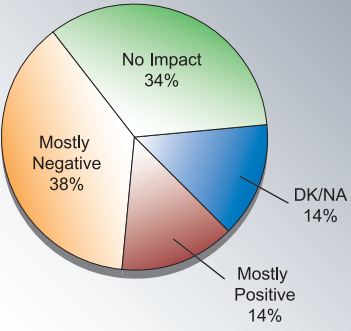


CITIZENS' AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION IN ARMENIA

SURVEY 2004



Figure 5. Impact of Opposition Demonstrations



PREPARED BY
IFES



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I. INTRODUCTION

The 2004 IFES Citizens' Awareness and Participation in Armenia (CAPA) survey was conducted between 4 August and 19 August 2004. This is the fourth in a series of surveys conducted by IFES; the first one was fielded in June 2001, the second in September 2002, and the third in August/September 2003. In total, 1,606 respondents were interviewed for the survey. In the regions (marzes) where IFES has been undertaking programming, a more than proportional number of interviews were conducted. However, the final data in this report has been weighted to be representative of the Armenian population by region, urban/rural centers, gender, and age. The margin of error for a sample of this size is plus or minus 2.4%.

IFES conducts public opinion surveys in Armenia to capture trends in attitudes toward democracy, governance and government officials, civic participation, and salient sociopolitical issues. In addition, IFES aims to provide meaningful and unbiased information to the citizens of Armenia and to donor and policy communities.

The survey report is divided into 11 sections, including a conclusion and appendices. Section I introduces the survey, while Section II summarizes its main findings. Section III presents respondents' opinions on the sociopolitical situation in the country. Section IV examines Armenians' political interests and levels of knowledge about national and local political issues. Section V evaluates Armenians' attitudes about elections and democracy, including their assessment of the fairness of elections. Section VI uncovers Armenians' attitudes towards political participation, including those actions taken by citizens to address important issues or influence decision-making. This section also provides information about attitudes toward NGOs in Armenia. Section VII describes opinions about the judicial system and the state of corruption in the country. Section VIII gauges perceptions of women and their role in public life while Section IX focuses on opinions of Armenia's youth on topics ranging from gender roles, elections, civic participation and others. Section X provides the conclusion of the survey findings while relating them to major trends and issues seen over the years in IFES' surveys. The report also includes four appendices in Section XI. Appendices 1 and 2 describe the survey's methodology and present the 2004 topline data disaggregated by gender and age. Appendix 3 presents selected demographic data. Finally, Appendix 4 provides contact information and describes IFES' activities in Armenia.

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Keeping in line with the methodology of the 2001–2003 surveys, the 2004 survey aims to gauge citizens' attitudes and opinions within the framework of the following questions:

1. What is the level of interest and knowledge among Armenians about politics on the national and local levels?
2. Has the recent election process impacted Armenians' political and voting efficacy?
3. What is the level of citizen participation in Armenia and of citizen interaction with government officials?
4. What are the attitudes of young Armenians about politics, civic participation, women's issues, corruption, and their roles and responsibilities as citizens?
5. What are the attitudes towards women in Armenia and their role in society and the decision-making process?
6. How do Armenians feel about the integrity of the judicial system and the state of corruption in their country?

Key findings of the survey address these questions and highlight the progress Armenia has made since the previous surveys in becoming a transparent, responsive, and democratic state.

THE SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION IN ARMENIA

The survey finds that the vast majority of Armenians (69%) are very or somewhat dissatisfied with the overall situation in the country, with 62% of those citing economic concerns as the cause of their dissatisfaction (33% noted a low standard of living and 29% noted unemployment). Thirty-two percent of all Armenians describe their families as struggling to meet basic needs and 68% feel that the economic situation in the country as a whole is bad. Younger segments of the population are more likely to be satisfied than older segments.

When asked if Armenia is a democracy or not, more than half of Armenians (52%) responded that it is not and only 12% said yes, it was; however, 31% felt so strongly that Armenia has both democratic and non-democratic elements that they did not answer yes or no, but volunteered that it has elements of both a democracy and a non-democracy. Those who are more satisfied with the overall situation in the country are more likely to say that Armenia is a democracy; however, that percentage was still below half of that group of respondents. Those whose families are in better financial situations are also more likely to believe that Armenia is a

democracy. This could suggest that economic well-being has much to do with perceptions of one's political system, including high levels of confidence in government and judicial institutions, greater belief in the fairness of the 2003 elections, and a stronger sense of political efficacy (the ability to influence decisions of political leaders). This relationship between economic progress and positive perceptions of democracy indicators exists in many of the emerging democracies, especially post-Soviet republics, in which IFES has conducted surveys.

Questions about the opposition demonstrations in Armenia provide another way to evaluate the population's understanding of democracy. The vast majority of Armenians are aware of the demonstrations (88%), and of those, 82% agree that the use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights by the opposition parties. The demonstrators are supported in theory, yet Armenian opinion is split over the motivations of the demonstrators: only 36% agree that the opposition parties are holding the demonstrations to further the cause of democracy, while 43% think the opposition is using the demonstrations to cause chaos.

Those who believe that Armenia is a democracy are more likely (70%) to believe that the demonstrators are causing chaos and less likely to think that they raise legitimate concerns about the 2003 elections (34%) than those who think Armenia is not a democracy.

Despite divides over motivations, Armenians are more unified when considering the impact of the demonstrations: only 14% of Armenians believe that the impact of the demonstrations will be positive. A majority (72%) believe that either there will be no impact or that it will be mostly negative.

POLITICAL INTEREST AND KNOWLEDGE

This year, Armenians report the lowest level of interest in politics and government recorded thus far since IFES surveys began in 2001; however, they also report the highest level of interest in local government activity. For the first time since the initial IFES survey, the majority of Armenians (53%) say they are not too or not at all interested in politics and government (46% are very or somewhat interested). Even though interest in politics has decreased among both men and women, a gender gap persists: men (51%) are still more likely to be interested than women (42%). Interest in local government continues to increase, with 39% expressing interest, up from 36% in 2003 and 33% in 2002. However, the amount of information that people report having about local government has steadily declined over the last four years, starting from a high of 41% reporting a great deal/fair amount of information in 2001 to its current level of 30%. Rural residents report having the most information, while residents of Yerevan report the least amount of information.

This lack of information also extends to the budgets of local communities. The vast majority (84%) of Armenians say they have no information at all about their

community's budget. Of those who do have some information, the vast majority state that local authorities should have control over the budget. Not surprisingly, those informed about local government activities are more likely to have information on local budgets than those not informed about local government activities.

Most people can name their mayors and marzpets and are aware of how these individuals attain office. However, only 54% in Yerevan can do so. The lack of interest in politics and local government activity is related to levels of awareness of and involvement in sociopolitical affairs. Those interested in politics are more likely to have more information on political affairs, watch coverage of the National Assembly, be involved in sociopolitical activities other than voting, and engage local officials on important issues. Because men are more likely to be interested in politics than women, they are also more likely, by extension, to be sociopolitically active.

ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY

In looking at how Armenians gauge the progress of their democratic transition, it was noted above that very few citizens would call Armenia a democracy. This assessment is reflected in the absence of a key element of a democratic state: voter confidence in elections. This important building block is still missing in Armenia. Less than a quarter of the population believes the presidential (22%) and parliamentary (24%) elections in 2003 were fair or somewhat fair. Nearly half believe that both elections were not at all fair.

However, the vast majority report voting, and this suggests that despite their dissatisfaction with its impact, Armenians believe that voting is important -- this is similar to the high number of respondents noting that the demonstrations were an exercise of civil rights, but later showing split opinions on the motivations and impact of the demonstrations. The current survey also follows a pattern evident in the 2002 and 2003 surveys: more people reported voting in the 2003 elections than the official numbers reported by election officials regarding turnout.

As evidenced in part by their negative assessments of the ultimate impact of voting and demonstrations, a majority of Armenians do not think that the 2003 elections show that Armenia is progressing toward full democracy. Those who consider the 2003 presidential election not fair are more likely to say Armenia is not progressing toward full democracy. These Armenians are also more likely to agree that the opposition demonstrations raised valid concerns about the 2003 elections. There is a clear divide in opinion on these and other key democratic indicators between those who think Armenia is a democracy and those who do not. Those who think Armenia is not a democracy are more likely to believe that elections were not fair, that Armenia is not making progress towards becoming a democracy, that the opposition demonstrations had valid issues to raise, and that the government response to the demonstrations was not correct. Although they do recognize that the ability of the opposition to hold such demonstrations is an exercise of

democratic rights, 74% of them do not trust the government to protect individual civil liberties. Those who think Armenia is a democracy think these key indicators are present in Armenia: they tend to believe that the elections were free and fair, are more trusting of the government and are more critical of the opposition demonstrations.

POLITICAL EFFICACY AND CIVIC ACTIVISM

In a healthy democracy, citizens believe that they have the power to influence the way things are run, and that voting impacts political decision-making. These two conditions indicate a high level of political efficacy -- the belief that ordinary citizens can influence the decisions made by their political leaders. However, over the last four years, most Armenians have displayed a low level of political efficacy. Though the percentage of citizens asserting that people like them have little or no influence on the way things are run in Armenia has decreased from 74% in 2002 to 64% in 2004, less than a third of Armenians believe that people like them do have some influence. Over half (55%) of Armenians doubt that even their vote influences the decisions of public officials. More than a third report that there is no way to influence government officials besides voting; but those who display more political efficacy are more likely to cite other methods of influencing officials such as demonstrations, meeting with officials, or public complaints.

While most Armenians regularly discuss national and local political developments with acquaintances (60% and 70%, respectively), there is far less participation in formal sociopolitical activities. Three-quarters or more of Armenians have not attended a community council meeting in the past year, signed a petition, or discussed their local community's budget with acquaintances. This lack of formal sociopolitical participation extends to community issues, with only 22% saying they have taken steps to address important issues in their community. Though these numbers are similar to 2003, the percentage of those taking steps to address community issues has declined from 26%.

The survey data also shows a moderate level of interaction between local officials and their constituents. Although less than a quarter (22%) of all Armenians have contacted elected officials to help with an issue or problem, the vast majority of have received a response from the official and a majority (66%) has been satisfied with the response. Armenians are less likely to contact appointed officials (10%), and, among those that have done so, the level of response was similar but satisfaction with response (55%) was slightly lower than that reported for elected officials.

Despite the generally positive experience of those that contact elected or appointed officials, most Armenians say they would not contact any appointed official for help, while four in ten say they would not contact elected officials. The most common reason for reluctance to contact officials was that it would do no good, but nearly an equal number of respondents report that they had no reason to contact an official. Together these account for 75% of the people who have not contacted

elected officials in the past.

Citizens have other outlets besides public officials for making their voices heard on national and community issues. NGOs are often powerful advocacy partners. Yet IFES surveys over the past four years have shown that most Armenians cannot name an NGO working in Armenia that they know something about. Only about one quarter could name an NGO, and 19% did not know what an NGO was. The primary source of information for those who did know an NGO was television (41%) and informal information sources were the next most common sources: friends and relatives or business contacts. Additionally, about one third of those who can name an NGO had volunteered with one in the past.

The majority of Armenians believe that NGOs are essential or necessary for Armenia, even among those who cannot name any. This suggests that NGOs are perceived in a better light than the government or the justice system, but there is a need for more outreach by NGOs and more initiatives by citizens to help the society take advantage of the positive perception that NGOs enjoy.

Looking at the issue of trust in more detail, the survey illustrates that while more Armenians than not are likely to trust their immediate circle of acquaintances such as their relatives, neighbors, and co-workers, they are far less likely to trust those from other regions of Armenia or those serving in government. Trust in the President is higher than for other public officials, but over half did not answer that they trusted him. The general lack of trust in people and institutions outside the immediate circle of acquaintances presents a challenge to democratic development in Armenia. Trust is considered a vital ingredient in the development of democracy and for effective institutions in a country. The survey data indicates that those who trust their local officials are more likely than those who do not to contact these officials and are more likely to participate in formal sociopolitical activities such as signing petitions. Those who trust governing institutions are also more likely to display political efficacy.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND CORRUPTION

Most Armenians also lack trust in the third branch of their government: the judicial system. A majority of Armenians do not think that their judicial system would protect them from unjust treatment from the state (71%) or that it would acquit them if they were wrongly accused of a crime (67%). These percentages have risen since 2003. The vast majority of Armenians (70%) also think that the judiciary is influenced by political leaders when making decisions. Together these three issues show citizens' perceptions of the judiciary and the justice system overall.

As noted above, most Armenians see official corruption as common (89%) and believe that their fellow citizens accept this as a daily fact of life (85%). Unfortunately, these perceptions have increased in the last year. Corruption then would seem a likely factor in the low levels of trust across social circles, political institutions and officials, and the justice system as described above. Together

perceptions of corruption and lack of trust reinforce each other—breaking this cycle is a formidable obstacle to the development of democracy in Armenia as well as in many other emerging democracies.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Social expectations of women in Armenia have not changed much over the last years of IFES surveys. While the vast majority of Armenians agree that women should be involved in the traditional areas of society. Nearly half of all Armenians agree that women should have seats set aside in Parliament, and 38% would encourage their daughters to run for political office.

Interestingly, a positive perception of the state of democracy in Armenia corresponds with a greater likelihood of encouraging one's daughter to run for political office. From discussions above, we also saw that those more skeptical of the elections and other indicators of democracy are less likely to think Armenia is a democracy, and now we see they are also less likely to encourage their daughters to run for office. It is unclear whether this reflects a lack of confidence in women's abilities or in the political system in Armenia. Of those who think that Armenia is a democracy, 50% report that they would encourage their daughters to run for political office while 29% would not. Of those who think Armenia is not a democracy, only 37% would encourage their daughters in this direction while 46% would not. Overall, women are more likely to encourage their daughters to do so than men.

Media portrayals (and reactions to them) can also be indicators of how gender relationships are socialized. More people (48%) think the media portrays women positively than negatively (22%), though some see this portrayal as neutral (13%). Women are more likely to think that media portrayals are positive (53%), particularly those outside Yerevan. When asked to clarify what types of portrayals they had in mind, the most popular response was women's roles in society (39%). Among those who said the media portrays women negatively, the most cited response was that women were not shown in their traditional roles (31%). Those who noted a positive portrayal by the media were more likely to be referring to women's roles in general (38%), women's participation (17%), or women's rights (15%).

Armenians are less likely this year than last to believe that women had much more influence during Soviet times as compared to the present, and slightly more likely to offer an opinion on this issue. Among those who think women had more influence in Soviet times, many cite the changing sociopolitical roles or changing responsibilities of women as reasons.

Social expectations of women in Armenia appear to be split between support for the theory of women's involvement in politics and support for the reality of women's traditional roles. Responses to questions on media portrayals of women, women's roles, and women in politics have not varied greatly over the last four years of IFES

surveys. The data also shows that across the board on these issues there are differences between men and women's answers; however, these differences were usually small (5-10%), with more women favoring broader roles and involvement of women in non-traditional areas such as business and politics than men. The vast majority (76%) of men and women in Armenia agree that women should be involved in political events; however, Armenians also feel that this is a low priority for women and report that the three most important areas in society with which women should be involved are the family, education, and health care.

Violence against women is another key indicator, as is the amount of difference in perceptions of men and women about its pervasiveness. In Armenia, the majority (61%) of people believe that domestic violence against women is not very or not at all common. This is unchanged from 2003, but up dramatically from 48% in 2002. About one third report that such violence is common, and as in each previous survey, women are more likely than men to respond that it is common (38% versus 27%). This gap in the perceived level of violence could indicate a difference in definitions of domestic violence or differences in gauging the atmosphere of society to tolerate such behavior.

YOUTH

The survey data indicates a clear pattern of greater political knowledge and interest among those 26 and over than among those 18-25 (referred as 'youth' in this report), in contrast to a much smaller knowledge and interest gap found in 2003. This year, 18-25 year olds report lower levels of knowledge and interest than in 2003, while those age 26 and over exhibit an increase in these areas. This could indicate that information and interest had been unusually high because of the election in 2003; it could also indicate disillusionment after the elections, as overall, Armenians show decreasing interest levels from 2001 to 2004.

Youth are less likely than adults to participate in sociopolitical affairs, with about 10% fewer reporting attempts to address community issues or to contact elected officials, while 4% fewer report contacting appointed officials. However, youth have different reasons for not contacting officials than older Armenians: 18-25 year olds are more likely to cite the reason that they had no need to contact any officials, and far less likely to list the reason that such action would do no good.

Similar to this trend in participation, fewer youth report voting in the 2003 elections than older Armenians, and the percentage of youth who voted has decreased by about 10% from the 2003 survey. There was less change among reported turnout of older Armenians. It is common to see some decrease in reported turnout, as respondents to surveys are much more likely to indicate that they voted when asked very soon after an election than when significant time has passed. According to the 2004 data, 67% of youth report voting in the parliamentary elections and 75% each for the 1st and 2nd rounds of Presidential elections. Of those 26 and over, the figures are 81%, 88%, and 86%.

Though turnout and participation appear to be lower among youth, this age group is more optimistic about some aspects of the sociopolitical situation. Youth assess the elections and their impact on Armenian progress toward democracy in much the same way as older Armenians, but are slightly more likely to view the impact of elections in a positive light—38% of those 18–25 as opposed to 32% of those 26 and over say that the elections show Armenia is progressing toward a full democracy. Youth are also more likely to believe that voting gives citizens influence over the decision-making process (46% versus 38%). However a majority of youth also agree that ordinary people have little or no influence on the way things are run in Armenia.

More younger women (22%) report having some or a great deal of information about politics and government than men (21%) in their age group, but these women have less information than older women (27%). In contrast, women 26 and over report lower levels of information than men (39%) in their age group. Women of all ages report lower interest in political affairs in general than men, though for each gender the older age group has more interest than the younger one.

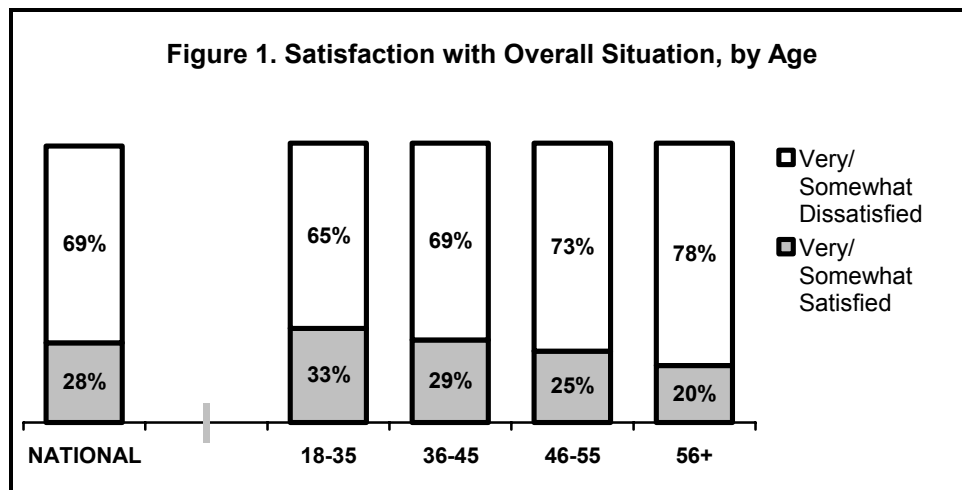
Across the four years of IFES surveys, similar trends exist. It appears that men make large gains in knowledge and interest levels as they age but women experience less change. Thus it is apparent that the gender gap on interest and information is much greater among older men and women than younger, and exists even when one controls for education levels. This could reflect the ways that societal factors affect women's access to and interest in information and politics.

In contrast, the gender gap is greater among younger men and women when looking at attitudes about the roles of women. A significant percentage (32%) of young men agree with the statement that women should not be involved in politics, as compared to 14% of women who agree with the statement. Young women are less likely than young men to think that it is important for women to be involved in traditional roles in education and healthcare. Finally, a majority of young men (56%) say that they would not encourage their daughters, if they have one now or have one in the future, to seek political office, whereas 41% of young women would not.

Similar to trends seen in Yerevan inhabitants of both age groups, youth in Yerevan are less likely to be informed about local government and personalities, less likely to be interested in politics, and less likely to engage in civic activism. Information and interest levels have decreased since the 2003 survey. Twelve percent of youth in Yerevan say they have a great deal or fair amount of information on local government activities (19% in 2003), compared to 26% of youth in other parts of the country (35% in 2003). The lack of information and interest among youth in Yerevan is also related to decreased levels of civic activity when compared to youth in other parts of the country.

III. THE SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION IN ARMENIA

Satisfaction with Situation in Armenia: More than two-thirds of all Armenians (69%) are very or somewhat dissatisfied with the overall situation in Armenia, while 28% are very or somewhat satisfied. The majority of all major sub-groups in the population are dissatisfied with the situation in the country, although younger segments of the population are more likely to be satisfied than older segments (**Figure 1**).



Question 66: How satisfied are you with the overall situation in Armenia? Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the overall situation in Armenia? (n = 1,606 for national sample)

Residents of Vayats Dzor (13%), Armavir (20%), and Lori (21%) are significantly less likely to be satisfied than the national average, whereas residents of Kotayk (44%) and Shirak (36%) are more likely to be satisfied.

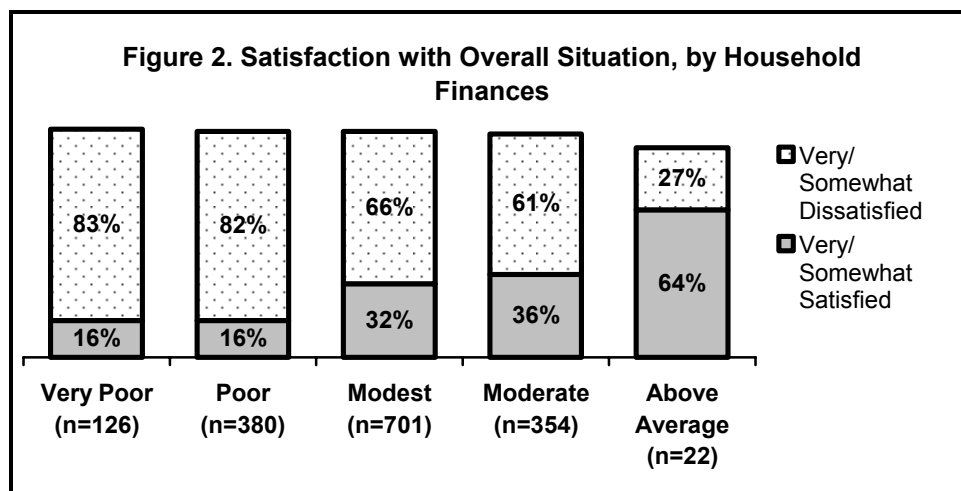
Economic conditions are a major factor in the high levels of dissatisfaction with the overall situation in the country. Among those who say that they are dissatisfied with the overall situation in the country, the most often-mentioned reasons for dissatisfaction are economic ones:

- Low standard of living (33%)
- Unemployment (29%)
- General dissatisfaction with social situation (29%)
- Problems with legal sphere (8%)
- General economic problems (7%)
- Emigration from Armenia (6%)
- Corruption (2%)

Another illustration of the role played by economic conditions is the difference in opinion on overall satisfaction among those at different levels of household finances. Respondents on the survey were asked to describe their household's financial condition using the following definitions:

- Very poor:* We do not have enough money for our most basic needs
Poor: We barely have enough money to buy food, we rarely buy clothes
Modest: We have enough to eat, we occasionally buy clothes, but we have nothing left over to save.
Moderate: We have some savings
Above average: We have savings, and can afford a lot

Using these definitions, 8% describe their family's financial situation as very poor, 24% as poor, 44% as modest, 22% as moderate, and 1% as above average. Satisfaction with the overall situation in Armenia differs significantly between the well-to-do and those less fortunate (**Figure 2**).



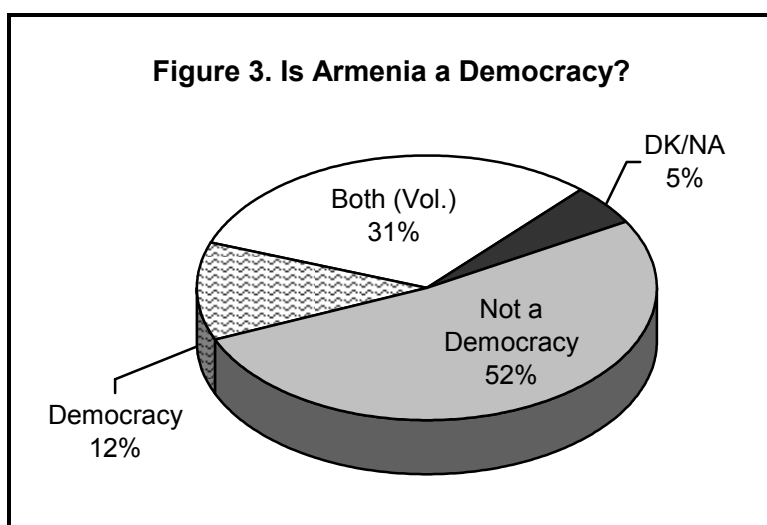
Question 66: How satisfied are you with the overall situation in Armenia? Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the overall situation in Armenia? (n = 1,606)

Figure 2 indicates that satisfaction with the overall situation generally increases with the financial situation of the respondent's family. Those who can comfortably meet basic needs are about twice as likely to be satisfied with the overall situation as those who struggle to meet basic needs (Note: The number of respondents who say their family's situation is 'Above average' is too low to include for comparative analysis).

Evaluation of Current Economic Situation: Opinions on the current economic situation in the country closely parallel satisfaction with the overall situation in the country. Sixty-eight percent of all Armenians think that the current economic situation is very or somewhat bad and 28% think it is very or somewhat good. Positive evaluations of the current economic situation increase with an increase in the level of satisfaction with the overall situation in the country. Conversely, negative evaluations of the current economic situation increase with a decrease in the level of satisfaction with the overall situation in the country.

Respondents were also asked to assess their family's economic situation. Two percent describe their family's economic situation as very good, 41% as somewhat good, 37% as somewhat bad, and 18% as very bad. As one would expect evaluations of the family's economic situation are closely tied to the description of the family's financial situation, with the vast majority of those in poor or very poor financial situations describing their family's economic situation as bad while those with brighter financial situations more likely to assess their family's economic situation as somewhat good.

Assessment of Democracy in Armenia: A majority of Armenians do not think that Armenia is a democracy and very few Armenians state that it is a democracy. A sizable percentage of Armenians think that Armenia has elements of both a democracy and non-democracy (**Figure 3**).



Question 15: Would you say that Armenia is currently a democracy or not a democracy? (n=1,606)

'Both' is a volunteered response; it was not provided as a response option to respondents. Responses on this question are also related to levels of satisfaction with the overall situation in the country. Those who are very or somewhat satisfied are more likely to say that Armenia is a democracy (21%) than those who are dissatisfied with the overall situation (8%). A plurality of those not very satisfied with the overall situation (45%) do not think Armenia is a democracy, while a majority (67%) have this opinion among those not at all satisfied with the situation in the country.

A majority of residents of Armavir (66%), Yerevan (55%), Lori (54%), and Tavush (52%) do not think Armenia is a democracy, and 50% in Ararat and Shirak have this opinion. The highest percentage saying Armenia is a democracy is in Gegharkunik (19%).

Awareness of Opposition Demonstrations: The vast majority of Armenians (88%) are aware of the demonstrations that have been held over the past year by

opposition parties in Yerevan. Even a majority of those not at all interested in politics are aware of these demonstrations (68%).

Opinions on Demonstrations: Those Armenians aware of the opposition demonstrations have mixed opinions on these demonstrations. While a majority has positive opinions on some aspects of the demonstrations, many Armenians do not think that the opposition parties held these demonstrations to further the cause of democracy in Armenia (**Figure 4**).

Figure 4. Opinions on Opposition Demonstrations

	Strongly/ Somewhat Agree	Strongly/ Somewhat Disagree	Don't Know
A. The use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights by the opposition parties.	82%	13%	4%
B. The demonstrations raise valid concerns about the conduct of the 2003 elections in Armenia.	56%	34%	4%
C. The demonstrations are only being used by the opposition to create chaos in the country.	43%	46%	9%
D. The government's response to the demonstrations has been generally correct.	33%	55%	11%
E. The opposition parties are holding these demonstrations to further the cause of democracy in Armenia.	36%	41%	19%

Question 75: Listed below are some statements about these demonstrations. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with these statements. (n=1,421)

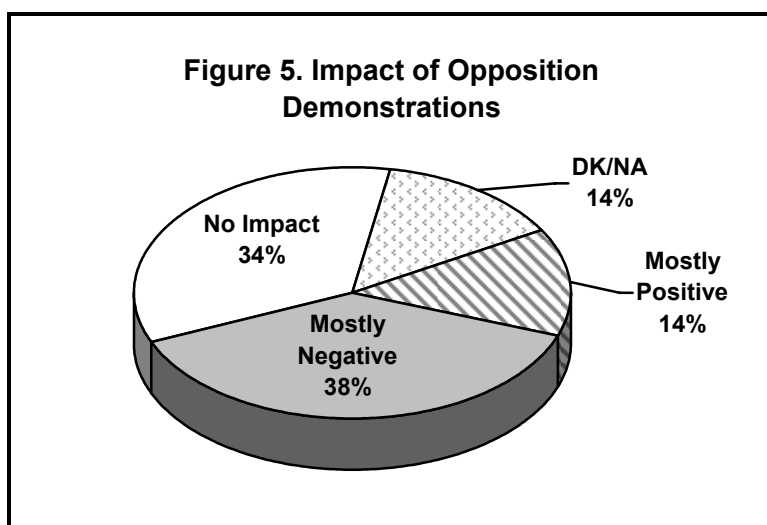
Theoretical support for these demonstrations is indicated by the fact that the vast majority of Armenians think that the use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights by the opposition parties. A majority also believes that these demonstrations raise valid concerns about the 2003 elections in Armenia.

At the same time, many Armenians are skeptical about the motives of the opposition in holding these demonstrations. A plurality (41%) do not think that the opposition is holding the demonstrations to further the cause of democracy in Armenia, and a slightly larger percentage (43%) agrees that the demonstration are only being used to create chaos in the country. On the other hand, a majority of Armenians also disapprove of the government's response to the demonstrations. Fifty-five percent disagree that this response has been correct while 33% agree that the response has been correct.

Many of the opinions on the demonstrations are influenced by a respondent's opinion on democracy in Armenia. Those who think Armenia is a democracy have more critical opinions of the demonstrations than those who do not think Armenia is a democracy. While 78% of those who do not think Armenia is a democracy agree that the demonstrations raise valid concerns about the 2003 elections, this figure is only 34% among those who think Armenia is a democracy. Among those who think

Armenia is a democracy, 70% agree that the demonstrations are only being used to create chaos, but only 33% agree with this statement among those who do not think Armenia is a democracy. A similar divergence of opinion between these two groups is found for the other statements in Figure 4.

Impact of Demonstrations: While those with opposing views on Armenian democracy disagree in their opinions about the opposition demonstrations, a majority in each group believes that the demonstrations either have no impact or a negative impact on the Armenian people. Overall, a small plurality believes that the impact on the Armenian people is mostly negative (**Figure 5**).

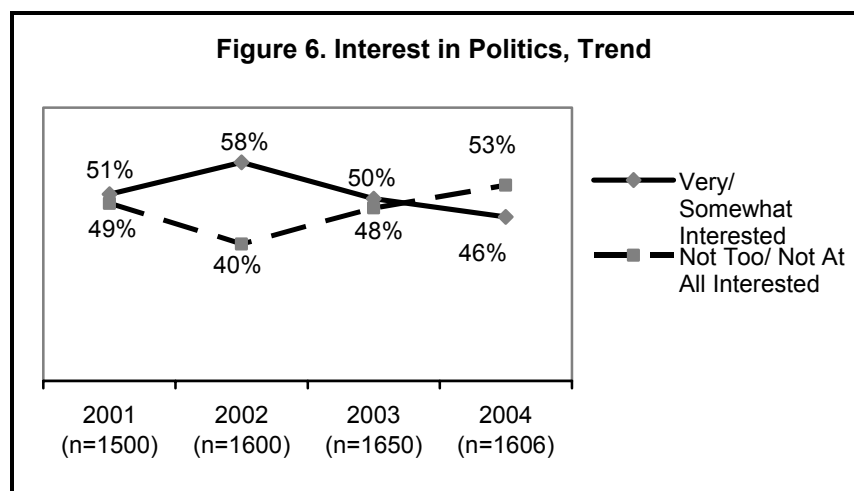


Question 76: What kind of impact do you think these demonstrations will have on the Armenian people? Do you think the impact will be mostly positive, mostly negative, or will there be no impact on the Armenian people? (n=1,421)

Only 14% of Armenians believe that the impact of the demonstrations will be positive. A majority believes that either there will be no impact (34%) or that it will be mostly negative. Among those who believe that the demonstrations lead to negative impacts, the most oft-cited reasons for this response are because the demonstrations led to chaos in the country (40%), because they hurt ordinary people (28%), because they are only a drive for power (15%), and because they were not well-organized (11%). Among those who see positive impacts, 32% cite the pressure put on the government by the demonstrations, 31% expect positive changes to emanate from the demonstration, 22% think that some actions should be taken, and 12% say that this is the way of democracy. Sixty-two percent of those who do not see any impact from the demonstrations say this is because they do not believe in changes or do not see changes coming. Eighteen percent of these respondents think there will be no impact because the government is a barrier to change, and almost an equal percentage (17%) say this is because the opposition is not good.

IV. POLITICAL INTEREST AND KNOWLEDGE

Interest in Politics: Interest in politics and government has been steadily decreasing from a high of 58% in the pre-election period in 2002 (**Figure 6**). For the first time in IFES surveys in Armenia since 2001, a majority of Armenians (53%) say they are not too interested or not at all interested in politics (46% are very or somewhat interested). Even though interest in politics has decreased among both men and women, a gender gap continues to persist. A majority of men (51%) say that they are interested in politics while 49% say they are not interested. Among women, 42% say they are at least somewhat interested in politics while a majority (58%) say they are not. Interest also generally goes up with age, with those 18–25 having the least amount of interest in politics (37%). A majority of those 18–25, 26–35, and 36–45 say they are not too or at all interested in politics while a majority in older age groups say that they are somewhat or very interested. Interest in politics is much higher in rural areas (52%) than in urban areas (41%).

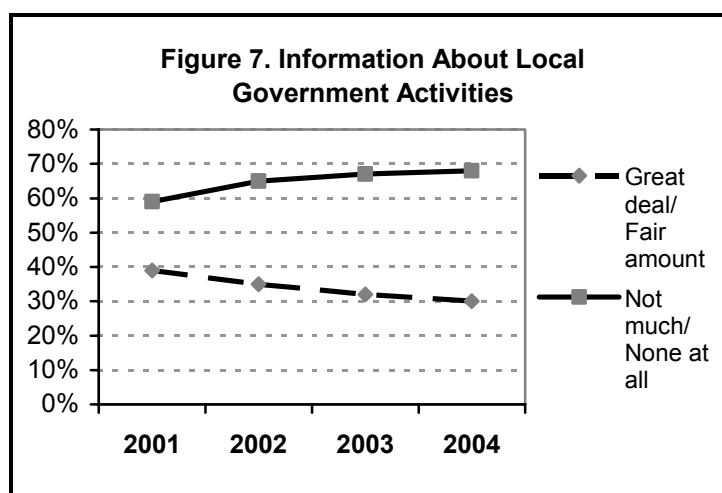


Question 69: How interested are you in matters of politics and government in Armenia? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested? (n = 1,606)

Interest in Local Government Activity: While general interest in politics has been declining over the past three years, interest in the activities of local governments has been slowly increasing over this period. In this year's survey, 39% of Armenians report that they are somewhat or very interested in local government activities, higher than the 36% who reported interest in the 2003 survey and 33% in the 2002 survey. Even though interest in local government activities has been increasing, the vast majority of Armenians (60%) have little or no interest. Given the size of localities and proximity of local government structures to citizens, it is not surprising that rural respondents are significantly more likely to be interested in the activities of their local governments than urban respondents (49% versus 36%). Interest in local government activities is highest in Gegharkunik (53%) and Shirak (48%), while it is lowest in Aragatsotn (33%).

Combining responses to the questions on interest in politics in general and interest in local government activity, 30% of Armenians are found to be interested in both (up from 26% in 2003), 32% are partially interested, that is interested in one but not the other, and 41% are not interested in either (up from 35% in 2002).

Information About Local Government Activities: The IFES 2004 survey in Armenia continues to show a decline in the percentage of Armenians who have at least a fair amount of information about the activities of their local governments (**Figure 7**).



Question 1: Please tell me how much information you have about the activities of your local government (Local Government - Mayor of city / Mayor of village / Yerevan taghapet). Would you say you have a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or no information at all? (n=1,606)

Starting from a high of 41% in the 2001 survey, the percentage with a great deal or fair amount of information on local government activities has steadily declined over the course of the last three surveys to its present level of 30%. On the other hand, the percentage with little or no information has increased steadily to more than two-thirds of all Armenians (68%). Residents of rural areas are most likely to say they are informed about local government activities (41%), followed by residents of urban areas other than Yerevan (28%), and residents of Yerevan (23%).

Among those who say they have a great deal or fair amount of information about the activities of their local government, only 7% say that local government officials or bodies are the source of their information. Most of these respondents (63%) rely on friends, relatives, or personal contacts for information about local government. A significant percentage also use media sources: television (39%), newspapers (11%), and radio (7%).

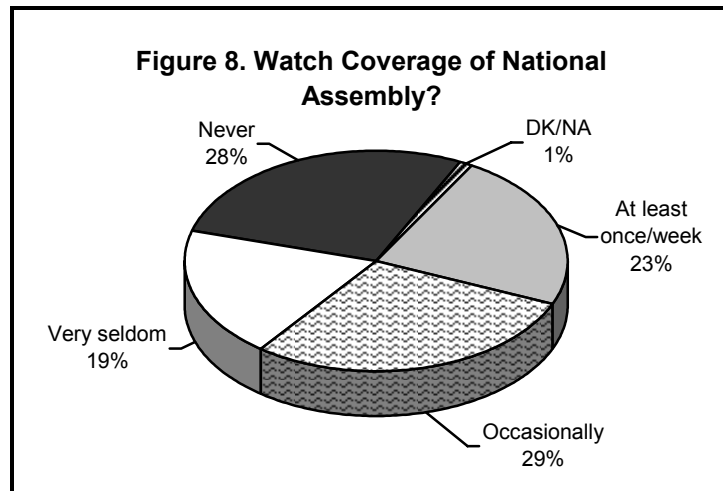
Information About Local Budgets: Only 8% of Armenians say that they have at least moderate levels of information on their local community's budget and how

these funds are spent. Eighty-four percent of Armenians say they have no information at all on their community's budget. In Tavush, 94% say they have no information on this topic, and in Armavir this percentage is 92%.

Among those with information on community budgets, the vast majority prefers that control over these budgets should be exercised by local authorities. Fifty-seven percent say that local self-governing bodies should have control over the budget, 16% cite the mayor or village leader, and 14% would leave these decisions up to residents of the community itself. National-level institutions such as the president, National Assembly, or minister of finance are only mentioned by 8% of the population.

Knowledge About Local and National Officials: Most Armenians are aware of the method through which mayors and *marzpets* attain office. Ninety-one percent are aware that mayors are elected and 74% are aware that *marzpets* are appointed. There are lower levels of awareness about the actual persons who hold these positions. Eighty-six percent of Armenians can name their locality's mayor. In Yerevan, 70% can name their *taghapet*, the official equivalent to a mayor. Knowledge of *marzpets* is lower, with 61% overall being able to correctly name these officials. In Yerevan, only 54% can name the equivalent official, their mayor. Only a bare majority (54%) can name their representative to the National Assembly, with the lowest level found in Yerevan (40%). The election of a new parliament in 2003 may have led to lower awareness of parliamentary representatives. In each of these cases, those who are interested in local government activities generally are more likely to correctly identify their local representatives than those who are not interested in local government activities.

Viewership of National Assembly Proceedings: There has not been a significant shift since 2003 in the frequency and intensity of watching the coverage of the National Assembly on television. A little less than a quarter of Armenians (23%) say that they are regular viewers of the coverage, watching at least once a week. Twenty-eight percent never watch coverage of the proceedings, while almost half (48%) watch only occasionally or very seldom. Regular viewing of the coverage of the National Assembly increases with age. Only 14% of those 18–25 say they are regular viewers of the coverage of the National Assembly, compared to 24% of those 36–45 and 40% of those 56 and older (**Figure 8**).



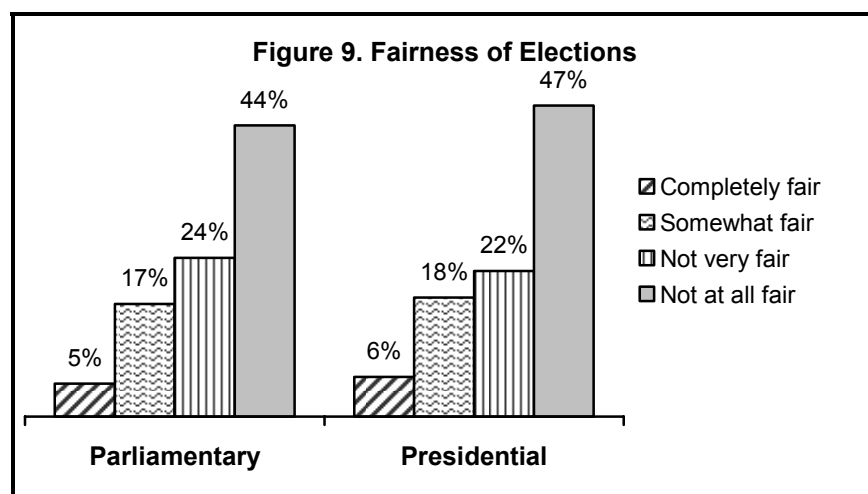
Question 35: How often do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? (n=1,606)

Awareness of Select Publications: Seven percent of Armenians have heard of or read *Law on LSG Question and Answers: A Guide for Community Residents*. Four percent have heard of or read *Multi-Apartment Building Management: How-to for Citizens* and 3% have heard of or read *Citizen's Guides to their marz governance*. Residents of Yerevan are more likely to have heard of or read the citizen's guide to marz governance than others in the country.

V. ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY

Voting in 2002-2003: Reflecting a pattern evident in most post-election surveys, more Armenians report voting in elections in 2002 and 2003 than the number reported by official figures. In the survey, 73% report voting in the November 2002 local elections, 85% in the first round of the presidential election in February 2003, 84% in the second round of the presidential election in March 2003, and 78% in the May 2003 parliamentary elections. Those aged 18-25 are least likely to have voted in each of these elections, with voting generally increasing with age. Residents of Yerevan were less likely to have voted in each of these elections than those in the rest of the country.

Fairness of Elections: Both the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2003 are seen by most Armenians as not being fair. Seventy percent of Armenians say that the 2003 parliamentary elections were not very or not at all fair, and 69% have a similar opinion about the 2003 presidential elections (**Figure 9**).



Question 12: Do you think the 2003 parliamentary elections in Armenia were fair or not? (n=1,606)

Question 13: What about the 2003 presidential elections? Do you think that these elections were completely fair, somewhat fair, not very fair, or not fair at all? (n=1,606)

Armenians generally do not tend to have mixed opinions on these two elections, they either think both were fair or both were unfair. Sixty-six percent of all Armenians believe that both the parliamentary and presidential elections were not fair, while 20% believe that both these elections were fair. Only 5% believe that one of these elections was fair while the other was not.

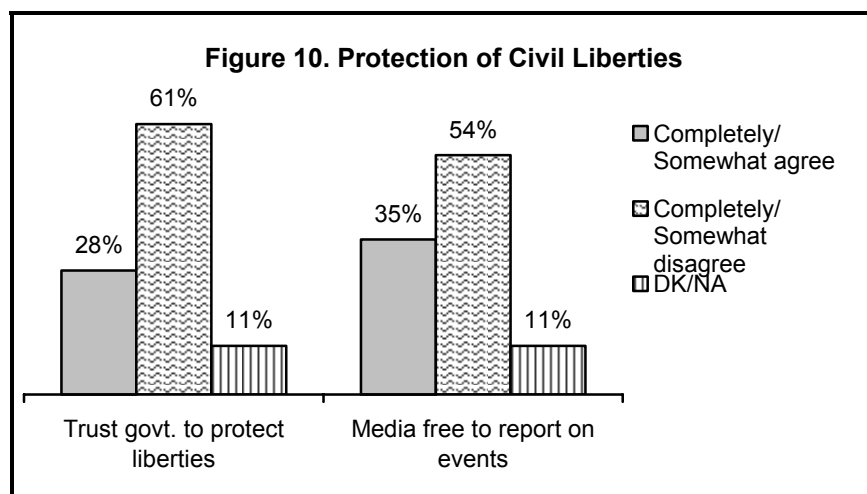
Residents of rural areas are generally more likely to think the two sets of elections were fair than urban residents. Still, a majority of rural voter do not think that either the presidential or the parliamentary elections in 2003 were fair. A majority of residents of all Marzes think that the presidential and parliamentary elections were not fair to some degree.

Those who believe that the presidential and parliamentary elections were not fair generally have more positive opinions on the opposition parties' demonstrations in Yerevan over the course of the last year than those who think the elections were fair. Sixty-seven percent of those who think the presidential elections were not fair and 64% of those who think the parliamentary elections were not fair agree that the opposition's demonstrations raise valid concerns about the conduct of the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2003.

Elections and Democracy: Given the majority's opinion that the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2003 were not fair, it is not surprising that a majority (61%) does not think that these elections show Armenia is progressing toward adopting the practices of a fully democratic state. Thirty-three percent agree that the elections show Armenia progressing toward a full democracy. Opinions on this question are strongly related to opinions on the fairness of elections. The less likely one is to consider the 2003 presidential or parliamentary elections not fair, the more likely they are to think that Armenia is not progressing toward full democracy. The relationship between the fairness of elections and democracy indicates that the 2003 elections are a key reference point for Armenians when thinking about democratic development in the country

Opinions on the elections also point to the general orientation toward the government or opposition parties in the country. A majority of those who think the elections show progress toward democracy think that the government's response to the opposition's demonstrations in Yerevan was correct (55%). The majority of this group also agree that the demonstrations are only being used by the opposition parties to create chaos in the country (56%). Predictably, a majority of those who do not think the elections were fair take the opposite view on both of these issues.

Protection of Civil Liberties in Armenia: A majority of Armenians do not trust the government to protect their civil liberties or the media to be able to report freely on events in the country, whether critical of the government or not (**Figure 10**).



Question 72: Now, I will read you a series of statements. For each please tell me how much do you agree? (n = 1,606)

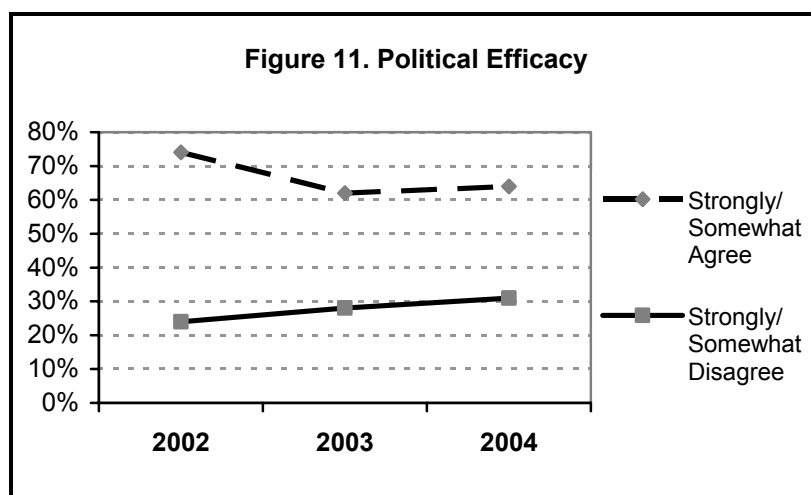
"I trust the government of Armenia to protect the civil liberties of Armenian citizens."

"The media in Armenia is free to report on events in the country, whether they are critical of the government or not."

As would be expected, there is a large difference in opinions on these two questions between those who think Armenia is a democracy and those who think it is not a democracy. Among those who think Armenia is a democracy, 70% trust the government to protect their civil liberties and 58% believe the media is free to report events even if they are critical of the government. Among those who do not think Armenia is a democracy, 74% do not trust the government to protect their civil liberties and 66% do not think the media is free to report events objectively.

VI. POLITICAL EFFICACY AND CIVIC ACTIVISM

Political Efficacy: Political efficacy—or the belief that ordinary citizens can influence the decisions made by their political leaders—is one sign of an effective democracy that encourages citizen participation. Judging by public opinion on this issue over the past three years, Armenia does not meet this test of an effective democracy. Over the course of the three IFES surveys since 2002, a majority of Armenians have consistently stated that people like them do not have influence over the way things are run in Armenia (**Figure 11**).



Question 72B: "People like me have little or no influence on the way things are run in Armenia." (n=1,606)

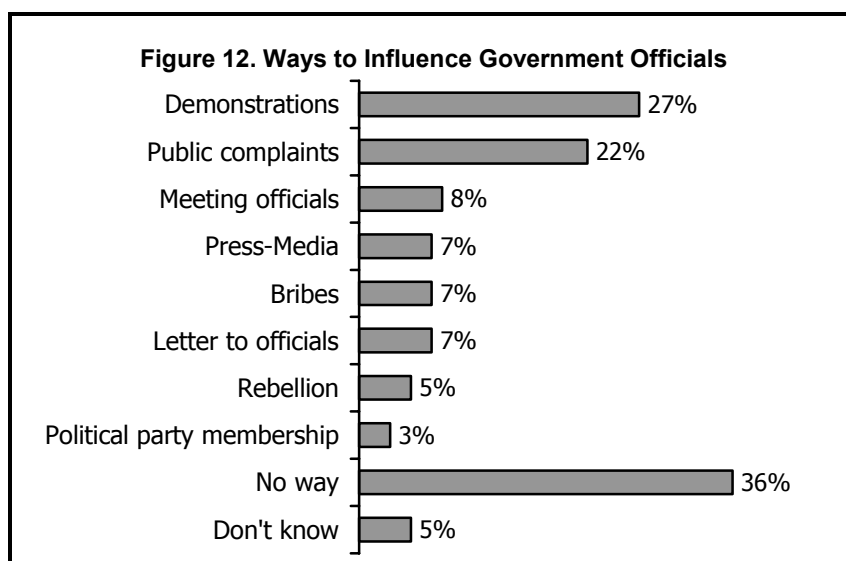
In this survey, 64% of Armenians either strongly or somewhat agree that people like them have little or no influence over the way things are run in Armenia. Thirty-one percent disagree. The percentage agreeing with this statement has decreased from 74% in 2002, but the vast majority still do not see themselves influencing their political leaders.

A majority of Armenians (55%) also believe that voting does not influence the decisions made by those they elect. Thirty-nine percent agree that voting does give them influence over decision-making. Even a majority of those who report voting in 2003 disagree with this statement, 54% among those who report voting in the parliamentary election, and 55% each among those who report voting in the first and second rounds of the presidential election.

Combining the responses to both questions shows that a majority of Armenians (51%) do not think that elections give them influence and that people like them have little or no influence on the way things are run in Armenia. These respondents display little political efficacy. A quarter of Armenians (25%) do think that voting gives them influence and that they do have influence over the way things are run in Armenia. These respondents display political efficacy. The rest have mixed opinions on these two questions.

The financial situation of the respondent's family has an impact on his/her opinions on these two questions. The vast majority of those who are very poor (68%) or poor (58%) do not display political efficacy. On the other hand, a plurality of those who describe their family's financial situation as above average (42%) do display political efficacy versus 29% who do not. It should also be pointed out that the belief that Armenia is a democracy also increases with an increase in the family financial situation, as does the belief that the 2003 elections were primarily fair. Thus, many Armenians seem to base their opinions of their political system on how they are doing economically rather than on the specific characteristics of the political system. This is a consistent finding in many of the emerging democracies in which IFES has implemented surveys, especially post-Soviet republics.

Citizen Action to Influence Government Officials: When asked for ways beside voting that citizens can attempt to influence government officials, Armenians are most likely to cite demonstration (27%) and public complaints (22%), but even more Armenians are likely to say that there is no way to influence government officials (**Figure 12**). This is not much different from the 2003 survey when 33% indicated that there was no way to influence the actions of government officials.

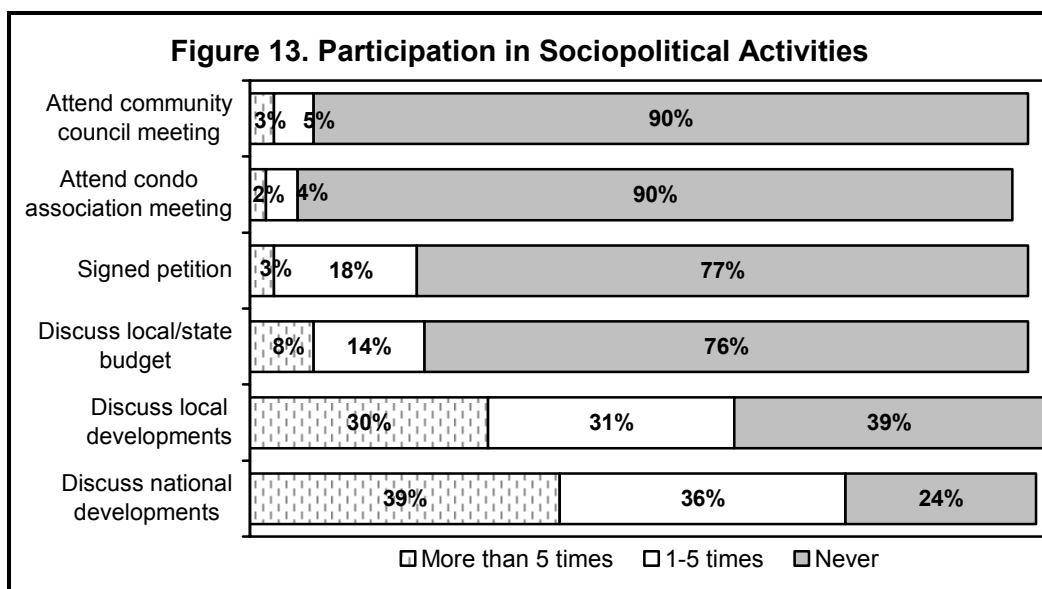


Question 73: Other than voting, in what ways can citizens attempt to influence the actions of government officials? (n=1,606)

The lack of political efficacy has an impact on responses to this question. Among those who do not display political efficacy, 43% say there is no way other than voting to influence government officials. Among those who display political efficacy, 26% say there is no way. Those who display political efficacy are more likely to mention concrete actions, such as demonstrations and public complaints, than those without political efficacy.

Participation in Sociopolitical Activities: As in previous IFES surveys in Armenia, respondents say that while they do frequently take part in informal

discussions about local and national developments, they are far less likely to take part in more formal sociopolitical activities (**Figure 13**).



Question 16: Please look at this list and tell me if you have taken part in these activities in the last year and how many cases can you remember, more than ten times, 6-10 times, 2-5 times, just once, or if you have not taken part at all? (n=1,606)

A majority of Armenians report that they discussed national and local developments with acquaintances at least once over the past year. But a majority of Armenians say that they have never discussed their local or state budgets (76%), signed petitions (77%), attended condominium association meetings (90%) or community council meetings (90%). While a majority of respondents in most sub-groups say that they have discussed national and local developments at least once over the past year, the data shows that the level of knowledge of local government activities has an impact on participation in more formal activities. Those who have a great deal or fair amount of knowledge of local government activities are much more likely than those with little or no information to have signed a petition (29% versus 18%), to have attended a community council meeting (18% versus 4%), and to have attended their condominium association meetings (15% versus 4%).

Efforts to Address Important Issues in the Community: Armenians identify many issues beside economic issues as important for their communities, but most Armenians do not take any steps to address these issues. When asked what issues beside economic issues are important for their local communities, 28% mention community infrastructure improvements, 21% mention education and cultural issues, 19% would like to address public services, and 12% want local officials to address social matters. Other areas mentioned include health and hygiene as well as agriculture (each 4%). When those who named a particular issue were asked whether they have taken any actions to address these issues to local government authorities, 22% reply that they have done so and 78% have not taken any actions to address the issues. Rural residents are more likely to have taken actions (32%)

than urban residents (18%). Men are slightly more likely to take actions to address issues than women (25% versus 20%).

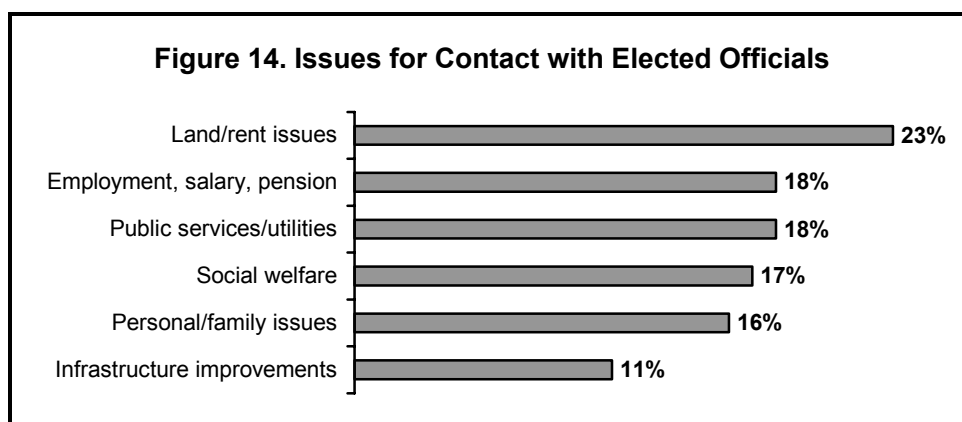
When those who have not taken actions to address these issues are asked why this is so, many say that they did not think it would result in a positive outcome (39%). Nineteen percent say that they have not had an opportunity to take any action. Nine percent do not know how to go about addressing these issues, and 8% do not think that local officials are interested in their opinions. Another 7% think that local officials should take the time themselves to learn about important issues rather than have citizens approach them.

The vast majority of those who did address these issues did so through a petition (62%), while 40% spoke directly to local officials about the issue of interest.

Contact with Elected Officials: The percentage of Armenians who report having contacted election officials has not changed significantly since the 2003 IFES survey, but has declined slightly since 2002. Twenty-three percent of Armenians report having contacted an elected official in this survey, compared with 24% in 2003, 26% in 2002, and 17% in 2001. Rural respondents are slightly more likely to contact elected officials (31%) than urban respondents (21%). The highest rates of contact are reported in Aragatsotn (35%), Lori (32%), and Kotayk (31%). Contact with elected officials generally increases with age, with those over 35 more likely to contact elected officials than those 35 and under.

Those who contact elected officials are most likely to contact the head or mayor of their local community.

Issues for Contacting Elected Officials: Those who contacted elected officials did so for a variety of issues, including land or rent issues, employment or pension issues, delivery of public services or utilities, help with social welfare, and personal or family issues (**Figure 14**).

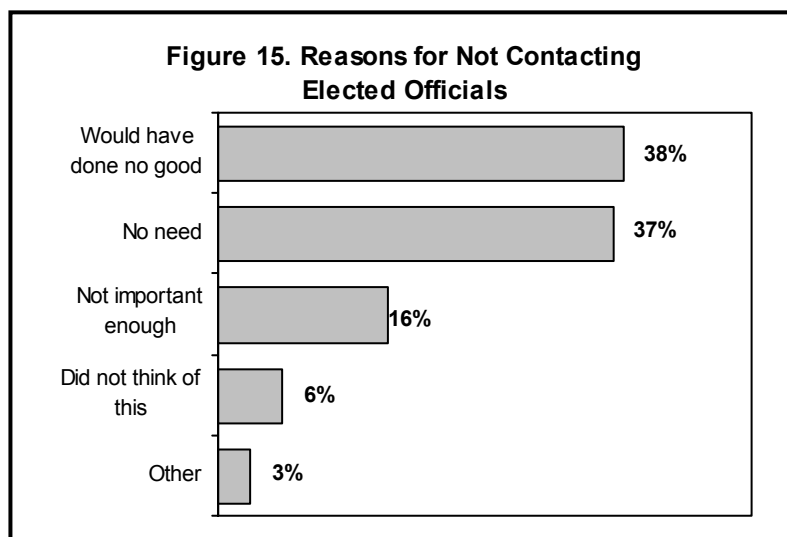


Question 27: What issue or problem did you contact this elected official about? (n=365)

Urban residents are more likely to approach their elected officials for help with employment and social welfare issues than rural residents. Rural residents, on the other hand, are more likely to approach elected officials for help with public services or utilities and for personal or family issues. Women are more likely than men to approach elected officials about employment issues, while men are more likely than women to seek help for land or rent-related issues.

Among those who contacted elected officials in the past, 89% say that the elected official they contacted responded to them. There is not a significant difference in response rate between rural officials (93%) and urban officials (88%). The rate of response among urban officials is significantly higher in this survey than in 2003 (78%). Most of those who received a response were very or somewhat satisfied with the response of the elected official (66%), while 34% were dissatisfied with the response. Those who contacted elected officials regarding personal or family issues were more likely to be satisfied with the official's response (83%) than those who contacted the officials regarding employment issues, social welfare, public utilities, land/rent issues (63% each), and infrastructure issues (55%).

Reasons for Not Contacting Elected Officials: The vast majority of Armenians have not contacted elected officials in the past (76%). When asked why they have not done so, nearly as many Armenians reply that they had no reason to contact an elected official as those that say that it would have done no good to contact an official (**Figure 15**).



Question 23: Why haven't you ever contacted an elected official before? (n=1,222)

Contact with Appointed Officials: Fewer Armenians report having contacted appointed officials to help resolve problems than those who contacted elected officials. Only 10% of Armenians report having contacted an appointed official in the past to help resolve an issue or problem. This is the same percentage as in the 2003 IFES survey. There is little difference between urban and rural residents

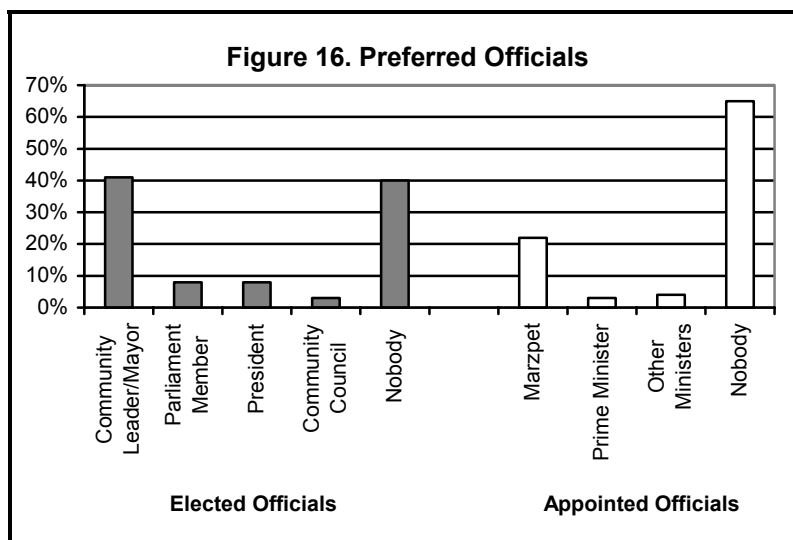
regarding contact with appointed officials, but those who have contacted elected officials in the past are more likely to also have contacted appointed officials (20%) than those who have not contacted elected officials (7%).

The issues regarding which people contact appointed officials tend to be the same as those for which people contact elected officials. Among those who have contacted appointed officials in the past, 28% have done so for employment or pension issues, and 22% for education and cultural issues. Nineteen percent have contacted appointed officials for land and rent issues, 10% for personal and family issues, and 8% for infrastructure problems.

Many of those who have not contacted appointed officials either have not needed help with a problem (39%) or do not think that the appointed leaders can help with the problem (37%). Fourteen percent do not think any problem they have had is important enough to contact appointed officials, and 6% say they did not think of the option of contacting an appointed official.

Those who have contacted appointed officials are similar to those who contacted elected officials in reporting that the vast majority of appointed officials responded to them (87%). Fifty-five percent of those who received a response from an appointed official were very or somewhat satisfied with the response, while 45% were dissatisfied.

Preferred Elected or Appointed Officials: Given that Armenians are more than twice as likely to have contacted elected officials than appointed officials, it is not surprising that Armenians are more likely to say that if they had a serious problem in the future they would approach an elected official over regional or national-level appointed officials (**Figure 16**).

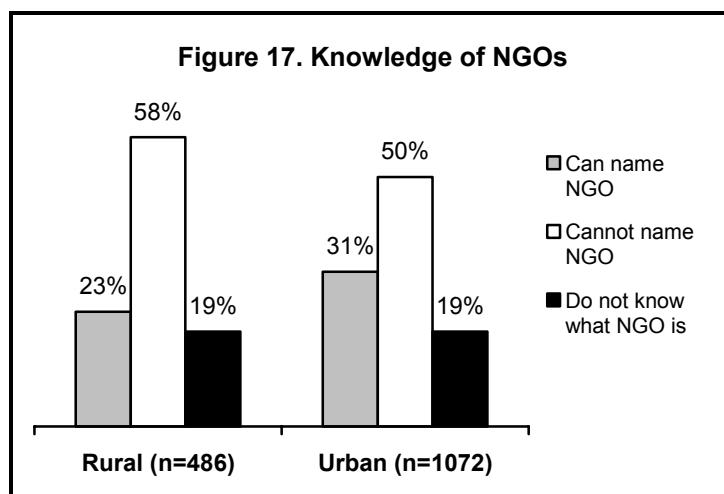


Question 20: If you had a serious problem, which of these, if any, would you first try to contact regarding this? (n=1,606)

The mayor or other leaders in the community are the elected officials most likely to be approached by Armenians (41%), followed by a member of parliament (8%) and the president (8%). Among appointed officials, the *marzpet* is most likely to be approached (22%).

One indication of the lack of trust in public officials in Armenia is the fact that 65% of Armenians say they would not approach any appointed official and 40% say they would not approach any elected official. Thirty-nine percent would approach neither an elected nor an appointed official. Past history of contact with elected and appointed officials plays a part in these opinions. Among those who have not contacted elected officials in the past, 45% would not contact any elected official to resolve a serious problem. This compares to 25% among those who have contacted elected officials in the past. Similarly, 71% of those who have never contacted appointed officials in the past would not do so in the future, compared to 35% among those who have contacted appointed officials in the past.

Knowledge of NGOs: Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) can also play a part in helping people address problems or issues about which they are concerned. Armenia has a fairly well-developed NGO sector that works across many different issue areas. IFES surveys over the past three years have shown, however, that the majority of Armenians cannot name specific NGOs that work in Armenia. This finding is replicated in this year's survey as only 27% of Armenians are able to name a specific NGO active in the country. A majority (51%) cannot name any NGO while 19% do not know what an NGO is. Armenians in urban areas are more likely to know what NGOs are than those in rural areas (**Figure 17**).



Question 52: Can you tell me which non-governmental organizations (NGOs) you know something about? (n=1,606)

Among NGOs named, the most frequently mentioned are the Red Cross (4.9%), Women's Union (2.6%), the Women's Republican Council (2.6%), Mothers of Soldiers (1.3%), and the UNO (1.3%).

Sources of Information About NGOs: While television is the primary source for information about NGOs among those who know of specific organizations in this sector (41%), informal sources also play a large part. Twenty-nine percent of those who know of NGOs say they have heard of them through relatives and friends, while 21% say they have heard of them through business contacts. Newspapers and media are mentioned by 17% as a source of information about NGOs. Still others know of NGOs through direct contact, 10% through working with them and another 10% through observing their activities.

Volunteering for NGOs: Many of the Armenians who can name an NGO may be able to do so because they have had direct contact with these organizations through volunteering for them. Thirty-three percent of those who know of a specific NGO have volunteered for NGOs in the past. There is little difference in volunteering for NGOs between rural and urban respondents who can name an NGO.

Evaluation of NGOs: Sixty-six percent of Armenians who know of NGOs think that these organizations are either essential or necessary for Armenia. This is an increase from 59% who had this opinion in the 2003 IFES survey in Armenia. Those who can name at least one NGO are much more likely to find these organizations essential or necessary (82%) than those who cannot name an NGO (56%). Among those who have volunteered for NGOs, 86% think that NGOs are essential or necessary.

Preferred Volunteer Actions: Respondents to the survey were given a list of possible volunteer actions that could be organized by their community and were asked to name the actions for which they would be likely to volunteer. The two most popular activities are repairing children's playgrounds (named by 50%) and cleaning the streets of the community (42%). Other actions that received significant mention were taking care of elderly patients (18%), arranging a musical concert (14%), starting a computer center (13%), and organizing a street fair (11%). Young people (18-25) were more likely to mention arranging a concert, starting a computer center, and organizing a job fair than older respondents.

Trust: The survey illustrates that while more Armenians than not are likely to trust their immediate circle of acquaintances (such as their relatives, neighbors, and co-workers), they are far less likely to trust those from other regions of Armenia as well as those in government (**Figure 18**).

Figure 18. Trust Levels in Armenia

	Trust Completely/ Somewhat Trust	Distrust Completely/ Somewhat Distrust	Don't Know/ No Answer
Relatives	88%	11%	1%
Neighbors	76%	22%	2%

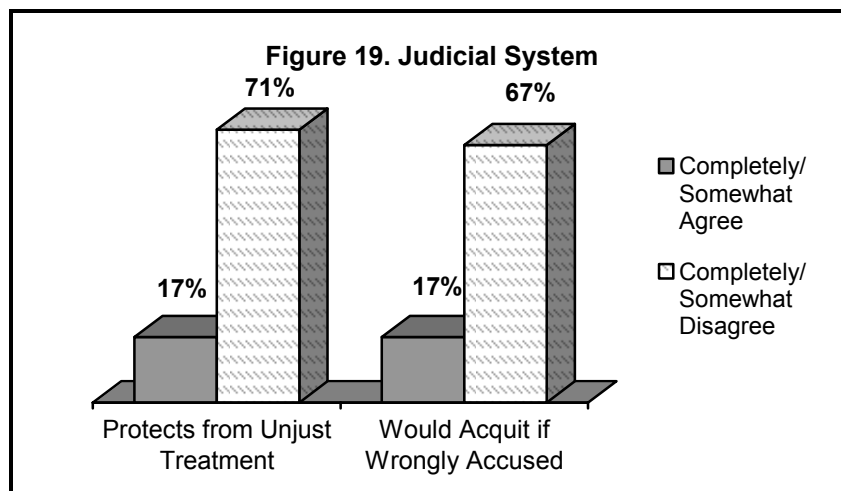
	Trust Completely/ Somewhat Trust	Distrust Completely/ Somewhat Distrust	Don't Know/ No Answer
Coworkers	63%	20%	17%
Armenians in other regions	37%	43%	20%
Community leaders	35%	55%	9%
Your National Assembly Deputy	28%	56%	16%
National Assembly	19%	72%	8%
Governing parties	19%	72%	10%
Opposition parties	17%	74%	10%
President	44%	49%	8%

Questions 56-65: Listed below are different groups of people. For each one, please tell me how much do you trust in them? (n=1,606)

A majority of Armenians express at least some trust in their relatives, neighbors, and coworkers, but trust levels drop considerably for Armenians and others outside this circle of acquaintances. More people than not distrust people from other regions of Armenia. The lack of trust in governing institutions is highlighted by the fact that a majority of Armenians completely or somewhat distrust their community leaders, their Deputy to the National Assembly, the National Assembly as a whole, parties of the governing coalition, and parties in the opposition. While a majority of Armenians do not distrust the President, more Armenians do distrust him than trust him. The general lack of trust in people and institutions outside the immediate circle of acquaintances presents a challenge to democratic development in Armenia. Trust is considered a vital ingredient in the development of democracy and for effective institutions in a country. The survey data indicates that those who trust their local officials are more likely than those who distrust these officials to contact these officials and more likely to participate in formal sociopolitical activities such as signing petitions. Those who trust governing institutions are also more likely to display political efficacy, the belief that one can influence decision-making in a country.

VII. JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND CORRUPTION

Confidence in the Judicial System: Most Armenians lack confidence in the justice system. A majority of Armenians do not think their judicial system would protect them from unjust treatment in the hands of the state or that it would be sure to acquit them if they were wrongly accused of a crime (**Figure 19**).



Question 72: Now, I will read you a series of statements. For each please tell me how much do you agree? (n=1,606)

C. I trust the justice system to protect me from unjust treatment of the state.

D. If I were wrongly accused of a crime, I am sure our judicial system would acquit me.

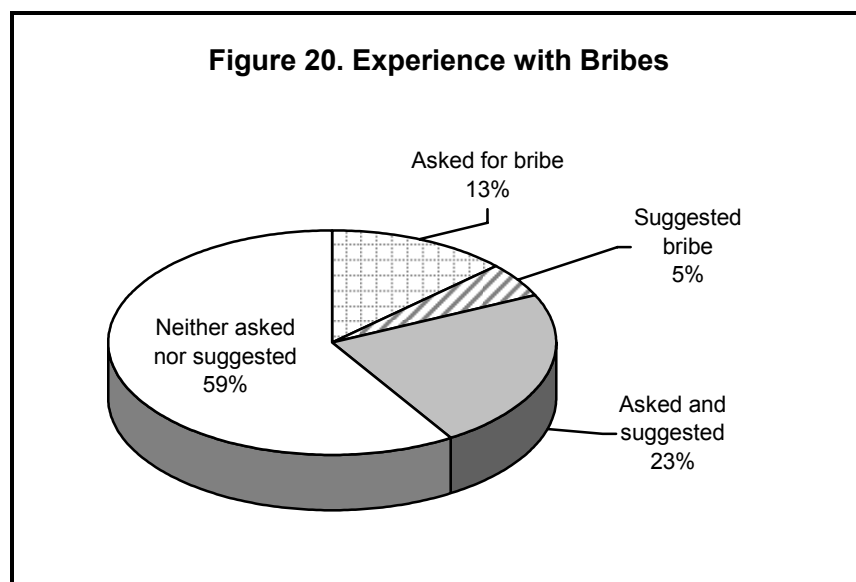
In this survey, slightly more Armenians than in the 2003 survey take positions that are critical of the justice system in Armenia. Seventy-one percent disagree that the justice system in Armenia protects from unjust treatment of the state (68% in 2003). Sixty-seven percent disagree that they would be sure to be acquitted if wrongly accused of a crime (63% in 2003). Opinions about the justice system are strongly related to opinions about democracy in Armenia. Among those who agree that the justice system would protect from unjust treatment by the state, opinions are split on whether Armenia is a democracy. Thirty-three percent of these respondents think that Armenia is not a democracy, 30% think that it is a democracy, and 34% say that Armenia has characteristics of both a democracy and a non-democracy. Among those who disagree that the justice system would protect them from unjust treatment by the state, opinions are not split. A majority of these respondents (60%) do not think Armenia is a democracy. Nine percent of these respondents think Armenia is a democracy and 29% think it has elements of both a democracy and a non-democracy.

Independence of the Judiciary: Along with a lack of confidence in the capacity of the justice system to serve Armenian citizens effectively, most Armenians do not agree that the country's judiciary is not influenced in its decision-making by political leaders. Overall, 12% agree that judicial decisions are not influenced by political leaders while 70% disagree with this statement.

Armenians generally have fairly consistent opinions on this statement as well as the earlier ones on the ability of the justice system to protect from unjust treatment by the state and acquitting wrongly-charged people. Combining the responses to all three statements gives a sense of overall opinions on the judiciary and justice system in Armenia. If one agrees with all three statements, then he or she has a very positive opinion of the judiciary and justice system, while the opposite holds if one disagrees with all three statements. The combined data indicates large dissatisfaction with the justice system as a majority of Armenians (55%) disagree with all three statements and only 6% agree with all three statements. Other respondents are mixed in their evaluations.

Official Corruption: Almost nine in ten Armenians (89%) believe that official corruption is either a very common or somewhat common problem in Armenia. The vast majority of all major subgroups in the population hold this opinion. While corruption may be perceived to be common, that vast majority of Armenians also believe that it is accepted. Eighty-five percent of Armenians (up from 81% in 2003) believe that their fellow citizens accept corruption as a fact of life. Only 10% say that Armenians do not accept corruption as a fact of life.

The prevalence of corruption in Armenia as well as its acceptance is indicated by the fact that more than four in ten Armenians report either having been asked for a bribe by a public official or having suggested a bribe to a public official. **Figure 20** reports on the percentage of Armenians who have experienced either or both of these scenarios.



Question 81: Have you ever been asked for a bribe or some kind of payment by a public official? (n=1,606)

Question 82: And have you ever suggested a bribe or some kind of payment to a public official? (n=1,606)

Figure 20 indicates that 23% of Armenians have both been asked for a bribe by a public official and suggested a bribe to a public official. Thirteen percent have been asked for a bribe but have not suggested one, and 5% have suggested a bribe but were not asked for one. Thus, 41% of Armenians have experienced an incident in which a bribe was broached. A majority of Armenians (59%) say that they have neither been asked for a bribe or suggested a bribe. Even though the respondents were assured that this is a confidential interview and that their responses would not be revealed, it is fair to assume that many who have either been asked for a bribe or suggested a bribe did not acknowledge so in this survey. If this conjecture is correct, then the percentage of Armenians exposed to corruption may be higher than reported above.

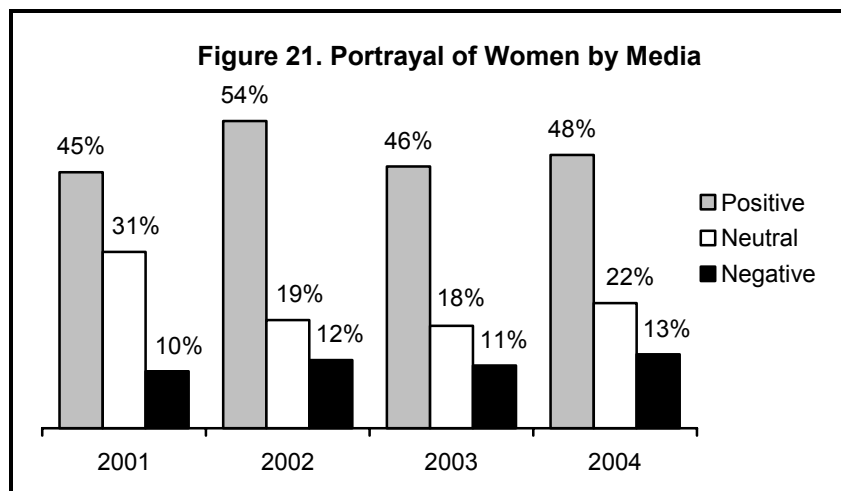
Residents of urban areas are more likely to have been asked for a bribe or to have suggested a bribe than those in rural areas. In urban areas, 37% report having been asked for a bribe and 38% report having suggested a bribe to a public official in the past. By contrast, 25% in rural areas report having been asked for a bribe and 23% report having suggested a bribe.

Those who have been asked for a bribe or suggested a bribe were next asked for the name of the government agency that employed the public officials involved in the incident(s). Commonly named agencies and institutions include hospitals (53%), the police (41%), schools and universities (39%), tax authorities (12%), courts (9%), customs agency (7%), military (2%), and social service agencies (2%).

When asked how they would rate the government's job fighting corruption, most Armenians rate the government's efforts as very or somewhat bad (60%), and a further 20% go even further and rate the government's efforts as being senseless. The last response was a volunteered response. Only 12% rate the government's efforts as being very or somewhat good. Those who have been asked for bribes or suggested bribes in the past are more likely to rate the government's efforts negatively than those who do not report these experiences.

VIII. WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

The Portrayal of Women by the Media: As in previous surveys, more Armenians think that the Armenian media portrays women positively (48%) than the percentage who think that women are portrayed negatively (13%) or in a neutral manner (22%) by the media (**Figure 21**).



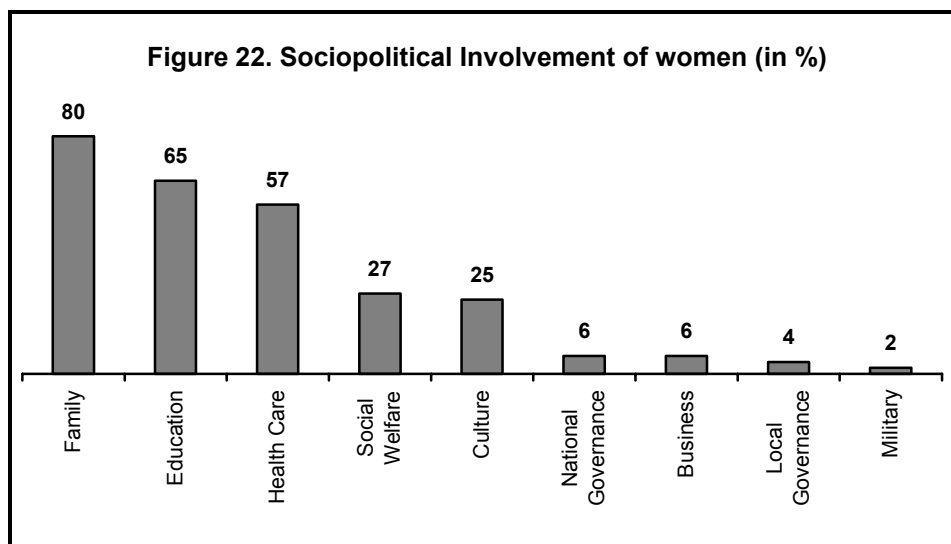
Question 39: How do you think Armenian media portrays women today in Armenian society? (n=1,606)

Women are more likely to think that the media portrays them positively (53%) than men (46%). This is particularly true for women in rural areas and urban areas outside Yerevan. In Yerevan, women are not significantly more likely than men to say that the media portrays women positively. There is little difference between men and women in the percentage that say that the media portrays women either negatively or in a neutral manner.

Reasons for Perception of Media Portrayal: The most cited reason for Armenians' perceptions of the media's portrayal of women is the media's positive or negative portrayal of women's roles in society (39%). Other reasons for the perceptions of women's portrayal in the media include the portrayals of women's participation (12%), women's rights (12%), and women's personal characteristics (12%), as well as because the media does not show women in their traditional roles (7%). Among those who think that the media portrays women positively, the most often-cited reason is the media's portrayal of women's roles in society (38%) followed by the portrayal of women's participation in society (17%), and the portrayal of their rights (15%). Among those who think the media portrays women negatively, the most oft-cited reason is because women are not portrayed in their traditional roles (31%), and because of the portrayal of their roles in general (26%).

Sociopolitical Involvement of Women: Most Armenians, both men and women, are of the opinion that it is more important for women to be involved in their

traditional roles in society than in roles not normally envisioned for women in Armenia (**Figure 22**).



Question 42: Women in Armenia are differently active in the following areas of social life. Please look at the list and tell me in which three areas you think it is most important for women to be involved? (n=1,606)

A majority of Armenians think that women should be involved in family life, education, and healthcare. About a quarter think that women should be involved in social welfare or culture. Less than one in ten Armenians think that women should be involved in government, business, or the military. There is little difference between men and women in these opinions. Women in Yerevan are more likely to stress the importance of women's involvement in national and local governance, as well as business than women in rural and other urban parts of the country. The pattern of responses to these questions indicates that women in Armenian society face societal pressures when trying to expand their roles into influential sectors such as business or government.

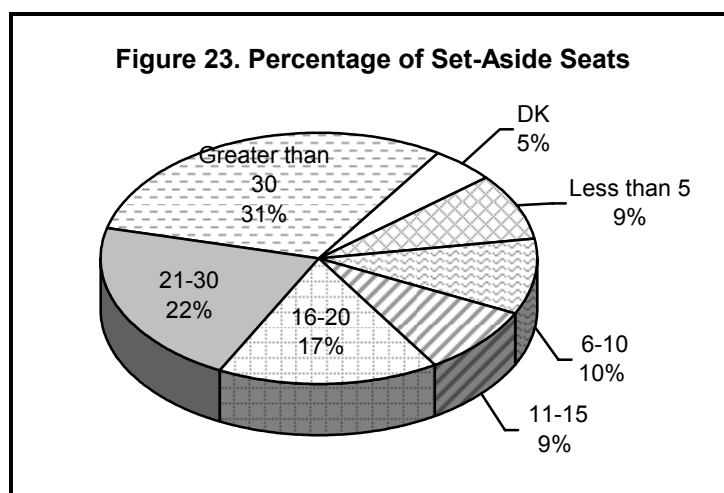
Women's Involvement in Politics: While the vast majority of Armenians do not think it important for women to play a role in national or local government, they are supportive of women participating in political events. More than three-quarters of Armenians (76%) disagree with the statement, "A woman should not be involved in political events." In this case, there is a small difference between men and women. Eighty-two percent of women disagree that women should not be involved in political events, and 18% agree. Seventy-one percent of men disagree with this statement while 25% agree.

Voting for Women Candidates: Given that more than 90% of Armenians do not think that it is important for women to be involved in government, it is somewhat surprising that 73% say that would be very or somewhat likely to vote for a woman political candidate if she was equally qualified as a man. Twenty-three percent say

they would be unlikely to vote for the woman. Women would be more likely to vote for a woman candidate than men (76% versus 68%). A majority of those who do not think it is important for women to be involved in local government (72%) or national government (71%) say it is very or somewhat likely that they would vote for a woman.

Set-Aside Seats for Women in Parliament: Another somewhat surprising finding is that many of those who do not think it is important for women to be involved in national or local government say that there should be seats set-aside for women in parliament. Overall, close to half of all Armenians (47%) support set-aside seats for women in parliament while 44% oppose them. This is a slight decrease from 2003 when 49% supported set-aside seats for women in parliament while 45% did not. Among those who do not think it is important for women to be involved in national politics, 47% support set-aside seats while 45% oppose them. Women are more likely to support set-aside seats than men (50%) versus 45%).

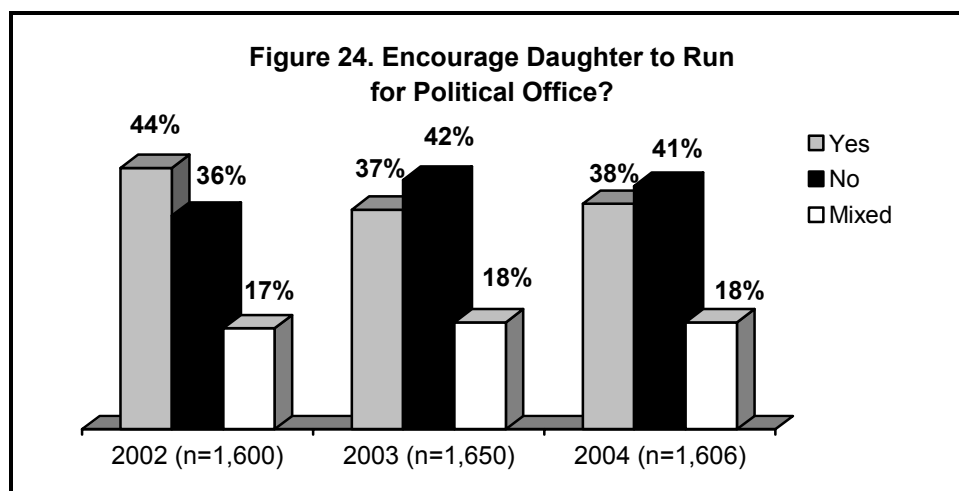
Among those who would set-aside seats for women, a majority would like to set aside more than 20 seats for women (**Figure 23**).



Question 44: What percentage of seats do you think should be set aside for women? (n=797)

Fifty-three percent of those who support set-aside seats would like 21 or more seats to be set aside in the National Assembly for women. Only 1% of these respondents would like 10 or fewer seats to be set aside. While a majority of women (58%) would like to set aside more than 20% of seats for women, 46% of men have the same opinion. Twenty-three percent of men would like ten percent or fewer seats set aside for women, compared to 16% of women.

Encouraging Daughters to Run for Office: Respondents on the survey were also asked whether they would encourage their daughters (whether they have one or imagining they have one) to run for political office. The percentage supporting or opposing this has remained relatively unchanged since the 2003 IFES survey (**Figure 24**).



Question 47: Would you encourage your daughter to run for political office? (n=1,606)

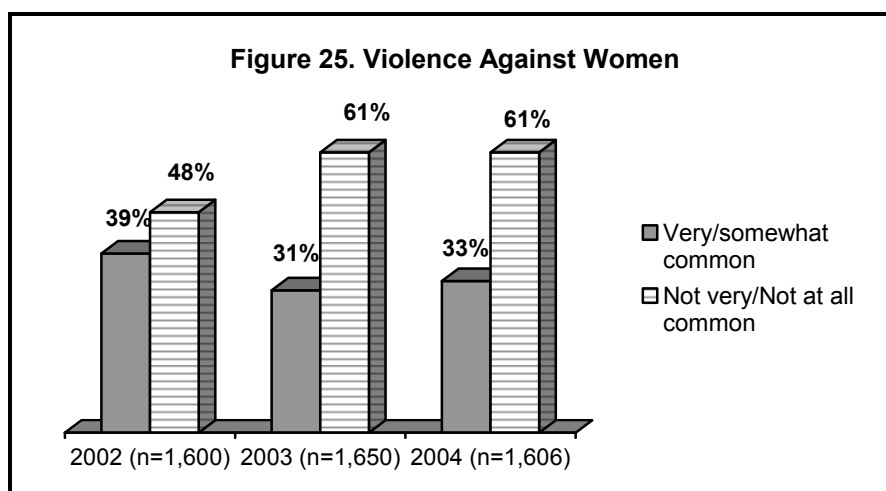
Opinions on this question are impacted by one's opinion on democracy in Armenia. Among those who think that Armenia is a democracy, 50% would encourage their daughters to run for political office while 29% would not. Among those who do not think Armenia is a democracy, 37% would encourage their daughters to run for office while 46% would not. A respondent's belief about the role of elections in fostering democracy also has an impact. Among those who agree that the 2003 elections show that Armenia is on a path to democracy, 42% would encourage their daughters to run for office and 33% would not. Among those who disagree, 37% would encourage their daughters to run for office, and 44% would not. In any of these cases, women are more likely to encourage their daughters to run for office than men.

Influence of Women in Soviet Times: Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "Under the Soviet system, women had much more influence in the decision-making process of Armenia." Overall, 31% of Armenians strongly or somewhat agree with this statement while 44% disagree with the statement. Twenty-five percent do not have an opinion. The percentage disagreeing with this statement has increased since the 2003 survey (37%). Age is a key factor in setting opinions on this statement. The older the respondent, the more likely he/she is to agree that women had more influence under the Soviet system. Fifty percent of those 18-25 are unable to offer an opinion on this issue. Among those aged 56 and above, a majority agrees that women had more influence in Soviet times. For all other age groups, more people disagree rather than agree with this statement.

A shift in women's responsibilities and roles since Soviet times is the primary reason cited by those who agree or disagree that women in Soviet times had more influence. Those who agree that women had more influence during Soviet times are more likely to say that this is because of a change in women's roles (29%) than those who disagree that women had more influence during Soviet times (17%). On

the other hand, those who disagree are more likely to say this is because of a change in women's responsibilities (44%) than those who agree (31%). Those who disagree that women had more influence in Soviet times are more likely to say that increased participation in sociopolitical affairs is the reason for their opinion (20%) than those who agree (8%).

Violence Against Women: Roughly the same percentage of Armenians as in the 2003 IFES survey say that domestic violence against women is very or somewhat common (33%), while the majority say that it is not common (61%). These figures maintain the positive trend seen from 2002 to 2003 (**Figure 25**).



Question 48: 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? (n=1,606)

As in previous surveys, women are more likely than men to think that domestic violence against women is common in Armenia (38% versus 27%). There is not much overall difference between residents of rural and urban areas on this question, but women in urban areas are relatively more likely than men to say that domestic violence is common (40% versus 26%) than in rural areas (35% versus 29%).

IX. YOUTH

Political Information and Interest: In the 2003 IFES survey in Armenia, there was little significant difference between youth and older adults in terms of information and interest in politics. In this year's survey, there is a clear pattern of greater political information and interest among those 26 and over than among those 18-25. This results from a combination of two factors: a decrease in knowledge and interest levels among youth combined with an increase among those 26 and older. Overall, 22% of youth say that they have knowledge of local government activities (27% in 2003) compared to 32% of older adults. Thirty-two percent of youth say that they are interested in local government activities (34% in 2003) compared to 40% of those 26 and above (37% in 2003). Finally, 37% of youth say they are interested in general political and government affairs (40% in 2003) compared to 48% who are interested among those 26 and older.

The decreased level of knowledge and interest among youth may suggest that for some younger adults in Armenia, political interest may have been raised by the elections in 2003 and fallen to a more natural level in this year's survey.

Despite the difference in knowledge and interest levels between youth and older adults, youth are not significantly less likely to know the method of attaining office for a mayor (89% correct 18-25, 91% 26 and older) and the *marzpet* (71% youth, 75% adults). Youth are also just as likely as adults to be aware of the name of their mayor (86% each) and their representative to the National Assembly (52% youth, 54% adults). Youth are less likely to be aware of their *marzpet* (53%) than adults (63%).

Civic Participation: Armenians aged 18-25 are less likely to participate in sociopolitical matters than older Armenians. When asked whether they have tried to address important local issues, 13% of those 18-25 report having done this as compared to 24% of those aged 26 and over. A quarter of those 26 and over (25%) report having contacted an elected official to help resolve a problem, compared to 14% of Armenians 18-25. A similar pattern is observed for contacting appointed officials with 7% of those 18-25 saying they had done so compared with 11% of older adults. Many younger Armenians who have not tried to address important issues or contacted elected and appointed officials say they have not taken these actions because there has not been a need to do so. On the positive side, youth are far less likely than adults to say they did not contact elected or appointed officials because it would have done no good.

Voting: There has been a substantial change in reported voting among youth in the 2003 elections between the 2003 and 2004 IFES surveys. In last year's survey, youth reported high levels of voting in the 2003 parliamentary elections (77%), the 1st round of the presidential elections (85%), and the 2nd round of this election (84%). By contrast, the reported levels of voting in this year's survey are 67%, 75%, and 75%, respectively. This finding is not unexpected, as respondents to surveys are much more likely to indicate that they voted immediately after an

election takes place, and much less likely to report having voted once some time has passed. Based on the data in this year's survey, youth are less likely to have voted in each of these elections than older Armenians.

Despite the lower rate of voting among youth as compared to older adults in Armenia, both groups do not differ in their assessment of the 2003 elections. Young Armenians are just as likely as those 26 and over to share concerns about the integrity of the elections that took place in 2003 as 70% of both those 18-25 and those 26 and older think that the 2003 elections were completely or somewhat unfair. Youth are a little more likely to have positive attitudes about the impact of these elections. Thirty-eight percent of youth, compared to 32% of adults, agree that the 2003 elections show that Armenia is progressing toward a full democracy. Still, a majority of youth (57%) disagree with this statement.

Despite the concerns about the 2003 elections, youth are slightly more likely to think that voting gives citizens influence over decision-making than adults (46% versus 38%). Fifty percent of youth disagree that voting gives citizens influence over decision-making. Youth are more pessimistic about the general influence of Armenians over the way things are run in Armenia. A majority of youth agree that ordinary people have little or no influence over the way things are run in Armenia (59%) while 38% disagree with this statement.

Gender Differences: The survey data show that there is little difference between men and women in the 18-25 group regarding information on local government activities. Twenty-two percent of women in this age group say that they have a great deal or fair amount of information about local government activities, as compared to 21% of men. This stands in contrast to the older women who are less likely to have information about local government activities (27%) than older men (39%).

As indicated earlier, older Armenians tend to have more interest in political affairs than those 18-25, but the survey data indicates that men gain more interest as they age than women, thus leading to an increase in the gender gap in political interest. Among those 18-25, 35% of women say they are very or somewhat interested in politics and government compared to 40% of men. Among older Armenians, 54% of men say they are interested compared to 44% of women.

As has been the case in IFES surveys in Armenia since 2001, the differences among older men and women in political interest and knowledge cannot be attributed to education, as the difference persists even when education is controlled for. This data seem to indicate that societal or other factors may play a role in limiting women's information about sociopolitical affairs as they get older.

One area where there is a significant gender gap between young men and women has to do with attitudes toward the role of women in society. Younger men are more likely to have conservative attitudes toward the role of women in society (when compared to their female counterparts) than is the case for older men (26

and above). While the majority of young men (63%) seem to think women should be involved in politics (i.e., they disagree with the statement that women should not be involved in politics), a significant minority of young men (32%) think women should stay out of politics (i.e., they agree with the statement). In contrast, 83% of young women disagree and 14% agree with the statement that women should not be involved in politics. Young men are also less likely (than young women) to say that it is important for women to be involved in business (2% versus 8%). Young women are less likely (than young men) to think that it is important for women to be involved in traditional roles in education and healthcare. Finally, a majority of young men (56%) say that they would not encourage their daughters, if they have one now or have one in the future, to seek political office. This compares to 41% of young women who would not encourage their daughters to do the same.

Difference Between Youth in Yerevan and Rest of Country: An analysis of the opinions of those 18-25 in Yerevan and other parts of the country reveals that young people in Yerevan are less likely to be informed about local government and personalities, less likely to be interested in politics, and less likely to engage in civic activism.

Twelve percent of youth in Yerevan say they have a great deal or fair amount of information about local government activities (19% in 2003), as compared to 26% of youth in other parts of the country (35% in 2003). While 93% of youth in other parts of the country can name their mayor and 54% can name their marzpet, the percentages among youth in Yerevan are 71% and 49%, respectively. Youth in Yerevan are less likely to be interested in local government activities (22%) and the general areas of politics and government (30%) than youth in other parts of the country (37% and 40%, respectively).

The lack of information and interest among youth in Yerevan results in decreased levels of civic activity when compared to youth in other parts of the country. Youth in other parts of the country are more likely to have voted in the 2003 parliamentary elections (72% versus 56% in Yerevan) and the 2nd round of the presidential elections (77% versus 69% in Yerevan).

X. CONCLUSION

The 2004 IFES survey in Armenia demonstrates that the controversial 2003 presidential and parliamentary elections have had a lingering and decidedly negative impact on Armenian citizens' opinions and attitudes toward political affairs in the country. This negative impact has resulted in the deepening of a pattern remarked upon in the report on the 2003 IFES survey in Armenia,¹ the gradual disengagement of Armenians from politics and the political process in the country. There is further evidence for this disengagement in the 2004 survey: for the first time in the four IFES surveys conducted since 2001, a majority of Armenians say they are not interested in matters of politics and governance. It is also evidenced by the low levels of voter and political efficacy among Armenians, the general lack of civic participation beyond informal discussions about national and local political affairs, and the relative lack of contact with elected and appointed officials at the local level.

A critical finding from the survey is that the elections in 2003 have not served as a panacea for a democratization process that is seriously flawed in other respects. Most Armenians see the 2003 presidential and parliamentary elections as having been unfair events that did not put Armenia on the path toward full democracy. The majority of Armenians do not, in fact, think that Armenia is a democracy, and this reality is further accentuated by the fact that only a minority of Armenians think that ordinary citizens can influence political events and decision-making in the country. This lack of political efficacy combines with the majority's lack of trust in many official institutions and personalities to create a situation where little interaction takes place between the governed and those who govern them. Added to these sociopolitical ills is the bleak economic situation that not only exacerbates popular grievances against the ruling authorities but also leads to cleavages in society primarily driven by economic circumstance.

Armenia's post-independence history (since 1991) has been characterized by an economic climate noted for its poverty (more than half the population lived under the poverty line in 2001) and extreme inequality in incomes. This economic climate is reflected in the IFES survey data as more than a third of Armenians describe the national economic situation as bad or very bad, and a similar percentage characterize their family's financial situation as poor or modest. As indicated in the survey findings, there is a significant difference in outlook between those who few consider the economic situation to be good and the majority who think it is bad. The former tend to have more confidence than the latter in official institutions, are more likely to think that Armenia is a democracy, display greater political efficacy, and are more likely to think that the 2003 elections were fair. Another area in which opinions between these two groups differ is in their evaluation of the justice system in Armenia, with those well-off having a more positive opinion of these institutions than those less fortunate.

¹ *Citizens' Awareness and Participation in Armenia, Survey 2003* (IFES, August 2004).

Armenians generally have low regard for institutions of justice in the country and a majority do not think that the justice system protects them from unjust treatment, would acquit them if they were wrongly accused, or that it is free of pressure from political leaders. Stable democracies are built upon a foundation of laws that ensures equality under these laws for all members of society. The fact that most Armenians do not see their institutions of justice performing this role, and the further disparity of opinion grounded in economic circumstance, points to the need to strengthen the rule of law in Armenia. One area in which these efforts should be focused is in fighting official corruption. The survey findings show that the vast majority of Armenians believe official corruption to be widespread and more than eight in ten Armenians think that their countrymen or women accept corruption as a fact of life. Even though far fewer Armenians report actual experience with corrupt officials, the widely-held perceptions of corruption have a negative impact on measures of trust in official institutions and in rates of contact with local officials as well as general civic activism among the population. The survey findings suggest that one way to increase confidence in institutions, citizen interaction with public officials, and observance of the rule of law may be to counter official corruption in a public manner.

The findings of IFES' surveys in Armenia from 2001 to the present have consistently shown that women face significant societal barriers in entering nontraditional arenas such as business, the military, or political leadership. One indication of these barriers is that fact that while young men and women (18-25) do not display large differences in their interest in and knowledge of political affairs, this difference increases for older men and women. The traditional role of homemaker assigned to Armenian women may play a large part in restricting women's access to nontraditional roles. Education and training can help women to move beyond these societal restrictions and secure a more substantial role in Armenian society.

Given the setbacks to democratization inflicted by the 2003 elections in Armenia, it is critical that the next generation of Armenians play a part in the rejuvenation of democracy in Armenia. The survey findings show that youth in Armenia (18-25) are generally less likely to be interested or take part in sociopolitical activities. They have also suffered from increasing political disengagement in the past two years. For democracy to prosper in Armenia, it is essential that young Armenians be provided the resources and knowledge needed to broaden their participation and engagement in the democratization process in their country.

XI. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. METHODOLOGICAL SUMMARY

The 2004 IFES survey in Armenia was conducted between August 4 and 19, 2004. The fieldwork and data processing for this survey were implemented by Sociometr a survey organization based in Yerevan. In total, 1,606 respondents were interviewed for the survey. Of these interviews, 1,006 interviews comprised the national sample proportional by the population distribution in each marz as well as the rural/urban split in each marz. An additional 600 over-sample interviews were conducted in select locations in Armenia in which IFES implements its civic education programming. The 1,606 responses were weighted according to marz and rural/urban population breakdown for the national level analysis conducted in this report. A breakdown of national sample and over-sample interviews for each marz is presented in **Table 1**.

Table 1. Sample Description

	National Sample	Over-Sample	Total Interviews
Aragatsotn	31	48	79
Ararat	84	-	84
Armavir	68	62	130
Gegharkunik	73	61	134
Lori	85	71	156
Kotayk	71	60	131
Shirak	95	59	154
Syunik	49	48	97
Vajots Dzor	47	-	47
Tavush	60	-	60
Yerevan	343	191	534
TOTAL	1,006	600	1,606

The margin of error for a sample of n=1,606 at a 95% level of confidence is plus or minus 2.4%.

In the achieved sample, 51% of interviewees were female and 49% were male. Given data on emigration of large numbers of Armenian males and based on estimates of male/female proportionality by other organizations, the final sample was weighted to reflect a male/female distribution of 45/55.

The average time per interview was 28 minutes, with a minimum of 15 minutes and a maximum of 85 minutes. Response rate for the survey was 83%.

APPENDIX 2. TOPLINE DATA

1. Please tell me how much information you have about the activities of your local government (local government – *Mayor of city/ Mayor of village / Yerevan taghapet*). Would you say you have a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or no information at all? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
A great deal	1.7%	6.9%	6.9%	5.1%	5.9%
A fair amount	19.7%	25.4%	28.4%	21.2%	24.4%
Not very much	32.3%	31.0%	32.5%	30.2%	31.3%
None at all	42.5%	35.5%	30.7%	41.7%	36.8%
Don't know	2.7%	1.0%	1.0%	1.5%	1.2%
No answer	1.0%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

2. From which sources do you get information about the activities of your local government, in general? (Multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "A great deal," "A fair amount," or "Not very much" to Q1; n = 989)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Television	35.8%	40.0%	35.7%	42.9%	39.3%
Radio	6.9%	6.7%	6.9%	6.6%	6.8%
Newspapers	8.9%	11.0%	11.0%	10.4%	10.7%
Public officials	3.8%	7.3%	7.8%	5.8%	6.8%
NGOs	3.1%	1.1%	1.4%	1.2%	1.3%
Relatives, friends	57.9%	52.7%	56.0%	51.1%	53.5%
Personal contacts [<i>Volunteered response</i>]	3.8%	10.2%	11.0%	7.4%	9.2%
Work place [<i>Volunteered response</i>]	1.3%	3.2%	2.9%	2.8%	2.8%
Meetings, public gatherings [<i>Volunteered response</i>]	0.6%	1.4%	1.4%	1.4%	1.4%
Conversations [<i>Volunteered response</i>]	0.0%	2.0%	1.6%	1.8%	1.7%
Official bodies [<i>Volunteered response</i>]	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
I received no information about them	0.6%	0.4%	0.2%	0.6%	0.4%
Don't know	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%

3. And how interested are you in the activities of your local government (local government – *Mayor of city / Mayor of village / Yerevan taghapet*)? Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested, somewhat uninterested, or very uninterested? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very interested	3.1%	8.6%	9.8%	5.9%	7.6%
Somewhat interested	28.9%	31.0%	31.5%	29.7%	30.5%
Somewhat uninterested	33.0%	34.8%	34.7%	34.4%	34.5%

Very uninterested	33.7%	23.9%	22.5%	28.2%	25.7%
Don't know	0.3%	0.9%	0.6%	1.0%	0.8%
No answer	1.0%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
Total	100.0	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4. Besides economic conditions, there are other important issues that local authorities in Armenia must address. Which issues do you feel are most important for your local government authorities to address? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Agriculture activities	0.8%	5.0%	4.4%	4.1%	4.2%
Community infrastructure improvements	23.2%	29.4%	28.5%	28.1%	28.3%
Economic issues	8.0%	6.2%	6.4%	6.7%	6.6%
Education, sport, cultural issues, youth and leisure	25.8%	20.3%	16.5%	25.2%	21.3%
Health care system	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%	0.7%	0.4%
Human and other rights issues	4.3%	2.7%	2.9%	3.1%	3.0%
Issues of sanitation and hygiene, ecological issues	1.8%	4.0%	3.0%	4.0%	3.6%
Personal, family issues	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Public utilities and services	14.0%	20.1%	17.3%	20.4%	19.0%
Realty (apartment), private land issues	0.0%	0.9%	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%
Social issues	10.2%	12.0%	12.8%	10.7%	11.7%
No answer	30.0%	22.9%	28.6%	25.5%	26.1%

5. Have you ever made efforts to address these issues to your local government authorities? (Asked of those who named an issue in Q4; n = 1,184)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Yes	12.5%	23.6%	24.2%	19.7%	21.6%
No	84.6%	73.6%	72.6%	77.8%	75.6%
No answer	2.9%	2.8%	3.2%	2.5%	2.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

6. What kind of actions have you taken? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q5; n = 252)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Wrote a petition	54.6%	64.2%	59.0%	67.2%	63.2%
Applied orally	48.9%	39.2%	43.3%	37.2%	40.2%
Through relatives and friends	0.0%	2.7%	2.3%	2.6%	2.4%

7. Why haven't you participated in efforts to address these issues? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "No" to Q5; n = 830)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Did not have a problem/ there was no need	17.4%	12.1%	12.8%	13.4%	13.1%
It is senseless, it will do no good	30.6%	45.5%	44.4%	41.3%	42.6%
No one is interested with my opinion	7.2%	8.3%	8.1%	8.1%	8.1%
We can solve these issues by our own means	1.8%	1.0%	1.3%	1.1%	1.2%
Had no opportunity	26.5%	19.5%	19.4%	21.9%	20.9%
Did not think about it/ don't know how to apply	9.8%	9.6%	8.5%	10.4%	9.6%
It is their responsibility to find out what issues we have	7.9%	7.1%	7.9%	6.9%	7.3%
Don't know	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%

8. How well informed are you about your community's budget and how the funds are spent? Are you well informed, somewhat informed, not well informed, not at all informed? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Well informed	0.0%	3.7%	4.6%	1.8%	3.1%
Somewhat informed	3.8%	5.3%	6.9%	3.5%	5.0%
Not well informed	3.1%	5.0%	4.4%	4.8%	4.6%
Not at all informed	89.8%	81.8%	79.8%	86.1%	83.2%
Don't know	2.7%	3.3%	3.6%	2.8%	3.2%
No answer	0.7%	0.8%	0.7%	1.0%	0.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

9. In your opinion, who should decide how the local budget is used? (Asked of those who responded "Well informed," "Somewhat informed" or "Not well informed" to Q8; n = 197)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
President of the country	10.0%	0.6%	1.8%	1.2%	1.5%
National Assembly	10.0%	3.4%	4.5%	3.5%	4.1%
Ministry of Finance	0.0%	2.8%	3.6%	1.2%	2.5%
Local self-governing bodies (Yerevan taghapeteran, City Administration, Community Council)	35.0%	59.6%	58.9%	55.3%	57.4%
Mayor, the village leader	25.0%	15.2%	15.2%	17.6%	16.2%
Community residents	20.0%	12.9%	12.5%	14.1%	13.2%
Person with high moral characteristics	0.0%	2.8%	1.8%	3.5%	2.5%
Public or official body	0.0%	2.2%	1.8%	2.4%	2.0%
Don't know	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	1.2%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

10. I will now read out the names and show you the covers of three publications. Can you tell me

whether you have read or heard of these publications?

10.A Law on LSG Question and Answers: A Guide for Community Residents (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Have read it	1.7%	3.6%	4.7%	2.0%	3.2%
Have heard of it	3.8%	3.7%	4.1%	3.3%	3.7%
Neither	87.4%	82.1%	80.6%	84.9%	83.0%
Don't know	5.5%	9.1%	8.9%	8.2%	8.5%
No answer	1.7%	1.6%	1.7%	1.6%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

10.B Citizen's Guide to _____* Marz Governance (n = 1,099)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Have read it	1.4%	2.7%	3.2%	2.0%	2.5%
Have heard of it	1.9%	1.9%	2.0%	1.9%	1.9%
Neither	83.5%	78.1%	80.0%	78.3%	79.1%
Don't know	5.2%	5.9%	5.1%	6.2%	5.7%
No answer	8.0%	11.4%	9.7%	11.6%	10.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Marz was specified where interview was taking place.

10.C Multi-Apartment Building Management: How-to for Citizens (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Have read it	0.3%	1.6%	1.9%	0.8%	1.3%
Have heard of it	1.4%	2.6%	2.9%	1.9%	2.4%
Neither	89.8%	83.4%	83.4%	85.8%	84.7%
Don't know	6.8%	9.2%	9.0%	8.6%	8.8%
No answer	1.7%	3.1%	2.8%	2.8%	2.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

11. Can you tell me if you have voted in the following elections?

11.A 2002 October, local elections in your community (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Voted	51.4%	77.4%	71.6%	73.5%	72.6%
Did not vote	30.6%	20.2%	23.5%	21.0%	22.1%
Not old enough to vote*	15.0%	0.5%	2.6%	3.5%	3.1%
Election not held in community	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
<i>[Volunteered response]</i>					
Don't know	2.0%	1.2%	1.4%	1.2%	1.3%
No answer	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Respondents may not have been old enough to vote at the time of the elections.

11.B 2003 May, parliamentary elections (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Voted	66.7%	80.9%	78.7%	77.9%	78.3%
Did not vote	21.8%	17.9%	18.4%	18.8%	18.6%
Not old enough to vote*	11.6%	0.4%	2.2%	2.6%	2.4%
Don't know	0.0%	0.6%	0.4%	0.6%	0.5%
No answer	0.0%	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Respondents may not have been old enough to vote at the time of the elections.

11.C 2003 February, first round of presidential elections (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Voted	74.7%	87.6%	85.4%	85.1%	85.2%
Did not vote	12.6%	11.7%	11.9%	11.9%	11.9%
Not old enough to vote	12.3%	0.3%	2.4%	2.6%	2.5%
Don't know	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%
No answer	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

11.D 2003 March, second round of presidential elections (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Voted	74.1%	86.2%	84.1%	83.8%	83.9%
Did not vote	13.6%	13.1%	13.2%	13.2%	13.2%
Not old enough to vote*	12.2%	0.5%	2.4%	2.8%	2.6%
Don't know	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
No answer	0.0%	0.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Respondents may not have been old enough to vote at the time of the elections.

12. Do you think the 2003 parliamentary elections in Armenia were fair or not? Do you think that these elections were completely fair, somewhat fair, not very fair, or not fair at all? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely fair	4.1%	5.3%	4.7%	5.4%	5.1%
Somewhat fair	18.8%	16.9%	17.7%	16.9%	17.3%
Not very fair	24.3%	24.2%	22.0%	26.1%	24.2%
Not fair at all	41.8%	44.6%	45.9%	42.6%	44.1%
Don't know	9.2%	7.9%	7.9%	8.3%	8.1%
No answer	1.7%	1.1%	1.8%	0.7%	1.2%

Total **100.0%** **100.0%** **100.0%** **100.0%** **100.0%**

13. What about the 2003 presidential elections? Do you think that these elections were completely fair, somewhat fair, not very fair, or not fair at all? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely fair	5.4%	5.6%	6.1%	5.2%	5.6%
Somewhat fair	19.0%	17.9%	17.2%	18.9%	18.1%
Not very fair	23.7%	21.7%	20.6%	23.3%	22.1%
Not fair at all	44.4%	47.0%	47.8%	45.5%	46.5%
Don't know	5.8%	6.5%	6.5%	6.2%	6.4%
No answer	1.7%	1.2%	1.8%	0.9%	1.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

14. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The 2003 presidential and parliamentary elections show that Armenia is progressing toward adopting the practices of a fully democratic state." (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	5.1%	5.3%	5.7%	5.0%	5.3%
Somewhat agree	32.8%	26.2%	27.5%	27.3%	27.4%
Somewhat disagree	22.9%	21.1%	19.3%	23.1%	21.4%
Completely disagree	33.8%	40.6%	40.5%	38.4%	39.3%
Don't know	4.4%	5.0%	5.8%	4.2%	4.9%
No answer	1.0%	1.8%	1.2%	2.0%	1.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

15. Would you say that Armenia is currently a democracy or not a democracy? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Democracy	13.3%	12.0%	11.3%	13.0%	12.3%
Not a democracy	48.8%	53.1%	54.4%	50.6%	52.3%
Both [<i>Volunteered response</i>]	34.5%	30.7%	30.3%	32.2%	31.3%
Don't know	3.1%	3.7%	3.2%	3.8%	3.5%
No answer	0.3%	0.5%	0.8%	0.3%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16. Please look at this list and tell me if you have taken part in these activities in the last year and approximately how many cases can you remember, more than ten times, 6-10 times, 2-5 times, just once, or if you have not taken part at all?

- 16.A Discussed developments on the national scene with acquaintances (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
More than 10 times	17.4%	26.5%	28.2%	22.1%	24.8%

6-10 times	12.6%	14.6%	15.6%	13.1%	14.3%
2-5 times	29.4%	28.4%	28.4%	28.5%	28.5%
Once	7.2%	7.4%	6.2%	8.3%	7.3%
Never	31.7%	22.3%	20.5%	27.0%	24.0%
No answer	1.7%	0.8%	1.1%	1.0%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16.B Discussed developments in your community with acquaintances (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
More than 10 times	12.3%	19.5%	20.6%	16.2%	18.2%
6-10 times	7.5%	12.6%	13.1%	10.5%	11.7%
2-5 times	23.2%	21.7%	24.6%	19.9%	22.0%
Once	11.6%	7.8%	8.3%	8.6%	8.5%
Never	43.7%	37.3%	32.4%	43.5%	38.5%
No answer	1.7%	1.1%	1.0%	1.2%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16.C Took part in public demonstrations (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
More than 10 times	1.7%	4.6%	5.8%	2.8%	4.2%
6-10 times	1.7%	4.7%	4.4%	4.0%	4.2%
2-5 times	8.5%	9.7%	9.7%	9.2%	9.4%
Once	3.4%	4.4%	5.1%	3.6%	4.3%
Never	83.3%	74.9%	73.7%	78.7%	76.4%
No answer	1.4%	1.6%	1.2%	1.7%	1.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16.D Signed a petition (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
More than 10 times	1.0%	1.2%	1.9%	0.6%	1.2%
6-10 times	0.7%	2.0%	2.2%	1.2%	1.7%
2-5 times	4.8%	6.4%	8.4%	4.3%	6.2%
Once	12.2%	11.4%	10.2%	12.6%	11.5%
Never	78.6%	77.1%	74.8%	79.5%	77.4%
No answer	2.7%	1.9%	2.4%	1.8%	2.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16.E Attended condominium association meeting (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
More than 10 times	0.0%	1.4%	1.8%	0.6%	1.1%
6-10 times	0.0%	1.5%	1.4%	1.1%	1.2%

2-5 times	1.0%	2.2%	2.8%	1.4%	2.0%
Once	2.7%	2.2%	2.8%	2.0%	2.4%
Never	93.2%	89.6%	87.8%	92.1%	90.2%
No answer	3.1%	3.1%	3.5%	2.8%	3.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16.F Attended community council meeting (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
More than 10 times	0.0%	2.3%	2.8%	1.0%	1.8%
6-10 times	0.0%	1.2%	1.4%	0.7%	1.0%
2-5 times	1.4%	3.0%	3.9%	1.7%	2.7%
Once	2.4%	2.6%	2.9%	2.3%	2.6%
Never	94.6%	89.1%	87.1%	92.8%	90.2%
No answer	1.7%	1.8%	1.9%	1.6%	1.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16.G Took part in an initiative to address a community concern or problem (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
More than 10 times	0.3%	1.8%	2.4%	0.9%	1.6%
6-10 times	0.0%	2.1%	2.6%	1.0%	1.7%
2-5 times	2.0%	4.0%	5.3%	2.4%	3.7%
Once	2.4%	4.3%	4.0%	3.7%	3.9%
Never	92.8%	85.9%	83.8%	90.0%	87.2%
No answer	2.4%	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

17. During the past year have you ever been part of a group organized to discuss issues of importance for your community or the nation? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Yes	6.1%	5.9%	7.8%	4.4%	5.9%
No	91.5%	91.1%	90.0%	92.0%	91.1%
Don't know	0.3%	0.8%	0.4%	0.9%	0.7%
No answer	2.0%	2.3%	1.8%	2.7%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

18. Who formed this group? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q17; n = 85)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Local governing and other official bodies	27.2%	71.3%	64.3%	62.0%	63.4%
Political parties	32.5%	18.4%	17.3%	26.5%	20.9%

Local NGOs	32.6%	5.9%	12.2%	8.3%	10.7%
International organizations	7.7%	5.6%	5.7%	6.4%	6.0%
Don't know	0.0%	1.2%	1.6%	0.0%	1.0%

19. Can you please tell me if the following positions are elected or appointed?

19.A Mayor (for Yerevan, Yerevan taghapet; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Elected *	88.8%	91.2%	93.1%	89.0%	90.8%
Appointed	7.5%	6.3%	4.8%	7.8%	6.5%
Don't know	3.7%	2.5%	2.1%	3.2%	2.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Correct response

19.B Marzpet (for Yerevan, Yerevan Mayor; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Elected	14.3%	14.3%	12.2%	16.0%	14.3%
Appointed *	70.7%	74.8%	79.4%	69.8%	74.1%
Don't know	15.0%	10.9%	8.4%	14.3%	11.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Correct response

20. If you had a serious problem, which of these, if any, would you first try to contact regarding this? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
<u>Elected Officials</u>					
Community Council Member	4.8%	2.5%	3.0%	2.8%	2.9%
Community Leader/ Mayor	47.3%	39.3%	38.0%	43.3%	40.9%
Parliament Member	10.2%	7.0%	7.2%	7.9%	7.6%
President	6.8%	7.9%	6.0%	8.9%	7.6%
Other elected official	0.0%	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Nobody	31.0%	42.0%	44.6%	36.1%	39.9%
No answer	0.0%	0.6%	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%
<u>Appointed Officials</u>					
Marzpet	27.9%	21.2%	20.7%	23.9%	22.5%
Prime Minister	6.1%	2.5%	2.2%	4.0%	3.2%
Other Ministers	6.1%	4.0%	4.0%	4.5%	4.3%
Other appointed officials	0.3%	1.5%	1.2%	1.4%	1.3%
Nobody	56.8%	66.4%	67.1%	62.8%	64.7%
No answer	2.7%	4.3%	4.7%	3.5%	4.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

21. Why would you contact this official first? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of

those who selected an official in Q20)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
<u>Elected Officials</u> (n = 896)					
That official is responsible for that issues	11.4%	16.2%	14.5%	15.6%	15.2%
The official is accessible	25.0%	17.0%	19.1%	18.4%	18.7%
The official has enough power/ authority	22.5%	23.1%	21.4%	24.2%	23.0%
Trust in that official, they work well	20.3%	22.9%	21.9%	22.7%	22.4%
The official is well informed	0.5%	2.7%	2.0%	2.4%	2.2%
Personal connections	8.7%	6.9%	10.4%	5.0%	7.3%
Scaling, I'll begin from lower and go to upper instance	8.2%	7.7%	6.7%	8.5%	7.8%
The official is highly respected among people (is popular)	0.5%	0.9%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
He's the only we have elected	4.1%	6.0%	6.3%	5.0%	5.6%
The official has high personal, moral characteristics	4.3%	4.5%	4.0%	4.8%	4.5%
<u>Appointed Officials</u> (n = 567)					
That official is responsible for that issue	14.3%	10.0%	11.2%	10.7%	10.9%
The official is accessible	17.3%	15.6%	15.2%	16.6%	16.0%
The official has enough power/ authority	22.5%	23.4%	2.9%	23.4%	23.2%
Trust in that official, they work well	11.2%	12.8%	9.7%	14.5%	12.5%
The official is well informed	1.8%	0.8%	0.6%	1.3%	1.0%
Personal connections	3.9%	3.9%	5.9%	2.5%	3.9%
Scaling, I'll begin from lower and go to upper instance	14.1%	12.1%	10.0%	14.3%	12.5%
The official is highly respected among people (popular)	2.4%	0.2%	0.8%	0.6%	0.7%
The official has high personal, moral characteristics	0.6%	2.7%	2.6%	2.0%	2.2%

22. Have you ever contacted any elected official before to help solve a problem? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Yes	13.7%	24.8%	24.5%	21.3%	22.7%
No	85.3%	74.7%	75.0%	78.0%	76.7%
No answer	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%	0.7%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

23. Why haven't you ever contacted an elected official before? (Multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "No" to Q22; n = 1,222)

Age **Gender**

	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Did not have a problem/ there was no need	52.5%	33.1%	35.5%	38.2%	37.0%
It was not important enough	16.1%	16.2%	14.9%	17.2%	16.2%
Did not think of this	8.6%	5.1%	6.4%	5.4%	5.8%
Did not know how to contact	1.2%	1.4%	1.7%	1.2%	1.4%
Too busy/ too difficult	1.2%	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%	1.2%
It would have done no good	21.3%	42.2%	39.6%	36.6%	38.0%
I try to solve my problems myself	0.4%	1.2%	1.6%	0.7%	1.1%
Don't know	0.4%	0.6%	0.8%	0.4%	0.6%

24. What level of elected official did you contact? (Asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q22; n = 365)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Community Council Member	12.5%	3.7%	3.4%	5.8%	4.7%
Community Leader/ Mayor	75.0%	76.0%	72.7%	78.8%	75.9%
National Assembly Member	7.5%	12.6%	17.6%	7.4%	12.3%
President	0.0%	4.0%	2.8%	3.7%	3.3%
Other elected officials	5.0%	2.8%	2.3%	3.7%	3.0%
Not elected official	0.0%	0.9%	1.1%	0.5%	0.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

25. Did this elected official respond to you? (Asked of those who responded to Q24; n = 358)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	87.5%	89.3%	90.2%	88.6%	89.4%
No	12.5%	10.7%	9.8%	11.4%	10.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

26. How satisfied were you with the response of the elected official? Were you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, not at all satisfied? (Asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q25; n = 321)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Very satisfied	42.9%	40.1%	45.2%	36.0%	40.5%
Somewhat satisfied	34.3%	23.9%	25.5%	24.4%	24.9%
Somewhat dissatisfied	2.9%	6.7%	5.7%	6.7%	6.2%
Very dissatisfied	20.0%	29.2%	23.6%	32.9%	28.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

27. What issue or problem did you contact this elected official about? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; n = 365)

Age	Gender

	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Personal, family issues	28.7%	15.9%	20.8%	14.0%	17.3%
Employment, salary, pension	17.3%	19.3%	14.7%	23.1%	19.0%
Social welfare, culture and education	22.2%	17.3%	17.7%	17.9%	17.8%
Public utilities and services	10.8%	19.8%	18.1%	19.6%	18.9%
Realty (apartment), private land issues	18.6%	25.4%	28.6%	21.0%	24.7%
Community infrastructure improvements	7.9%	12.6%	11.0%	13.1%	12.1%

28. Have you ever contacted an appointed official before to help solve a problem? (n = 1,588)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	6.6%	11.0%	12.1%	8.7%	10.2%
No	93.4%	89.0%	87.9%	91.3%	89.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

29. Why haven't you ever contacted an appointed official before? (Multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "No" to Q28; n = 1,415)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Did not have a problem/ there was no need	56.3%	35.6%	36.6%	41.8%	39.5%
It was not important enough	15.5%	13.9%	15.3%	13.3%	14.2%
Did not think of this	5.7%	6.3%	4.6%	7.5%	6.2%
Did not know how to	1.4%	1.6%	1.2%	1.9%	1.6%
Too busy/ too difficult	0.8%	1.0%	0.8%	1.1%	0.9%
It would have done no good	22.2%	41.8%	41.3%	35.7%	38.2%
I try to solve my problems myself	0.0%	0.4%	0.6%	0.1%	0.3%
Don't know	0.4%	0.8%	1.3%	0.2%	0.7%

30. What level of appointed official did you contact? (Asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q28; n = 162)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yerevan Mayor/ Marzpet	25.0%	39.6%	44.2%	31.6%	38.3%
Prime Minister	5.0%	8.3%	7.0%	9.2%	8.0%
Other Ministers	35.0%	25.0%	22.1%	30.3%	25.9%
Other appointed officials	30.0%	24.3%	23.3%	26.3%	24.7%
Not appointed official	5.0%	2.8%	3.5%	2.6%	3.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

31. Did this appointed official respond to you? (Asked of those who responded to Q30; n = 157)

Age	Gender
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	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	77.8%	88.6%	86.7%	89.2%	87.9%
No	22.2%	11.4%	13.3%	10.8%	12.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

32. How satisfied were you with the response of the appointed official? Were you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, not at all satisfied? (Asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q31; n = 137)

	<u>Age</u>		<u>Gender</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very satisfied	50.0%	27.6%	38.9%	20.0%	29.9%
Somewhat satisfied	21.4%	25.2%	29.2%	20.0%	24.8%
Somewhat dissatisfied	7.1%	8.9%	8.3%	9.2%	8.8%
Very dissatisfied	21.4%	38.2%	23.6%	50.8%	36.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

33. What issue or problem did you contact this appointed official about? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; n = 137)

	<u>Age</u>		<u>Gender</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Personal, family issues	0.0%	12.8%	14.5%	7.8%	11.4%
Employment, salary, pension	16.8%	33.3%	33.5%	29.3%	31.5%
Social welfare, culture and education	38.2%	23.4%	23.1%	27.2%	25.0%
Public utilities and services	6.8%	8.7%	5.2%	12.2%	8.5%
Realty (apartment), private land issues	31.6%	20.8%	22.4%	21.4%	21.9%
Community infrastructure improvements	12.7%	2.6%	3.8%	3.7%	3.7%

34. Can you tell me the surnames and names of the following public officials

- 34.A Mayor of city (for Yerevan, taghapet; n = 1,606)

	<u>Age</u>		<u>Gender</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Correct	86.4%	85.6%	87.0%	84.8%	85.8%
Incorrect	2.7%	3.1%	2.5%	3.4%	3.0%
Don't know	10.9%	10.8%	9.8%	11.7%	10.8%
No answer	0.0%	0.5%	0.7%	0.1%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- 34.B Marzpet (for Yerevan, Yerevan Mayor; n = 1,606)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Gender</u>

	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Correct	52.0%	62.6%	66.0%	56.4%	60.7%
Incorrect	3.4%	3.4%	3.3%	3.4%	3.4%
Don't know	43.5%	33.2%	29.7%	39.5%	35.1%
No answer	1.0%	0.8%	1.0%	0.7%	0.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

34.C Your representative to the National Assembly (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Correct	51.2%	53.4%	57.3%	49.4%	53.0%
Incorrect	7.2%	8.3%	7.9%	8.3%	8.1%
Don't know	40.6%	37.2%	33.5%	41.4%	37.9%
No answer	1.0%	1.1%	1.2%	0.9%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

35. How often do you watch media coverage of the National Assembly on television? Do you watch this once a week, twice a week, more than twice a week, occasionally, or very seldom? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
More than twice a week	1.7%	5.3%	5.0%	4.5%	4.7%
Twice a week	2.7%	4.6%	5.7%	3.1%	4.2%
Once a week	9.6%	14.4%	15.4%	12.0%	13.5%
Occasionally	22.9%	30.6%	30.8%	27.9%	29.2%
Very seldom	23.5%	17.9%	16.4%	21.0%	18.9%
Never	37.9%	26.1%	25.8%	30.2%	28.2%
Other	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
Don't know	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%	0.5%	0.3%
No answer	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

36. You may know that sometimes public officials contact citizens to get their views on important issues. What methods do you think public officials should use to contact ordinary citizens? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Meeting with people, direct contacts	67.3%	75.4%	71.0%	76.3%	73.9%
Questionnaires, surveys	7.5%	4.9%	5.5%	5.3%	5.4%
Letters, via Internet, or by telephone	5.8%	7.2%	6.3%	7.5%	7.0%
Reception days	4.0%	3.9%	2.9%	4.7%	3.9%
Hotline, by TV	6.3%	3.9%	4.6%	4.2%	4.4%
Other	5.0%	7.0%	8.3%	5.2%	6.7%
Don't know	16.8%	13.5%	13.8%	14.3%	14.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

37. Have you ever considered approaching any organization to help solve a problem that you had? If yes, what organization have you considered approaching? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Yes	6.8%	7.2%	8.0%	6.4%	7.2%
No	90.5%	89.2%	88.8%	89.9%	89.4%
Don't know	0.3%	1.4%	1.0%	1.4%	1.2%
No answer	2.4%	2.2%	2.2%	2.3%	2.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

38A. Suppose your community undertook volunteer action or projects for the community? Which of the following projects would you be likely to volunteer for? (No more than three responses allowed; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Cleaning the streets in the community	27.2%	45.5%	41.4%	42.8%	42.2%
Repairing a children's playgrounds in the community	45.6%	51.2%	52.7%	48.1%	50.2%
Taking care of elderly patients at a hospital in the community	18.0%	17.5%	12.3%	22.0%	17.6%
Repairing damage to neighbor's houses due to an earthquake	6.8%	7.9%	10.7%	5.2%	7.7%
Starting a student-run newspaper in the secondary school in the community	8.5%	6.6%	3.6%	9.6%	6.9%
Organizing a street fair	18.7%	9.5%	9.3%	12.6%	11.1%
Paying a football match with a team from the neighboring community	18.8%	7.2%	17.6%	2.6%	9.3%
Arranging a music concert	25.9%	11.5%	10.9%	16.8%	14.1%
Starting a small computer center in the community	18.7%	11.5%	10.5%	14.6%	12.8%
Organizing a job-training program	7.5%	6.9%	5.8%	8.0%	7.0%
Other	0.7%	2.0%	1.7%	1.8%	1.7%
No desire to volunteer	3.8%	4.9%	5.3%	4.3%	4.7%

38B. Are there any types of projects for which you would be likely to volunteer or become involved in your community? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Leisure planning	9.4%	9.4%	5.9%	6.2%	6.1%
Charity	1.1%	1.1%	2.2%	2.2%	2.2%
Street/ yard (re)construction	1.8%	1.8%	2.9%	1.6%	2.2%
Communal issues	0.7%	0.7%	4.0%	0.9%	2.3%
Other	7.2%	7.2%	7.3%	7.8%	7.6%
Nothing (no desire)	4.8%	4.8%	4.4%	5.9%	5.3%

No answer 77.8% 77.8% 75.7% 77.5% 76.7%

39. How do you think the Armenian media portrays women today in Armenian society? Does the media portray women in a positive, negative or neutral manner? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Positive	50.2%	47.3%	44.1%	50.8%	47.8%
Negative	5.1%	14.2%	12.2%	12.8%	12.5%
Neutral	27.6%	21.3%	22.9%	22.1%	22.4%
Do not portray in any way	0.3%	1.1%	1.5%	0.5%	0.9%
Portray not objectively	0.7%	0.9%	0.7%	1.1%	0.9%
Don't know	12.6%	11.3%	13.9%	9.6%	11.5%
No answer	3.4%	4.0%	4.7%	3.2%	3.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

40. What do you mean by answer given in Q39? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Positive," "Negative," "Neutral," or "Other" to Q39; n = 1,186)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Positive/negative portrayal of women's roles	48.1%	42.5%	44.7%	42.6%	43.5%
Positive/negative portrayal of women's rights	7.6%	14.9%	10.5%	16.0%	13.6%
Positive/negative portrayal of women's participation	11.7%	14.2%	9.7%	16.8%	13.8%
Positive/negative portrayal of personal characteristics	13.8%	13.2%	13.9%	12.9%	13.3%
Mass media attitudes toward women	24.1%	21.9%	23.5%	21.2%	22.2%
Inadequate presentation of women according to traditional values	7.0%	8.3%	10.7%	6.2%	8.1%
Don't know	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%

41. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: "A woman should not be involved in political events"? Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, not at all agree with this statement? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Strongly agree	13.9%	10.9%	14.8%	8.7%	11.5%
Somewhat agree	8.2%	9.9%	11.6%	7.8%	9.5%
Somewhat disagree	28.9%	28.3%	29.1%	28.0%	28.5%
Strongly disagree	43.9%	48.6%	41.3%	52.9%	47.7%
Don't know	2.7%	1.5%	2.4%	1.1%	1.7%
No answer	2.4%	0.8%	0.8%	1.4%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

42. Women in Armenia are differently active in the following areas of social life. Please look at the list and tell me in which three areas you think it is most important for women to be involved? (No more than three responses allowed; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Social welfare	21.1%	28.3%	28.1%	25.9%	26.9%
Health care system	57.5%	57.2%	59.0%	55.8%	57.3%
Education	67.3%	64.4%	64.8%	65.0%	64.9%
Culture/ Art	29.6%	23.8%	24.0%	25.5%	24.8%
Family	80.9%	79.3%	79.5%	79.6%	79.6%
Government and decision-making at the national level	4.1%	6.3%	5.0%	6.6%	5.9%
Governance and decision-making at the local level	3.7%	4.4%	3.6%	4.8%	4.2%
Business life	4.8%	5.9%	3.5%	7.6%	5.7%
Military	2.0%	2.5%	1.8%	2.9%	2.4%
Other	1.0%	1.4%	0.6%	1.9%	1.3%

43. As you may know, women are more than 50% of the total electorate in Armenia. However, there are very few women elected to political offices. I will now read you two statements. Please tell me which of these statements do you agree with most: (n = 1,606)

- A. We should set aside a certain number of seats in the National Assembly only for women, in order to ensure fair representation.
B. Setting aside seats for women in the National Assembly is unnecessary, since women should compete with men for the same elected positions.

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Agree most with statement A	41.6%	48.4%	43.8%	49.9%	47.1%
Agree most with statement B	47.8%	43.4%	45.7%	43.0%	44.2%
Agree equally with both [Volunteered response]	3.1%	2.7%	1.7%	3.6%	2.7%
Disagree with both [Volunteered response]	3.1%	2.8%	4.7%	1.5%	2.9%
Don't know	2.7%	1.7%	2.5%	1.4%	1.9%
No answer	1.7%	1.1%	1.7%	0.7%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

44. What percentage of seats do you think should be set aside for women? (Asked of those who responded "Agree most with statement A" to Q43; n = 797)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Less than 5%	11.5%	8.6%	10.4%	8.1%	9.0%
6-10%	13.0%	9.3%	12.9%	7.9%	9.9%
11-15%	12.2%	7.8%	11.3%	6.6%	8.5%
16-20%	19.1%	17.0%	16.9%	17.6%	17.3%
21-30%	23.7%	21.7%	20.6%	22.7%	21.8%
More than 30%	17.6%	33.8%	25.5%	35.2%	31.2%
Don't know	3.1%	1.8%	2.5%	1.9%	2.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

45. How likely is it that you would vote for a woman political candidate, if she was as equally qualified as the male candidate? Are you very unlikely, somewhat unlikely, somewhat likely, very likely? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very unlikely	14.3%	11.1%	14.0%	9.8%	11.7%
Somewhat unlikely	14.3%	10.9%	12.5%	10.8%	11.5%
Somewhat likely	33.1%	39.9%	37.1%	39.9%	38.7%
Very likely	32.4%	33.9%	30.6%	36.1%	33.6%
Don't know	5.5%	3.7%	5.1%	3.2%	4.1%
No answer	0.3%	0.5%	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

46. For what reasons is it unlikely you would vote for an equally qualified woman candidate? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Very unlikely" or "Somewhat unlikely" to Q45; n = 334)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Initial affairs of women are in the family	14.3%	22.2%	22.6%	18.1%	20.5%
Men are more appropriate	41.6%	43.5%	33.0%	54.3%	43.1%
Women are not talented enough to get involved in politics	51.4%	41.8%	51.1%	36.0%	43.9%

47. Now imagine you have a daughter. Would you encourage your daughter to run for political office? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Strong yes	10.2%	19.4%	16.2%	18.9%	17.7%
Weak yes	15.3%	21.1%	15.8%	23.5%	20.1%
Mixed support, depending on circumstances	22.4%	17.4%	17.5%	19.1%	18.4%
Weak no	15.3%	14.1%	13.9%	14.6%	14.3%
Strong no	33.0%	24.5%	31.9%	21.3%	26.0%
Don't know	3.4%	2.9%	3.9%	2.3%	3.0%
No answer	0.3%	0.7%	0.8%	0.3%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

48. 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? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	

Very common problem	10.6%	11.0%	9.4%	12.0%	10.8%
Somewhat common problem	24.9%	20.7%	16.8%	25.4%	21.5%
Not very common	40.3%	40.5%	43.4%	38.1%	40.4%
There is very little violence against women within the home	17.4%	21.0%	23.1%	18.2%	20.4%
Don't know	5.8%	4.8%	5.5%	4.5%	5.0%
No answer	1.0%	2.0%	1.8%	1.8%	1.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

49. What do you think "domestic violence against women" means? What sort of action would fit under domestic violence? (Open-ended; multiples responses allowed; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Moral violence, moral restrictions	31.8%	30.9%	32.3%	30.0%	31.1%
Physical violence including rape	59.9%	55.5%	60.1%	53.2%	56.3%
Limiting of rights, neglecting of equality	32.1%	39.4%	32.7%	42.4%	38.0%
Psychological pressure	10.0%	9.8%	9.2%	10.3%	9.8%
Violence against will, submission	5.8%	7.7%	6.9%	7.8%	7.4%
Exploitation	1.8%	3.3%	2.9%	3.1%	3.1%
Banishing or leaving	0.0%	1.1%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%
Don't know	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%

50. How much do you agree with the following statement: "Under the Soviet system, women had much more influence in the decision-making process of Armenia." Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Strongly agree	11.2%	19.9%	19.2%	17.5%	18.3%
Somewhat agree	7.1%	13.5%	13.3%	11.5%	12.3%
Somewhat disagree	10.5%	20.0%	16.6%	19.7%	18.3%
Strongly disagree	18.0%	27.9%	23.2%	28.4%	26.1%
Don't know	47.3%	15.5%	23.5%	19.5%	21.3%
No answer	5.8%	3.3%	4.1%	3.4%	3.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

51. Why do you think so? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Strongly agree," "Somewhat agree," "Somewhat disagree" or "Strongly disagree" to Q50; n = 1,135)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Shift in social order	15.9%	14.7%	17.8%	12.5%	14.8%
Shift in women's rights and responsibilities (freedom)	41.5%	41.3%	37.4%	44.3%	41.3%
Shift in traditions, moral criteria	2.6%	3.7%	3.3%	3.8%	3.6%
Shift in the content of male-	1.5%	3.3%	2.6%	3.4%	3.1%

female relationships (equality)					
Shift in sociopolitical role of women	24.3%	22.7%	22.8%	22.9%	22.8%
Shift in women's social participation level and activities	15.2%	16.2%	16.7%	15.5%	16.1%
Personal impressions, memories	7.2%	5.6%	5.4%	6.1%	5.8%
No changes have occurred	5.1%	5.5%	5.1%	5.7%	5.5%

52. Can you tell me which non-governmental organizations (NGOs) you know something about? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Paros	0.8%	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%
Shamiram	0.7%	0.7%	0.3%	1.0%	0.7%
Women's Right Protection Union	0.7%	0.3%	0.1%	0.5%	0.3%
Disabled Union	0.0%	0.7%	0.7%	0.5%	0.6%
Baze	1.2%	0.8%	0.5%	1.2%	0.8%
Green's Union	1.4%	0.7%	0.9%	0.7%	0.8%
UNO	1.4%	1.3%	1.6%	1.0%	1.3%
Armenian Relief Foundation	0.0%	0.9%	0.4%	1.0%	0.7%
War Volunteers' Organization	0.0%	1.1%	1.3%	0.6%	0.9%
War Volunteers' Veterans Union	0.0%	0.9%	1.4%	0.2%	0.8%
Astghik	0.0%	0.5%	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%
Parties	1.8%	1.5%	1.4%	1.7%	1.6%
Red Cross	5.4%	5.0%	4.2%	5.8%	5.0%
Women's Republic Council	0.7%	3.1%	1.4%	3.6%	2.6%
Women's Union	1.4%	2.9%	2.0%	3.2%	2.6%
Soldier's Mothers	0.6%	1.5%	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%
IFES	0.4%	1.0%	0.6%	1.1%	0.9%
Eagles of Syunik	1.7%	0.5%	0.9%	0.5%	0.7%
Lincy Foundation	0.6%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
Save the Children	0.0%	1.1%	1.3%	0.6%	0.9%
World Vision	1.1%	0.3%	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%
NIG Aparan Compatriot's Union	0.0%	0.5%	0.2%	0.6%	0.4%
Women's Panarmenian Forum	0.8%	0.4%	0.7%	0.3%	0.5%
Armenian Relief Union	0.3%	0.9%	0.9%	0.7%	0.8%
University Degree Women's Union	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%
Pyunik	0.9%	0.5%	0.7%	0.4%	0.5%
Youth organization	3.0%	1.3%	2.0%	1.3%	1.6%
Women's organization	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%
Other national NGOs	8.9%	9.8%	10.8%	8.8%	9.7%
Other international NGOs	4.2%	3.2%	3.9%	2.9%	3.4%
Unidentified/undifferentiated organizations	2.0%	2.9%	3.2%	2.4%	2.7%
Don't know of any NGOs	49.1%	53.5%	51.4%	53.7%	52.7%
Don't know what an NGO is	23.6%	18.1%	21.6%	17.1%	19.1%

53. How did you find out about these NGOs? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who named an NGO in Q52; n = 443)

Age Gender

	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Television	32.0%	44.7%	40.4%	44.0%	42.4%
Other media sources (newspapers, radio)	11.6%	18.1%	18.7%	15.6%	17.0%
Relatives, friends	34.2%	28.9%	27.8%	31.3%	29.8%
Participation	17.5%	8.2%	11.6%	8.7%	9.9%
As a result of their activities	7.4%	10.6%	7.2%	12.1%	10.0%
Cooperation, business contacts	19.0%	21.9%	28.1%	16.4%	21.3%
Don't know	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%	0.2%

54. Have you ever done any voluntary, unpaid work for any NGO? (Asked of those who named an NGO in Q52; n = 443)

	<u>Age</u>		<u>Gender</u>		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Yes	32.9%	31.9%	39.2%	26.6%	32.0%
No	64.6%	64.3%	56.1%	70.6%	64.4%
Don't know	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	0.5%
No answer	2.5%	3.3%	4.2%	2.4%	3.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

55. How necessary are NGOs in Armenia? Do you think they are essential, very necessary, not very necessary, not at all necessary? (Asked of those who named an NGO or responded "I don't know of any NGOs in Q52; n = 1,116)

	<u>Age</u>		<u>Gender</u>		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
They are essential	14.9%	17.0%	16.1%	16.9%	16.6%
They are very necessary	52.5%	49.0%	48.4%	50.5%	49.6%
They are not very necessary	23.8%	19.2%	21.4%	18.9%	20.0%
They are not at all necessary	1.0%	6.0%	5.9%	4.7%	5.2%
Don't know	7.9%	8.8%	8.2%	8.9%	8.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- 56-65 Listed below are different groups of people. For each one, please tell me whether you completely trust them, somewhat trust them, somewhat distrust them, or completely distrust them?

56. Your neighbors (n = 1,606)

	<u>Age</u>		<u>Gender</u>		
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Completely trust	16.7%	23.5%	22.7%	21.9%	22.3%
Somewhat trust	53.7%	53.7%	55.3%	52.3%	53.6%
Somewhat distrust	18.7%	15.5%	13.7%	18.2%	16.2%
Completely distrust	8.8%	5.5%	6.4%	5.9%	6.1%
Don't know	1.7%	1.3%	1.1%	1.5%	1.3%
No answer	0.3%	0.5%	0.8%	0.2%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

57. Your relatives (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	38.2%	36.0%	37.0%	35.9%	36.4%
Somewhat trust	49.8%	52.3%	51.1%	52.4%	51.8%
Somewhat distrust	6.8%	7.9%	7.2%	8.2%	7.7%
Completely distrust	3.8%	2.6%	3.0%	2.6%	2.8%
Don't know	1.0%	0.9%	1.0%	0.9%	0.9%
No answer	0.3%	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

58. Your coworkers (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	16.3%	19.4%	21.7%	16.4%	18.8%
Somewhat trust	46.1%	43.8%	45.7%	42.9%	44.2%
Somewhat distrust	14.6%	14.4%	15.4%	13.8%	14.5%
Completely distrust	5.8%	5.3%	5.7%	5.0%	5.3%
Don't know	10.5%	10.0%	6.9%	12.6%	10.0%
No answer	6.8%	7.2%	4.6%	9.3%	7.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

59. Residents of other regions (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	4.4%	7.9%	8.9%	5.9%	7.2%
Somewhat trust	26.9%	30.5%	32.2%	27.9%	29.8%
Somewhat distrust	30.3%	23.9%	22.9%	26.9%	25.1%
Completely distrust	23.8%	16.3%	16.1%	18.9%	17.6%
Don't know	12.6%	16.5%	15.7%	16.0%	15.8%
No answer	2.0%	4.9%	4.3%	4.4%	4.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

60. Your community leaders (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	7.5%	7.8%	10.4%	5.5%	7.7%
Somewhat trust	23.2%	28.3%	28.5%	26.5%	27.4%
Somewhat distrust	30.7%	28.3%	27.1%	30.0%	28.7%
Completely distrust	30.0%	26.0%	26.1%	27.3%	26.8%
Don't know	6.1%	8.2%	6.6%	8.8%	7.8%
No answer	2.4%	1.4%	1.2%	1.9%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

61. Parties of the governing coalition (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	2.4%	3.1%	4.4%	1.8%	3.0%
Somewhat trust	14.9%	15.3%	15.5%	15.1%	15.3%
Somewhat distrust	35.6%	32.5%	32.5%	33.5%	33.1%
Completely distrust	37.6%	39.3%	38.9%	39.1%	39.0%
Don't know	6.4%	8.2%	6.9%	8.6%	7.8%
No answer	3.1%	1.6%	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

62. Opposition parties (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	2.0%	2.4%	3.3%	1.6%	2.4%
Somewhat trust	12.2%	15.2%	16.9%	12.9%	14.7%
Somewhat distrust	35.7%	31.8%	32.6%	32.4%	32.5%
Completely distrust	41.2%	40.9%	38.7%	42.8%	41.0%
Don't know	5.4%	8.4%	7.1%	8.5%	7.8%
No answer	3.4%	1.2%	1.4%	1.8%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

63. The National Assembly (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	1.4%	2.0%	3.2%	0.9%	1.9%
Somewhat trust	15.0%	18.0%	18.0%	17.1%	17.5%
Somewhat distrust	36.9%	33.3%	33.9%	33.9%	33.9%
Completely distrust	39.6%	38.0%	37.6%	38.8%	38.3%
Don't know	4.8%	7.3%	5.9%	7.5%	6.8%
No answer	2.4%	1.4%	1.4%	1.8%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

64. Your National Assembly Deputy (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	5.4%	5.9%	7.7%	4.1%	5.7%
Somewhat trust	26.4%	21.3%	23.7%	21.0%	22.2%
Somewhat distrust	24.4%	26.3%	25.2%	26.7%	26.0%
Completely distrust	30.5%	29.5%	28.2%	30.9%	29.7%
Don't know	9.5%	14.5%	12.6%	14.4%	13.6%
No answer	3.7%	2.6%	2.6%	2.9%	2.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

65. The President (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely trust	10.9%	13.1%	14.2%	11.6%	12.8%
Somewhat trust	33.4%	30.4%	29.0%	32.5%	30.9%
Somewhat distrust	19.1%	21.6%	21.7%	20.7%	21.2%
Completely distrust	29.7%	26.8%	27.0%	27.6%	27.3%
Don't know	5.1%	5.9%	5.9%	5.5%	5.7%
No answer	1.7%	2.1%	2.1%	2.0%	2.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

66. How satisfied are you with the overall situation in Armenia. Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the overall situation in Armenia? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Very satisfied	2.4%	2.2%	3.3%	1.5%	2.3%
Somewhat satisfied	29.6%	24.9%	25.3%	26.0%	25.7%
Somewhat dissatisfied	23.5%	22.7%	23.1%	22.5%	22.8%
Very dissatisfied	41.2%	47.7%	45.2%	47.5%	46.5%
Don't know	3.1%	2.3%	2.6%	2.3%	2.4%
No answer	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

67. Why are you satisfied with the overall situation in Armenia? (Asked of those who responded "Very satisfied" or "Somewhat satisfied" to Q66; n = 417)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
I see progress	53.5%	49.6%	52.0%	49.0%	50.4%
Situation is stable	7.9%	21.6%	20.8%	17.1%	18.8%
Living conditions' improvement	10.9%	12.4%	8.7%	15.0%	12.1%
Economical improvement	7.5%	7.5%	8.1%	7.0%	7.5%
General social satisfaction	21.25	19.2%	19.9%	19.3%	19.6%
Don't know	2.3%	1.5%	0.0%	3.1%	1.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

68. Why are you dissatisfied with the overall situation in Armenia (Asked of those who responded "Somewhat dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied" to Q66; n = 1,085)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Unemployment	39.0%	27.5%	25.9%	32.3%	29.5%
Low living conditions	29.2%	35.4%	29.7%	38.2%	34.4%
Imperfect legal sphere	5.7%	8.6%	11.4%	5.5%	8.1%
Low economical indicators	5.3%	7.1%	6.0%	7.4%	6.8%
High level of migration	8.0%	5.8%	5.7%	6.5%	6.1%
High level of corruption	1.5%	2.5%	3.5%	1.4%	2.3%

General social dissatisfaction	27.5%	30.7%	31.5%	29.1%	30.1%
Don't know	1.6%	1.1%	1.6%	0.9%	1.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

69. How interested are you in matters of politics and government in Armenia? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very interested	8.2%	13.9%	15.1%	11.0%	12.8%
Somewhat interested	28.2%	33.7%	35.1%	30.8%	32.8%
Not too interested	43.5%	37.2%	34.7%	41.3%	38.4%
Not at all interested	19.0%	13.6%	13.3%	15.7%	14.6%
Don't know	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.2%
No answer	0.7%	1.4%	1.8%	0.8%	1.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

70. How would you describe the current economic situation in the country? Would you say it is very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very good	1.0%	0.5%	1.0%	0.2%	0.6%
Somewhat good	34.7%	26.1%	26.5%	28.6%	27.6%
Somewhat bad	39.1%	39.9%	40.2%	39.4%	39.7%
Very bad	22.1%	29.8%	29.2%	27.7%	28.4%
Don't know	2.7%	3.2%	2.8%	3.5%	3.2%
No answer	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

71. And what about your family. How would you describe the current economic situation of your family? Would you say it is very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very good	4.4%	0.9%	1.9%	1.2%	1.6%
Somewhat good	55.4%	37.8%	42.4%	39.8%	41.0%
Somewhat bad	29.9%	38.6%	35.9%	37.9%	37.0%
Very bad	7.5%	19.7%	16.1%	18.7%	17.5%
Don't know	2.0%	2.3%	2.9%	1.7%	2.2%
No answer	0.7%	0.8%	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72. Now, I will read you a series of statements. For each, please tell me how much do you agree? Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with this statement?

- 72.A Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in Armenia. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	10.2%	11.4%	13.0%	9.6%	11.2%
Somewhat agree	35.5%	25.7%	26.7%	28.1%	27.5%
Somewhat disagree	28.3%	30.0%	29.7%	29.6%	29.7%
Completely disagree	22.2%	26.1%	25.0%	25.7%	25.4%
Don't know	2.7%	5.4%	4.1%	5.6%	4.9%
No answer	1.0%	1.4%	1.4%	1.4%	1.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72.B People like me have little or no influence on the way things are run in Armenia. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	23.9%	28.2%	26.7%	28.0%	27.4%
Somewhat agree	33.8%	37.0%	36.0%	36.7%	36.4%
Somewhat disagree	31.7%	24.1%	26.6%	24.6%	25.5%
Completely disagree	6.8%	5.0%	6.1%	4.6%	5.3%
Don't know	2.0%	3.9%	2.8%	4.2%	3.6%
No answer	1.7%	1.8%	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72.C I trust the government of Armenia to protect the civil liberties of Armenian citizens. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	6.1%	4.8%	4.6%	5.5%	5.1%
Somewhat agree	22.9%	22.9%	22.3%	23.3%	22.9%
Somewhat disagree	36.9%	32.2%	32.4%	33.6%	33.1%
Completely disagree	24.6%	28.7%	30.3%	25.9%	27.9%
Don't know	7.2%	8.9%	8.2%	8.8%	8.5%
No answer	2.4%	2.5%	2.2%	2.7%	2.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72.D The media in Armenia is free to report on events in the country, whether they are critical of the government or not. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	9.6%	8.2%	8.2%	8.8%	8.5%
Somewhat agree	31.1%	25.6%	25.4%	27.5%	26.6%
Somewhat disagree	29.0%	29.7%	29.3%	29.7%	29.5%
Completely disagree	22.5%	24.9%	27.1%	22.3%	24.5%
Don't know	4.8%	8.9%	7.3%	8.9%	8.2%
No answer	3.1%	2.6%	2.6%	2.7%	2.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72.E I trust the justice system to protect me from unjust treatment of the state. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	3.4%	3.4%	3.3%	3.5%	3.4%
Somewhat agree	16.3%	12.7%	12.7%	13.8%	13.3%
Somewhat disagree	31.6%	31.5%	30.3%	32.6%	31.5%
Completely disagree	39.1%	39.7%	42.2%	37.3%	39.5%
Don't know	7.8%	10.8%	9.8%	10.7%	10.3%
No answer	1.7%	1.8%	1.7%	2.0%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72.F If you were wrongly accused of a crime, I am sure our judicial system would acquit me. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	3.8%	3.6%	3.9%	3.4%	3.6%
Somewhat agree	19.9%	12.0%	13.3%	13.6%	13.5%
Somewhat disagree	27.4%	30.2%	28.7%	30.5%	29.7%
Completely disagree	34.9%	38.4%	39.8%	36.1%	37.8%
Don't know	12.0%	13.4%	12.8%	13.5%	13.1%
No answer	2.1%	2.4%	1.5%	2.9%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

72.G The Armenian judiciary is not influenced by political leaders when making decisions. (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Completely agree	2.0%	3.6%	3.7%	3.1%	3.4%
Somewhat agree	13.9%	7.8%	8.7%	9.0%	8.9%
Somewhat disagree	32.0%	31.1%	28.9%	33.3%	31.3%
Completely disagree	38.4%	39.2%	42.2%	36.3%	39.0%
Don't know	8.5%	15.1%	13.0%	14.6%	13.9%
No answer	5.1%	3.2%	3.5%	3.7%	3.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

73. Other than voting, in what ways can citizens attempt to influence the actions of government officials? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Public complaints	22.8%	21.6%	24.2%	19.9%	21.9%
Demonstrations	28.9%	26.6%	27.1%	26.8%	27.0%
Press or media	5.8%	7.5%	6.6%	7.7%	7.2%
Becoming a member of a political party	1.7%	2.9%	3.2%	2.3%	2.7%
Meeting with an official	7.5%	7.5%	8.6%	6.7%	7.5%
Joining an NGO	1.7%	1.0%	1.0%	1.2%	1.1%
Letter to an official	8.8%	6.4%	6.9%	6.8%	6.8%

Rebellion	4.1%	5.4%	6.0%	4.5%	5.2%
Bribes	10.9%	6.0%	6.4%	7.4%	6.9%
There is no way	31.1%	37.3%	34.4%	37.6%	36.2%
Citizen actions	4.1%	5.1%	6.1%	3.8%	4.9%
Don't know	5.8%	4.6%	4.1%	5.4%	4.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

74. Are you aware that supporters of some opposition parties have held demonstration in Yerevan over the past few months? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Yes	85.7%	89.1%	89.6%	87.4%	88.4%
No	13.7%	10.5%	10.0%	12.1%	11.1%
No answer	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

75. Listed below are some statements about these demonstrations. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with these statements. (Asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q74)

75.A The use of demonstrations is a legitimate exercise of democratic rights by the opposition parties. (n = 1,421)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely agree	37.8%	47.4%	48.4%	43.5%	45.7%
Somewhat agree	41.4%	35.5%	35.9%	37.2%	36.6%
Somewhat disagree	11.2%	7.4%	7.1%	8.9%	8.1%
Completely disagree	5.6%	5.0%	4.5%	5.6%	5.1%
Don't know	3.6%	3.8%	3.6%	4.0%	3.8%
No answer	0.4%	0.9%	0.6%	0.8%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

75.B The demonstrations raise valid concerns about the conduct of the 2003 elections in Armenia (n = 1,421)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely agree	19.0%	20.4%	22.4%	18.2%	20.1%
Somewhat agree	41.3%	34.6%	33.5%	37.7%	35.8%
Somewhat disagree	23.0%	25.1%	25.0%	24.4%	24.7%
Completely disagree	7.5%	10.0%	9.3%	9.8%	9.6%
Don't know	7.1%	8.2%	8.5%	7.6%	8.0%
No answer	2.0%	1.7%	1.2%	2.2%	1.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

75.C The demonstrations are only being used by the opposition to create chaos in the country. (n = 1,421)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely agree	14.7%	17.3%	13.6%	19.5%	16.8%
Somewhat agree	29.4%	25.6%	22.8%	29.0%	26.2%
Somewhat disagree	28.2%	29.1%	32.1%	26.3%	28.9%
Completely disagree	17.1%	16.6%	17.7%	15.8%	16.7%
Don't know	7.5%	9.3%	11.4%	7.1%	9.1%
No answer	3.2%	2.1%	2.3%	2.3%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

75.D The government's response to the demonstration has been generally correct. (n = 1,421)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely agree	7.6%	11.8%	9.6%	12.2%	11.0%
Somewhat agree	28.3%	19.5%	21.0%	21.2%	21.1%
Somewhat disagree	30.7%	29.2%	27.8%	30.8%	29.4%
Completely disagree	21.9%	26.9%	28.1%	24.4%	26.0%
Don't know	10.8%	10.5%	10.8%	10.3%	10.6%
No answer	0.8%	2.1%	2.8%	1.3%	2.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

75.E The opposition parties are holding these demonstrations to further the cause of democracy in Armenia. (n = 1,421)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Completely agree	10.0%	10.2%	9.9%	10.4%	10.1%
Somewhat agree	23.9%	26.1%	26.5%	25.1%	25.8%
Somewhat disagree	27.5%	24.5%	25.3%	24.9%	25.1%
Completely disagree	14.7%	16.2%	14.7%	17.1%	16.0%
Don't know	17.1%	19.0%	19.6%	17.9%	18.7%
No answer	6.8%	3.9%	4.0%	4.7%	4.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

76. What kind of impact do you think these demonstrations will have on the Armenian people? Do you think the impact will be mostly positive, mostly negative, or will there be no impact on the Armenian people? (Asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q74; n = 1,421)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Mostly positive	12.0%	14.6%	16.4%	12.2%	14.1%
Mostly negative	41.0%	37.1%	33.8%	41.1%	37.8%
No impact	34.3%	34.4%	35.4%	33.6%	34.4%
Don't know	11.2%	11.6%	12.4%	10.9%	11.5%
No answer	1.6%	2.2%	2.0%	2.2%	2.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

77. Why do you think so? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Mostly positive," "Mostly negative" or "No impact" to Q76; n = 1,202)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Changes are expected	4.6%	5.3%	5.7%	4.7%	5.1%
Pressure on the Government	4.6%	5.6%	5.8%	5.1%	5.4%
Struggle, action should be taken	2.5%	4.0%	4.8%	2.9%	3.7%
Way of democracy	1.4%	2.2%	2.3%	1.9%	2.1%
Other (positive)	0.8%	1.2%	1.1%	1.2%	1.1%
No changes occurred	6.1%	4.0%	3.9%	4.7%	4.4%
Chaos in the country, instability	22.1%	16.7%	15.9%	19.1%	17.7%
Struggle for power	4.0%	7.0%	5.9%	7.0%	6.5%
Ordinary people suffer	14.3%	11.7%	9.4%	14.5%	12.2%
Not well organized	3.9%	5.0%	5.3%	4.4%	4.8%
Other (negative)	0.5%	1.6%	1.5%	1.3%	1.4%
Negative impact on international image of Armenia	2.1%	1.1%	2.2%	0.5%	1.2%
No changes occurred	20.1%	17.3%	17.3%	18.1%	17.8%
No belief in changes	6.3%	8.3%	8.2%	7.7%	7.9%
Opposition is bad/ government is good	1.8%	7.8%	7.0%	6.5%	6.7%
The government is a barrier	7.2%	7.2%	8.7%	6.0%	7.2%
Other (neutral)	0.0%	0.9%	1.5%	0.2%	0.8%
Don't know	5.1%	2.0%	2.2%	2.8%	2.6%

78. In your opinion, how common is the problem of official corruption in Armenia? Is it very common, somewhat common, not too common, or not common at all? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Very common	59.5%	61.7%	64.8%	58.4%	61.3%
Somewhat common	28.2%	27.6%	26.2%	28.9%	27.7%
Not too common	6.1%	5.2%	5.1%	5.5%	5.4%
Not common at all	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
No official corruption in Armenia <i>[Volunteered response]</i>	1.0%	0.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
Don't know	4.1%	3.7%	1.9%	5.2%	3.7%
No answer	0.0%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

79. Do you think that citizens of Armenia accept corruption as a fact of life? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Yes	84.7%	85.0%	85.2%	84.9%	85.0%
No	9.9%	9.7%	10.5%	9.2%	9.8%
Don't know	4.8%	4.3%	3.5%	5.1%	4.4%
No answer	0.7%	0.9%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

80. How would you rate the Armenian government's efforts in fighting official corruption: Very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Very good	3.4%	2.4%	2.4%	2.7%	2.6%
Somewhat good	11.6%	8.3%	10.5%	7.5%	8.9%
Somewhat bad	18.7%	21.0%	19.0%	22.0%	20.6%
Very bad	38.1%	38.8%	37.6%	39.7%	38.7%
The efforts are senseless [Volunteered response]	19.0%	20.9%	23.4%	18.1%	20.5%
Don't know	8.2%	6.9%	5.5%	8.3%	7.0%
No answer	1.0%	1.8%	1.5%	1.7%	1.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

81. Have you ever been asked for a bribe or some kind of payment by a public official? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Yes	39.1%	36.6%	42.0%	33.0%	37.1%
No	58.5%	61.1%	55.0%	65.2%	60.6%
No answer	2.4%	2.4%	2.9%	1.8%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

82. And have you ever suggested a bribe or some kind of payment to a public official? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Yes	24.6%	27.0%	34.1%	20.4%	26.5%
No	73.4%	68.2%	61.5%	75.3%	69.1%
No answer	2.0%	4.9%	4.4%	4.3%	4.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

83. Can you tell me what agency this official worked for? (Open-ended; multiple responses allowed; asked of those who responded "Yes" to Q81 or Q82; n = 671)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Police	46.8%	39.6%	55.6%	25.2%	41.1%
Hospital	36.8%	57.1%	52.6%	54.1%	53.3%
School/ University	50.8%	36.1%	33.1%	44.9%	38.7%
Customs agency	3.2%	7.5%	7.7%	5.6%	6.7%
Tax authorities	5.6%	13.9%	16.3%	8.1%	12.4%
Courts	5.6%	10.1%	9.4%	9.0%	9.2%
Military structures	4.0%	1.1%	1.7%	1.3%	1.5%
State structures	0.8%	3.1%	2.0%	3.4%	2.7%
Social services	0.8%	1.8%	1.1%	2.2%	1.6%

APPENDIX 3. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Gender (n = 1,606)

	Age		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	
Male	45.6%	44.8%	45.0%
Female	54.4%	55.2%	55.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

2. Age (n = 1,606)

	Gender		TOTAL
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
18-25 years	18.6%	18.1%	18.3%
26+ years	81.4%	81.9%	81.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

3. Education (n = 1,594)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Elementary	0.0%	0.5%	0.8%	0.1%	0.4%
Incomplete high school	2.1%	3.1%	4.0%	1.9%	2.9%
High school	44.3%	36.1%	39.3%	36.2%	37.6%
Secondary professional school	18.9%	26.8%	22.8%	27.5%	25.4%
Incomplete university	12.4%	1.5%	3.8%	3.3%	3.5%
University education	22.3%	32.0%	29.2%	30.9%	30.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4. What is your marital status? (n = 1,580)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Single	79.8%	10.0%	25.5%	20.4%	22.7%
Married	18.1%	80.3%	70.7%	67.8%	69.1%
Divorced	0.7%	2.5%	1.4%	2.6%	2.1%
Widow/ widower	1.4%	7.2%	2.4%	9.2%	6.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

5. How long have you been living in this community? (n = 1,606)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	<u>18-25</u>	<u>26 +</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
1-5 years	6.5%	3.6%	3.1%	4.9%	4.1%

6-10 years	4.3%	6.2%	4.7%	6.7%	5.8%
11-15 years	7.9%	10.2%	7.8%	11.4%	9.8%
16-20 years	32.5%	10.1%	11.3%	16.7%	14.3%
21-25 years	48.8%	7.5%	13.5%	16.2%	15.0%
26-30 years	0.0%	14.5%	13.1%	10.9%	11.9%
31+ years	0.0%	47.9%	46.4%	33.1%	39.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

6. What is your current employment status? (n = 1,599)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Work full time at one job	21.6%	37.5%	42.8%	27.9%	34.6%
Work full time at more than one job	1.0%	2.6%	3.1%	1.7%	2.3%
Work part time at one job	7.9%	6.7%	5.2%	8.4%	6.9%
Work part time at more than one job	0.0%	0.5%	0.6%	0.2%	0.4%
Farmer/ Fisherman	1.4%	2.8%	4.5%	1.0%	2.6%
Unemployed	21.0%	24.4%	24.7%	23.0%	23.8%
Retired/ Pensioner	0.0%	13.8%	13.5%	9.5%	11.3%
Student	28.2%	0.4%	5.2%	5.8%	5.5%
Housewife	18.6%	11.1%	0.0%	22.3%	12.3%
Other	0.3%	0.2%	0.6%	0.1%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

7. What is or was your occupation? (Asked of those who did not respond "Retired/ Pensioner," "Student" or "Housewife" to Q6; n = 1,319)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Worker	24.1%	25.6%	30.7%	19.7%	25.4%
Farmer/ Fisherman	3.8%	4.5%	7.0%	1.4%	4.3%
Civil Servant	10.8%	21.3%	18.6%	21.6%	20.0%
Professional (doctors, teachers, etc)	21.5%	33.1%	21.2%	43.1%	31.8%
R&D employees (scientists, researchers, etc)	0.0%	2.2%	1.5%	2.5%	2.0%
Business	4.4%	4.5%	7.3%	1.4%	4.5%
Military servant	5.1%	1.3%	2.8%	0.6%	1.7%
Other	1.9%	0.1%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%
No certain occupation	17.7%	3.6%	5.8%	4.7%	5.3%
No answer	10.8%	3.8%	4.7%	4.7%	4.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

8. In which of the following sectors you are mostly involved? (Asked of those who did not answer "Retired/ Pensioner," "Student" or "Housewife" to Q6; n = 1,252)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	

Government	14.0%	10.3%	13.2%	8.1%	10.7%
Industry	6.2%	18.0%	16.6%	17.0%	16.8%
Transportation	0.8%	6.1%	9.4%	1.3%	5.5%
Construction	8.5%	5.7%	11.0%	0.5%	5.9%
Communication/ Mass media	2.3%	1.6%	1.9%	1.5%	1.7%
Agriculture	5.4%	6.4%	8.7%	3.8%	6.3%
Public food and service sector	8.5%	4.6%	5.4%	4.6%	5.0%
Trade	11.6%	8.7%	10.7%	7.3%	9.0%
Education	14.0%	18.6%	5.9%	31.4%	18.2%
Health care	6.2%	6.5%	2.8%	10.4%	6.5%
Culture	3.9%	3.0%	2.0%	4.3%	3.1%
NGO sector	1.6%	0.7%	0.6%	1.0%	0.8%
Political party	0.8%	0.3%	0.5%	0.2%	0.3%
Finances	0.0%	1.6%	1.2%	1.7%	1.4%
Other	0.0%	1.5%	2.2%	0.5%	1.4%
No answer	16.3%	6.2%	8.0%	6.6%	7.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

9. Have you taken part in any volunteer activities for your community in the past year? (n = 1,562)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Yes	12.5%	10.3%	11.7%	9.8%	10.7%
No	87.5%	89.7%	88.3%	90.2%	89.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

10. If yes, do you know what organizations organized this activity? (Open-ended; n = 142)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Local governing and other official bodies	66.7%	75.9%	75.4%	72.7%	73.9%
Political parties	6.7%	3.6%	1.5%	6.5%	4.2%
Local NGOs	3.3%	2.7%	3.1%	2.6%	2.8%
International organizations	13.3%	5.4%	6.2%	7.8%	7.0%
Self venture	10.0%	12.5%	13.8%	10.4%	12.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

11. Which best describes the current financial situation of you and your family living there with you? (n = 1,587)

	Age		Gender		TOTAL
	18-25	26 +	Male	Female	
Very poor: we do not have enough money for our most basic needs	3.1%	9.1%	8.4%	7.5%	7.9%
Poor: we barely have enough money to buy food, we rarely buy clothes	15.4%	26.0%	20.9%	26.5%	24.0%

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Modest: we have enough to eat, we occasionally buy clothes, but we have nothing left over to save	46.2%	43.6%	45.4%	43.2%	44.2%
Moderate: we have some savings	32.9%	20.1%	23.3%	21.7%	22.4%
Above average: we have savings and can afford a lot	2.4%	1.2%	2.0%	1.0%	1.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

APPENDIX 4. IFES ACTIVITIES IN ARMENIA

IFES-Armenia Vision Statement

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 democracy.

IFES-Armenia Mission Statement

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.

Overview

From 1996 to 2000, IFES provided technical election assistance, which included voter education, election monitoring, guidebooks on election administration, and legal support for the electoral code. Since 2000, IFES has been implementing a major democracy and social reform project to empower the citizens of Armenia. The current four-year, \$4.1 million project, funded by U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), promotes a more informed and dynamic civil society. By expanding the capacity of grassroots communities to communicate with their elected representatives, the project aims to bring about a more transparent, responsive, and democratic government.

Direct Citizen Engagement

With the intent of building a well-informed and pro-active citizenry, particularly in rural areas where information may be limited, IFES directly engages citizens throughout Armenia. IFES has hired and trained a core group of civic educators who facilitate community-based citizen Dialogue Groups (DGs) and Initiative Groups (IGs). By leading discussions and providing informational materials on national and community-specific government structures, activities, and issues, IFES channels citizens' public concerns into advocacy and community involvement. In addition, IFES fosters active linkages among communities through regional, professional, and sectoral associations, NGOs, public officials, and mass media.

Since April 2001, civic education instructors have conducted more than 4,600 meetings of DGs and IGs in over 400 communities of Armenia. Of the 76,800 people who have participated as of September 2004, more than half are women. DG themes have featured legal education, community development, local self-governance, community schools, and water supply issues, as well as other topics. IGs have focused on issues including telephone connections, development of NGOs and condominiums, constitutional amendments, heating for a polyclinic, renovations of kindergartens, and establishment of community foundations and community schools. Other community initiatives have included 80,000 corrections of voter lists in 35 communities of Armenia by Voter Lists Advisory Committees (VLACs). In addition, over 2,899 community events over the last three years have

been organized during the annual nation-wide volunteer actions, "Days of Good Will, Good Deeds, Good Results," with the participation of 288,528 citizens. Successful initiatives such as these give citizens the sense that by working together, they can affect real change in their community.

Partnership with the Center for Community Dialogues and Initiatives (CCDI)

The IFES CAPA Network of civic educators and resource centers has been developing into a sustainable CAPA Network embodied in a new indigenous civic education NGO: the Center for Community Dialogues and Initiatives. The new network, CCDI, assumed responsibility for IFES' local staff, infrastructure, and communities where CAPA offices have worked over the last several years. Founded in December 2003, the mission and services of CCDI are grounded on the needs and interests of the communities that it serves and cover the four pillars of a healthy vibrant democracy: civil society, good governance, rule of law, and elections.

Information Resources and Public Outreach

Information is essential to citizen empowerment. IFES produces a number of informational products, including independent reports on community council meetings and town hall forums, citizen guides to the national and regional governments, public service announcements and documentaries, televised town hall meetings and candidate debates, and the results of public opinion surveys. IFES also produces a concept- and issue-oriented leaflet series, which in the past has included question-and-answer guides on local government, condominiums, the police, everyday legal issues, the presidency; voter education guides; and "How-to" manuals on conducting candidate debates and advocacy campaigns. IFES-Armenia also maintains nine resource centers, which are equipped with Internet access as well as print, video, and electronic materials covering of the four pillars: civil society, elections, rule of law, and governance. IFES' resources provide the information, skills, and tools for carrying out various civic initiatives and promote an overall well-informed population. The resource centers are open to the public every Wednesday from 11:00 am to 5:00 pm, and any day by request.

Addressing Gender Issues Through Local Education, Advocacy, and Oversight

IFES has established a partnership with the Women's Republican Council (WRC), an Armenian non-governmental organization. IFES works collaboratively with WRC to encourage women to engage in public life and to advocate for issues. Joint IFES-WRC activities include an International Women's Day Public Information Campaign, targeted polls, training for women candidates running for local and parliamentary elections, cooperation between NGOs and the media, election observations, publications and public service announcements.

In 2004, IFES and WRC promoted activities that aim to improve the status of women in Armenia. Through the development and public awareness of the National Plan of Action on Improvement of Women's Status in the Republic of Armenia and

Enhancement of their Role in the Society (NPA), IFES and WRC have worked to address women's status in Armenia.

IFES – A Worldwide Record of Implementing Civic Projects

IFES is a nonpartisan, 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 (opened in 1996), *IFES* has field offices in 25 countries and program experience in more than 120 countries worldwide. Civil society and civic education programs initiated by *IFES* have also operated in Bosnia, Georgia, Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Kazakhstan, and other countries.

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