both genders estimate that women are much less involved in business life, decision-making on both the national and local levels, and the military.

Figure 13 shows that women and men hold similar opinions in their estimates of the extent of women's involvement in these eight sectors. When there is disagreement, men tend to estimate women's involvement at a higher level than the women do themselves.



Figure 13. Women's Involvement in Specific Sectors

Question: "Please rank the importance of each, where 1 means that this area should be the most important priority for women's involvement, 2 means the second most important area, and so on to the least important area for women to be involved in."

Next, respondents ranked the importance of women's involvement in each sector. According to respondents, the area considered least important for woman's involvement (except 'other') is the military. Most respondents agreed with this regardless of age or gender. Business was next to last in importance, followed by national and local decision making. The areas considered most important for women's involvement are family, health care, and social welfare (Figure 14).

	Women 18-29 (n=250)	Women 30-44 (n=249)	Women 45+ (n=272)	Men 18-29 (n=256)	Men 30-44 (n=235)	Men 45+ (n=238)	Total (n=1500)		
Family	7,4	7,4	7,3	7,3	7,6	7,7	7,4		
Education	7,3	7,4	7,4	7,5	7,5	7,6	7,4		
Health	7,1	7,0	7,0	7,2	7,3	7,1	7,1		
Social Welfare	6,2	6,3	6,2	6,3	6,2	6,2	6,2		
Local Decision Making	4,6	4,3	4,5	4,5	4,2	4,4	4,4		
National Decision Making	4,6	4,8	4,8	4,5	4,5	4,7	4,7		
Business	4,1	4,1	4,1	3,9	3,9	3,8	4,0		
Military	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,7		
Other	1,4	1,3	1,3	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,4		

Figure 14. Importance of Women's Participation in ... (n = 1500)

\*Score recalculated from questionnaire (10 – score).

It is important to note that men and women hold similar opinions on this issue, regardless of age. It is revealing that the majority of women are also of the opinion that women should have greater involvement in traditional spheres associated with women. The fact that women's opinions are not dissimilar from men's in this respect might suggest a lack of demand for integration of women into traditional men's spheres.

#### Other Issues Related to Women

There were several other questions in the survey specifically about women's issues. We asked about awareness of the UN Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. Few respondents were aware of this (13% women, 17% men). Those who were aware were then asked whether Armenia has joined the convention. Most of those aware of the convention correctly replied that Armenia has joined it: 72% of women, 84% of men. Another 22% of women who know of the convention do not know if Armenia has joined it, compared to 12% of the men.

As discussed above, many respondents believe the overall situation in Armenia has deteriorated since the demise of the Soviet system. This is true for the position of women in society according to a majority of respondents. Thirty percent of women and thirty-three percent of men 'strongly agree' that 'under the Soviet system, women had much more influence in decision-making process of Armenia." Another 21% of women, 20% of men 'somewhat agree' with this position.

Respondents were asked:

How do you think Armenian media portrays women today in Armenian society? Does the media portray women in a positive, negative or neutral manner?

How much attention do you think your elected leaders pay to issues of importance to women in *Armenia*?

Men and women hold similar opinions concerning the depiction of women in media. The breakdown of responses was as follows:

- Positive depictions (45% of both men and women);
- Negative depictions (11% of women, 10% of men);

- Neutral depictions (30% of women, 31% of men); or
- 'Don't know,' no answer, or another response (10% of women, 11% of men).

It is not clear what respondents mean when they say media coverage of women is positive. For some, programming that represents women in traditional roles and situations may do this in a positive way. For others, this same programming may be negative. The definition of what positive or negative programming means to the respondent was not covered in this research. Regardless, it seems that both genders may be using the same definition. There is little difference between the two in their assessments of how the media in Armenia portray women.

Political leaders, however, are not evaluated as favorably in the attention they give to issues specific to women. With respect to women's issues, respondents stated that politicians pay:

- A lot of attention: 10% of women, 15% of men;
- Just some attention: 34% of women, 34% of men;
- No attention at all: 46% of women, 35% of men.

The remaining respondents 'do not know' or did not answer the question.

There are significant differences in the responses to this question between men and women. Women are much more critical about the amount of attention given to them by political leaders. More women believe politicians are not paying attention to women and their issues. While the differences are significant, the attitudes of both are going in the same direction. Overall, respondents believe that politicians do not pay much attention.

Respondents who stated that politicians do not pay enough attention were then asked:

What do you think can be done to make elected leaders pay more attention to issues that are important to women in Armenia?

Change could come through political action was the most frequent response:

- Through political actions (10% women, 9% men), or
- Through the unity of women, women's organizations (9% of both men and women).

Another frequent response was through increasing women's representation in politics:

- Increase women leaders (8% women, 6% men),
- Involve women in politics, elect more of them (2% of both men and women),
- Create political positions for them (1% of both groups).

Other suggestions involved changing the nature of either men or women:

- Women should change (3% of both gender groups),
- Men should change (1% of women, 2% of men).

Finally, respondents were asked:

In your opinion, is violence against women within the home a very common problem, somewhat common, not very common, or there is very little violence against women within the home.

Results indicate that there may be more of a problem than generally assumed. Findings indicate that:

- 12% of women, 8% of men think violence against women in the home is a 'very common' problem;
- 34% of women, 30% of men think this problem is 'somewhat common';
- 34% of women, 42% of men think there is very little violence against women in the home;
- 13% of women, 14% of men think this problem is not 'very common.'

The remaining respondents either 'do not know' or did not answer the question.

# Summary

There is much agreement between men and women regarding gender issues. Large majorities of both men and women support the position that women should have full equality under the law. Women are more strongly in support of this and their support rises with age. Similarly, many disagree with the argument that a woman should not take work that a man could otherwise do. Disagreement with this statement is strongest among the younger respondents. Women are stronger in the disagreement on this issue, but men are not far behind.

Men and women are also similar in their assessments of the situation of women in Armenia. Women's position is unequal to men in positions of leadership, politics, and in all government positions except healthcare. More women hold these views than men, but the difference is not great. More women than men believe women have an unequal position in the villages.

Men and women differ greatly in their opinions on women's involvement in political life. This difference is directly influenced by age factors. Young women are very likely to disagree with the statement that a woman should not be involved in politics. Older women are less likely to disagree with this. However, disagreement rises with age among the men.

The same pattern is seen when respondents are asked if they would vote for a woman candidate. Support for this rises slightly with age and drops among the oldest woman. Men at all levels show lower levels of support for this. The gender gap between men and women is larger, the younger the respondent. It is younger men who state they are the least likely to support a female candidate.

Younger men are also less likely to give strong support to the position that woman are entitled to their jobs regardless of whether or not a man could otherwise have this position. Younger men are also the least likely to support female candidates for political office. Further, men in general are more likely to be against the idea of reserving seats in government for women.

Men and women also are in agreement concerning the extent of women's involvement in a range of sectors in society. Both agree that women are very much involved in family, education, healthcare, and less involved in decision-making at both the national and local levels, business and the military. Men tend toward lower estimates of women's involvement in these sectors, but the pattern is similar.

There is also much agreement between women and men regarding the way that the media portrays women. Both tend to think that the media portrays women in a neutral, or a positive way.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It is important to note that this research does not define the term *positive* and that the respondent may define the term *positive* as socially acceptable.
However, men and women again disagree when the object of the question is politics. While both men and women believe that politicians ignore women and their issues, women are stronger in this position.

An unexpected finding is that more people perceive that violence against women in the household occurs more frequently that is commonly believed. More women than men think this happens very often, and more think it is somewhat common.

## VI. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND CITIZEN INITIATIVE

Numerous reports document low levels of participation in elections in Armenia (specifically local elections), lack of involvement with NGOs and governmental organizations, and a general lack of efficacy that may motivate people to take action. People do not believe they have power to achieve change. They also believe that their officials will not be able to accomplish anything despite best intentions. Many people have a pre-existing explanation for why nothing can be done to improve the situation in Armenia, either on a local or on the national level. This pre-existing explanation often refers to the obvious lack of finances, without which little would be possible. These statements were the direct findings of IFES' focus groups carried out across the country in 2000.

One reflection of this is seen in the ways that people believe they can influence their government. We asked: "Other than voting, what other ways can citizens attempt to influence the actions of government officials?" Two types of responses came back.

A large percentage claims there is 'no way' (30%) or they 'do not know' (15%) how to influence their government outside of voting. The don't know responses are mentioned more frequently by women than men (19% versus 11%) and those in the youngest age group, 18 - 29 (18%). There is a difference between these two responses. The statement that the respondent 'does not know' varies much more across the population. One in four (24%) of those with less than a secondary education give this response, compared to 17% of those with a secondary level and only 8% of those with at least some university. This implies that rising levels of education are clearly associated with a better understanding that a wide range of opportunities exist in which a citizen may influence their government. Comparing genders, women are more likely to say 'does not know' than men.

Feelings of apathy or withdrawal from the political situation are voiced by responses such as 'there is no way.' There is no difference in percentage here between men and women who give this response (both at 30%). And there is only small variation across different age groups, except among the oldest respondents. An educational effect is also shown: 42% of those with no secondary credential versus 30% of those with one and 26% of those with at least some university education say 'there is no way' other than voting to influence government. However, responses of apathy generally seem to cut relatively evenly across the population. In contrast, lack of knowledge about possibilities for social action and change do seem to be a distinct response identified with specific groups in society.

In spite of attitudes such as these, many people do become involved and engage the political system. One reflection of this is seen in the belief that 'demonstrations' are one way to gain influence (27%, and an attitude held fairly even across the population), as well as 'public complaints' (16%). On-going organized actions such as joining a political party is not considered by many (less than 2%), and less constructive methods are more frequently mentioned ('giving bribes' (4%) and 'rebellion' (6%)). On a positive note, it is a good sign that nearly no one mentioned that one way to influence the government is by refusing to vote (mentioned by only one person).

## Important Issues to Address on the Local Level

The Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey asked respondents to identify the most important issues that their local communities needed to address right now. Interviewers gave directions that respondents should mention problems 'besides economic conditions.' This

was done with the hope that it would focus attention on problems that may have direct solutions.

Building and repairing basic infrastructure is perceived as the most important issue that must be addressed on the local level according to respondents (52%). Other issues that need attention concern the basic economic condition of the community and issues such as jobs (21%), restoring social services or eliminating the new charges many communities are requiring (21%), a variety of social problems such as migration, trust of fellow citizens, respect shown toward each other, and a rise in crime and drugs (mentioned by 19%). Political issues were mentioned by only 3%.

## Actions Taken (Not-Taken) to Resolve these Issues

Respondents listed the various issues important to their communities. Next, they were asked: *"are you actively participating in efforts to address these issues?"* 

## Overall, 80% are not doing anything toward resolving the issues they mentioned as priorities for their local community.

Those who are not pursuing a solution to the problems they faced were next asked their reasons for not taking action. Generally, their responses reflect the low level of efficacy described earlier. Reasons included:

- No one will listen to me, nothing will be done (41% of the 1205 who have taken no action);
- It is beyond my capabilities (13%);
- I don't know how, or who to talk to about this (3%);
- I can't do this alone (2%); and
- Too old, too tired, or too sick (3%).

Other responses indicate a limited motivation to resolve their local problems:

- I had no time (9%);
- It wasn't my business, I didn't want to (6%);
- Didn't think of it (3%);
- I tried once, but gave up (3%); and
- I didn't think it was important (3%).

A small percent stated they 'could not trust' their local politicians (3%) or gave other responses.

In comparison, 13% did do something to resolve the problem they indicated was important for their community. These respondents were then asked to describe what they did. The range in responses is informative and shows a variety of activities and a range in the amount of effort taken by the respondent. Most frequent actions include:

- Went to the local leader (26% of 199), went to a higher authority (7%), went to a National Assembly representative (2%), or went to the Marzpet (7%);
- Raised the issue in the community (20%), participated in a meeting (3%), or organized a meeting (2%); and
- Others demonstrated or took other political action (15%) or complained (4%).

## Important Issues for the Attention of the National Assembly

A parallel question asked about the most important issues that the deputies to the National Assembly should be working on 'right now'. No filter was used to direct answers away from the economic problems of Armenia. As a result, 48% mentioned that the general economic situation in the country as the most important issue for their national representatives to work on. After this came a variety of social problems including drug use, migration issues, law and order, homelessness and poor children, and aid and security to people (28%). Specific political issues were mentioned by 15%. These included the Nagorno-Kharabakh conflict, the October 1999 s, and political conflict within Armenia, among others. Also included here is the specific political issue of opening the borders surrounding the country.

Social services are also an important issue for many respondents (13%). Specific issues here include providing vacations for adults, facilities for children, restoring pensions and resolving the problems of pensioners, providing free access and in other ways improving the general living conditions of people in Armenia.

Rebuilding infrastructure, a leading local concern, was specifically mentioned here by 8%.

## **Citizen Initiative in Approaching Public Officials**

In a series of questions, this survey attempted to reconstruct the respondents' experience in contacting elected and appointed officials. Overall, 17% claim to have made an attempt to contact an elected official in help resolving a problem they had. Only 8% state they have attempted to contact an appointed official.

Even though people contacted appointed officials less frequently, they approached them for the same sets of problems. Respondents approached both elected and appointed officials with personal problems (18% elected, 17% appointed). Both were equally likely to be approached for problems with their flat or housing (11% for elected versus 10% for appointed). Both were likely to be approached about problems with basic services including water, energy, and the condition of the flat (13% elected, 7% appointed). Other reasons to approach officials include problems with land or access to it (6% elected, 4% appointed) and healthcare (3% elected, 2% appointed).

Appointed officials were more likely to be approached concerning education than elected officials (3% elected, versus 7% appointed). Appointed officials were also more likely than elected officials to be approached concerning problems with work (17% elected, 26 % appointed).

Respondents were also more likely to approach elected officials by arranging a personal meeting (73% compared to only 65% for appointed) and less likely to rely on letters (15% versus 24% for appointed).

In response to a question asking whom they would approach first to resolve a problem, respondents say that they are more likely to contact an elected official first (61% to 39%). The different officials they would contact first include:

- a Community leader or mayor -- 34%;
- the President 11%;
- the Marzpet 9%;
- a member of Parliament 6%; and,
- the Community Council 4%.

Nearly one out of five (22%) responded that they would contact no one.

A sense of trust is one of the most important reasons that people would go first to any specific official. When asked why they would go first to the official they mentioned, respondents stated because they 'trust' this person (14%), that this person understands them or the problem (6%), or that they have seen results from this person (5%). On the other hand, many do not trust any official (7%), and very few state that this official is their representative (6%). These processes are summarized in the figures 15 and 16 below.

A similar outcome was experienced regardless of whom they approached. After initiating contact, nearly four in five (85% [elected], 80% [appointed]) managed to arrange a meeting. Reactions to the outcome of their contact, according to respondents, were:

- 42% very dissatisfied (elected) versus 38% (appointed);
- 6% 'somewhat dissatisfied' (elected) versus 7% for appointed;
- 28% 'somewhat satisfied' (elected) versus 22% for appointed; and
- 23% 'very satisfied' (elected) versus 22% for appointed.

"Have you ever contacted any elect problem?"	•
Yes	17%
No	83%
"What level of elected official	did you contact?" (n=250)
Community Leader/Mayor	63%
Parliament Member	19%
Community Council	7%
President	3%
Other Elected Officials	8%
"How did you attempt to con	tact this official?" (n=250)
Personal Meeting	73%
Wrote a Letter	15%
Through Someone Else	8%
Telephone Call	3%
"Did this elected official re-	spond to you?" (n=248)
Yes	85%
No	14%
No Answer	1%
"How satisfied were you with the respo	nse of the elected official?" (n=249)
Very Satisfied	23%
Somewhat Satisfied	28%
Somewhat Dissatisfied	6%
Very Dissatisfied	42%
No Answer	1%

Figure 15. Contact With Elected Officials

"Have you ever contacted any appointed official before to help solve a problem?" (n=1500)									
Yes	8%								
No	92%								
"What level of appointed officia	al did you contact?" (n=128)								
Marzpet	31%								
Prime Minister	5%								
Other Ministers	15%								
Other Appointed Officials	48%								
"How did you attempt to con	tact this official?" (n=127)								
Personal Meeting	65%								
Wrote a Letter	24%								
Through Someone Else	10%								
Telephone Call	1%								
"Did this appointed official r	espond to you?" (n=126)								
Yes	80%								
Partially	7%								
No	13%								
"How satisfied were you with the res (n=12)									
Very Satisfied	22%								
Somewhat Satisfied	21%								
Somewhat Dissatisfied	7%								
Very Dissatisfied	38%								
No Answer	11%								

Who is most likely to go to their officials to resolve problems? For elected officials, there is no difference in the frequency men or women contacted them -17% of both men and women report contact. The larger variations come from age and educational differences.

Adults between the ages of 30 - 44 made most contacts. People with at least a secondary education made 55% of all contacts. These findings, however, reflect that this demographic group represents the largest class of adults in the sample.

Relative to their size in the population, respondents 45 - 59 are the most likely to contact their elected officials (23% of this age group). Those over 60 years of age are also likely to contact their elected officials (19%). Contact declines among the youngest age groups (17% of 30 - 44 year olds, and only 13% of 18 - 29 year olds).

Level of education is also a factor. However, the most likely to contact elected officials are the least educated (22%). Those with more education are less likely (15% and 17% for those with secondary and university education, respectfully).

This pattern is different for appointed officials. In general, the younger and better-educated respondents are more likely to approach appointed officials for help in resolving problems. Of all contacts with appointed officials, 34% were from 18 - 29 year olds, 35% from 30 - 44 year olds. This compares with 16% of all contacts made by 45 - 59 year olds, and 15% by those 60 and older. In total, 9% each of those 18 - 29 and those 30 - 44 report they have contacted

appointed officials. Slightly less of those 45 - 59 (8%) and those 60 and over (7%) contacted this type of official.

Educational background also accounts for some differences. Of all contacts, 47% were made by university-educated respondents, 40% by those with secondary education and only 12% of those with less than secondary.

## Summary

Many respondents of the survey claim that they do not know how to influence their government. There is widespread belief that the results of recent elections do not reflect the true intentions of voters. This is one of the main reasons that political efficacy is very low, and declining. If people do not believe they can influence their government through the electoral process, what methods remain by which to change or influence government?

Another means to influence government is through action. This is not common in Armenia according the results from the 2001 survey. While many people can identify and articulate problems, less than one out of twenty indicated that they are doing something to address the problem they identified. One main reason that people do not take action is that they are convinced it will be of no use. Part of this argument is that money is required to change anything, and there is no money, so change or remedy is impossible. Another reason individuals do not take action is because they do not know how or do not know what to do or whom to contact. This area is a focus for program development.

However, some people do take action to remedy the problems in their lives and/or communities. The leading action taken was to visit or approach an elected or appointed official. Elected officials were approached more frequently, and perhaps less formally, than appointed officials. Appointed officials tended to be contacted more frequently by letter, while elected officials are almost always approached through personal contact.

Contacts with officials are as likely to lead to satisfactory outcomes, in the respondents' opinion, as they are to lead to unsatisfactory outcomes. With this sort of disillusionment, the whole empowerment project grinds down, and people are discouraged from trying to gain the attention of their representative leaders again. One reason that many people are dissatisfied with the outcome is that they approach the wrong official about the wrong issue. This is one of the topics of the next section.

# VII. PUBLIC AWARENESS, OPENNESS AND RESPONSIVENESS OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Citizens are motivated to become aware and involved with the activities of their public officials when they believe there is something to gain from their effort, that is, when something is at stake that may affect their lives in a real way. Officials are responsive to citizens who are aware of the duties and obligations due to them on behalf of their leaders and when this awareness leads to actions that require response. Responsiveness of public officials, in turn, leads to greater public awareness, and, hopefully, to public participation and involvement. Under ideal conditions, all this is done in an atmosphere of open communication. In ideal conditions, officials respond to a public that is aware of what is at stake and of what can be gained in the political process.

Clearly, the relationship between public awareness and official responsiveness is off-track in Armenia. For one, the public is not convinced that anything is 'at stake' within the sphere of action of their local government unit (LGU). Citizens are not motivated to participate in local government because they are not convinced LGUs have any real power to make significant decisions that may directly affect their lives. One reason for this is that the public believes that the central government, either at the Marz or national level, controls all the resources necessary to achieve real solutions: "Under the present circumstances, local government can do little to improve the quality of their lives."

The Urban Institute report, *Baseline Study for Armenia Local Government Program*, points to a second reason for the disconnect between citizen and public official; current laws and practices do not provide much clarity of the interrelationship and mutual roles between the different levels of government. One result is that public officials at all levels are able to side-step blame for the poor state of public services. Another result is that the public is further confused about who is responsible for fixing problems that occur in these services. In this case, government officials have little incentive to inform the public about the relative responsibilities of each level of government: "If the local citizen cannot determine who is responsible for what, he has little ability to exercise influence via the local democratic process."<sup>7</sup>

These findings reported in the Urban Institute documents have been discussed above, in a related context. Section III presented the finding that there is little additional information available about the rights of citizens, the activities of government or civic education provided by political parties or NGOs. Local governments probably do not provide this information either, because few have the resources needed to publish, broadcast, or to distribute this information to the public. The information gap is equally large when it comes to information about local political developments and local finances.

These findings correspond directly with this section of the Urban Institute report. The report further describes the gap: Citizens have little interest to participate in decision making about the local budget because they believe the LGU does not have the power to make these decisions and that all money comes from a place higher up and further out of their reach. Even in those cases in which revenues are under local control – the report mentions land taxes – the public seems unaware of this and will not take the trouble to attend public meetings or in any way take the effort to review decisions made by the LGU. In those cases where local governmental bodies actually do have real power to reach decisions that have an impact on the lives of those in their community, it is questionable if local governments feel compelled to inform the public otherwise.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> J.V. Doane, M Simpson & C.S. Rabenhorst, *Baseline Study for Armenia Local Government Program* (The Urban Institute, March 2000).
<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

This discussion highlights three areas where the citizen-public official communication breaks down: 1) the public is unmotivated, uninterested and as a partial result dissatisfied with the performance of LGUs; 2) the public lacks knowledge about their political processes and the activities of their public officials; and 3) there is a lack of information available about local developments that would bridge this divide.

All three areas were covered in the 2001 Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey. Public information, item 3, was discussed in Section III, but will be returned to in the summary for this section. The first two areas are discussed next.

## Public Interest and Satisfaction with LGUs

The public is interested in political developments on the national level. These findings have been discussed above. Another indicator of this is the frequency with which people watch television coverage of the proceedings of the National Assembly. The data indicates that many respondents regularly watch this on television. In total:

- 27% follow the National Assembly at least once a week on television;
- 33% 'occasionally' watch;
- 21% 'seldom' watch; and,
- 19% never do.

Women are less likely to watch than men (22% 'never' versus 16%). The older respondents are more likely to follow the National Assembly: 23% watch the coverage several times a week, compared to only 8% of respondents 18 - 29.

We next asked what issues the National Assembly was working on at this time. Four out of ten did not answer the question. Among the others, the leading issues under review of the National Assembly include:

- Privatization of the electrical system 26% mention;
- Establishing a commission on the October 27 assassinations in the National Assembly 24%;
- Development of the economy and other economic issues 18%;
- Problems with water -- 10%; and,
- Discussion of the Kharabakh issue 9%.

Respondents mentioned other issues less frequently.

Armenians are much less interested in the activities of their local government. Respondents are evenly divided between those who are interested in the activities of their local governments and those who are not. However, the intensity of those who are interested is weak compared to the apathy of those who are not. Overall,

- 8% are 'very interested' in the activities of their LGUs;
- 41% are 'somewhat interested';
- 18% are 'somewhat uninterested'; and
- 32% are 'very uninterested' in their LGUs.

Interest in local government varies widely across respondents and across Armenia. Women are more likely to be 'very uninterested' compared to men (36% versus 28%). The youngest respondents are the least interested (36% 'very uninterested'), followed by the oldest (28%

'very uninterested'). Level of interest rises sharply with educational levels. Of those who have not completed secondary education, 43% are 'very uninterested' versus only 29% of those with at least some university training.

Rural respondents are the most interested in the affairs of their local government (38% 'very interested' which compares to 45% 'very uninterested' in Yerevan).

Regional variation is also important. Lack of interest is highest in:

- Yerevan (45% 'very uninterested');
- Tavush (54% 'very uninterested');
- Vayots Dzor (56% 'very uninteresed').

In contrast, interest in local government is very high in:

- Kotayk (63% 'somewhat interested');
- Gegharkunik (49% 'somewhat interested'); and
- Lori (32% 'very interested').

Level of satisfaction is partially associated with respondent's evaluations of their local government's performance. Overall:

- 9% are 'very satisfied' with the activities of their local government;
- 32% are 'somewhat satisfied';
- 17% are 'somewhat dissatisfied'; and
- 36% are 'very dissatisfied'.

The level of extreme dissatisfaction is highest among the least educated. At the same time, it is lowest among villagers (25%). There are also important regional variations. Lori, the Marz with highest levels of interest, also has one of the highest levels of dissatisfaction (46% 'very dissatisfied'). Armavir is even lower: 50% 'very dissatisfied'. Vayots Dzor has only 27 respondents in the survey due to the relatively small population based as a national proportion. Almost all of them are 'very dissatisfied' with the local government (23 or 84% of the total). After this comes Yerevan (41%).

Location, age, and education all have important effects on the knowledge and evaluations of local government. Some of these findings are presented below.

		Age				E		SES			
	Total (n= 1500)		30 – 44 (n=484)		60 + (n=258)	Elementary (n=141)	Secondary (n=892)	Univ. (n=467)	-	Modest (n=769)	Moderate + (n=79)
Very uninterested	32	36	29	29	33	43	32	29	34	30	32
Somewhat uninterested	18	20	20	16	14	18	17	21	18	19	20
Somewhat interested	41	38	43	45	40	32	43	40	40	42	36
Very interested	8	6	7	9	11	6	7	9	7	8	12
DK/NA	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	

## Figure 17. Interest in LGU, in % (n = 1500)

Question: "How interested are you in the activities of your local government (appropriate name)? Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested, somewhat uninterested, or very uninterested?"

	(n=1500)														
			A	ge		E	Education				SES				
	Total (n= 1500)	18 - 29	30 – 44 (n=484)		60 + (n=258)	Elementary (n=141)	Secondary (n=892)	Univ. (n=467)	-	Modest (n=769)	Moderate + (n=79)				
Very Dissatisfied	36	34	34	42	39	42	35	37	40	34	25				
Somewhat Dissatisfied	17	17	20	13	16	13	16	21	17	17	13				
Somewhat Satisfied	32	31	34	33	30	33	32	31	28	34	49				
Very Satisfied	9	9	7	8	10	6	11	5	8	10	7				
DK/NA	6	9	5	4	5	6	7	6	8	5	6				

## Figure 18. Satisfaction with LGU, in % (n=1500)

Question: "In general, how satisfied are you with the job that City Hall is doing? Would you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied, or very unsatisfied?"

## Knowledge of Officials, Political Processes and the Activities of Public Officials

The Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey included several questions that directly assessed respondents knowledge in several key areas: who their representatives are, how they are selected for office, and who is responsible for a variety of social services that are provided in their communities.

<u>Awareness of Public Officials</u>. The survey asked respondents to name their Mayor, Marzpet and representative to the National Assembly.<sup>8</sup> Answers were coded if they were correct or not. The data show distinct patterns in the level of awareness across people and locations in Armenia.

Overall, 81% could correctly name their Mayor. Fewer (67%) could correctly name their Marzpet and only 49% could correctly name their Parliament Deputy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In the Armenian administration structure, the city of Yerevan has the status of a Marz and the appointed mayor of Yerevan the status of a Marzpet. Elected "community leaders" in the 12 communities of Yerevan have the status of mayors.

The patterns in response are interesting. Generally, the higher the level of education, the more likely the respondent will correctly identify their local and state officials by name. This is clearly evident in the results from the questions for Marzpet and National Assembly.

For Marzpet:

- 56% of those with the lowest level of education were correct (44% 'don't know');
- 64% of those with secondary level of education were correct (34% 'don't know); and
- 78% of those with university training were correct (20% 'don't know').

Figures are lower for correctly naming their Parliament Deputy. Overall, 49% could correctly name this official. This rises with age, falling again among the oldest participants. It also rises with level of education:

- 39% of those with lowest level;
- 49% with secondary level; and
- 53% of those with university training could correctly name their MP.

This is not unexpected. However, this pattern changed when respondents named their Mayor. Here, 83% of the lower two educational levels could correctly answer this question. However, only 78% of those with some college training could do so.

Men were better able to correctly name their public officials than women on every level.

Location is also an important factor in describing patterns in correct responses. The percentage of correct responses for naming the mayor is noted above. Two areas had relatively high rates for incorrect responses: Yerevan (4% incorrect, and an additional 40% who did not know), Shirak (10% 'don't know'), and Tavush (8% 'don't know).

As would be expected, nearly everyone in the villages knew the mayor (96%). This compares to only 56% correct answers in Yerevan, 92% in the marz capitals and 93% in cities or towns.

Regional variations are greater when providing answers for other levels. In marz centers, 84% of respondents could correctly name the Marzpet. This compares to 65% of those in villages, 58% of respondents in cities and towns, and only 66% of those in Yerevan.

Marzes with the highest proportion of correct responses include: Lori (83%), Gegharkunik (81%), Syunik (97%, or 62 out of 64) and Vyots Dzor (100% -- 27). Those with the lowest proportion of correct responses are: Kotayk (25%) and Aragatsotn (18%).

Many more men compared to women could correctly name their Parliament Deputy (56% compared to 49%). Respondents in Yerevan often gave incorrect answers (34%) compared to those in marz centers (55%), other cities and towns (66%) or even villages (53%).

The highest proportion of correct responses came from Lori Marz (61%), Kotayk (69%) and Vayots Dzor (79% or 21 out of 27). In Tavush and Yerevan only 34% of respondents could correctly name their representative to the National Assembly.

**Political Processes**. The survey also tested respondents' knowledge of the political process in several ways. First, respondents were asked by which method their leaders were selected for office. Marzpets are appointed, while Mayors are elected. The range in correct responses is given below:

Correct for:	Mayor	Marzpet
Yeravan	77%	77%
Shirak Lori	86%, 86%,	51% 49%
Tavush	100%,	56%
Ararat Kotayk	87%, 96%,	90% 86%
Gegharkunik	83%,	84%
Armavir Aragatsotn	83%, 94%,	74% 53%
Vayots Dzor	94%	94% (25 OUT OF 27)
Syunik	99%	85%

**Information about Social Services: Who to Contact about What?** The Urban Institute report referred to above stated that many people in Armenia do not know which agency or level of government is responsible for the different social services they receive. The survey results provide mixed support for this conclusion. Respondents were presented a list of problems and asked:

Here is a list showing several problems that you may wish to contact government officials about. For each, please tell me which body should be contacted regarding this problem.

- 1. ROAD: FIXING HOLES IN THE ROAD IN FRONT OF YOUR HOUSE
- 2. TRASH: THE COLLECTION OF TRASH
- 3. HEAT: HEATING IN YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL
- 4. WATER: WATER IN YOUR HOME
- 5. PHONE: TELEPHONE SERVICE
- 6. HEALTH: HEALTH SERVICES IN YOUR COMMUNITY

We then checked if the responses were right or wrong. These results are given below in Figure 19.

	(n=1500)												
	Total	Gen	der		Age				Social Economic Status				
		Female	Male	18 – 29	30 – 44	45 - 59	60+	Low	Modest	Moderate+			
Road	71	70	72	70	74	68	69	71	72	67			
Trash	71	71	70	69	72	69	70	69	69	60			
Heat	70	69	70	69	72	69	70	69	72	60			
Water	81	83	80	79	84	83	77	80	83	74			
Phone	60	59	62	58	63	64	57	58	64	54			
Health	56	54	57	52	54	57	52	50	55	55			

Figure 19. Who is Responsible for Fixing Problems – Correct Mentions, in %	
(n=1500)	

	Marz												
	Yerevan	Shirak	Lori	Tavush	Aragat- sotn	Kotayak	Geghark - unik	Armavir	Ararat	Vayots Dzor	Syunik		
Road	60	41	74	81	88	86	98	81	79	100	51		
Trash	66	32	84	82	82	76	98	46	73	100	92		
Heat	66	32	84	82	82	76	94	62	74	100	66		
Water	80	50	85	95	77	86	92	69	96	100	91		
Phone	86	32	34	36	8	33	93	35	68	100	89		
Health	50	70	53	0	86	33	91	56	68	30	47		

Question: "Here is a list showing several problems that you may wish to contact government officials about. For each, please tell me which body should be contacted regarding this problem."

In general, many respondents correctly identified the responsible body to contact to complain to about the various problems we presented. First among these was water in their home. They had more trouble identifying whom to contact regarding health in their community. Variations among different groups in society may reflect different levels of experience in dealing with these problems.

Gender differences are interesting to note. Men were more likely to know the correct person to identify for problems with road repairs, phone service, and health in their community. Women were more likely to correctly identify the appropriate contact for problems with water in their home. There are no statistically reliable differences for the other issues.

Those between 30 - 44 years of age tended to score higher than other respondents. They may be the persons most likely to deal with the issues in the household. Perhaps the most interesting finding is that respondents in the highest economic position are the least likely to know the correct contact for resolving problems with the exception of health in the community. One implication is that the better off the respondent, the less likely it is that they will have to complain about the collection of trash, heating in their children's schools, phone service, and water in their homes. Regional differences are beyond the scope of this report to interpret. They would suggest specific conditions in the marzes.

## Summary

Citizen participation is about communication. Through participation, citizens inform leaders of their needs and priorities for government and reinforce the actions they take. This communication becomes problematic when the public is unmotivated to interact with officials. Reasons for this include the low efficacy mentioned throughout this report, as well as the sense that nothing will come of this interaction. Perhaps, not enough is done to communicate the

successes that do result from citizen initiative. Local developments may not be communicated effectively because local media is unable to supply the need for information on the local level.

It is believed that another reason for problematic communication is that the relations between governmental levels is unclear and that many people do not know who is responsible for what. While this may well be true, research within this survey has not born that out directly. Many could correctly identify whom to contact. Many also could correctly identify elected and national leaders.

What may be less understood is the full scope of resources that are available to local communities and their power to decide upon these and use them to solve their own problems. If true, part of the solution to this returns to public information, particularly on the local level. On this level, it was found above that one of the leading areas in which people were uninformed concerned the local budget and how these funds were used. This, in turn, may well obscure the extent to which people within the community are motivated to become involved, particularly if they think their local community has no ability to mobilize funds to resolve the problems they identify. Information about the economic situation and future possibilities for local, as well as national governments, is one area greatly in need of communication.

# VIII. CONCULSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR IFES' CITIZEN'S AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION IN ARMENIA PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Three main areas of this research directly relate to the current focus of IFES' Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia program. First, what is the public's demand for information and what information should be the focus of program activities? Second, what support is there for the equal participation of women in positions of power and what are the factors behind the support (or lack of it)? Third, what factors shape public participation in political life.

## Information

There is unmet demand for reliable information about political and social developments in Armenia. The adult population is highly educated. They are also paying attention to political events in their country. Many state that there is a need for accurate and independent information about the key developments in their life.

Many Armenians wish to receive independent information about the October 27, 1999 in the assassinations in the National Assembly of political leaders. They also want to know about progress toward the final resolution of the Nagorno-Kharabakh conflict. These issues remain unresolved, and many believe that other, non-governmental sources of information are needed in order to better understand these key events.

Many Armenians also wish to have independent information concerning economic, financial and budgetary issues and developments. Topics mentioned in this category include an accounting for how grants and financial aid to Armenia has been used; what has happened to accounts previously held in banks; and information about the budget, pensions and the general economic position of the country.

There is also a lack of independent information concerning civic affairs, the rights of citizens, and the activities of government. Overall, few respondents remember receiving any information from non-governmental sources on these topics. Of those that did receive information, most received it from sources that may not be independent or that might have agendas motivating their dissemination of information. Questions can be raised about the depth and validity of the information. This raises questions of how independent the information was if it came from television. Political parties were the second most frequently mentioned source of information about the rights of citizens and the activities of government. This information would be associated with election campaigns and would have been used to motivate people in support of candidates. Here, many people mentioned the Communist Party as a source of information. Other parties are less active in comparison. Few people remember receiving anything about civic education from NGOs or any other source.

Responses were quite varied when we asked what additional information is needed. One general category of response contains mentions about highly politicized events such as the 27 October 27, 1999 assassinations in the National Assembly. People are most interested in information about issues in this category. However, this may not be the most productive area to work in a non-partisan manner.

The second category includes less politicized events such as discussions of the budget, pensions, and about the financial aid and grants received from international organizations and foreign governments. There is much potential here to supply information that has great public interest. This information could even engage citizens in wider public discourse about the

activities and priorities of their government. A publication that detailed the amount of foreign assistance received by Armenia over the previous decade, how these funds were used, and the political processes by which decisions were made about this use would generate much public interest. In turn, if people did not agree that the allocation of this aid was well managed, this information may produce much public debate. On the other hand, any findings that these funds were managed effectively, and that they did result in lasting benefit to Armenia, would help counter the lack of optimism prevalent in the country.

The third category of response is perhaps the largest concern. A plurality responded that they did not want additional information and another large group stated they did not know what information they would want. Given this data, a significant question for the NGOs community and active citizenry remains: how to motivate people to look for, question or accept, and make use of information when they claim they do not need it?

Age is an important factor that influences assessments of public information. The younger the respondent, the less likely they are to report that there is enough information available to the public about political and economic developments. This finding needs to be put into context. Younger respondents are also less interested in national and local politics. Their relative lack of interest may influence assessments of how much information is available about these topics. At the same time, the lack of information (or information that is targeted and attractive to them) may lead to low interest. A connected trend is that younger respondents also have lower levels of confidence in nearly every institution they were asked about in the survey.

## Issues of Women's Equal Participation in Social Life

There is much support for women to have equal rights and treatment under the law in Armenia. Most adults believe gender equality is important. At the same time, both men and women hold similar pessimistic assessments about the reality of women's participation in social life; this assessment is that women have much less influence and participation in business, political life, and decision-making at both the local and national level.

There are many factors that create inequality in access to social and political influence. Culture and religion are often important factors that influence the ability of women to gain equal power in political and economic life. These factors were not directly assessed in this research. Other factors also determine access to power in society. Findings presented above provide some understanding of institutional and psychological factors that may lead to an unequal distribution of power.

Two main institutional factors were indirectly assessed in this survey – media coverage of women and their role in society and politicians' attention to women's issues. Respondents believe that media is at least neutral in its coverage of women. As pointed out above, people may claim that while media does not depict women in an offensive or objectified manner, it does little to progressively advance women's issues. This suggests that media depicts women in a manner socially acceptable to both men and women.

It will be useful for IFES to continue its work with the WRC in analyzing media images of women and their role in society; such studies may be used to compare these depictions against the public's desire to increase women's participation in social life. While media may not depict women in a negative way, it may not be encouraging political participation either. Neutral depictions of women and their role in society will not stimulate public awareness on these issues. Rather, they may allow people to just ignore the issue.

Treatment of women's issues by politicians is a different issue. Here, many Armenians regardless of gender believe that women and their issues are ignored in the political sphere.

Women are more critical of this than men. The major obstacle in overcoming this situation remains the prevalent belief in Armenian that ordinary people do not have the power necessary to influence the course of political events.

The most frequent response is that women need to take political action in order to increase the attention given to the issues that are important to them. Political action can be taken through active protest, through the unity of women's organizations and councils, and through the electoral system as more women vote and are able to replace politicians with others more in line with women's issues. Many also stated that the role of women leaders is important in achieving this. Another way to achieve greater influence is through creating jobs and reserving political positions for women.

Many believe that economic influence is as important as political power. Women need jobs and economic power. Armenians are evenly split between those who support the claim that women have equal rights to work and jobs as do men and those who do not.

Public support for the right of women to participate in politics and to work is the key issues addressed in this area of the research. The findings suggest that there is much support among both men and women for both positions. However, there are also factors that limit this support.

First, there is a traditional view that the most important concern of women is the family and social support and care. This is seen largely among older women in their increased agreement with the statement that women should not take work that a man may otherwise do.

Second, there appears to be more concern among younger men that women will compete against them for jobs and political positions. Younger men are less likely to support quotas for women political candidates and for women taking jobs that a man may otherwise have. Younger men are also less likely to state they would encourage a daughter to run for political office. Men over the age of 45 seem more supportive of women's involvement in the workplace and in politics. This suggests that competition for scarce positions may be a major factor behind men's attitudes.

This finding provides one direction for IFES' Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia program. Roundtables of younger men and women could be organized to explore these issues in more detail. Public information campaigns may also take this issue to a wider public arena. It may be useful to engage younger men themselves in this issue in order to draw out issues lying in the background.

The unexpected finding that domestic violence against women is a substantial concern among both men and women requires further study and work. The finding that many women are concerned about the position of women in village communities seems to indicate the validity of this sentiment.

Overall, there are many issues in which men and women agree. There is no statistically significant difference in attitudes between men and women on many of the variables that represent important social and political issues. Political efficacy is low for everyone, regardless of gender, age, or location. Attitudes that politics is too complicated to understand and that voting will not change anything are similar. There is also no difference across gender in the low level of trust in the legal system in Armenia. Both share similar attitudes regarding confidence in the President, the National Assembly, local government, and confidence in International Organizations and Women's Organizations. Men and women hold similar views about the necessity of NGOs in society and their satisfaction with the performance of local government.

Women hold a lower conviction than men in the assurance that they can influence political developments in Armenia. This may be a reflection of the lack of direct influence through political representative of the same gender with which they can identify. There are also different levels in assessments about the amount of information available about political and economic developments in Armenia. Women report there is much less information out in the public than do men. At the same time, women are much less interested in national and local politics.

Of course, women and men differ on many attitudes about gender issues. Men are less supportive of equality for women in society and particularly in politics.

## **Civic Participation and the Responsiveness of Public Officials**

The 2001 Citizen's Awareness and Participation in Armenia survey indicates that few citizens in Armenia have taken the effort to contact their officials. The main reason for this inaction appears to be that the citizens of Armenia believe that their national officials do not care about the problems of people who have little power. Many believe that the first priority of national officials is advancing their own interests and those of their families and associates. Many also believe that those who have money and power influence the outcome of elections. The inability to provide full public accounting for key political developments, such as the October 27, 1999 assassinations in the National Assembly, adds to the attitude that high-level political developments are out of the direct control of individuals.

Survey data also indicates that citizens have more confidence in local governments than in the national government. However, they believe that local officials do not have the needed power to effect change. This adds to and reflects their own opinion that they, personally, cannot do anything to influence the political developments in Armenia.

Despite this overriding sense of powerlessness, some citizens do take action and contact their officials. The view of those that have taken steps to contact their leaders suggests that they believe different levels of officials are concerned with the interests of different constituencies. Specifically, people in the prime of age and work career along with the oldest respondents and the younger, better-educated respondents are more likely to see the appointed official as the person whom they can approach about a problem. However, less-educated and middle-aged respondents are more likely to turn to elected officials.

In addition, there are different levels of awareness among various segments of the population about the roles and responsibilities of different levels of government. There are also differences in how the varying segments of society relate to government, that is, in their sense of who supports and is concerned for them in their government. It is suggested that people with more resources may orient toward the marzpet and other appointed officials. This may be because they do not approach elected officials with specific problems and are disappointed when their needs are not met. It would behoove this group to understand that elected officials are more willing to address problems if they are presented in a more specific way, and IFES trainers should consider methods for increasing this group's awareness of this probability. Likewise, IFES trainers could consider ways of raising awareness among older and/or less-educated respondents—a group that tends to rely solely on elected officials for solutions to their problems. This reliance may be rooted in their belief that appointed officials represent position and influence and, therefore, will not respond to their complaints. This social segment should expect appointed officials to be responsive to them as well, and IFES trainers may work to increase these expectations in this group.

Both the public and the government could benefit from efforts to target specific groups and increase their tendency to seek out different segments of government; government officials may

benefit through an increase in their constituency and base support, and everyone will benefit from signs of positive results occurring from actions taken by individuals.

There are important regional differences in the attitudes measured in this study. Two Marz regions stand out distinctly in many of the statistical analyses. There are statistically significant effects on the attitudes of those living in Lori and Syunik marz, even after other individual factors (gender, age, and education) are accounted for in analyses. This suggests that there is something special about the conditions in these two marzes that is not specifically clear in the research. Ad hoc explanations may be used. Syunik is remote and relatively isolated, and the people there are far removed from the main flow of developments in the center. Lori is associated with a population that is active in political life. At the same time, respondents from Lori tend to be quite critical of their local government.

Regardless of the explanation, analyses show these regions are similarly politicized. Respondents in both tend to believe they have enough information about political and economic events. Both tend to disagree that they cannot trust the justice system and that they have no influence over political decisions. Respondents in Lori marz have a tendency to disagree with the belief that politics is too complicated to understand.

Other regions show important effects, but these effects appear on fewer variables. Those in Aragatsotn marz are less likely to believe they have adequate information about political and economic developments on the national level (but not the local government). But, they tend to state they do not have adequate information about the local budget.

Respondents in Kotayk marz differ in that they tend to state that they have enough and adequate information about political and economic events.

Gegharkunik marz tends toward lower levels of political efficacy compared to other marzes after the effects of other factors are accounted for. Armavir marz tends toward higher levels of efficacy.

The findings summarized in this report suggest wide variations among people and regions in their level of knowledge about the functioning of government. Some of these variations reflect actual conditions in the community or marz. For example, most respondents correctly name the agency or level of government responsible for different problems in their community when we provided them a list. Fewer people know who to go to for some key problems they may encounter in their lives or communities. For example, many had trouble identifying whom to contact regarding health in their community. These differences point to areas in which IFES' trainers should concentrate information and educational resources, thereby, focusing programming. The data provided by this study should direct trainers to key problems within specific areas. These areas could be defined on the level of marz or within cities themselves.

There are suggestions for targeting programs to different segments of society as well. Those between 30 – 44 years of age tended to score higher than other respondents when asked to identify contact persons for resolving problems in their communities. These people may be the persons most likely to deal with these issues in the household. Perhaps the most interesting finding is that respondents in the highest economic position are the least likely to know the correct contact for resolving civic problems with the exception of health in the community. Data such as this provides direction for targeting program activity toward specific segments in the population. The key to promoting citizen participation is in understanding differences in society and location and approaching targeted groups with solutions (or ideas for them) that answer the specific problems they may be likely to have.

## IX. APPENDIX

## APPENDIX 1. METHODOLOGY<sup>9</sup>

This report is based on public opinion data obtained in a nationwide personal-interview survey, conducted from June 11-22, 2001. The sample represents the adult population of the Republic of Armenia aged 18 years and older.

## Sample

The random route method was used in the research. In every city, a definite number of addresses was chosen as the interviewers' starting points, and 10 interviews were taken at every route. The routes were distributed over a city depending on percentage of population in the city districts: the division was either administrative or conventional (as it was established in every city). The addresses were selected from the whole list of the streets taking into account the number of necessary routes and the number of streets in every concrete district. In the cases where the route only contained administrative buildings, the next street in the list was selected. Interviewers were given a set rule for starting the selection of households.

The target persons within the households were selected by the "closest birthday." If the target person was absent at the moment or refused to participate in the survey, the interviewer left and moved to the next point of his/her (or designated) route.

The interviewers followed the quota while selecting respondents. If it took too much time at the end of the route to find the last respondent required by the quota, the selection was made without considering the "closest birthday" method.

The sample originally consisted of two components: a national representative sample of 1000 plus an additional oversample of 500. At completion, 1169 interviews had been conducted as part of the national sample and 331 for the oversample. Areas in which IFES trainers are currently active were chosen for oversampling to ensure enough cases were included in these areas. The distribution of sampling points is given below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Based upon the report submitted by the Armenian Sociological Association.

Regions	City	Ι		Sam	ple
			National Sample	Oversample	Total Interviewed 1500
Yerevan and local Quarter Municipalities	Yerevan		350		350
•	Ajapnyak		30		30
	Avan		10		10
	Arabkir		40		40
	Davtashen		10		10
	Erebuni		40		40
	Kentron		50		50
	Malatia-Sebastia		40		40
	Nor-Nork		40		40
	Nork-Marash		10		10
	Nubarashen		10		10
	Shengavit		40		40
	Kanaker-Zeytun		30		30
		City	350		350
		Village	0		0
		Total	350		350
Shirak Marz	Gyumri		50		50
	Artik		14	30	44
		City	64	30	94
		Village	30	50	80
		Total	94	80	174
_ori Marz	Vanadzor		30		30
	Alaverdi		10	25	35
	Spitak		12		12
	Stepanavan		15	25	40
	•	City	67	50	117
		Village	33	30	63
		Total	100	80	180
Tavush Marz	ljevan		8		8
	Dilijan		8		8
	2 mjan	City	16		16
		Village	24		24
		Total	40		40
Aragatsotn Marz	Ashtarak	. otai	7	-	7
	Talin	+ +	5	25	30
	Aparan	+	-	25	25
		City	12	<b>50</b>	<u> </u>
		Village	30	30	60
		villaye	50		

## App. Figure 1. Sampling Points

Regions	City		Sample					
			National Sample	Oversample	Total Interviewed 1500			
Kotayk Marz	Hrazdan		20	-	20			
	Abovyan		17	25	42			
	Charentsavan		15	-	15			
	Nor Hatchn		-	25	25			
		City	52	50	102			
		Village	32	40	72			
		Total	84	90	174			
			17					
Gegharkunik Marz	Gavar		15	-	15			
	Vardenis	_	10	15	25			
	Martuni	_	-	15	15			
	Tchambarak		-	15	15			
		City	25	45	70			
		Village	45	45	90			
		Total	70	90	160			
Armavir Marz	Armavir		14	-	14			
	Echmiatsin		16	30	46			
		City	30	30	60			
		Village	50	50	100			
		Total	80	80	160			
Ararat Marz	Artashat		14	-	14			
	Ararat		13	-	13			
		City	27	-	27			
		Village	53	-	53			
		Total	80	-	80			
Vayots Dzor Marz	Eghegnadzor		8	-	8			
		City	8	-	8			
		Village	10	-	10			
		Total	18	-	18			
Syunik Marz	Kapan		16	-	16			
	Goris		15	-	15			
		City	31	-	31			
		Village	11	-	11			
		Total	42	-	42			
1	OTAL	CITY	682	255	937			
		VILLAGE	318	245	563			
		TOTAL	1000	500	1500			

## App. Figure 1. Sampling Points (continued)

## Fieldwork

Before the fieldwork 40 interviews were carried out for a pretest of the questionnaire. Pretest interviews were conducted in Yerevan (20 interviews), Gyumri (10 interviews), and a village in Aragatsotn marz (10 interviews). Results of the pretest showed that the questionnaire worked well with respondents, and it was only necessary to close the open questions.

Distribution of fieldwork dates and the number of contacted respondents by the regions is given below.

Region	Yerevan	Shirak	Lori	Tavush	Aragatsotn	Kotayk	Geghark -unik	Armavir	Ararat	Vayots Dzor	Syunik	Total
Dates of fieldwork	11.06 – 22.06	12.06 – 21.06	12.06 _ 21.06	13.06 – 21.06	13.06 - 20.06	12.06 – 21.06	12.06 – 21.06	11.06 – 21.06	12.06 – 19.06	13.06 – 18.06	13.06 – 18.06	11.06 22.06
Number of sampling points	35	20	20	5	12	21	16	17	10	3	6	165
# inter- viewers	15	6	5	1	4	4	6	4	3	1	2	51
# Completed interviews	350	174	180	40	122	174	160	160	80	18	42	1500
# Uncompleted interviews	475	222	250	64	170	223	208	215	135	31	73	2066
Number of contacts	825	396	430	104	292	397	368	375	215	49	115	3566

App. Figu	ure 2.	Fieldwork
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The main reasons that people refused to give an interview were shortage of time and unwillingness to participate in the surveys of this kind. The following reasons were also given: illness, no adults at home, no confidence in public surveys, and no wish to open the door to unknown people.

## Control

Using the addresses and telephone numbers written in the contact sheet, the controller could make a call or personally check if the interview had been conducted at the indicated address and if all the requirements had been met while carrying out the survey. 10% of randomly selected questionnaires were checked in the control.

The total number of checked/controlled interviews:	152
Of them personally checked:	102
Checked by telephone:	50
Number of non-confirmed interviews: Number of interviews in which instructions	2

for respondents' selection were violated anyhow: 5

## APPENDIX 2. JUNE 2001 TOPLINE DATA

## **APPENDIX 3. Information About IFES/Armenia**



**IFES/Armenia Vision Statement** 

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) in Armenia is committed to the success of a vibrant and effective civil society. IFES believes that fair and free elections, good governance, rule of law and civic awareness and participation are necessary components of a flourishing, stable and prosperous MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK democracy.

**IFES/Armenia Mission Statement** 

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) in Armenia provides nonpartisan, locally defined, technical assistance and information to the Armenian population and institutions for the development of civil society and democracy.

## **Current Project: Citizens' Awareness And Participation In Armenia**

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) is implementing a major democracy strengthening and civic education project to empower the citizens of Armenia. The goal of this 4-year project, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), is increased citizen participation in local self-government through dissemination of information, encouraging civic initiatives and advocacy,



and through the promotion of inter-sectoral dialogues between local residents, local selfgovernment bodies, businesses and non-commercial organizations. By building the knowledge base and organizing capabilities of community members and improving their ability to communicate with authorities, the project is also targeted at providing for a more transparent, responsive and democratic government.

#### **Direct Citizen Engagement**



In March 2001, IFES initiated its *Civic Educators Corps*, which includes currently 24 instructors in 8 regions of the Republic of Armenia.

IFES instructors offer the following services and resources free-ofcharge to communities in their regions:

- Facilitation of discussion groups.
- Organization of citizen initiative groups and advocacy campaigns.
- Distribution of information materials and Community Council reports.
- Coordination of volunteer actions.

- Hosting of youth interns. •
- Promotion of dialogues between • local residents, authorities, businesses and non-governmental organizations.
- Carrying out of election debates and other voter education activities
- Providing of opportunities for citizen feedback on legislative initiatives

In the first year of their work, IFES instructors have conducted more than a 700 activities and serviced more than 13,000 citizens in their regions.

## Education, Advocacy, and Oversight through Indigenous Partner

IFES has established a partnership with the Women's Republican Council (WRC), an Armenian non-governmental organization. WRC, with its experience in encouraging women to engage in public life, is jointly implementing portions of the project, especially those targeted at women, such as producing printed materials on women's issues, public service



announcements, and polls targeted at the female demographic. Outside of Yerevan, IFES & WRC staffs work out of joint offices.

The re-established March 8 holiday of International Women's Day in Armenia is the annual focal point for a series of educational events during the months of March and April. These include: women's fairs/ceremonies on

March 8<sup>th</sup> around Armenia, round tables with women NGOs, with journalists, with current and former women parliamentarians, and contests for young people. These activities emphasize the achievements of women in public life, and encourage positive change in the attitudes of the public, authorities and the media towards women participation in public life.

#### Information Resources

Reflecting the belief that information is power, IFES is producing regular informational products and distributing them widely to the population. IFES produces professional quality citizen's guides to the parliament, national and regional governments. It issues a steady stream of issueoriented leaflets on subjects such as the court system, local governance, condominiums, human rights, and many others. IFES reports on community council meetings around the country, and prepares and distributes council reports to the public. IFES also works with the media to broadcast candidate election debates and public service announcements. A national IFES survey is conducted annually and its results are distributed as well.



In each of IFES/Armenia's offices are libraries where citizens can find information about elections, civil society, local self-governance, democracy and other related topics.

## **IFES/Armenia, Head Office**

Alex Manukian 9 5-th floor Room Yervan Tel. (3741) 51-20-51, Fax: 51-20-15 E-mail: <u>ifes@ifes.am</u> Web site: <u>www.ifes.am</u>

## Aragatsotn Marz:

Aigestan 16 Ashtarak Tel/Fax. (032) 3-62-76, 3-43-77 E-mail: <u>ifesas@arminco.com</u>

## Armavir Marz:

Kamoi, 4, apt. 1 Echmiadzin Tel/fax: (031) 5-69-43 E-mail: <u>ifese@infocom.am</u>

## Gegharkunik Marz:

Gortsaranain 4, apt.20 Sevan Tel./Fax: (061) 2-07-66 E-mail: <u>ifess@arminco.com</u>

## Kotaik Marz:

Barekamutyan 1, II floor Abovian Tel/fax: (022) 2-04-22, 2-04-15, (01) 28-54-61 E-mail: <u>ifesab@arminco.com</u> Lori Marz:

Vardanants 62b Vanadzor Tel/fax. (051) 4-05-85, 4-29-68 E-mail: <u>ifesv@arminco.com</u>

## Shirak Marz:

Shirakatsi 68, II floor Giumri Tel/fax. (041) 2-41-02 E-mail: <u>ifesq@arminco.com</u>

## Siunik Marz:

Melik Stepanyan 6 Kapan Tel/fax: (085) 6-32-20 E-mail: ifesk@syunik.am

## Yerevan:

Alex Manukian 9 4-th floor rooms #409, #410 Yervan Tel: (3741) 51-20-81, 51-20-82, 51-20-83, 51-20-84, Fax: 51-20-14 E-mail: <u>trainer@ifes.am</u>, <u>trainer1@ifes.am</u>

## IFES – A World Wide Record of Implementing Civic Projects

*IFES* is a non-partisan, nonprofit organization founded in 1987 with a grant from USAID and is internationally recognized as one of the world's leading providers of democracy, civil society and governance assistance.

*IFES* is dedicated to the success of democracy worldwide, the prospect that each person in every corner of the world is entitled to have a free and informed say in how he or she is governed, and that democratic governance is evolving and dynamic, created by and meeting the needs of the people that it serves.



*IFES* provides professional advice and technical assistance in the promotion of democracy worldwide and serves as a clearinghouse of information on governance, rule of law, civil society and election.

In addition to its current office in Armenia that opened in 1996, IFES has field offices in 25 countries and program experience in more that 120 countries worldwide. Civic programs, initiated by IFES, have also operated in Bosnia, Georgia, Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Kazakhstan and other countries.

IFES' Citizens' Awareness And Participation In Armenia project is financed through USAID Cooperative agreement # 111-A-00-00-0168-00

never other

Total

everyday

Don't Know

SECTION 5: Public Awareness, Openness and Responsiveness of Public Officials

Q67. How interested are you in the activities of your local	GEN	DER	
government (appropriate name) [Yerevan interviewer reads taghapetaran]? Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested, somewhat uninterested, or very uninterested?	male	female	Total
No Answer	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
very interested	10.4%	5.3%	7.89
somewhat interested	44.2%	38.2%	41.19
somewhat uninterested	16.7%	19.9%	18.3%
very uninterested	28.4%	35.7%	32.2%
Don't Know	0%	0.6%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Q69. Can you tell me who the Mayor of this city is?	GEN		Total
	male	female	
No answer	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%
correct	84.0%	78.9%	81.3%
incorrect	2.1%	2.5%	2.3%
Don't Know	13.6%	18.3%	16.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Q71. Your [village or city] (read "Community" in Yerevan) has a	GEN	DFR	
Council [READ Avagani in YEREVAN]. Can you tell me when it has meetings?	male	female	Total
U U			
No Answer	1.2%	1.4%	1.3%
	1.2% 37.0%	1.4% 32.1%	
No Answer			1.3% 34.5% 2.7%
No Answer yes (no time given)	37.0%	32.1%	34.5%
No Answer yes (no time given) yes, sometimes yes, weekly yes, several times a month	37.0% 2.6%	32.1% 2.9%	34.5% 2.7%
No Answer yes (no time given) yes, sometimes yes, weekly	37.0% 2.6% 2.9% 0.7% 3.7%	32.1% 2.9% 1.3% 0.3% 3.1%	34.59 2.79 2.19 0.59 3.49
No Answer yes (no time given) yes, sometimes yes, weekly yes, several times a month	37.0% 2.6% 2.9% 0.7%	32.1% 2.9% 1.3% 0.3%	34.59 2.79 2.19 0.59 3.49
No Answer yes (no time given) yes, sometimes yes, weekly yes, several times a month yes, once a month	37.0% 2.6% 2.9% 0.7% 3.7%	32.1% 2.9% 1.3% 0.3% 3.1%	34.59 2.79 2.19 0.59 3.49 1.99
No Answer yes (no time given) yes, sometimes yes, weekly yes, several times a month yes, once a month yes, several times a year	37.0% 2.6% 2.9% 0.7% 3.7% 3.2%	32.1% 2.9% 1.3% 0.3% 3.1% 0.8%	34.59 2.79 2.19 0.59 3.49 1.99 0.19
No Answer yes (no time given) yes, sometimes yes, weekly yes, several times a month yes, once a month yes, several times a year yes, once a year	37.0% 2.6% 2.9% 0.7% 3.7% 3.2% 0%	32.1% 2.9% 1.3% 0.3% 3.1% 0.8% 0.1%	34.5% 2.7% 2.1% 0.5%

		GENDER		
Q73. And do you know the name of the Marzpet [Yerevan interviewer reads YEREVAN MAYOR]?	male	female	Total	
No Answer	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	
correct	73.4%	61.5%	67.3%	
incorrect	1.2%	2.1%	1.7%	
Don't Know	24.8%	35.8%	30.4%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Q68. In general, how satisfied are you with the job that	GEN	DED	
city/village Municipality [Yerevan interviewer reads	GEN	DER	
taghapetaran] is doing? Would you say that you are very	male	female	Total
satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied, or very unsatisfied?			
No Answer	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%
very satisfied	9.0%	8.4%	8.7%
somewhat satisfied	34.0%	30.0%	31.9%
somewhat dissatisfied	16.0%	17.6%	16.9%
very dissatisfied	35.8%	36.6%	36.2%
Don't Know	4.4%	6.9%	5.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Q70. Can you tell me if the Mayor is an elected or appointed	GEN	DER	
position, according to law?	male	female	Total
No Answer	0.8%	0.5%	0.7%
elected (correct)	87.2%	83.7%	85.4%
appointed	6.2%	7.9%	7.1%
Don't Know	5.8%	7.9%	6.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Q72. Can you tell me if the Marzpet (title) [Yerevan interviewer	GENDER		
reads YEREVAN MAYOR] is an elected or appointed position,			Total
according to law?	male	female	
No Answer	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
elected	11.8%	21.3%	16.7%
Ciccica	00.00/		
appointed (correct)	80.0%	64.9%	72.2%
	80.0% 8.0%	64.9% 13.6%	72.2%
appointed (correct)			
appointed <i>(correct)</i> Don't Know	8.0%	13.6%	10.9%
appointed <i>(correct)</i> Don't Know	8.0%	13.6% 100.0%	10.9%
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a	8.0% 100.0%	13.6% 100.0%	10.9% 100.0%
appointed <i>(correct)</i> Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on	8.0% 100.0%	13.6% 100.0%	10.9%
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very	8.0% 100.0% GEN	13.6% 100.0%	10.9% 100.0% Total
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very seldom?	8.0% 100.0% GEN male	13.6% 100.0% DER female	10.9% 100.0% Total
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very seldom? No Answer	8.0% 100.0% GEN male 0% 13.5% 2.7%	13.6% 100.0% DER female 0.1%	10.9% 100.0% Total 0.1% 11.7% 2.7%
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very seldom? No Answer once a week	8.0% 100.0% GEN male 0% 13.5%	13.6% 100.0% DER female 0.1% 10.1%	10.9% 100.0% Total 0.1% 11.7% 2.7%
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very seldom? No Answer once a week twice a week	8.0% 100.0% GEN male 0% 13.5% 2.7%	13.6% 100.0% DER female 0.1% 10.1% 2.7%	10.9% 100.0% Total 0.1% 11.7% 2.7% 12.3%
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very seldom? No Answer once a week twice a week several times a week	8.0% 100.0% GEN male 0% 13.5% 2.7% 13.2%	13.6% 100.0% DER female 0.1% 10.1% 2.7% 11.4%	10.9% 100.0%
appointed (correct) Don't Know Total Q74. Do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? [IF YES, HOW OFTEN] Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, several times a week, occasionally, or very seldom? No Answer once a week twice a week several times a week several times a week occasionally	8.0% 100.0% GEN male 0% 13.5% 2.7% 13.2%	13.6% 100.0% DER female 0.1% 10.1% 2.7% 11.4%	10.9% 100.0% Total 0.1% 11.7% 2.7% 12.3%

15.7%

0.4%

0.3%

0.3%

100.0%

21.7%

0.3%

0%

0%

100.0%

18.7%

0.3%

0.1%

0.3%

100.0%

. Do you know what main issues or tasks the National	GEN	DER	Tatal
embly is working on now?	male	female	Total
No Answer	36.5%	44.0%	40.4%
Privatization of electrical transmission system	29.7%	22.0%	25.79
Legislative changes of meetings and demonstrations	0.1%	1.4%	0.80
Changes in criminal legislation	4.6%	2.6%	3.79
Discussion of the law on police	4.7%	3.3%	3.9
Discussion of Kharabakh problem	9.6%	8.6%	9.19
Creating a commission for the matter of October 27	26.5%	22.5%	24.4
Development of economic/economic problems	17.4%	17.8%	17.5
Problems of water	12.0%	9.0%	10.4
improve general economic situation	0%	0.1%	0.0
create jobs / restore factories / pay people	0%	0.1%	0.0
lower cost of land / keeping land	0%	0.1%	0.0
budget / taxation issues	0.3%	0.3%	0.3
solve social problems (general mention)	0%	0.1%	0.1
aid / social security / help poor	0%	0.3%	0.1
gas / energy	0.1%	0.1%	0.2
development of villages	0.3%	0%	0.1
environmental issues	0%	0.1%	0.0
education	0.1%	0.5%	0.4
restore pensions / problems with pensioners	4.8%	4.5%	4.6
Armentel	1.5%	2.1%	1.7
political issues (general mention)	0%	0.3%	0.1
amnesty of prisoners	2.1%	0.8%	1.4
dealing with foreign companies	0.1%	0%	0.0
holidays	0.1%	0.1%	0.2
they should monitor what is now being done	0%	0.1%	0.0
we receive nothing / they don't care	0.1%	0%	0.19
other	1.4%	0.4%	0.9
I don't trust them	0.1%	0%	0.1
Don't Know	0%	0.2%	0.1
al	* 152.1%	* 141.4%	* 146.3

Q76. What is the name of your representative to the National	GENDER		Tetel
Assembly?	male	female	Total
No Answer	1.1%	1.3%	1.2%
correct	55.9%	42.7%	49.1%
incorrect	6.7%	5.7%	6.2%
Don't Know	36.3%	50.3%	43.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

	GEN	DER	
Q77. Here is a list of some ways that government officials can ask your opinion on issues or about problems that concern you. Which of these have happened to you?	male	female	Total
No Answer	4.0%	7.3%	5.7%
officials gave a questionnaire	1.4%	0.1%	0.7%
asked to attend a meeting	2.7%	3.0%	2.9%
officials never asked me	4.9%	3.1%	4.0%
government officials have never asked me my opinion	85.0%	85.3%	85.2%
other	1.8%	1.2%	1.5%
approached by another person	0.1%	0%	0.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

-

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Notes \* = Multiple Responses Allowed

	GEN	DER	
8.A Here is a list showing several problems that you may h to contact government officials about. For each, please me which body should be contacted regarding this problem. ING HOLES IN THE ROAD IN FRONT OF YOUR HOUSE	male	female	Total
No Answer	24.1%	25.8%	25.0
head of community, mayor or head of village	26.1%	23.8%	24.9
city municipality	10.3%	10.2%	10.3
marzpetaran	1.4%	0.8%	1.1
local government/ local authority / community	21.4%	23.2%	22.3
city council	1.2%	0.6%	0.9
community department	0.3%	0%	0.1
House Administration / Department of Inhabitance	0.7%	2.3%	1.5
Office of Social Improvement / OIA	3.0%	3.8%	3.4
road construction office/ministry	2.5%	1.8%	2.1
dept of road construction, city municipality	0.1%	0%	0.1
Joint Ownership	0.5%	0%	0.3
dept of restoration of community	0%	0.1%	0.1
television	0.1%	0%	0.1
husband/father	0%	0.4%	0.2
those who deal with this	0.1%	0%	0.1
ourselves, hold meeting	2.5%	1.6%	2.0
nobody / they will not listen	2.1%	1.9%	2.0
Don't Know	3.6%	3.6%	3.6
al	100.0%	100.0%	100.0

** Correct answers are the head of community, mayor or head of village, city municipality, local
government/local authority/community, city council, department of road construction of city municipality,
department of restroration of community.

	GENDER		
Q78.B Here is a list showing several problems that you may wish to contact government officials about. For each, please tell ne which body should be contacted regarding this problem. THE COLLECTION OF TRASH	male	female	Total
No Answer	31.0%	30.3%	30.7%
head of community, mayor or head of village	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%
city municipality	4.4%	5.7%	5.1%
marzpetaran	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
local government/ local authority / community	20.4%	19.3%	19.8%
city council	2.2%	1.3%	1.79
community department	5.1%	7.4%	6.3
House Administration / Department of Inhabitance	6.6%	7.6%	7.19
Office of Social Improvement / OIA	0.7%	1.3%	1.09
NGO	0.4%	0.3%	0.39
Sanitary Station / Water Station	3.0%	2.3%	2.79
Garbage Administration / Director	2.1%	2.0%	2.0
Cleaning Trust / Joint Ownership	1.5%	0.3%	0.99
Other department	0%	0.1%	0.19
those who deal with this	0.1%	0%	0.19
ourselves, hold meeting	3.4%	2.7%	3.19
nobody / they will not listen	1.4%	1.0%	1.29
no complaints	0.1%	0.1%	0.19
I will not pay	0%	0.1%	0.19
Don't Know	2.7%	3.3%	3.0
otal	100.0%	100.0%	100.0

\*\* Correct answers are the head of community, mayor or head of village, city municipality, local government/local authority/community, city council, house administration/ department of inhabitance, condominium associations, and the OIA.

	GEN	DER	
Q78.C Here is a list showing several problems that you may wish to contact government officials about. For each, please tell me which body should be contacted regarding this problem. HEATING IN YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL	male	female	Total
No Answer	45.4%	42.1%	43.7%
head of community, mayor or head of village	13.2%	13.1%	13.1%
city municipality	4.8%	6.5%	5.7%
marzpetaran	1.8%	1.4%	1.6%
local government/ local authority / community	9.7%	9.7%	9.7%
city council	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%
community department	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%
Office of Social Improvement / OIA	1.1%	0.9%	1.0%
Director of the School / School Administration	11.5%	11.5%	11.5%
The school	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%
Dept of Human Education	0.7%	1.9%	1.3%
Minister of Education and Science	1.9%	2.1%	2.0%
Minister of Heating / Dept. of Energy / Dept. of Water	0.8%	1.0%	0.9%
local dept of education	0.5%	1.3%	0.9%
MP	0%	0.1%	0.1%
Other department	0.4%	0.2%	0.4%
ourselves, hold meeting	0.7%	0.9%	0.8%
nobody / they will not listen	1.2%	1.3%	1.3%
no complaints	0%	0.1%	0.1%
Don't Know	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

	GENDER		
Q78.D Here is a list showing several problems that you may wish to contact government officials about. For each, please tell me which body should be contacted regarding this problem. WATER IN YOUR HOME	male	female	Total
No Answer	27.1%	26.8%	26.9%
head of community, mayor or head of village	15.6%	16.7%	16.2%
city municipality	4.8%	4.0%	4.4%
marzpetaran	0.5%	0.4%	0.5%
local government/ local authority / community	10.5%	11.3%	10.9%
city council	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%
community department	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%
House Administration / Department of Inhabitance	0.8%	1.3%	1.1%
Office of Social Improvement / OIA	4.9%	6.9%	5.9%
Water Station	29.1%	25.7%	27.4%
Ecological center	0%	0.1%	0.1%
Joint Ownership	0.5%	0%	0.3%
husband / father	0%	0.4%	0.2%
those who deal with this	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%
ourselves, hold meeting	1.6%	2.3%	2.0%
nobody / they will not listen	0.8%	0.6%	0.7%
Don't Know	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*\* Correct answers are the Hay Jrmugh, head of community, mayor or head of village, city municipality, local government/ local authority/ community, city council, Office of Social Improvement/ OIA, Condominium Associations

\*\* Correct answers are the head of the community, mayor or head of village, city municipality, local government/local authority/community, city council, local education department and the Marzpetaran

8.E Here is a list showing several problems that you may h to contact government officials about. For each, please me which body should be contacted regarding this problem. .EPHONE SERVICE	GEN	GENDER	
	male	female	Total
No Answer	25.9%	26.8%	26.4
head of community, mayor or head of village	4.3%	3.4%	3.8
city municipality	1.0%	1.6%	1.3
marzpetaran	0.1%	0.3%	0.2
local government/ local authority / community	2.2%	2.2%	2.2
Office of Social Improvement / OIA	1.0%	0.8%	0.9
Armentel	21.2%	18.7%	19.9
Post Office	10.2%	10.1%	10.1
ATN	17.4%	21.5%	19.5
Dept of Communication	3.3%	2.6%	2.9
Telephone station	9.9%	9.8%	9.9
person mentioned	0%	0.1%	0.1
Other department	1.1%	0.5%	0.8
those who deal with this	0.1%	0%	0.1
ourselves, hold meeting	0.3%	0%	0.1
Don't Know	1.6%	0.9%	1.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0

Q78.F Here is a list showing several problems that you may wish to contact government officials about. For each, please tell me which body should be contacted regarding this problem. HEALTH SERVICES IN YOUR COMMUNITY	GENDER		
	male	female	Total
No Answer	24.0%	21.7%	22.8%
head of community, mayor or head of village	4.3%	4.7%	4.5%
city municipality	1.2%	0.9%	1.1%
marzpetaran	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%
local government/ local authority / community	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%
city council	0.1%	0%	0.1%
clinics/hospitals/directors of clinics and hospitals	50.5%	51.8%	51.1%
local hospitals, local medical staff	4.3%	4.5%	4.4%
head doctor of Marz	0.1%	0%	0.0%
private doctor	0.4%	0.1%	0.2%
city Minister of Health	0.3%	0.9%	0.6%
Minister of Health	8.9%	10.5%	9.8%
urban health care	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%
health care (general mention)	0%	0.1%	0.1%
person mentioned	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%
nobody / they will not listen	1.0%		
Don't Know	2.6%		
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*\* Correct answers are the Armentel and the ATN Local Telephone Services

\*\* Correct answers are the Marzpetaran, the Yerevan Municipality Health Department (for Yerevan), Ministry of Health

Q79. Other than voting, what other ways can citizens attempt to	GENDER		Total
influence the actions of government officials?	male	female	Total
No Answer	0.8%	0.9%	0.9%
public complaints	16.7%	15.7%	16.2%
demonstrations	26.8%	27.2%	27.0%
press or media	7.9%	7.8%	7.8%
by voting	2.5%	1.7%	2.0%
becoming member of a political party	2.3%	1.0%	1.7%
rebellion	7.6%	3.4%	5.5%
through bribes	5.0%	3.3%	4.3%
there is no way	29.9%	29.7%	29.8%
other	4.0%	3.2%	3.7%
not voting	0%	0.1%	0.1%
insist on changing government	0%	0.1%	0.1%
Don't Know	11.0%	18.7%	14.9%
Total	* 114.5%	* 112.8%	* 114.0

Notes: \* = Multiple Responses Allowed