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**REPORT
ON SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY**

**“THE ELECTIONS INSTITUTION:
PERCEPTION OF POPULATION OF
YEREVAN”**

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*Sergey Harutyunyan,
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Introduction

Current report is based on information gathered from the population of Yerevan in May-June 2005 in the framework of sociological survey “The Elections Institution: the perceptions of population of Yerevan”.

The survey was focused on the following main characteristics of population:

- Awareness
- Perception
- Participation
- Vision of the electoral institutions

The report consists of 4 chapters and annexes. Chapter 1, “The Awareness Characteristics”, aims on describing and assessing the level of population’s general knowledge about democracy, civil society and the political system. Chapter 2, “Understanding of the electoral system”, refers to the population’s perception of the main characteristics of electoral system in connection with awareness on democracy, civil society and the political systems. Chapter 3, “Expectations from the institution of elections”, aims on presenting the picture of population’s expectations regarding several characteristics of elected candidates and the future elections, such as:

- Trust to a candidate and his accountability
- Personal characteristics of a politician and the importance of his person for effective conducting of the duties assigned
- Sharing of the responsibility for population’s wellbeing
- Expectations from the upcoming elections.

Annexes include the methodology of sociological survey, tables describing the basic characteristics of the respondents, as well as tables and charts on frequencies and correlations of the variables analysed.

Besides this report, the analysis of gathered information is briefly presented in the Executive Summary.

The analysis presented in this report, its executive summary and other materials prepared in the frames of the grant reflect the opinion of the principal researcher and the research group, and not the position of CRRC , the Eurasia Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, New York.

Abbreviations

CI	Correlation Indicator
CSL	Correlation Significance Level
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
Q.	Question (from the survey questionnaire)

The Awareness Characteristics

In the frames of our study the following definition of awareness is adopted: *“Awareness means having a specific level of knowledge on the issue, which allows to build logical ties between different aspects of the issue and to gather its complex and detailed picture”*.

Awareness was studied in the frames of the following three characteristics:

- democracy as a concept; example of a democratic state, which is the nearest to the ideal
- civil society as a concept; example of a civil society, which is the nearest to the ideal
- human rights as a concept; right to elect and be elected
- political system; electoral code of Armenia

Awareness on democracy

For awareness on democracy the working hypothesis was:

- The majority of the population realizes the democratic perspective
 - a. The term “democracy” is mostly associated with elections system effectiveness
 - b. Democracy is seen as protecting human rights, and in particular, social rights

Understanding of democracy and civil society was measured using the following techniques:

1. Subjective estimation of the awareness level of democracy (question A2)
2. Characterising an ideal democracy (question A3)
3. Projecting the image of ideal democracy on Armenia, stating the sources of democratisation (questions A4-A7)

Subjective estimation is defined as following: *“Subjective estimation of the awareness level is the respondent’s personal evaluation of the extent of his awareness on democracy as a concept and ability to see its components and characterise an ideal democratic state”*. Several questions to check the “sincerity” of the subjective estimation were included in the questionnaire. Measuring of subjective self-estimation of awareness level had a twofold purpose: first, to see the extent to which the personal evaluation matches the objective evaluation through cross-checking questions, and second, to measure the ability of sincere evaluation by basic respondent characteristics, such as age, gender, education and employment.

A subjective estimation of the awareness level of democracy showed that 70.5% of respondents are aware of democracy, 17.0% of respondents partially aware and 12.5% not aware¹.

Analysing the correlation of the self-estimation of the democratic awareness with the respondents' characteristics (gender, age, education and employment), it was found that the self-estimation of democratic awareness level has medium correlation with education (CI=0.39, CSL= 0.00)², and has low correlation with gender, age and employment. The conclusion for the correlation is that **the higher education level is, the higher is the respondent's self-estimation of democratic awareness.**

For cross-checking the respondents' democratic awareness question A3 was asked. The purpose of the question A3 is to find out, which characteristics do the respondents attribute to an ideal democratic state. This can be considered as an objective evaluation of their awareness on both conceptual and in-detail levels of awareness.

18.25% of respondents had difficulties (selected the option "Difficult to answer") for the question about the characteristics of an ideal democratic state, which means that they are not aware on democracy issues. Comparing this with the self-estimation of the level of democratic awareness, it should be mentioned, that this figure is higher than the percentage for "Not aware" for q. A2, but is lower, than the sum of "Partially aware" and "Not aware" in q. A2. "Difficult to answer" in this sense is considered as being equal to "Do not know". However, distributing those who were "Difficult to answer" to q. A3 by education, it becomes obvious, that the group of respondents with higher education was less objective than the other five groups, as the structure of those who couldn't characterise an ideal democracy includes also those, whose self-estimation was "Aware". Other five education-based groups characterised an ideal democracy were more objective in their self-estimation³.

Noteworthy is the fact that **the term "democracy" is comparatively less associated with election system effectiveness, as it is not on the first place by frequency of responses in the list of characteristics of an ideal democratic state, giving 4.7% forward to the legal protection of citizens,** meaning the protection of human and constitutional rights of the citizens⁴. The list of characteristics of an ideal democratic state offered in q. A3 is brought below.

- All candidates and parties have equal opportunities to participate in elections.
- Elections are being held without serious misconducts.
- State officials of all levels conduct their duties.
- The population has opportunity of free opinion expression.
- All human rights are protected.
- Every citizen is protected by the law.

¹ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 3.1.1

² For crosstabulation, please see Annex 3.1.2

³ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 3.1.3

⁴ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 3.1.4

Anyway, the awareness of the population of Yerevan on democracy concept and the characteristics of a democratic state is high enough (85.5% awareness self-estimation – q. A2 vs. 81.75% objective estimation – q. A3). Consequently, the following assumption can be done: **the most part of population shows high level of awareness on democracy concept and the characteristics of an ideal democratic state.**

Characteristics of an ideal democratic state offered to the respondents in q. A3 are presented as chart in Annex 3.1.4⁵.

The next block of questions (q. A4 – q. A7) refers to the most important practical application of the democratic awareness, which is the comparison of the image of an ideal democratic state with Armenia, as well as stating the sources of democratic processes in Armenia.

- Comparison of images in our context is defined as *“the process of making conscious and logic-based comparisons between the imaged ideal picture and the reality of own society”*. The base for making comparison is the list of statements characterising an ideal democracy in q. A3.

The comparison results analysis showed that 17.4% of respondents⁶ characterised Armenia as a democratic state. These are mostly the respondents who have high self-estimation of democratic awareness and could well characterise an ideal democracy, meaning that this is not an emotional, but an “aware” characteristics. Noteworthy is that the percent of population stated that Armenia is a democratic state is comparatively higher in the categories having incomplete higher and secondary special education, as well as among those families, that live in Yerevan for 10 years and less.

q. A5 (Should Armenia become a democratic state) was asked to only those respondents, who indicated, that Armenia is not a democratic state, and the 95.0% majority of respondents gave a positive response. Responses of the remaining 5% (15 persons) can be summarised in a statement that “democracy is not for Armenia”. However, as these responses had no distribution within a specific gender, age or educational group, we do not consider them as significant and reliable.

Besides the vision of the current position of Armenia on its way to democracy, not least important is the population’s perception of the source, or initiator, of the democratic processes. Respondents were offered with a list of possible initiators, from which they should select only one. The variant “Population” or “Nation”, which had high popularity during the approbation of the questionnaire, was excluded from the final questionnaire. The reason for exclusion is that the population itself can’t be a source of democratisation: it can promote this need through its representatives in state governance or

⁵ For chart, please see Annex 3.1.4

⁶ For frequency table and chart, see Annex 3.1.5

through organisations and unions. During the survey those respondents, who were answering “Population” were offered to select a initiator/representative body from the offered list.

The following possible sources (initiators) of democratisation of Armenia were offered to the respondents stated that Armenia should become a democratic state (q. A7):

- Parliament
- NGOs
- President
- International Organisations
- Government
- Political parties
- Individual politicians
- Justice system

The general picture of population’s opinion on the initiators of democratic processes in Armenia shows that 77.3% of the population consider the Legislative (President, Parliament) and the Executive (Government) as the source of democratic transformation⁷. Noteworthy is the fact that only 2.3% of respondents see the political parties, and 4.2% - NGOs as the initiators of democratic change, which, in our opinion, shows relative weakness of both political parties and NGOs in Armenia. On the other hand, the percent of responses for individual politicians was higher compared with the one of parties and NGOs – 6.2%, which may be attributed to the high role that the population prescribes to the personality of politician on any level. Our survey included a special block referring to the assessment of importance of the person of a politician and describing the preferred personal characteristics of a politician. Data collected on this issue is presented in chapter “Vision of the Electoral Institutions”.

Returning to the working hypotheses of the survey, general hypothesis 2 (The majority of the population realizes the democratic perspective) had been proven by the survey results. Hypothesis 2a (The term “democracy” is mostly associated with election system effectiveness) is partly proven, as it is not on the first place in the list of characteristics if a democratic state, giving 4.7% forward to the legal protection of citizens. Hypothesis 2b (Democracy is seen as a warrant of protection of human rights) had been proven, as “Every citizen is protected by state law” and “Citizens have opportunity of free expression of their opinions” options were mentioned by the respondents on the first and second places as characteristics of an ideal democracy in q. A3.

⁷ For details, please refer to frequency table and chart in Annex 3.1.6

Awareness on civil society and human rights

For awareness on democracy the working hypothesis was:

- The population of Yerevan has general image of civil society.
 - a. The image is based on examples of USA and EU countries, rather than any theoretical concept.
 - b. The image covers some objects of social life only, in particular, the legal system.

Understanding of civil society was measured using the following techniques:

1. Subjective estimation of the awareness level on civil society
2. Projecting the image of civil society on 3 states
3. Human rights as the component of democracy and the right to elect and to be elected as one of the human rights.

As for population's awareness on democracy, the technique of measuring subjective estimation of the awareness level was used for gathering respondent's personal evaluation of the extent of his knowledge about civil society and human rights and his ability to construct both general and detailed pictures of the considered issues.

Projection of the image of civil society onto three states was done only with those respondents, who stated high level of awareness on civil society and human rights in their self-estimation. This is considered as both a test for awareness and as a baseline for understanding which states Armenia is compared with by the respondent.

Special attention was paid to understand the role of the right to elect and be elected in the complex of human rights. For this purpose, this variable was correlated with other awareness characteristics.

Measurement of the subjective self-estimation of the civil society awareness level showed, that over 67% of respondents report high or partial awareness in civil society⁸. Noteworthy is the fact that the awareness in civil society and human rights has no correlation with age, gender, education and employment sphere, which in our opinion is an indicator of non-systematised knowledge. One of the potential reasons for this may be poor targeting of the civil society and human rights information spreading by the interested parties and organisations.

Projection of the knowledge about the civil society onto three real societies was done using open question. The respondents were selecting three specific states, which were grouped during the data analysis as following:

⁸ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 3.2.1

- European countries (excluding Scandinavian countries)
- USA
- Scandinavian countries
- Russia
- Countries of Eastern Europe / CIS (Excluding Russia and Armenia)
- Canada
- Other
- There are no civil societies

The analysis showed that the most of respondents (49.9% of responses) consider EU states as examples of civil society. On second and third places are the USA (22.7% of responses) and the Scandinavian states (16.4% of responses)⁹. Further in this report, this information will serve as a baseline for making ties and conclusions. However, the information gathered allows us to make a conclusion, that **the population of Yerevan has some level of awareness on civil society, but it has non-systematised nature, as the information sources are few and the information itself is occasional.**

Human rights awareness subjective self-estimation among the respondents was high – 95.0%. 96.3% of respondents **indicated, that the right to elect and be elected is one of the basic human rights**¹⁰.

Besides the awareness self estimation, the respondents were asked to mention 5 human rights they are aware of. This had twofold purpose: first, to check the awareness characteristics, and, second, to see the place of the right to elect and be elected in the understanding of population of Yerevan.

Human rights awareness checking matched the self-estimation in all respondents' groups, which speaks about objective estimation of own knowledge.

From the other side, the right to elect and be elected was third by the frequency of responses (13.8%) among the human rights mentioned by respondents, giving the leading position to the right to work (19.6%) and Freedom of speech (14.2%)¹¹.

The collected data indicates that the population of Yerevan has general image of civil society, but this image is not systematised. So, the hypothesis I is partially proven. Hypothesis Ia, which is that the image of civil society is based more on practical examples from existing states, than on any theoretical concept, has been proven, as the civil society image, according to the survey data, is based on the

⁹ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 3.2.2

¹⁰ For frequency tables, please see Annex 3.2.3

¹¹ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 3.2.4

examples of EU countries, the USA and Scandinavian states. Human rights protection is highly stressed as a component of a civil society and a democratic state, which means that the hypothesis 1b is proven.

Interest in politics, awareness on the electoral code and participation to the past elections

Respondents' awareness on the electoral code in our context is defined as *“The knowledge of the main points of and ability to analyse the existing electoral legislation of Armenia”*.

The following variables were measured to evaluate the political activeness of respondents:

- Interest in politics
- Membership in political party
- Frequency of participation to the political events organised by the own party
- Frequency of participation to political public meetings
- Participation in Presidential elections in 2003
- Participation in Parliamentary elections in 2003
- Participation in local elections

Survey results showed, that 45.3% of the respondents are interested in politics and follow the political changes, 29.0% reported partial interest, and 25.8% - no interest in politics-related issues¹².

Population's interest in politics and the political life of Armenia varies by population's age groups (CI=-0.15) and education (CI=0.26). There's also a twofold correlation between respondents' political activity and their awareness on democracy (CI=0.42) and civil society (CI=0.42). Survey data showed no correlation between respondents' interest in politics and belonging to a political party.

Correlation of respondents' interest in politics with their age shows, that **the older the respondents are, the higher their interest in politics is**. Such, the percent of respondents interested in politics among age group 18-24 is 28.0%, among age group 25-39 – 42.6%. For other age groups the increase is not so abrupt, but, however, exists. On the other hand the percent of respondents having some interest in the political life of the country is higher among the youngest age group and demonstrates sustainable decrease among the older age groups¹³.

Political awareness in correlation with education showed, that the **most politically active** strata of population of Yerevan **are those having higher education**¹⁴.

¹² For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 3.3.1

¹³ For frequency table and charts, please see Annex 3.3.2

¹⁴ For details please see Annex 3.3.3

Such, the survey showed, that 55.9% of respondents having higher education reported that they consider themselves as interested in politics and 27.9% of the respondents of the same group reported some interest in politics compared with respectfully 43.6% and 30.8% in the group of respondents having incomplete higher, 35.6% and 35.6% in the group of respondents having secondary special education.

Correlation of interest in politics with the awareness on democracy and civil society awareness shows that **the higher the level of awareness on both democracy and civil society is, the higher is the level of interest in politics and political processes¹⁵.**

In the sense of the interest in politics and political processes taking place in Armenia, noteworthy is the fact that **only 4.8% of respondents reported belonging to a political party.** Among the respondents **84.8% reported that they never participate to any political events, either partisan or public.**

Special attention was paid to the participation to past elections as a component of political activeness of respondents. Survey data shows that participation of respondents varies by the types of elections: it is the highest for Presidential elections and the lowest for the local community authorities' elections. Such, 75.5% of the respondents reported, that they participated to Presidential elections in 2003. The participation percentage is lower for Parliamentary elections in 2003, making 54.9%. The lowest participation was reported for the elections of community authorities, making only 48.3% of respondents¹⁶.

Noteworthy is the fact that **participation in these three kinds of elections on different levels is interdependent.** Such, correlation of participation in parliamentary elections with participation in Presidential elections has $CI=0.61$, and the correlation of the elections to local self governing bodies with president elections is $CI=0.39$ and with participation in parliamentary elections is $CI=0.50$. As the data analysis shows, all the respondents participated in parliamentary elections participated also in Presidential, and among those who participated to the community authorities' elections 93.8% participated also in Presidential elections. But on the other hand, those who didn't participate in Presidential elections showed tendency to skip Parliamentary and community authorities' elections as well.

Interesting is the fact that the participation in parliamentary elections has a medium correlation with respondents' satisfaction with acting electoral code ($CI=0.34$). This means that those who are satisfied with the electoral code more tend to participate in Parliamentary elections, that those who are not¹⁷.

¹⁵ For crosstabulations, please see Annex 3.3.4

¹⁶ For frequency tables and comparative chart, please see Annex 3.3.5

¹⁷ For crosstabulations, please see Annex 3.3.6

Those reporting no awareness on the electoral code tend to skip participation in Parliamentary elections. For Presidential and community authorities' elections the similar correlation is weaker (CI=0.23) and (CI=0.15) correspondingly, meaning that participation in these two types of elections is more independent from the awareness in or satisfaction with the electoral code.

In general, the picture of satisfaction with the acting electoral code is the following: almost half of the respondents (46.2%) report that they are not aware of the acting electoral code, from those who are aware of the electoral code 29.4% are satisfied with it, and 70.6% of the respondents are not satisfied¹⁸.

Noteworthy is the fact that awareness on electoral code does not correlate with any of the demographic characteristics of the respondents, which are age, education, gender, employment, as well as general awareness on democracy, civil society and interest in politics. This may be a result of insufficient quantity of information provided about the electoral code to the general population and/or non-systematised nature of it. This assumption is proven by the fact that the awareness on democracy and human rights is on comparatively higher level, as the information is more widespread and systematised.

Conclusion for the Awareness Characteristics

1. The population of Yerevan has high awareness on democracy and human rights, but the awareness on civil society is comparatively lower.
2. Civil society image is mostly associated with the countries of Western Europe, the USA and the Scandinavian states
3. The role of human rights protection is highly stressed in the context of civil society and democratic state
4. Overwhelming majority of the respondents does not consider Armenia as a democratic state, but think, that it should become one. The President, the Parliament and the Government are seen as the sources of democratic transformation in Armenia
5. Interest in politics is high. Older age groups have higher interest in politics, than the younger ones. The highest interest in politics is among the group of respondents having higher education.
6. Participation in Presidential, parliamentary and community authorities' elections is interdependent, as those respondents, who skipped Presidential elections, tend to skip Parliamentary and community authorities' elections as well. The highest participation is in Presidential elections, the lowest – in community authorities' elections.
7. Population has comparatively low awareness on acting electoral code due to lack of systematised information on the issue.

¹⁸ For frequency table, please see Annex 3.3.7

Understanding of the electoral system

In this chapter the main characteristics of elections in Armenia and the general understanding of the system of elections are presented. For understanding of the system of elections its following components are discussed and their ties with awareness characteristics are built:

- Voting secrecy,
- Independence of choice,
- Elections fairness.

The following definitions are used for the terms above:

1. Voting secrecy is the voter's ability to express his opinion free of apprehension that any third persons or parties will know what or whom he voted for in any way.
2. Independence of choice is the voter's ability of free expression of his opinion without any obligation or pressure from any persons or parties.
3. Elections fairness is the warranty that the official results of elections are based on and fully reflect the results of voting only, without falsifications of any type (before, during and after the voting).

Voting secrecy

The measurement of voting secrecy was done using a 4-point scale, where 1= "Completely secret", 2= "More secret than open", 3= "More open than secret" and 4= "Completely open". Results of the measurement are reflected in the following figures: 27.1% of respondents considered the voting as completely secret, 22.1% – more secret, than open, 24.6% – more open, than secret and 16.5% - completely open¹⁹.

Estimation of voting secrecy has weak correlation with respondents' age (CI=-0.15), respondents' democratic awareness (CI=0.15), and the civil society characteristics – the states, which the respondents considered as ideal civil society, or the baseline for comparison (CI=0.18).

The analysis of the survey results related to the voting secrecy showed, that the representatives of older age groups (40 and more years old) tend to characterise the voting as "More secret than open" and "Completely secret", while the representatives of younger age groups (18-39 years old respondents) tend towards lower evaluation of voting secrecy²⁰. Although the current material does not allow us to

¹⁹ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 4.1.1

²⁰ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.1.2

discover the causes of the tendency for evaluating voting as “More open than secret” and “Completely open” among younger age groups, as a potential cause for it may be overvaluing the possibility of use of “black” technologies. This specifics of the different understanding of the voting secrecy by age groups is reflected by the correlation indicator (CI=-0.15).

Another correlation of voting secrecy is with democratic awareness. For those respondents who reported that they are aware or partly aware of democracy there’s a tendency to consider elections as “Completely secret” and “More secret than open”, while the respondents that reported no democratic awareness during the self-estimation in q. A3 tend to see the voting as “More open than secret” and “Completely open”²¹. However, as the number of respondents reported no democratic awareness is comparatively small (49 out of 400, making 12.25% of the total sample size), the reliability level of the conclusion that “selecting higher rating for “Open” voting is proportional to the self-evaluation of democratic awareness, which is “Aware”, “Partially aware” and “Not aware”” is low.

The voting secrecy estimation varies also by the states, indicated by the respondents as civil societies. The highest percent of those responding “Difficult to answer” on the question of measuring the “Secret Voting,” indicated Western European Countries and the USA as being civil societies. In this sense “Difficult to answer” can be considered as equal to “Difficult to compare” due to lack and low systematisation of information about the USA or the Western European countries.

Independence of choice

The measurement of the independence of choice was done using a 4-point scale, where 1= “Completely independent”, 2= “More independent than obliged”, 3= “More obliged than independent” and 4= “Completely obliged”. According to the results of the measurement, 35.1% of respondents consider that their choice as independent, 16.5% - as “More independent than obliged”, 28.3% - as “More obliged than independent”, and 13.5% - as “Completely obliged”²². 6.5% of the respondents selected “Difficult to answer” option.

For the independence of choice, the gap between “Completely independent” and “More independent than obliged” from one side and “More obliged than independent” and “Completely obliged” from other side is small. However, in “independence-positive” part of the scale we see twice as many respondents in the “pure” category of “Completely independent” than in the “More independent, than obliged” non-pure category. On the other hand, in “independence-negative” part of the scale the picture is the opposite: percentage of the respondents selected “More obliged than independent” is twice smaller,

²¹ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.1.3

²² For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 4.2.1

than the one of the respondents selected the “pure” category of “Completely obliged”. This means that the choice is more considered as a product of poor decision, either made by a person himself (completely independent choice) or by third persons (completely obliged choice).

In evaluating the characteristics of elections, correlations exist with respondents’ age (CI=-0.14), democratic awareness self-estimation (CI=0.10), and the human rights mentioned by the respondents (CI=-0.47). Correlation exists also with and the other characteristics of elections, especially secrecy of voting (CI=0.55) discussed above.

The correlation with the age groups shows that the independence of choice increases proportionally to respondents’ age. The **lowest independence of voting is noticed among the age group of 18-24** (the percentage for positive part of the independence of choice scale among this age group is 22%, for negative – 52%, and 26% of the respondents in this age group were difficult to answer). One of the possible reasons for this may be that electing a specific candidate (political party) among this age group is tied with the choice of older members of the family. For older age groups the correlation shows increase of the independence of choice accordingly to the age of respondents²³.

The correlation between self-estimation of democratic awareness level and the independence of election shows, that **the percent of those who can’t evaluate the independence of their choice is higher among those, who have lower democratic awareness.**

Correlation between independence of elections and the states selected as civil societies shows that **those respondents, who selected Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe as civil societies tend to estimate the independence of their choice lower, than those, who selected EU countries, Scandinavian states, and the USA.** On our opinion, here a twofold connection exists. First, it is comparatively lower awareness level on democracy and civil society, and second, this may be tied with the issue of informational imbalance: more information about Russia, other CIS countries, and the countries of Eastern Europe, is presented on the TV and other mass media than information presented about EU countries, Scandinavian states and the USA.

Correlating human rights indicated by the respondents with the independence of choice, we see a linear correlation between these two variables (CSL=0.00). In chapter I we have indicated the 5 human rights gathered the highest awareness score, which are the Right to Work, the Freedom of Speech, the Right to elect and to be elected, the Right for Education and the Right to a dignified life. In the sense of independence of choice, the correlation shows, that the respondents who selected the Right to Elect and to be elected and the Freedom of Speech as the human rights they are aware of, **demonstrate low indicators for the independence of choice. The indicator of independence of choice for these**

²³ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.2.2

respondents is nearly equal for group 1 (“Completely Independent” and “More Independent than obliged”) and for group 2 (“More obliged than independent” and “Completely obliged”). This means, that **although democratic awareness is important and playing high role in evaluation of the secrecy of voting, its effect on the independence of choice is low.**

Correlation between two characteristics of elections specified by us, which are the independence of choice and the voting secrecy shows, that those who highly evaluate the independence of their voting, tend to highly evaluate the secrecy of elections, and, the opposite, those who mentioned that their voting is obliged, report low evaluation of voting secrecy²⁴. On the other hand, those who have selected “non-pure” categories (“More independent, than obliged” and “More obliged, than independent”) for independence of choice, tend to select “non-pure” categories (“More secret, than open” and “More open, than secret”) for voting secrecy.

Fairness of elections

Fairness of elections was measured using a 4-point scale, where 1= “Completely fair”, 2= “More fair than falsified”, 3= “More falsified than fair” and 4= “Completely falsified”. Results of the measurement show, that 82% of respondents consider elections as falsified, 10.8% - as fair and 7.2% of respondents have chosen the “Difficult to Answer” variant²⁵.

The abovementioned distribution of the responses highly differ the elections fairness characteristics from the voting secrecy and the independence of choice characteristics discussed above. It should be considered, that if voting secrecy and the independence of choice refer to the process of elections, the elections fairness refer to the elections results. For this reason this characteristics is highly vulnerable for more emotional, than logical and objective judgement. However, the importance of pure measurement of elections fairness based on the respondents’ direct evaluation is important for the following reason: if respondents, even emotionally, assume that the elections are not fair, then the level of trust to the elected positions will be much lower, than if the respondents consider elections as being fair.

Under the falsified elections is understood a complex of possible falsifications, referring to voting process and calculation of the ballots. Falsifications of these kinds were reported for previous elections in Armenia by the OSCE/ODIHR observers during Elections Observation Missions. For more details on the classification and types of previously happened falsifications of voting process please refer to the OSCE/ODIHR Elections Observation Missions reports²⁶ and appropriate studies on “black” electoral

²⁴ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.2.3

²⁵ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 4.3.1

²⁶ These reports can be obtained from <http://www.osce.org>

technologies use in Armenia. Here we consider only the estimation provided by the respondents. The opinion of respondents, reported in their negative estimation of the elections fairness, in our opinion, highly affects the effectiveness of the institution of elections in Armenia.

In difference to other two characteristics, **the fairness of elections does not correlate with respondents' age and other demographic characteristics of respondents**, but correlates with democratic awareness (CI=0.13), considering Armenia as a democratic state (CI=0.12), familiarity with civil society concept (CI=0.15), awareness on human rights (CI=0.11), frequency of participation to political party organised events (CI=0.50), as well as with other two characteristics of elections, which are secrecy of voting (CI=0.40) and independence of choice (CI=0.33).

Correlation of characterising the fairness of elections with the democratic awareness and the awareness on civil society of the respondents shows, that the distribution of respondents selected the positive side of the scale (“Completely fair” and “More fair, than falsified”) is equal by the three groups of awareness (“Aware”, “Partly aware” and “Not aware”) and makes in average 11%²⁷. The same picture is with the correlation of elections fairness characteristics with considering Armenia as a democratic state. This correlation shows that **those who consider Armenia as a democratic state and those who do not, equally state that the elections are “more falsified than fair” or “Completely falsified”**²⁸. This information once more stresses the emotional nature of the evaluation of the elections fairness characteristics by the population of Yerevan.

Though respondents who reported membership in any political party were few in the survey sample (over 5% of the whole sample), a correlation exists between the frequency of visiting own party organised political events and the elections fairness evaluation. Participation in events organised by the own political party, or in other words, **active membership in political party, according to the survey data, in some sense determines the ranking of fairness of elections**. However, although the expected information here was that the distribution of positive and negative responses should be nearly equal for those reported belonging to a political party, as due to the random sampling representatives of both opposition parties and the ruling parties should be polled. The positive side of the fairness scale was selected by 44.4% of those respondents, who always participate to the events organised by the self political party. Other partisan respondents have selected the negative part of the awareness scale. As the result, the correlation of fair/falsified by the membership in political party makes 21.05% for fair and 78.95% for falsified.

Data analysis showed significant correlation of evaluation of the fairness of elections with the secrecy of voting and the independence of choice.

²⁷ For crosstabulations, please see Annex 4.3.2

²⁸ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.3.3

Regarding the secrecy of voting it is noticeable, that majority (90.0%) of those who indicated that voting is “More open than secret” and “Completely open” consider elections as “More falsified than fair” and “Completely falsified”. For those, who selected positive side of the scale of evaluation of the voting secrecy, this percent is 83.5%²⁹. Consequently, the secrecy of voting can be considered as one of the bases for evaluation of fairness of elections. On the other hand, both those who stated that their voting is independent and obliged, consider elections as “More falsified than fair” and “Completely falsified”, which means, that **independence of voting is not considered as indicator of fairness of elections in Armenia³⁰**.

The next statement can be followed out of this: **“Population of Yerevan is able to objectively judge the process of elections, which is reflected in characterising the voting secrecy and the independence of choice. The evaluation of the fairness of elections is more emotional, than logical, and is partly tied with the evaluation of voting secrecy. Independence of choice is not considered as an aspect influencing the elections fairness”**.

Conclusion for Understanding of the System of Elections

1. Voting secrecy is higher evaluated by the representatives of older age groups, while the age group 18-24 tends to lower evaluation. For all age groups, the higher the democratic awareness is, the higher is the voting secrecy estimation.
2. Independence of choice is the lowest among age group 18-24, which may be tied with voting depending on the vote of the older members of the family. The older the respondents are, the higher is the independence of their choice. Independence of choice is tied with awareness on democracy.
3. Overwhelming majority of the respondents evaluates the fairness of elections as “More falsified than fair” and “Completely falsified”. Such evaluation carries highly emotional character, which is proven by the equal distribution of elections fairness characteristics by age groups, awareness on democracy and civil society. It plays high role for other characteristics of elections systems.
4. Active membership in a political party may determine the vision of fairness of elections, depending on the current position of the party (ruling or oppositional). However, this needs more in-detail study.
5. Voting secrecy can be considered as one of the components of fair elections, while the independence of choice is not considered as such by the population of Yerevan.

²⁹ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.3.4

³⁰ For crosstabulation, please see Annex 4.3.5

Expectations from the institution of elections

This chapter describes the expectations respondents have from the institute of elections in the following aspects:

- Trust in and accountability of the elected candidates
- Image of the personality of a politician and importance of it on different levels of power
- Responsibilities of the representatives of different levels of power: caring for wellbeing of population
- Expectations from the upcoming elections.

Trust and accountability

Trust in the elected candidate has a twofold definition: first, it is the population's belief that the elected candidate will implement his proposed electoral programme. Second, trust is the electorate's belief in that the candidate will adequately represent or is adequately representing his electorate.

Accountability of the elected candidacies is the responsibility for keeping population aware of the implementation of the proposed electoral programme, including the deviations from it, as well as ongoing gathering of information from the electorate for improving the implementation.

Survey results show, that 47.9% of respondents completely trust the candidates elected by them, 25.7% trust partially, and 26.4% do not trust at all³¹. Data analysis shows no correlations between trust and respondents' demographic characteristics, but a medium-strength correlation exists between the trust to a candidate and the evaluation of elections fairness. ($CI=0.20$). The expectation for this correlation was that the higher the trust is, the more fair the elections are considered. However, the data analysis shows the opposite picture³². Only 20.4% of those respondents, who reported trust to the candidate they elected, evaluate the elections as "Completely fair" or "More fair, than falsified".

In spite of this fact, the most percent of those who consider elections as "More falsified than fair" and "Completely falsified" is in the group of respondents reported no trust to the candidate they elected (60.5%)³³.

The question arising in this context is: does this remain the same for elections of all levels? However, data analysis shows no valid correlation between trust to the candidate, the fairness of elections and the

³¹ For frequency table, please see Annex 5.1.1

³² For crosstabulation, please see Annex 5.1.2

³³ Ibid.

participation to the previous elections. This **does not allow assuming that trust in the candidate is the result of comparatively fair elections of the specific level, and this question should be studied separately.**

The analysis of the accountability of the elected candidates to their electorate showed just the opposite picture, than the electorate's trust to the candidacy. Only 30.2% of respondents consider that the elected candidates are accountable to the electorate (meaning, to the respondent as well), and 69.8% are not accountable³⁴.

For gathering information on the expectations from the elected candidates' accountability to their electorate, two questions were asked, one of them to those who considered that the candidates are accountable, and the second – who considered the opposite. Both questions refer to the ways of accountability, one to the current, and the second – the desired ones. Both questions were open, and the responses were grouped in the following groups:

- By their work
- Through reports and articles in media
- By increase of the level of population's wellbeing
- Through direct meetings with the electorate.

Principal difference³⁵ from the real picture given by those who consider the candidates as accountable and the desired picture given by those who consider the candidates as currently not accountable is stressing the desire for direct meetings with electorate (22.3%) and difference in considering the "Increase in population's wellbeing": if 21.7% of those who consider the candidates as accountable mention that this has happened, only 8.0% of those who does not consider the candidates as accountable mentioned this as a desired way of their accountability. The information on hand does not allow to find out the reasons for such difference, but a possible reason may be attributing the increase of population's wellbeing not to all levels of the elected candidates (for example, only to President's efforts) by those who does not consider the elected candidates as accountable to the electorate. Further in this chapter, we will return to this issue while discussing the responsibility for caring for the wellbeing of population.

Image of the personality of politician

Expectations of the population from the person of a politician were studied with the purpose to discover, which kind of person the population will desire to be in the structures of state power, as well as to find out, is the person and personal qualities important on all levels of political power.

³⁴ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 5.1.3

³⁵ For frequency tables and charts, please see Annex 5.1.4

Democracy as a system and as a concept is based not on the person, but on the proposed aims and objectives, which, along with the description of the ways of achieving the goal and the outcomes make the electoral programme for any elected position. However, the initial assumption for this issue is that in Armenia the personality of politician plays key role on any level of state power, from the President to the community authorities, and that sometimes personal characteristics are more important for the electorate than the proposed programme.

Analysis of the survey data showed, that 75.1% of the respondents consider the personality of a politician as being important. Measurement for the importance of the personality of politician on all levels of state power provided nearly the same results – 74.8% for and 25.2% against the importance of personality on all levels of state governance³⁶.

A concretising question was asked for the importance of personality on all levels. The bodies of state power were divided into two groups: bodies of state governance (President, Parliament, Government, Marzpet) and local self-government (City mayor, municipal authorities, village authorities). Importance of politician person on these two levels is described as following: 64.0% of responses are for that the personality is more important on the level of state governance, and 36.0% - for that the personality is more important on the level of local self-governance³⁷.

Respondents would prefer if a politician has the following personal qualities (in percent of responses)³⁸:

- Education and professional skills (31.0%)
- Honesty (24.7%)
- Management and leadership skills (23.4%)
- Ability to understand state problems and deal with them (12.5%)
- Patriotism (4.7%)
- Financial security (2.9%).

The question was open, and the abovementioned statements represent groups of responses got from the respondents. Noteworthy is the fact that the mentioned qualities are referring to the representatives of all levels of state governance, from the President till community authorities.

³⁶ For frequency tables and charts, please see Annex 5.2.1

³⁷ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 5.2.2

³⁸ For more details, please refer to Annex 5.2.3

Responsibility of caring for the wellbeing of population

Caring for wellbeing of population, which means improvement of the social-economic situation, is one of the major issues that the governance of Armenia faces today. The expectation of the specific levels of governance may vary, and it is important to realise, whom the population sees as the source of improvement of wellbeing.

The following options were offered to the respondents:

- President
- Parliament
- Community authorities
- All of above
- None of above.

The variants “All of above” and “None of above” were not read to respondents by interviewer to ensure the objective answer. The analysis of results show, that the majority (43.0%) sees all the levels of state power as responsible for population’s wellbeing, meaning the improvement of social-economic situation, including poverty elimination. On second place is the President (24.5%), and, interestingly, on third place are the community authorities (22.3%). This can be considered as a reflection of the strengthening of the role of community authorities in the perception of the population of Yerevan. However, as a very positive attitude should be mentioned, that over half of the respondents consider all governance bodies as responsible for population’s wellbeing, development and sustainability, each of them on its own level.

Among those, who mentioned a specific body, it is possible to conclude, that the **role of Parliament is incompletely (or incorrectly) understood by the population. As a consequence, the impact of legislation on the increase of wellbeing is not considered as an important point in the minds of population.**

Questions regarding the authority of population to claim for the satisfaction of the responsibility of caring for its wellbeing and its ability to claim for that were included in the questionnaire. The logic of this question is tied and sourced from the previous. If the population realises, that the governance bodies should care for population’s wellbeing, than what is the mechanism for claiming for implementation of this responsibility? This point is considered as a twofold issue: should the population claim and is the population able to claim. Here again the comparison of desired vs. real is made.

Regarding the population's authority to claim for the satisfaction of state governance bodies' responsibility to care about population's wellbeing, 96.5% of respondents gave positive answer³⁹, which is another proof of their democratic awareness. However, the picture of the population's ability to claim for that, described by the respondents, shows other results: only 37.2% of respondents⁴⁰ mentioned, that the electorate is able to claim for the satisfaction of the responsibility to care for population's wellbeing.

These two variables are highly correlating with Q.G6 (Do you participate to public political meetings) (CI=0.54) and the Q.G15 (Are the politicians accountable to their electorate) (CI=0.31). Correlation shows⁴¹, that the respondents rarely participate in public meetings, and for that reason cannot claim for wellbeing responsibility implementation, and on the other side, the politicians' accountability level is low, which brings to the lack of information on general context changes. As a consequence, the following statement can be figured out: "Population would like to see direct meetings with the elected candidates as the way of claiming for implementation of governance bodies' responsibility to care for their wellbeing, but does not use it, as the participation to the public meetings is low, and the information on change of the general state context is limited as the result of low accountability of the politicians on all levels of state governance".

Expectations from the upcoming elections

Expectations were studied regarding the Presidential elections in 2008, Parliamentary - in 2007, and the elections to the community authorities. Elections to the community authorities in Yerevan happened after the completion of the field stage of survey, so the expectations refer to the already past elections, which can be an interesting issue of separate retro-comparative study. Collecting data on respondents' expectations had an aim of evaluating their vision of future. Expectations refer both to the improvement of procedure of the elections and the accountability, and the willingness and ability to care for the wellbeing of population described above.

According to the results, 49.1% of respondents expect changes of any kind, 36.3% of respondents consider, that the situation will remain stagnant, and 14.3% have chosen the "Difficult to answer" option⁴². Noteworthy fact is that there's no significant correlation with any of demographic characteristics of respondents for this variable.

A question regarding the nature of upcoming changes was asked to those respondents, who reported expectation of changes. According to the results, 80.0% are expecting significant changes to better,

³⁹ For frequency table, please see Annex 5.3.1

⁴⁰ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 5.3.2

⁴¹ For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 5.3.3

⁴² For frequency table and chart, please see Annex 5.4.1

10.8% - to worse, and 9.2% of respondents were not able to specify the direction of changes⁴³. In general it is possible to conclude, that the expectation of positive changes in both procedure of elections and the accountability and caring of responsibilities by the elected candidates exists among the population of Yerevan.

Conclusion for The expectations from the institution of elections

1. Most of the respondents trust the elected candidates, but only one third of them consider the elected candidates as accountable to their electorate.
2. Some of those respondents, who trust the candidates they elected, however consider elections as “More falsified than fair”, which gives place to further study and investigation, as the data on hand is not sufficient for any conclusion on this issue.
3. Desired accountability models by priority are: “By their work” → “Meetings with the electorate” → “Reports and official articles in Mass Media” → “Increase of the level of population’s wellbeing”.
4. Respondents highlight the importance of the personality of a politician, in general, on all levels of state power. However, the role of personality is more stressed on the level of state governance (the President, the Parliament, the Prime Minister and government, the Marzpet).
5. Top three desired qualities for the person of a politician (in order of priority): Educational and Professional skills; Management and leadership skills; Honesty. The desired image of a politician sounds as “a person, having good educational and professional background and management experience, who is honest and has good leadership skills ”.
6. Most part of population realises, that all the bodies of state governance are responsible for population’s wellbeing. Special stress is put on the President and the Local self government bodies. The role of Parliament is understood incompletely (or incorrectly). As a consequence, the impact of legislation on the wellbeing increase is not considered as an important point in the minds of population.
7. Overwhelming majority of population realises, that they should claim for the satisfaction of the wellbeing, more than half considers, that they can’t claim for that. Population would like to see direct meetings with the elected candidates as the way of claiming for implementation of governance bodies’ responsibility to care for their wellbeing, but does not use it, as the participation to the public meetings is low, and the information on change of the general state context is limited as the result of low accountability of the politicians in all levels of state governance.
8. The expectation of positive changes in both procedure of elections and the accountability and caring of responsibilities by the elected candidates exists among the population of Yerevan.

⁴³ For frequency table and chart, see Annex 5.4.2

Conclusions

1. For the awareness characteristics:

- a. The population of Yerevan has high awareness in democracy and human rights, but the awareness in civil society is comparatively lower.
- b. Civil society image is mostly associated with the countries of Western Europe, the USA and the Scandinavian states
- c. The role of human rights protection is highly stressed in the context of civil society and democratic state
- d. Overwhelming majority of the respondents does not consider Armenia as a democratic state, but think, that it should become such. As the sources of democratic transformation in Armenia are seen President, Parliament and the Government
- e. Interest in politics is high. Older age groups have higher interest in politics, than the younger ones. The highest interest in politics is among the group of respondents having higher education.
- f. Participation in Presidential, parliamentary and community authorities' elections is interdependent, as those respondents, who skipped Presidential elections, tend to skip Parliamentary and community authorities' elections as well. The highest participation is in Presidential elections, the lowest – in community authorities' elections.
- g. Population has comparatively low awareness on acting electoral code due to lack of systematised information on the issue.

2. For Understanding of the system of elections:

- a. Voting secrecy is higher evaluated by the representatives of older age groups, while the age group 18-24 tends to lower evaluation. For all age groups, the higher the democratic awareness is, the higher the voting secrecy estimation is.
- b. Independence of choice is the lowest among age group 18-24, which may be tied with voting depending on the vote of the older members of the family. The older the respondents are, the higher is the independence of their choice. Independence of choice is tied with awareness on democracy.
- c. Overwhelming majority of the respondents evaluates the fairness of elections as “More falsified than fair” and “Completely falsified”. Such evaluation carries highly emotional character, which is proven by the equal distribution of elections fairness characteristics by age groups, awareness on democracy and civil society, which play high role for other characteristics of elections systems.

- d. Active membership in a political party may determine the vision of fairness of elections, depending on the current position of the party (ruling or oppositional). However, this needs more in-detail study.
- e. Voting secrecy is can be considered as one of the components of fair elections, while the independence of choice is not considered as such by the population of Yerevan.

3. For the expectations from the institute of elections:

- a. Most of the respondents trust the elected candidates, but only one third of them consider the elected candidates as accountable to their electorate.
- b. Several part of those respondents, who trust the candidates they elected, however consider elections as “More falsified than fair”, which gives place to further study and investigation, as the data on hand is not sufficient for any conclusion on this issue.
- c. Desired accountability models by priority are: “By their work” → “Meetings with the electorate” → “Reports and official articles in Mass Media” → “Increase of the level of population’s wellbeing”.
- d. Respondents highlight the importance of the person of a politician, in general, on all levels of state power. However, the role of person is more stressed on the level of state governance (President, Parliament, Prime Minister and government, Marzpet).
- e. Top three desired qualities for the person of a politician (in order of priority): Educational and Professional skills; Management and leadership skills; Honesty. The desired image of a politician sounds as “a person, having good educational and professional background and management experience, who has good leadership skills and is honest”.
- f. Most part of population realises, that all the bodies of state governance are responsible for population’s wellbeing. Special stress is put on the President and the Local self government bodies. The role of Parliament is incompletely (or incorrectly) understood. As a consequence, the impact of legislation on the wellbeing increase is not considered as an important point in the minds of population.
- g. Overwhelming majority of population realises, that they should claim for the satisfaction of the wellbeing, more than half considers, that they can’t claim for that. Population would like to see direct meetings with the elected candidates as the way of claiming for implementation of governance bodies’ responsibility to care for their wellbeing, but does not use it, as the participation to the public meetings is low, and the information on change of the general state context is limited as the result of low accountability of the politicians in all levels of state governance.
- h. The expectation of positive changes in both procedure of elections and the accountability and caring of responsibilities by the elected candidates exists among the population of Yerevan.

Recommendations

1. For awareness

- a. Continue works on promotion of democracy, civil society and human rights knowledge among general population through governmental and non-governmental agencies
- b. Increase population's awareness on acting electoral code through TV sessions, distribution of materials related to the main points of the electoral code

2. For improving the understanding of the system of elections

- a. During elections, put stress on the secrecy of voting and the transparency of vote count. Include non-governmental organisations, especially youth NGOs in the process of monitoring of elections on all levels.
- b. Increase awareness of youth aged 18-24 on importance of independent voting through collaboration with youth NGOs, public awareness campaigns, etc.

3. For improvement of the performance of the institution of elections

- a. Promote accountability of political parties and the persons included in state governance on different levels through organising TV sessions, open discussions on TV, publications of interviews with the persons included in state governance on different levels in printed media.

Annexes

Annex I.1: Survey methodology

Survey aims and objectives

Survey **aim** is to study the Yerevan population's perception and expectations of the elections institution.

Survey **objectives** are:

- 1) Generalise individual views and perceptions of the elections institution into a general picture for Yerevan city
- 2) Measure Yerevan population's awareness of civil society
- 3) Estimate the population's views of the democratic future of Armenia
- 4) Describe how the population of Yerevan embodies the elections system in the conception of Armenia as a democratic state
- 5) Measure Yerevan population's satisfaction with the elections institution
 - a. Measure mentioned in p. 2 by age and gender groups
 - b. Measure mentioned in p. 2 by criterion of being partisan / non-partisan (of any political party)
 - c. Measure mentioned in p. 2 by employment criterion
- 6) Describe how the population would like to see the election system
 - a. Measure mentioned in p. 3 by age and gender groups
 - b. Measure mentioned in p. 3 by criterion of being partisan / non-partisan (any political party)
- 7) Measure the difference between ideal, reality and public perceptions
- 8) Describe the public opinion strategy of social change in election system
 - a. Evaluate the reality, applicability of the mentioned social strategy and estimate possible social risks

Survey Population

The survey population consists of Yerevan citizens of legal age. The survey subject is the integrated picture of citizens' perceptions, views, and opinions regarding the functioning, effectiveness, and transparency of elections in reference to the ideal picture.

Survey hypotheses

The following working hypotheses were proposed:

- 2) The population of Yerevan has a general image of civil society

- a. The image is based not on any theoretical points, but on concrete examples of USA and EU countries
 - b. The image covers some objects of social life only, in particular, the legal system
- 3) The majority of the population realises the democratic perspective
- a. The term “democracy” is mostly associated with elections system effectiveness
 - b. Democracy is seen as a warrant of protection of human rights, and in particular, social rights
- 4) The “ideal” election system is considered the foundation for the democratic future of Armenia
- a. The most importance is given to fair elections
 - b. Fairness of elections is the consequence secrecy of voting and the independence of choice
- 5) The majority of the population of Yerevan is not satisfied with the electoral system
- a. The primary reason for dissatisfaction is that most of the population views the elections as unfair, non-transparent, and unrepresentative
 - b. Distribution by age and gender is significant, and the lowest level of satisfaction is noticed among males between 18-25 and males older than 60.
 - c. Other groups are more tolerant to this issue
 - d. Employed are more tolerant to the electoral system than unemployed
 - e. Members of a ruling political parties are more satisfied with the electoral system than the members of opposition parties
 - f. Partisan respondents are expressing more radical positions, than non-partisan respondents
- 6) Respondents tend to offer more concrete and short-term solutions rather than abstract and long-term
- 7) The public perceptions in general resemble the “theoretical” image of democratic elections
- 8) Respondents do not take into account social risks of possible radical change, but can mention risks of leaving the situation unchanged.

Methods of data collection

The survey was conducted in one stage using the method of standardized interviewing. Selection of the method is explained by the need to gather reliable quantitative information on the survey problem. Standardized interviews using the questionnaire (see Annex I), aimed to achieve survey objectives and give answer to survey hypotheses.

The sample assumed that the population of Yerevan was the most politically active part of population of Armenia. The conclusions are made for Yerevan only (not for Armenia in general).

In total, 400 respondents were polled. The sampling aggregate is constructed using the following formulas:

$$x = Z(c/100)^2 r(100-r)$$

$$n = N \times / ((N-1)E^2 + x)$$

$$E = \text{Sqrt}[(N-n)x/n(N-1)]$$

where N is the Yerevan population size, r is the fraction of responses that we are interested in, and $Z(c/100)$ is the critical value for the confidence level c .

Calculations are done with the error margin of 5%, confidence level of 95% and response distribution of 50%. The Yerevan population size is considered as 1,091,225 of which 40.9% are men and 59.1% women.

The recommended outcome is 385, which is rounded to 400. For references and sample calculations see the RaoSoft statistical sample calculator at <http://www.raosoft.com>.

The distribution of sample aggregate by communities of Yerevan, gender and age groups was done using the Census 2001⁴⁴ data, and, as the result, the following number of people participated to the survey by the communities of Yerevan:

Table 1: Sampling aggregate construction by Yerevan communities and respondents' gender

Community	Total population	Male percent	Female percent	Sampling aggregate	Male number	Female number
Ajapnyak	104488	46%	54%	38	18	21
Avan	49191	46%	54%	18	8	10
Arabkir	130613	44%	56%	48	21	27
Davtashen	39556	48%	52%	14	7	8
Erebuni	117412	47%	53%	43	20	23
Kentron	131823	45%	55%	48	22	27
Malatia-Sebastia	140888	47%	53%	52	24	27
Nor Nork	139037	46%	54%	51	23	28
Nork Marash	11699	46%	54%	4	2	2
Nubarashen	8920	48%	52%	3	2	2
Shengavit	138922	46%	54%	51	23	27
Kanaker-Zeytun	78676	46%	54%	29	13	15
TOTAL	1091225			400	183	217

⁴⁴ For Census 2001 data, please see <http://www.armstat.am>

Statistical analysis methodology; Survey timeframe

The data entry, processing and analysis was done using the SPSS 11.5 package. During the statistical analysis of the gathered data the frequencies for all variables, variable correlations and cross tabulations for bivariate distribution analysis were calculated where applicable.

The survey was conducted in May-June 2005.

Annex I.2: Survey questionnaire



The survey is being held with support from Caucasus Research Resource Centre (CRRC)

Questionnaire # _____

Interviewer: _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear _____,

You have been included in the sample of sociological survey dedicated to study of electoral systems of Armenia. The aim of our survey is to study perceptions and expectations of population regarding the activities of electoral systems of Armenia.

Would You please be so kind to answer to some questions we would like to ask you. The survey is anonymous and the information, provided by you will be used in our report only in generalised way.

Age	_____
Gender	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Education	<input type="checkbox"/> Higher <input type="checkbox"/> Unfinished higher <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary special <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> 8 grades <input type="checkbox"/> Less then 8 grades
Sphere of employment	<input type="checkbox"/> Civil servant <input type="checkbox"/> NGO employee <input type="checkbox"/> For-profit organization employee <input type="checkbox"/> Entrepreneur, business owner <input type="checkbox"/> Student <input type="checkbox"/> Pensioner <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed <input type="checkbox"/> House-keeper <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____
A1. How long do you / your family live in Yerevan	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 5 years <input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 years <input type="checkbox"/> 10-15 years <input type="checkbox"/> More than 15 years
A2. Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Partially <input type="checkbox"/> No
A3. What are the characteristics of really democratic state by your opinion?	<input type="checkbox"/> All candidates and parties have equal opportunities to participate in elections. <input type="checkbox"/> Elections are being held without serious misconducts. <input type="checkbox"/> State officials of all levels conduct their duties. <input type="checkbox"/> The population has opportunity of free opinion expression. <input type="checkbox"/> All human rights are protected. <input type="checkbox"/> Every citizen is protected by the law <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
A4. Is Armenia a democratic state?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → To Q.B1 <input type="checkbox"/> No
A5. Should it become one?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → To A7 <input type="checkbox"/> No

A6. If No, then why?	
A7. Please mention the primary source for democratisation of Armenia. (Interviewer mark only one answer)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Parliament <input type="checkbox"/> NGOs <input type="checkbox"/> The President <input type="checkbox"/> International organisations <input type="checkbox"/> The Government <input type="checkbox"/> Political parties <input type="checkbox"/> Separate political leaders <input type="checkbox"/> Legal system	
B1. Are you aware of the concept of “civil society”?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Partially <input type="checkbox"/> No → To B4
B2. Please note several societies that are close in you perception to “civil society”?	<input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____
B3. Is the protection of human rights and freedoms one of the basics of civil society?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
B4. Are you aware of the concept of “Human rights”?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → to C1.
B5. Please note some of human rights. (Interviewer: If the right to elect and be elected is mentioned move to question C2.)	<input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____
C1. Is the right to elect and be elected on of human rights?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer.
C2. The right to elect and be elected includes a number of components. Please evaluate the situation with some of them in Armenia according to your experience.	
C2.1. Voting secrecy	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully secret <input type="checkbox"/> More secret then open <input type="checkbox"/> More open then secret <input type="checkbox"/> Fully open <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C2.2. Independence of choice	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully independent <input type="checkbox"/> More independent then obliged <input type="checkbox"/> More obliged then independent <input type="checkbox"/> Fully obliged <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C3. Election fairness	<input type="checkbox"/> Fully fair <input type="checkbox"/> More fair then falsified <input type="checkbox"/> More falsified then fair <input type="checkbox"/> Fully falsified <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C4. Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Partially <input type="checkbox"/> No
C5. Are you a member of a political party?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → to C7.
C6. If yes, how often do You participate in meetings or other events organised by the party?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Often <input type="checkbox"/> Seldom <input type="checkbox"/> Never

C7. How often do You participate in political meetings, events?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Often <input type="checkbox"/> Seldom <input type="checkbox"/> Never
C8. Did You participate in Presidential elections in 2003?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
C9. Did You participate in Parliamentary elections in 2003?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
C10. Did You participate in elections to local self-governing bodies (municipal level)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
C11. Are You satisfied with the electoral legislation of Armenia?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Not aware → To C.13
C12. Do all parties and candidates have equal opportunities in elections according to electoral legislation?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → to C14 <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C13. Do all parties and candidates have equal opportunities in elections in reality?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C14. Do You trust Your candidate?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Partially <input type="checkbox"/> No
C15. Are the elected state officials accountable before the population today?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → To C17.
C16. If Yes, how is this expressed? (→ to C18)	

C17. If No, how should this be expressed?	

C18. Is the personality of the official important for effective conducting of his duties?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → to C20
C19. If yes, then why?	<input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C20. Is the officials personality important on all levels of governance?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → To C22. <input type="checkbox"/> No
C21. If No, on what levels it is important?	<input type="checkbox"/> State governance level (The President, Parliament, Government, Governors) <input type="checkbox"/> Local governing level (Municipality, The Mayor, Community government)
C22. Please note the most important level of elections in terms of state and population?	<input type="checkbox"/> Presidential <input type="checkbox"/> Parliamentary <input type="checkbox"/> Local self-governing bodies <input type="checkbox"/> All <input type="checkbox"/> Neither one <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C23. Which level of elected officials must care of the wellbeing of the population at first? (Interviewer, mark one answer only)	<input type="checkbox"/> President <input type="checkbox"/> Parliament <input type="checkbox"/> Municipal government <input type="checkbox"/> All <input type="checkbox"/> Neither one <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer

C24. Should the population demand the completion of that duty?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → To C27
C25. Is the population able to demand the completion of that duty?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → to V27 <input type="checkbox"/> No
C26. If No, what is it connected with?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
C27. Do you expect any changes from the Parliamentary elections in 2008 and Presidential elections of 2009?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No → do not read C28 <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer
C28. If Yes, in which direction?	<input type="checkbox"/> Towards better <input type="checkbox"/> Towards worse <input type="checkbox"/> Difficult to answer

Thank You

Interviewer!

Describe the sample violations, if any

Annex 2: Respondents' demographic characteristics

Table 2: Respondents by age

Age	Total	Percent
18-24	50	12.5%
25-39	108	27%
40-54	113	28.25%
55-64	47	11.75%
65 and over	82	20.5%
Total	400	100%

Table 3: Respondents by age and gender

Age groups	Male		Female		Total	
18-24	23	12.6%	27	12.4%	50	12.5%
25-39	55	30.2%	53	24.3%	108	27.0%
40-54	40	22.0%	73	33.5%	113	28.3%
55-64	26	14.3%	21	9.6%	47	11.8%
65 and over	38	20.9%	44	20.2%	82	20.5%
Total	182	100.0%	218	100.0%	400	100.0%

Table 4: Respondents by age, gender and education

	Male					Female				
	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65 and over	18-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65 and over
Higher	4	25	22	14	21	9	25	41	14	20
Incomplete Higher	12	1	4			12	4	4		2
Secondary special	5	13	6	7	8	1	15	10	1	7
Secondary	1	13	8	4	2	5	9	18	6	11
8 years	1	3		1	3					3
Less than 8 years					4					1
Total	23	55	40	26	38	27	53	73	21	44

Table 5: Respondents by employment

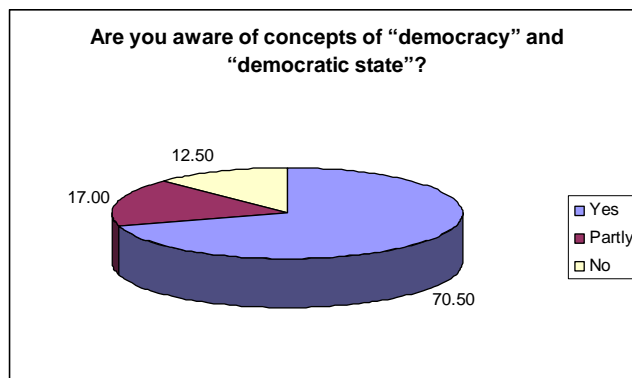
Employment type	Frequency	Percent
State service	69	17.3
Non-profit organisation	19	4.8
For-profit organisation	39	9.8
Private entrepreneur	21	5.3
Student	31	7.8
Pensioner	77	19.3
Unemployed	76	19.0
Housewife	65	16.3
Other	3	.8
Total	400	100.0

Annex 3: Data tables for The Awareness Characteristics

Annex 3.1.1: The subjective estimation of democratic awareness by the respondents

Frequency for q. A2: Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?

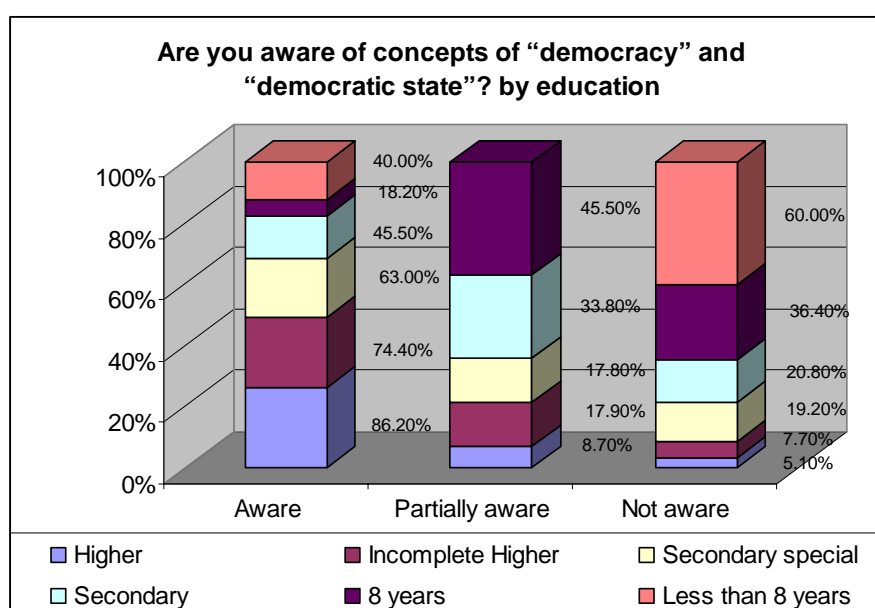
	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	282	70.5
Partly	68	17.0
No	50	12.5
Total	400	100.0



Annex 3.1.2: The subjective estimation of democratic awareness by education

Crosstabulation for q. A2 (Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?) by education

	Higher	Incomplete Higher	Secondary special	Secondary	8 years	Less than 8 years	Total
Aware	168	29	46	35	2	2	282
	86.2%	74.4%	63.0%	45.5%	18.2%	40.0%	
Partially aware	17	7	13	26	5		68
	8.7%	17.9%	17.8%	33.8%	45.5%		
Not aware	10	3	14	16	4	3	50
	5.1%	7.7%	19.2%	20.8%	36.4%	60.0%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	400



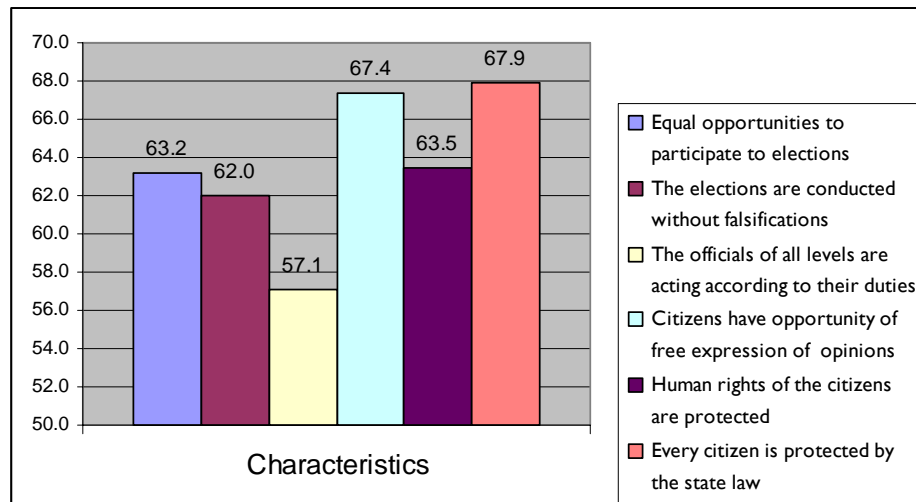
Annex 3.1.3: Respondents' ability to characterise an ideal democracy

Crosstabulation for q. A3 (What are the characteristics of really democratic state by your opinion?), considered "Difficult to Answer" option only, by education

Higher	Incomplete Higher	Secondary special	Secondary	8 years	Less than 8 years	Total
18	5	22	23	4	1	73
24.7%	6.8%	30.1%	31.5%	5.5%	1.4%	100.0%

Annex 3.1.4: Characterising an ideal democracy: the priorities of characteristics

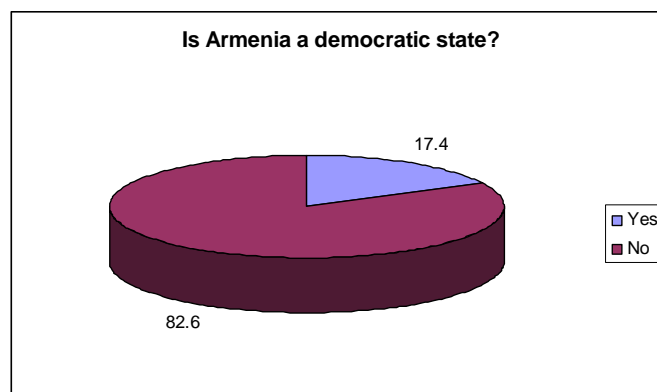
Chart for q. A3 (What are the characteristics of really democratic state by your opinion?), options considered in percent of responses



Annex 3.1.5: Is Armenia a democratic state?

Frequency table for q. A4 (Is Armenia a democratic state?)

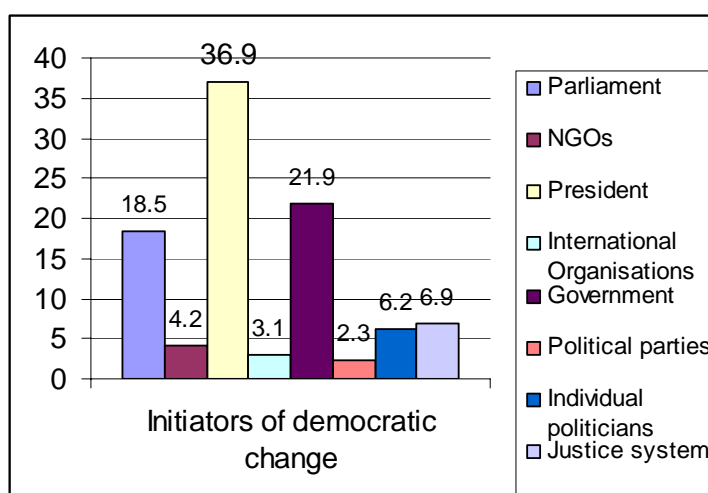
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	63	17.4
No	299	82.6
Total	362	100.0



Annex 3.1.6: The initiators of democratic change in Armenia

Frequency table for q. A7 (Please mention the primary source for democratisation of Armenia.)

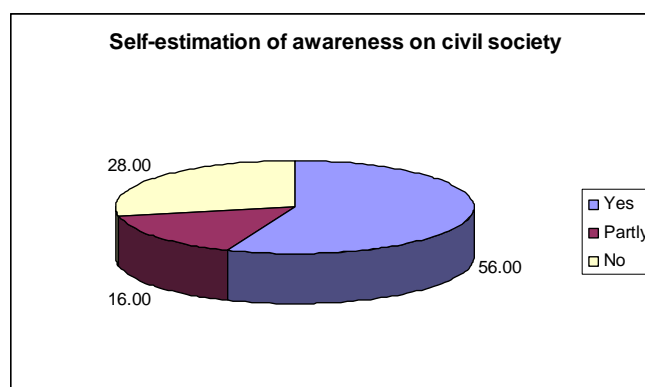
Initiator	Frequency	Percent
Parliament	48	18.5
NGOs	11	4.2
President	96	36.9
International Organisations	8	3.1
Government	57	21.9
Political parties	6	2.3
Individual politicians	16	6.2
Justice system	18	6.9
Total	260	100.0



Annex 3.2.1: The subjective estimation of awareness on civil society by the respondents

Frequency table for q. B1 (Are you aware of the concept of “civil society”?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	224	56.0
Partly	64	16.0
No	112	28.0
Total	400	100.0

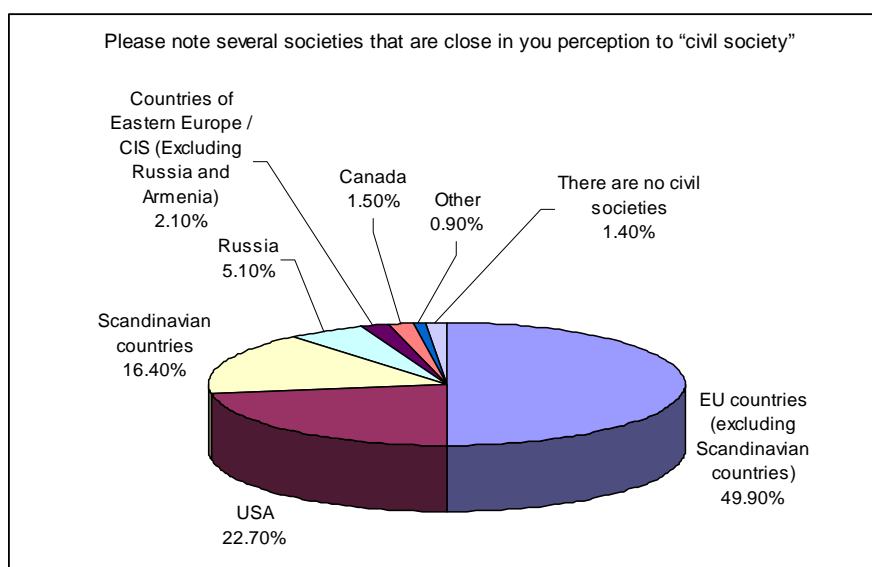


Annex 3.2.2: The subjective estimation of awareness on civil society by the respondents

Multiple Response Frequency table for q. B2 (Please note several societies that are close in you perception to “civil society”)

Country	Frequency of responses	Percent
EU countries (excluding Scandinavian countries)	167	49.9%
USA	76	22.7%
Scandinavian countries	55	16.4%
Russia	17	5.1%
Countries of Eastern Europe / CIS (Excluding Russia and Armenia)	7	2.1%
Canada	5	1.5%
Other	3	0.9%
There are no civil societies	5	1.4%
Total	335	100%

Multiple Response Frequency chart for q. B2 (Please note several societies that are close in you perception to “civil society”)



Annex 3.2.3: Respondents' estimation of awareness on human rights

Frequency table for q. B3 (Is the protection of human rights and freedoms one of the basics of civil society?)

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	272	94.5
No	5	1.7
Difficult to answer	11	3.8
Total	288	100.0

Frequency table for q. B4 (Are you aware of the concept of “Human rights”?)

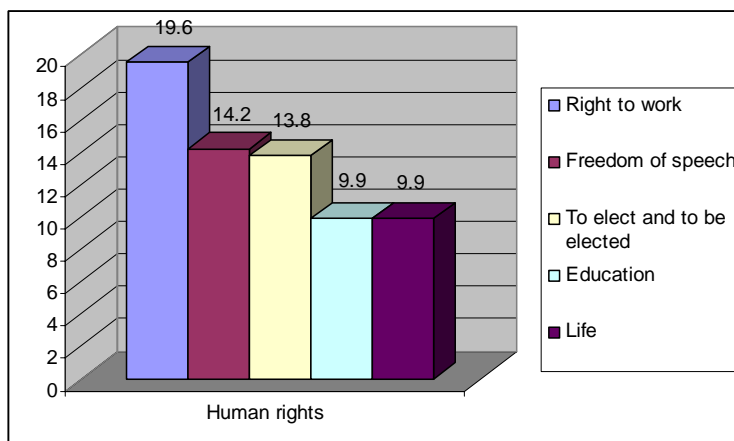
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	380	95.0
No	20	5.0
Total	400	100.0

Annex 3.2.4: Human rights mentioned by the respondents

Frequency table for q. B5 (Please note some of human rights)

Human rights	Count of responses	Percent of responses
Right to work	148	19.6
Freedom of speech	107	14.2
To elect and to be elected	104	13.8
Education	75	9.9
Life	75	9.9
Equality before the Law	55	7.3
Freedom of opinion	49	6.5
Personal and family life protection	46	6.1
Freedom of religion	21	2.8
Right to have quality healthcare	18	2.4
Freedom of changing place of living	17	2.3
Right to have property	16	2.1
Right to rest and leisure	16	2.1
Other	6	0.8
Right of personal security	1	0.1
TOTAL	754	100

Chart for q. B5 (Please note some of human rights), top-5 only

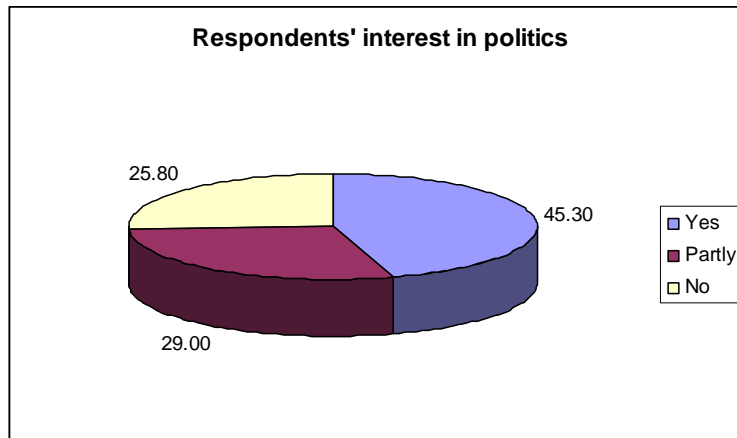


Annex 3.3.1: Respondents' interest in politics

Frequency table for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	181	45.3
Partly	116	29.0
No	103	25.8
Total	400	100.0

Chart for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?)

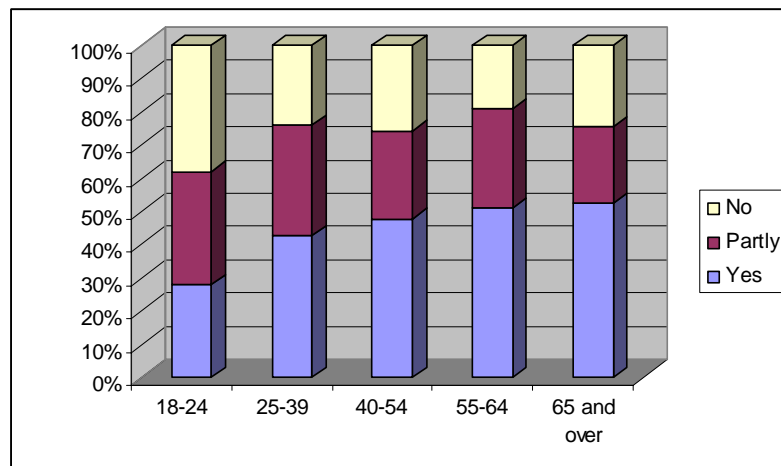


Annex 3.3.2: Interest in politics by age groups

Crosstabulation for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?)

	18-24		25-39		40-54		55-64		65 and over		Total
Yes	14	28.00	46	42.59	54	47.79	24	51.06	43	52.44	181
Partly	17	34.00	36	33.33	30	26.55	14	29.79	19	23.17	116
No	19	38.00	26	24.07	29	25.66	9	19.15	20	24.39	103
Total	50	100.00	108	100.00	113	100.00	47	100.00	82	100.00	400

Chart for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?)



Annex 3.3.3: Interest in politics by education

Crosstabulation for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?)

	Higher		Incomplete Higher		Secondary special		Secondary		8 years		Less than 8 years		Total
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Yes	109	55.90	17	43.59	26	35.62	27	35.06	1	9.09	1	20.00	181
Partly	54	27.69	12	30.77	26	35.62	16	20.78	5	45.45	3	60.00	116
No	32	16.41	10	25.64	21	28.77	34	44.16	5	45.45	1	20.00	103
Total	195		39		73		77		11		5		400

Annex 3.3.4: Interest in politics by awareness on democracy and civil society

Crosstabulation for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?) by q. A2 (Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?)

		Awareness on democracy						Total
		Yes		Partly		No		
Interest in politics	Yes	161	57.09	11	16.18	9	18.00	181
	Partly	80	28.37	27	39.71	9	18.00	116
	No	41	14.54	30	44.12	32	64.00	103
	Total	282	100%	68	100%	50	100%	400

Crosstabulation for q. C4 (Are you interested with politics, changes going on in the country?) by q. A2 (Are you aware of the concept of “civil society”?)

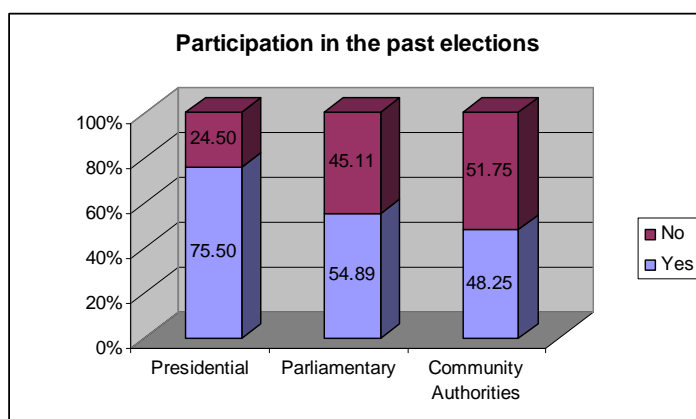
		Awareness on civil society						Total
		Yes		Partly		No		
Interest in politics	Yes	140	62.50	16	25.00	25	22.32	181
	Partly	60	26.79	21	32.81	35	31.25	116
	No	24	10.71	27	42.19	52	46.43	103
	Total	224	100%	64	100%	112	100%	400

Annex 3.3.5: Interest in politics by awareness on democracy and civil society

Frequency table for q. C8-C10 (Have you participated in past elections (Presidential, Parliamentary and Community authorities’))

	Presidential		Parliamentary		Community Authorities	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	302	75.50	302	54.89	302	48.25
No	98	24.50	98	45.11	98	51.75
Total	400	100.00	400	100.00	400	100.00

Comparative chart for q. C8-C10 (Have you participated in past elections (Presidential, Parliamentary and Community authorities'))

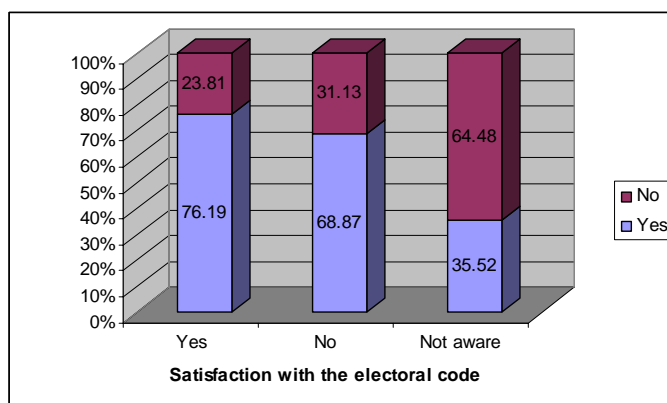


Annex 3.3.6: Participation to parliamentary elections in Armenia

Crosstabulation for q. C11 (Are You satisfied with the electoral legislation of Armenia?) by q. C9 (Did You participate in Parliamentary elections in 2003?)

		Are You satisfied with the electoral legislation of Armenia?						Total
		Yes		No		Not aware		
Did You participate in Parliamentary elections in 2003?	Yes	48	76.19	104	68.87	65	35.52	217
	No	15	23.81	47	31.13	118	64.48	180
	Total	63	100.00	151	100.00	183	100.00	397

Chart for q. C11 (Are You satisfied with the electoral legislation of Armenia?) by q. C9 (Did You participate in Parliamentary elections in 2003?)

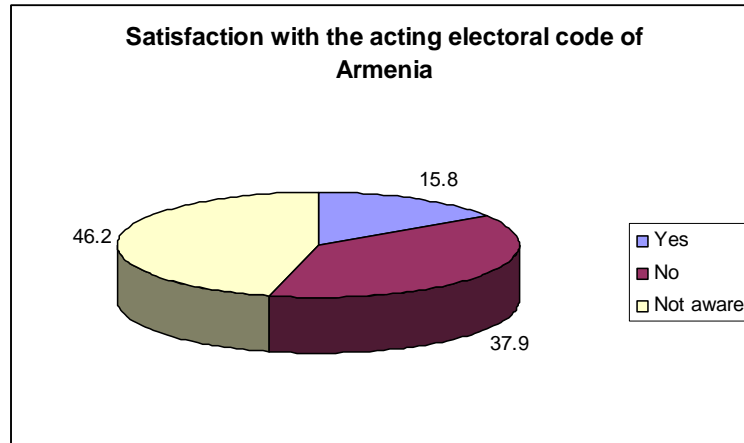


Annex 3.3.7: Satisfaction with the electoral code of Armenia

Frequency table for q. C11 (Are You satisfied with the electoral legislation of Armenia?)

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	63	15.8
No	151	37.9
Not aware	184	46.2
Total	398	100.0

Chart for q. C11 (Are You satisfied with the electoral legislation of Armenia?)



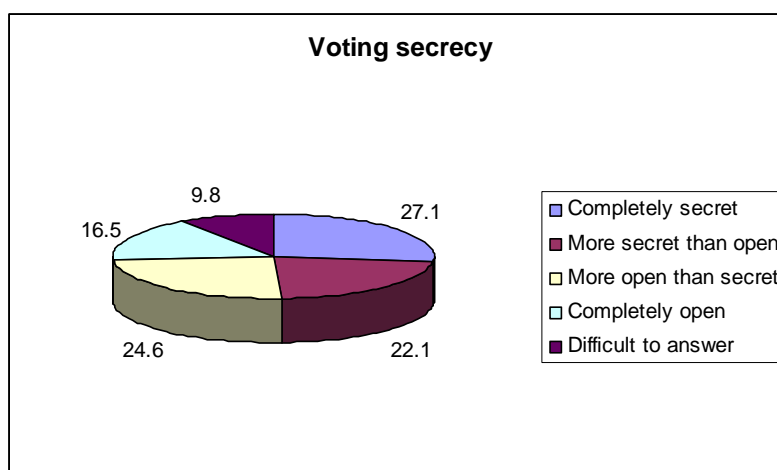
Annex 4: Data tables for Understanding of the electoral system

Annex 4.1.1: Voting Secrecy

Frequency table for q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with voting secrecy in Armenia according to your experience.)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Completely secret	108	27.1
More secret than open	88	22.1
More open than secret	98	24.6
Completely open	66	16.5
Difficult to answer	39	9.8
Total	399	100.0

Chart for q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with voting secrecy in Armenia according to your experience.)

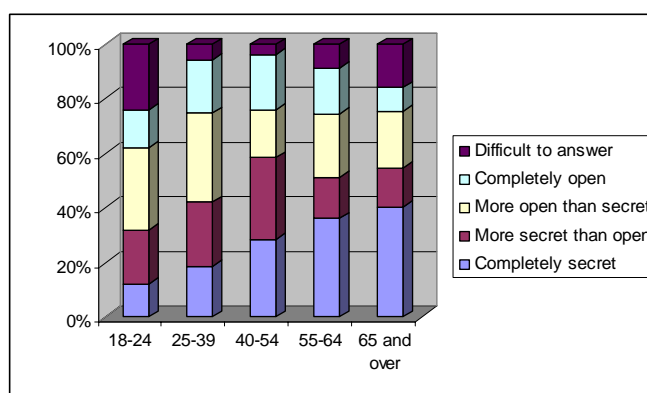


Annex 4.1.2: Voting Secrecy evaluation by age groups

Crosstabulation for q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with voting secrecy in Armenia according to your experience.) by age groups

	18-24		25-39		40-54		55-64		65 and over		Total
Completely secret	6	12.00	20	18.69	32	28.32	17	36.17	33	40.24	108
More secret than open	10	20.00	25	23.36	34	30.09	7	14.89	12	14.63	88
More open than secret	15	30.00	35	32.71	20	17.70	11	23.40	17	20.73	98
Completely open	7	14.00	21	19.63	23	20.35	8	17.02	7	8.54	66
Difficult to answer	12	24.00	6	5.61	4	3.54	4	8.51	13	15.85	39
Total	50	100.00	107	100.00	113	100.00	47	100.00	82	100.00	399

Crosstabulation for q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with voting secrecy in Armenia according to your experience.) by age groups

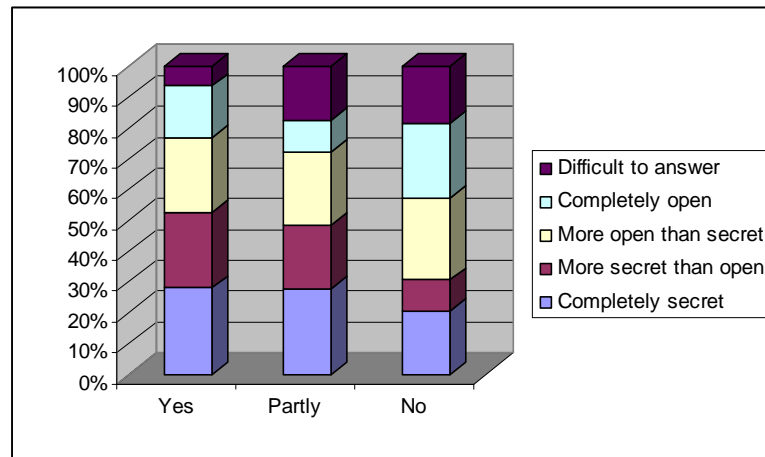


Annex 4.1.3: Voting Secrecy evaluation by democratic awareness

Crosstabulation for q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with voting secrecy in Armenia according to your experience.) by q.A2 (Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?)

	Awareness self-estimation						Total
	Yes		Partly		No		
Completely secret	79	28.01	19	27.94	10	20.41	108
More secret than open	69	24.47	14	20.59	5	10.20	88
More open than secret	69	24.47	16	23.53	13	26.53	98
Completely open	47	16.67	7	10.29	12	24.49	66
Difficult to answer	18	6.38	12	17.65	9	18.37	39
Total	282	100%	68	100%	49	100%	399

Chart for q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with voting secrecy in Armenia according to your experience.) by q.A2 (Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?)

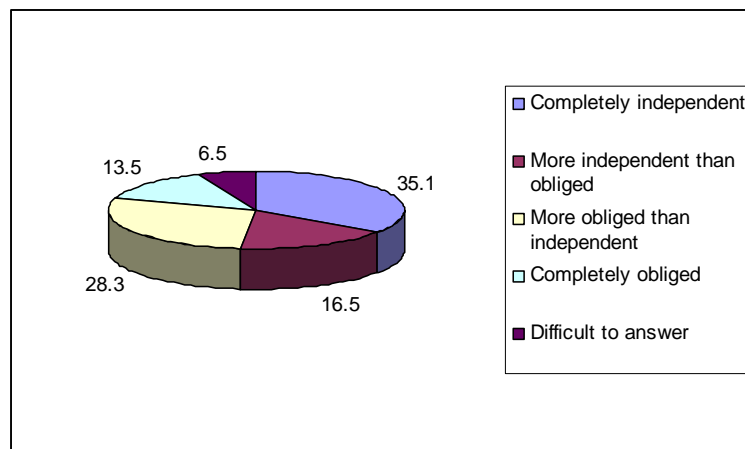


Annex 4.2.1: Independence of choice

Frequency table for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Completely independent	140	35.1
More independent than obliged	66	16.5
More obliged than independent	113	28.3
Completely obliged	54	13.5
Difficult to answer	26	6.5
Total	399	100.0

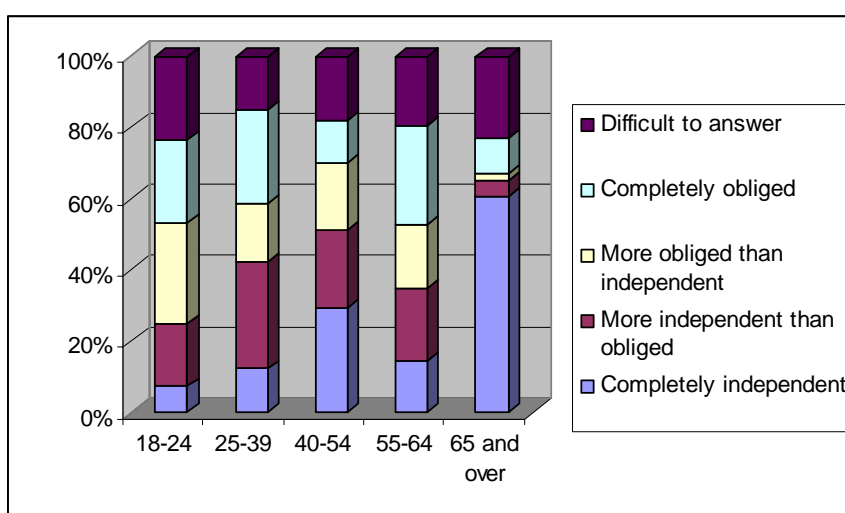
Chart for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.)



Annex 4.2.2: Independence of choice by age groups

Crosstabulation for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.) by age groups

	18-24		25-39		40-54		55-64		65 and over		Total
Completely independent	6	12.00	31	28.97	53	46.90	18	38.30	32	39.02	140
More independent than obliged	5	10.00	26	24.30	15	13.27	10	21.28	10	12.20	66
More obliged than independent	21	42.00	33	30.84	30	26.55	8	17.02	21	25.61	113
Completely obliged	5	10.00	15	14.02	14	12.39	9	19.15	11	13.41	54
Difficult to answer	13	26.00	2	1.87	1	0.88	2	4.26	8	9.76	26
Total	50	100%	107	100%	113	100%	47	100%	82	100%	399

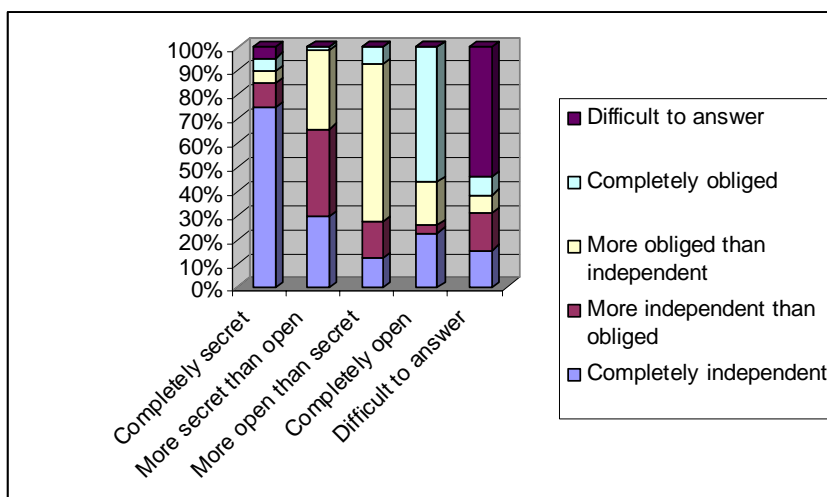


Annex 4.2.3: Independence of choice by secrecy of voting

Crosstabulation for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.) by q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with secrecy of voting in Armenia according to your experience.)

	Completely secret		More secret than open		More open than secret		Completely open		Difficult to answer		Total
Completely independent	81	75.00	26	29.55	12	12.24	15	22.73	6	15.38	140
More independent than obliged	11	10.19	32	36.36	15	15.31	2	3.03	6	15.38	66
More obliged than independent	5	4.63	29	32.95	64	65.31	12	18.18	3	7.69	113
Completely obliged	6	5.56	1	1.14	7	7.14	37	56.06	3	7.69	54
Difficult to answer	5	4.63		0.00		0.00		0.00	21	53.85	26
Total	108	100%	88	100%	98	100%	66	100%	39	100%	399

Chart for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.) by q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with secrecy of voting in Armenia according to your experience.)

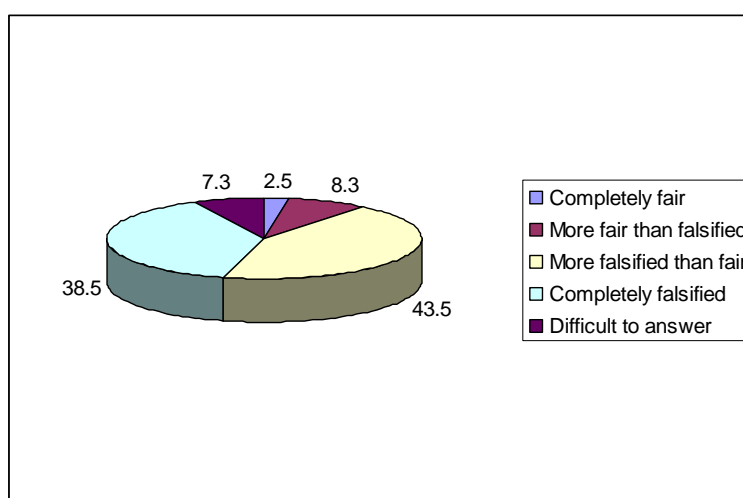


Annex 4.3.1: Fairness of elections

Frequency for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.)

	Frequency	Percent
Completely fair	10	2.5
More fair than falsified	33	8.3
More falsified than fair	174	43.5
Completely falsified	154	38.5
Difficult to answer	29	7.3
Total	400	100.0

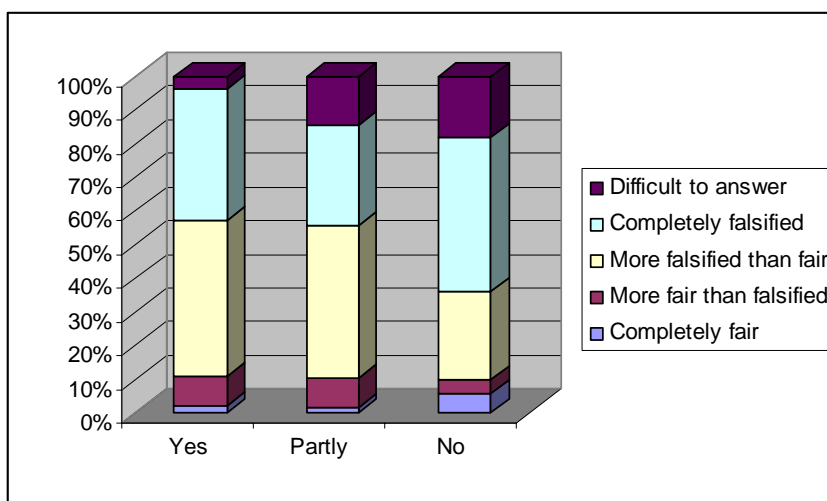
Chart for q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.)



Annex 4.3.2: Fairness of elections by awareness characteristics

Frequency for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q.A2 (Are you aware of concepts of “democracy” and “democratic state”?)

	Yes		Partly		No		Total
Completely fair	6	2.13	1	1.47	3	6.00	10
More fair than falsified	25	8.87	6	8.82	2	4.00	33
More falsified than fair	130	46.10	31	45.59	13	26.00	174
Completely falsified	111	39.36	20	29.41	23	46.00	154
Difficult to answer	10	3.55	10	14.71	9	18.00	29
Total	282	100%	68	100%	50	100%	400

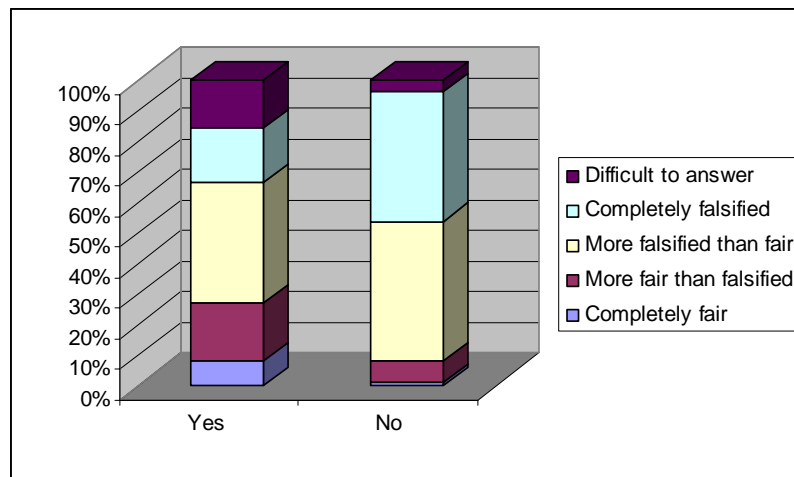


Annex 4.3.3: Fairness of elections by considering Armenia a democratic state

Crosstabulation for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q.A4 (Is Armenia a democratic state?)

		Is Armenia a democratic state?				Total
		Yes	No	Yes	No	
Fairness of elections	Completely fair	5	7.94	3	1.00	8
	More fair than falsified	12	19.05	21	7.02	33
	More falsified than fair	25	39.68	137	45.82	162
	Completely falsified	11	17.46	127	42.47	138
	Difficult to answer	10	15.87	11	3.68	21
	Total	63		299		362

Chart for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q.A4 (Is Armenia a democratic state?)

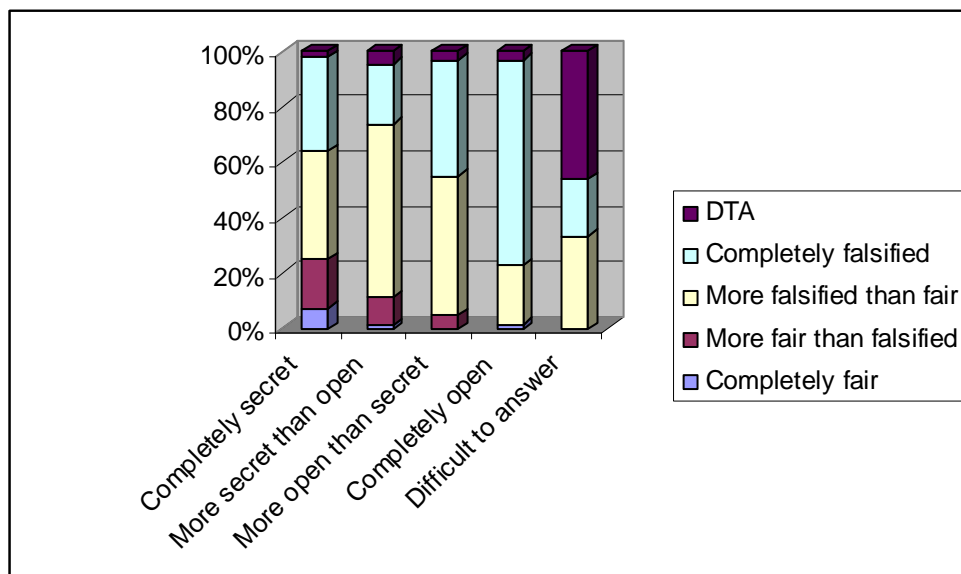


Annex 4.3.4: Fairness of elections by secrecy of voting

Crosstabulation for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with secrecy of voting in Armenia according to your experience.)

		Secrecy of voting										
		Completely secret		More secret than open		More open than secret		Completely open		Difficult to answer		Total
Fairness of elections	Completely fair	8	7.41	1	1.14		0.00	1	1.52		0.00	10
	More fair than falsified	19	17.59	9	10.23	5	5.10		0.00		0.00	33
	More falsified than fair	42	38.89	55	62.50	49	50.00	14	21.21	13	33.33	173
	Completely falsified	37	34.26	19	21.59	41	41.84	49	74.24	8	20.51	154
	DTA	2	1.85	4	4.55	3	3.06	2	3.03	18	46.15	29
	Total	108	100%	88	100%	98	100%	66	100%	39	100%	399

Chart for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q. C2.1 (Please evaluate the situation with secrecy of voting in Armenia according to your experience.)

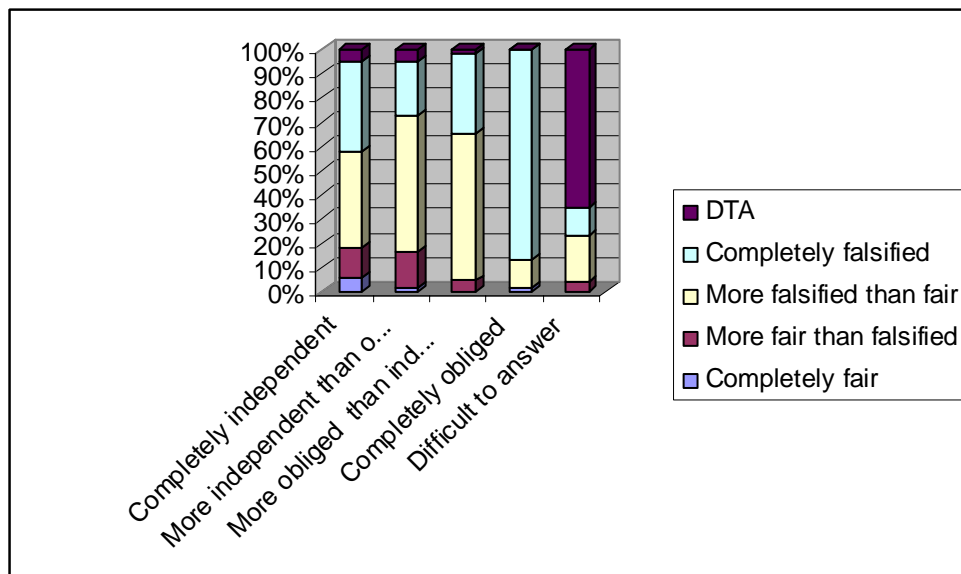


Annex 4.3.5: Fairness of elections by independence of choice

Crosstabulation for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.)

		Independence of choice										
		Completely independent		More independent than obliged		More obliged than independent		Completely obliged		Difficult to answer		Total
Fairness of elections	Completely fair	8	5.71	1	1.52		0.00	1	1.85		0.00	10
	More fair than falsified	17	12.14	10	15.15	5	4.42		0.00	1	3.85	33
	More falsified than fair	56	40.00	37	56.06	69	61.06	6	11.11	5	19.23	173
	Completely falsified	52	37.14	15	22.73	37	32.74	47	87.04	3	11.54	154
	DTA	7	5.00	3	4.55	2	1.77		0.00	17	65.38	29
	Total	140	100%	66	100%	113	100%	54	100%	26	100%	399

Chart for q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.) by q. C2.2 (Please evaluate the situation with independence of choice in Armenia according to your experience.)



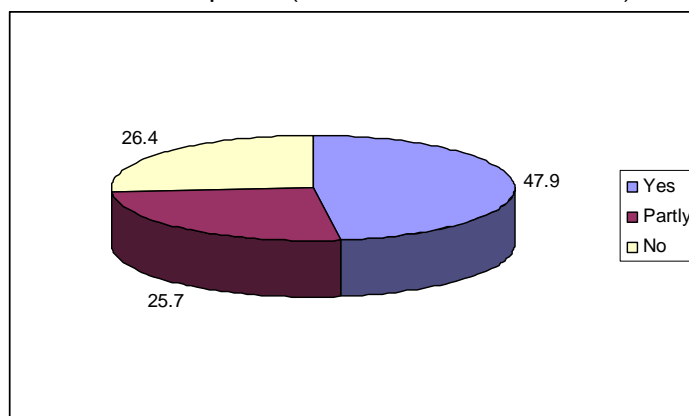
Annex 5: Data tables for Expectations from the institution of elections

Annex 5.1.1: Trust to the elected candidates

Frequency table for q. C14 (Do You trust Your candidate?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	147	47.9
Partly	79	25.7
No	81	26.4
Total	307	100.0

Chart for q. C14 (Do You trust Your candidate?)



Annex 5.1.2: Trust to the elected candidates

Crosstabulation for q. C14 (Do You trust Your candidate?) and q. C2.3 (Please evaluate the situation with fairness of elections in Armenia according to your experience.)

		Independence of choice										
		Completely fair		More fair, than falsifies		More falsified, than fair		Completely falsified		DTA		Total
Trust to candidate	Yes	10	100.00	20	71.43	59	41.26	52	44.44	6	66.67	147
	Partly		0.00	4	14.29	56	39.16	18	15.38	1	11.11	79
	No		0.00	4	14.29	28	19.58	47	40.17	2	22.22	81
	Total	10	100.00	28	100.00	143	100.00	117	100.00	9	100.00	307

Annex 5.1.3: Accountability of the elected candidates

Frequency table for q. C15 (Are the elected state officials accountable before the population today?)

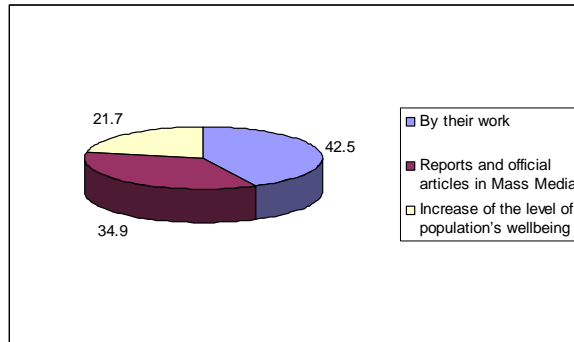
	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	114	30.2
No	264	69.8
Total	378	100.0

Annex 5.1.4: Real/desired ways of accountability of the elected candidates

Frequency table for q. C16 (If Yes, how is this [accountability] expressed?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
By their work	45	42.5
Reports and official articles in Mass Media	37	34.9
Increase of the level of population's wellbeing	23	21.7
Total	105	100.0

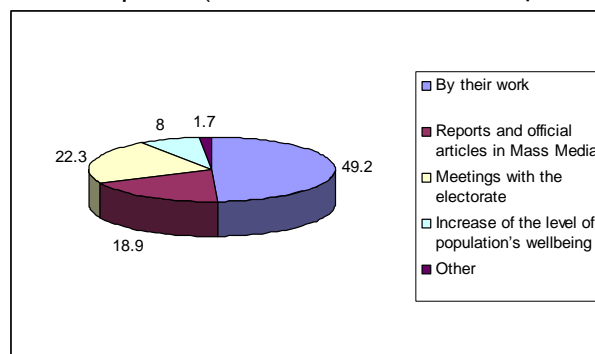
Chart for q. C16 (If Yes, how is this [accountability] expressed?)



Frequency table for q. C17 (If No, how should this be expressed?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
By their work	117	49.2
Reports and official articles in Mass Media	45	18.9
Meetings with the electorate	53	22.3
Increase of the level of population's wellbeing	19	8.0
Other	4	1.7
Total	238	100.0

Chart for q. C17 (If No, how should this be expressed?)



Annex 5.2.1: Importance of the person of politician

Frequency table for q. C18 (Is the personality of the official important for effective conducting of his duties?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	299	75.1
No	99	24.9
Total	398	100.0

Frequency table for q. C20 (Is the official's personality important on all levels of governance?)

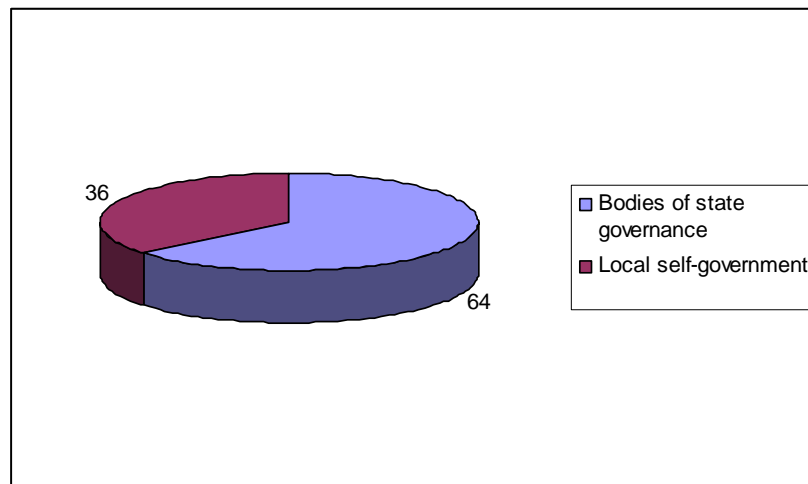
	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	294	74.8
No	99	25.2
Total	393	100.0

Annex 5.2.2: Levels of power, where the person of a politician is important

Frequency table for q. C21 (on what levels it [the person of a politician] is important?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Bodies of state governance	55	64.0
Local self-government	31	36.0
Total	86	100.0

Chart for q. C21 (on what levels it [the person of a politician] is important?)

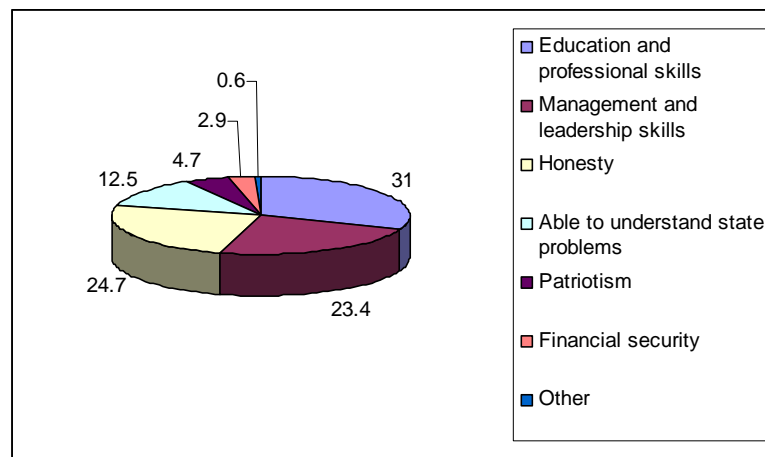


Annex 5.2.3: Desired personal qualities of a politician

Frequency table for q. C19 (The desired personal qualities of a politician)

	Frequency of response	Valid Percent
Education and professional skills	119	31.0
Management and leadership skills	90	23.4
Honesty	95	24.7
Able to understand state problems	48	12.5
Patriotism	18	4.7
Financial security	11	2.9
Other	3	0.6
Total	384	100

Chart for q. C19 (The desired personal qualities of a politician)



Annex 5.3.1: Which level of state power should primary care for population's wellbeing?

Frequency table for q. C23 (Which level of elected officials must care of the wellbeing of the population at first?)

	Frequency	Percent
President	98	24.5
Parliament	36	9.0
Local self-government	89	22.3
All of above	172	43.0
None of above	4	1.0
DTA	1	.3
Total	400	100.0

Annex 5.3.2: Population's claiming for caring for their wellbeing

Frequency table for q. C24 (Should the population demand the completion of that duty?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	384	96.5
No	14	3.5
Total	398	100.0

Frequency table for q. C25 (Is the population able to demand the completion of that duty?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	135	37.2
No	228	62.8
Total	363	100.0

Annex 5.3.3: Population's claiming for caring for their wellbeing

Crosstabulation for q. C25 (Is the population able to demand the completion of that duty?) by q. C7 (How often do You participate in political meetings, events?)

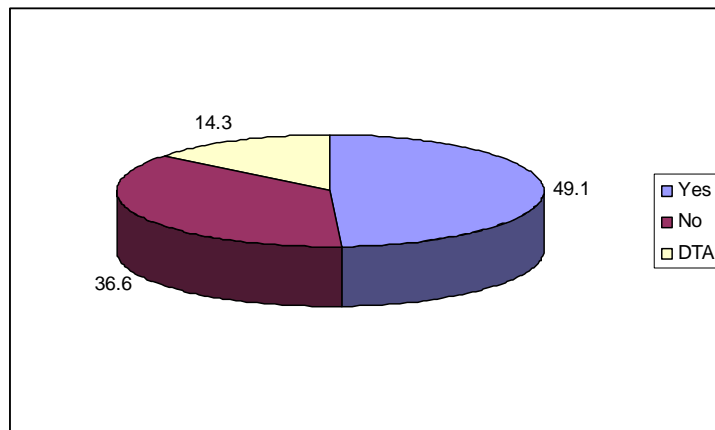
		Frequency of participation in political meetings, events								
		Always		Frequently		Seldom		Never		Total
Is the population able to demand the completion of that duty?	Yes	3	60.00	8	40.00	16	47.06	108	35.53	135
	No	2	40.00	12	60.00	18	52.94	196	64.47	228
	Total	5	100%	20	100%	34	100%	304	100%	363

Annex 5.4.1: Expecting changes from upcoming elections

Frequency table for q. C27 (Do you expect any changes from the Parliamentary elections in 2008 and Presidential elections of 2009?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	196	49.1
No	146	36.6
DTA	57	14.3
Total	399	100.0

Chart for q. C27 (Do you expect any changes from the Parliamentary elections in 2008 and Presidential elections of 2009?)

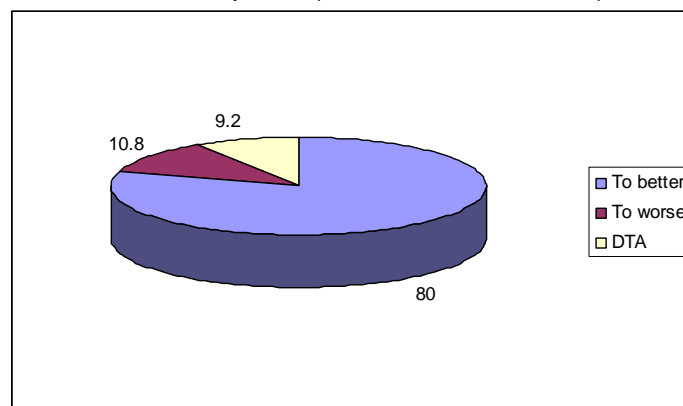


Annex 5.4.2: The nature of changes expected

Frequency table for q. C28 (If Yes, in which direction?)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
To better	156	80.0
To worse	21	10.8
DTA	18	9.2
Total	195	100.0

Chart for q. C28 (If Yes, in which direction?)



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