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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Tradition and rituals are often supported by strong cultural beliefs. These cultural beliefs and attitudes are not easily changed in a society. Some of these traditional perceptions can even violate human rights of an individual and community however, changing them calls for a long and patient campaign of persuasion, which will create a movement for change. In the political environment of Armenia, we notice that the movement of change towards democratic principles might be a difficult one, as political manipulations and anti-European integration pressures hinder the break from stereotypes and traditional patriarchal values, especially those related to family are considered a threat to the national fabric.

This survey attempts to point out some of the prevalent attitudes and beliefs, or lack thereof, which perpetuate gender stereotypes, inequality, and gender discrimination in Armenia. The survey points out contradictions in people's minds (both men and women) regarding these issues. For example, one of the findings shows that while most believe that domestic violence (DV) is not permissible, more than half believe that it is justified in some cases. The survey also brings to light some discrepancies between younger and older generations. What is of concern, however, is the lack of emancipation in women and their own misunderstanding regarding aspects of women's rights. Generally, women themselves misunderstand what their role in society should be, and the majority believes

that men have more leadership skills than women do. Such attitudes reinforce the patriarchal society existent in Armenia, which in turn creates a fertile ground for discrimination and even violence against women.

Gender stereotypes set standards for boys and girls, for men and women. These standards dictate people's behavior and, in the case of non-compliance, have the power to expose those people to discrimination. Gender discrimination, in turn, reinforces stereotypes and not only creates a vicious circle, but also passes it onto future generations. Centers dealing with domestic violence in the United States, during their training sessions, point out the factors that contribute to DV and which reinforce the cause of abuse; i.e. the desire for power and control. These factors include female stereotypes, male stereotypes, a patriarchal society, a culture of violence, and violence itself. Understanding stereotypes and attitudes towards gender is important for any society, which seeks to raise awareness of women's rights, increase women's emancipation, combat gender inequality, as well as patriarchal social norms.

Gender does not mean "sex" and it is not specific only to women. If sex describes biological characteristics, then gender refers to roles, norms and functions that men and women accomplish in society in general - the way they behave towards one another and the power dynamic between them. Gender is a learned identity. It can change over time and various socio-economic or political factors influence it.

Gender stereotypes reflect common societal norms and attitudes as to how the sexes are expected to behave. These notions are often created and reinforced by the media, traditions, religion, or political and economic situations. That stereotypes perpetuate gender inequality and lead to discrimination and DV is well known. This, in turn, has a negative impact on the development of a country. Countries that treat women as second-class citizens are deprived of a major contribution to their economic, social, cultural and political development. Gender equality means that men and women have equal opportunities and rights -not that men and women are the same.

To break stereotypes, the state/society must address the prevailing attitudes that dominate Armenia's society. For example, if women are not regarded as leaders, specific actions must take place at the governmental level to encourage, appoint and promote women to leadership positions.

The loss of norms and mores, the complete shake-up of the value system and way of life in post-independence Armenia, has had a negative impact. It has created insecurities in people who, not grasping the changes and meanings of many modern concepts embraced traditionalism and conservatism as a safety valve. The impact of popular culture, which was censored to a greater extent in the pre-independence period, is also apparent. Today, popular television soap operas, music, ads, and even in elementary school textbooks, portray and reinforce not only gender stereotypes but even endorse violence towards women.

Thus, the purpose of this survey is to evaluate any shifts in attitudes and conceptions of those educated in the pre and post-independence periods. Even though in this regard we were able to detect some minor generational changes, the independence of Armenia from the Soviet system has not marked any significant liberalization/modernization of the society. At times, the reverse is apparent.

The Government of Armenia has taken many steps to comply with international gender equality standards. Armenia has signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and has established several agencies for the improvement of women's lives. These include the Department of Family, Women's and Children Issues (Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs); the Council of Women's Affairs. As well as laws and action plans such as National Action Plans (to combat gender-based violence, improve women's status and role in society), gender policy action plan for 2011-2015, and the Law on Gender Equality. Furthermore, in 2000, as part of the UN Millennium Declaration, Armenia is committed to promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women. In 2001, as a full member of Council of Europe, Armenia ratified the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which prohibits discrimination based on sex.

On paper, Armenia adheres to modern state concepts. In practice, however, the population still adheres to traditional, patriarchal values. It seems that modernity and women's emancipation, as well as European values of gender equality,

are still far from the mind-set of men and women in Armenia. Understandably, change is a process that may take a long time. For this reason, gender analysis is vital so that we may observe how laws affect the break-up of stereotypes and contribute to the advancement of women's role in society. However, laws themselves are not sufficient. Often the reason for the lack of women participation is not due to laws but to the prevalence of traditions and patriarchal thinking where women are often demoted to the kitchen and family roles rather than to leadership positions. Understandably, such gender roles limit women in achieving their potential and in becoming active members of society. For example, according to official statistics 58% of women and 42% of men are in the labor force. According to civil society findings the picture is quite different - 34% women and 66% men. Also noteworthy is that the vast majority of women are engaged in administrative work or in the service sector. The picture of divorced women is even more dire -86% of them are unemployed vs. 13% of divorced men. Other statistics also point out the diminished contribution of women in Armenia's society. In education, for example, while 69% of those who finish school are women only 25% women are PhD candidates vs. 75% of men. In politics, women have also suffered important losses. In 1985, there were 121 women members of parliament out of 219 seats. In 2013, there are only 14 women out of the 131 seats and the majority of these women do not adhere to concepts of women's rights. Similar patriarchal attitudes are observed in the lack of women on political party lists since all party leaders are men. The following data also confirms the above-mentioned reasons. Women fill the following positions: Judges 21%, lawyers

39%, ministers and deputy ministers 10%, governors 0%, mayors 0%, village mayors 8.3%. In post-Soviet Union countries, "women have not only become the majority of the unemployed, but have also become depoliticized and are largely left out of the government, political parties, and the official public sphere" ¹.

It is no wonder that both men and women interviewed for this survey cannot identify positive role models in Armenian society. Armenian "leadership" figures in general, whether represented by politicians, intellectuals, or popular culture personalities, are not exemplary or inspirational figures to look up to as role models. This is especially negative for the youth who have no example by which to shape their character. Given the diminished role of women in society, this is an even greater factor of concern for them.

Through interviews and focus group discussions led by Dr. Alexandra Pittman², it was demonstrated that of all the pressing areas of women's rights to focus on in the upcoming years, 46% were related to awareness raising and norm change. This is no surprise since decision makers and political leaders, whether male or female, have no concept of women's rights and have even fewer feminist beliefs.

¹ Armine Ishkanian, *Gendered Transitions: the Impact of the Post-Soviet Transition on Women in Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Perspectives on Global Development and Technology. Volume 2, Issue 3-4 (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden 2003), p.476.

² Alexandra Pittman. "Exploring Women's Rights and feminist Movement Building in Armenia: Learning from the Past and Strategizing for the Future". OSF February, 2013 p. 21

Gender issues have proven to be the most problematic aspects of the transition from a communist to a capitalist system. All the neo-liberalization measures and laws undertaken post-independence have largely acted as a detriment to women. Thus, it is no surprise that even a highly educated country like Armenia is so behind the times regarding gender equality. This is also aggravated by the fact that Armenia adhered to very traditional and conservative family values while part of the Soviet Union, which despite to the many efforts by the communists to improve status of women has not changed gender perceptions in Armenia specifically and also throughout Soviet Union.

The Soviet system of policy of gender equality was more inclined to include women as workers in the society. The communist leadership saw the economic force women possessed and their potential to contribute to the advancement of the state. It was acknowledged that the major barriers to the inclusion of women in the work force were religion in Central Asia and traditional family values³ in the Caucasus.

Nevertheless, formal legal equality did not translate into profound change in the value system. This is particularly important to remember given that the present government of Armenia approaches gender issues on paper only. The non-organic, imposed reform of the Soviet Union had created a woman who could affirm herself outside the home but who

³ Armine Ishkanian, *Gendered Transitions: the Impact of the Post-Soviet Transition on Women in Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Perspectives on Global Development and Technology. Volume 2, Issue 3-4 (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden 2003), p.478.

followed the same conservative traditions within the family. "...the Soviet countries had no practice of monitoring whether gender equality had been achieved in reality, the result of which can be seen in Armenia today where most people state that men and women are equal despite evidence of considerable disparities"⁴.

We notice that the government of Armenia practices the same Soviet approaches today. For example, in 1956 Khrushchev deplored the relative absence of women in prominent positions in the Party and local administration. Thus, he supported the creation of women's councils to address the needs and rights of women⁵. Similarly, in 2000 the government of Armenia established the Council of Women's Affairs. As in present day Armenia, the communist party failed to produce women leaders.

However, it is fair to note the many efforts and accomplishments of the Soviet Union that improved the well-being of women. By 1980, 61% of women in the Soviet Union were specialists and 50.9% were employed in the Soviet economy. A quota system of political representation was introduced⁶. The fact that Soviet policies were imposed rather than an being an integral conviction of the population, was evidenced during the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the late 1980s, there was "...nearly absolute

⁴ USAID. *Gender Assesment*. p.14. August 2010.

⁵ Armine Ishkanian, *Gendered Transitions: the Impact of the Post-Soviet Transition on Women in Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Perspectives on Global Development and Technology. Volume 2, Issue 3-4 (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden 2003), p.481.

⁶ Ibid, p.482

withdrawal of women from political life throughout the Soviet states. This decline in women's representation began during the period of *perestroika* as women lost their one-third representation in the local soviets and the Parliament and intensified immediately following independence"⁷.

The Soviet system created a socio-economic safety net for women through guaranteed employment, medical services, childcare and various state benefits, which offered women less partner dependency and more mobility. The disappearance of this safety net by the transition to a market economy of post-independence mostly impacted women and contributed to the wide spread impoverishment of women, deterioration of their living standards and the regression of women's status in society. According to the World Bank, in 2012 35% of the population of Armenia was poor and 20% extremely poor. There is a tendency for women to become even poorer. In 2008, 31% of women were homemakers, while in 2011 this number increased to 47%. Attitudes towards employment outside the home and controlling behavior by partners have also restricted women entering the work force. Furthermore, one in every five women leave their job due to sexual harassment⁸.

As time passes, women are becoming more affected by the poverty created by the neo-liberal policies especially pushed by the World Bank. "The transition to market economy has not only, in many instances, failed to remove the

⁷ Ibid, p.482

⁸ Amnesty International, *No Pride in Silence. Countering Violence in the Family* (Amnesty International Publications, 2008), p. 12.

disadvantages for women in the Soviet system, but in most cases it has actually intensified the gender asymmetry and inequalities."⁹

The high rate of sexual harassment in the work place, the unfamiliarity with the economic market system, challenges associated with corruption and monopoly, and patriarchal attitudes towards women in the workforce, have relegated women to *yarmarka* (bazaars), low paid service providers or administrative positions - jobs that are less profitable and of no high profile. The socio-economic situation is starting to have an impact on the way society perceives and addresses women.

The degrading socio-economic situation also has been a stress factor for families, evidenced by an increase in DV and alcoholism. An alarming number, half of those interviewed in this survey, acknowledge that they know someone in their immediate circle who is a victim of DV. This points to the widespread culture of violence and the high rate of abuse in Armenia. Nonetheless, a quarter of those interviewed believe that violence is justified. Fortunately, this number decreases in the responses by the younger age category. Factors that justify violence run high in the following categories: disobeying the husband, wife neglecting the children, and infidelity. If both genders believe that DV in these cases is justified, this partially explains why so many victims do not come forth to

⁹ Armine Ishkanian, *Gendered Transitions: the Impact of the Post-Soviet Transition on Women in Central Asia and the Caucasus*. Perspectives on Global Development and Technology. Volume 2, Issue 3-4 (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden 2003), p.484.

seek assistance and why DV continues to predominantly remain a unvoiced problem.

The results of this survey have not marked any significant improvement in the gender attitudes and stereotypes that people have. One would think that twenty-two years of independence is a sufficient period in which to observe some changes. However, the government seems unequipped and unconvinced of the need to modernize Armenian society. The same old soviet methodology towards women's issues continues to this day on paper, without the economic safety net. No gender analysis is offered in order to monitor the degree to which government actions and laws have lead to the break-up of stereotypes and the advancement of women's rights. Gender mainstreaming still seems to be a foreign concept for many.

In several areas, we notice some significant shifts in the younger and older generations. For example, when asked if a woman can attain professional success as a politician, 76% in the 16-29 age group believe that women can, compared to 43% in the 50-61 age group.

Another strong discrepancy we notice in the survey is the perception of respondents regarding women attaining success in the political sphere. While respondents believe that women can attain success in this sphere, however they do not consider that women possess leadership skills.

Out of the 36.8% of respondents who believe that domestic violence is a crime, more than half belong to the post-independence age group. There is a large discrepancy of 15%

between respondents from Yerevan and Gyumri who believe that violence against women is a crime (25% Yerevan vs. 10% Gyumri).

We believe that this inconsistency is also seen in the answers of the respondents stating that the role of women in Armenia in the past five years has increased. The respondents equate the increased role of women, meaning their rights, with various individuals liberties which were in the past a taboo, such as driving or going to a café with girlfriends.

Another interesting finding is that only a minority of the respondents believe that there is a slight level of discrimination against women. However, paradoxically all respondents admit that discrimination against women exists in the family. Once again, this indicates that women are being discriminated in society at large, as well as in the family. Consequently, women are not aware of the fact that being discriminated in the family also extends to being discriminated in the society.

The close association of the individual with the family, entire value system deriving from the family, the standards, stereotypes and all other norms are mainly related to family. There is a vague concept of society, and individual rights.

“All other relationships in and with the world are secondary and depend on those inside the family and the nation. They are closely connected and family is so important for the Armenian

that, in a certain sense, he belongs to his nation not as a individual, but as a member of his family.”¹⁰

Therefore, breaking stereotypes and modernizing the individual we need to address the family as an interactive unit and as the nucleus of all norms and values which also defines public opinion.

“Public opinion is what matters most [and] unfortunately, the opinion prevails that the family is an entirely private sphere and is not open to public intervention.”¹¹

If we want to influence behavior and norm change in order to improve women’s rights in Armenia, and thus adhere to modern values, we are then faced with a Catch 22 situation. In order to push for modernity, the changing values and the break-up stereotypes, a grassroots mobilization or movement is necessary to create a movement for change which will affect public opinion. This, however, can only be achieved once greater numbers of men and women become aware of their rights, can shed stereotypes, and can empower themselves to aspire for social change. Reinforcement of gender stereotypes through the popular media, the ruling party’s concept of the Armenian Family (depicted in a brochure where the woman’s role is first as a mother, a wife and a housekeeper), as well as via the rise of regressive

¹⁰ Svetlana Lourie, ‘*Yerevan’s Phenomenon: The Formation of a Traditional Social Community in a Modern Capital City*’ in V. Naumkin (ed.) *State, Religion and Society in Central Asia: A Post Soviet Critique*, (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1993)

¹¹ UNDP (1999) *Women Status Report: Impact of Transition*, UNDP, Armenia, United Nations Department of Public Information (1995) Review, Yerevan, Armenia

religious values and ultra-conservative groups, has infiltrated the mainstream, thus leaving us with an uphill battle.

In conclusion, Armenians remain extremely connected to the family. Therefore, norm change, the breaking of stereotypes, awareness raising about healthy and abusive relationships, needs to start very early with young people. Awareness campaigns promoting gender equality and educating the populace as to the meaning of gender equality and domestic violence must take place at the state level and not solely through the limited resources of three or four NGOs. If the gender equality law remains on paper and not integrated into the lifestyle of the people, it will be meaningless. The state has the obligation to promote, disseminate and apply gender equality concepts, measures that, in turn, will initiate the breaking of stereotypes and various misconceptions. While women's rights are also considered human rights, gender attitudes and stereotypes cannot be dealt with solely as a human rights issue. It involves work at the state, family and individual level.

Maro Matosian

I. SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY METHODOLOGY

The study uses a quantitative research approach, deductive in nature, which aims to make inferences about the characteristics of the general population.

Data was collected through a standard questionnaire administered to a sample of 1,504 respondents. The sample is based on indices culled from the 2011 census conducted by RA National Statistical Service. The sample is representative and based on regional socio-demographic data used in the study. Selection of the sample was random, using stratification according to gender and age. As a result, each third passerby meeting the gender and age requirement was stopped and surveyed. Education was not selected as a sample criterion. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to preserve a proportion of education qualification indices. The sample was devised on a 95% certainty range, with a $\pm 5\%$ margin of error. It should also be noted that in all cases only those answers receiving a minimum 1% response rate among the survey participants are presented in the study.

The study aims to track down any noticeable changes in attitude between pre and post-independence generations. For the purpose of this research, the first two age groups included in the study, 16-29 and 30-39, are considered the post-independence age groups.

A semi-standardized questionnaire was devised for the study. This format was chosen because it provides the opportunity to reveal the perceptions and positions of those surveyed regarding gender roles and domestic violence.

This study was carried out in six cities: Yerevan, the capital, and Vanadzor, Gyumri, Martouni, Goris, and Metsamor, located in various provinces of Armenia.¹² The cities included in the study were selected based on regional significance and population, in order to ensure the applicability of the study. Moreover, to ensure the accuracy of the sample, the cities designated for surveying were divided up into central and secondary roads so that residents from various districts would be equally represented in the survey sample.

Those selected to carry out the survey underwent hands-on training where they learned practical techniques that would help them administer the questionnaire and ensure professionalism.

Some questions were asked in two different ways so that concepts could be better evaluated. For example, “is DV

¹² Unfortunately, due to various limitations of the study, specifically the lack of resources, the study was not able to include cities in all the provinces of Armenian. The scope of the survey includes the chosen cities since they represent the most populated areas in Armenia and are dispersed throughout the country.

acceptable?” and “when is DV acceptable?” Different ways of questioning produced varied answers, which clarified the attitudes and perceptions of those surveyed.

The questionnaires of those refusing to participate in the study were also analyzed¹³.

¹³ Those who refused to participate in the study were given a separate questionnaire asking the reason of their refusal and some demographic information. See Addendum 1.

II. RESULTS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

a. Demographics

1,504 individuals were surveyed in the “Perceptions of Gender Roles” study.¹⁴ For the geographical distribution of the respondents, see Table 1.

Table 1: Geographical distribution

Province	City	N	%
Yerevan	Yerevan	384	25.5
Shirak	Gyumri	227	15.1
Lori	Vanadzor	227	15.1
Syunik	Goris	224	14.9
Armavir	Metsamor	221	14.7
Gegharkuniq	Martuni	221	14.7
<i>Total</i>		1504	100

48% of the respondents were male; 52% female, which also represents more or less the demographic ratio of the country’s population. The sex/age indices are presented in the Table 2, below.

¹⁴ In addition to the scope of the mentioned sample, the questionnaires of 120 individuals who refused to participate were also analyzed and can be found in Addendum 1.

Table 2: Sex/age distribution

Age Group	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
16-29	18.6%	18.7%	37.3%
30-39	9.7%	11.9%	21.6%
40-49	9%	10.1%	19.1%
50-61	9.9%	12.1%	22%
Total	47.2%	52.8%	100%

Even though education was not selected as a sample criterion, an attempt was made to preserve the proportionality of education qualification indices. Table 3 shows the breakdown of sex and education qualifications of those surveyed. Thus, ages 16-39 (58.9%) we considered pre independence generation, and ages 40-61 (41.1%) post-independence generations.

Table 3

Sex		Education			Total
		Secondary	Secondary vocational	Higher Education	
	Male	14.5%	12.4%	20%	47%
	Female	13.4%	15.7%	24%	53%
	Total	28%	28%	44%	100%

Individuals with different marital status took part in the survey. A majority, 60.2%, was married; 32.1% were single; 3.3% were divorced; 3.4% were widows/widowers; and 1% was living in civil marriages.

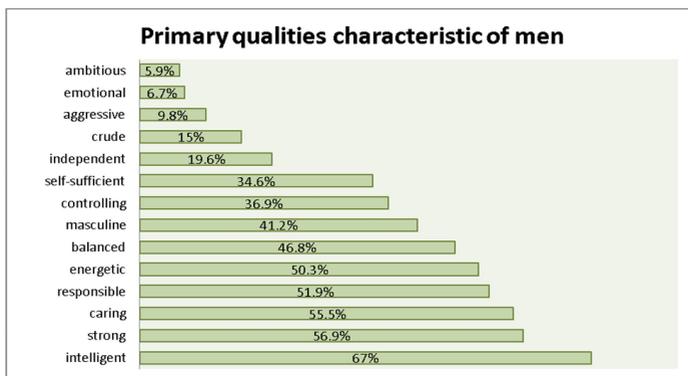
The survey includes people with various levels of education and various fields of employment. As results later showed, this did not significantly influence the answers of the respondents.

28.6% of respondents were employed at various government institutions; 25% were employed in the private sector; 8.4% were self-employed; 13.6% were homemakers; 10.3% were students; 2.4% were pensioners; and 11.6% were unemployed.

b. Gender Perceptions

In order to reveal the particularities of gender perceptions in Armenian society, the questionnaire asked respondents to list those qualities that they believe are typical for both women and men.

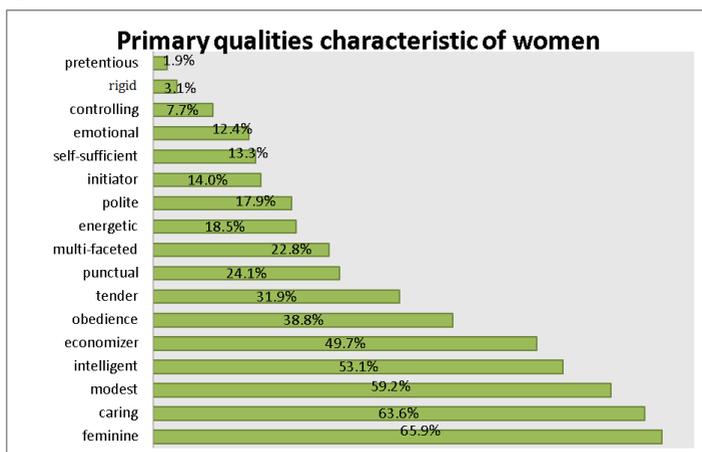
Chart 1



The listed traits create a certain image of a person, and as seen in Chart 1 (primary qualities characteristic of men) and Chart 2 (Primary qualities characteristic of women), are by

themselves already biased towards gender stereotypes. In the case of men, the top three listed traits create the image of an “intelligent” (67%), “strong” (56.9), “caring” (55.5%) person. When looking at all the qualities typical to men, according to Chart 1, we see that they are by nature those that tend to an active lifestyle. In contrast, those listed as typical of women in Chart 2 tend to a passive lifestyle. The top three qualities listed as typical of women are “feminine” (65.9%), “modest” (63.6%), and “caring” (59.2%). Comparing the qualities listed for women and men, we see that women are described with passive and subservient traits.

Chart 2



While there are traits noted in both sexes, we see a disparity in the response rates. For example, the “intelligent” quality appears for both men and women. However, the response percentage for that trait is higher for men (67%) as opposed to women (53.1%). Moreover, the response rates for the trait “caring” show up as more typical for women, signifying that

respondents perceived women as more caring, but less intelligent, than men. This is significant because it is an indicator as to why women do not attain leadership positions.

Furthermore, we looked into the age breakdown of responses for the perception of “intelligent” characteristic for women, and it is visible that the post-independence generation (16-29 and 30-39 age groups), in total 57.6%, consider that women are intelligent as a primary characteristic.

Chart 2a

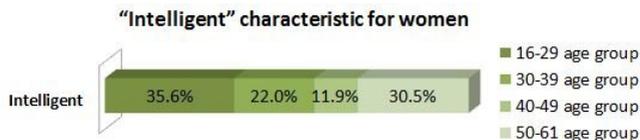
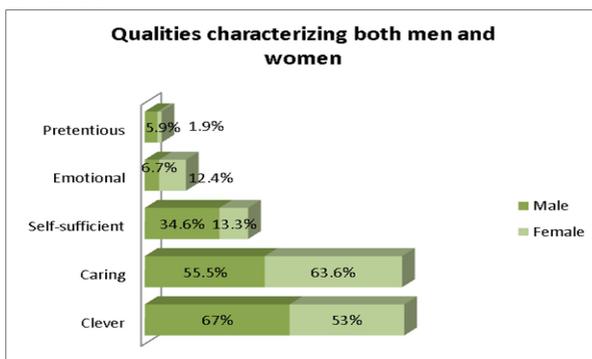


Chart 3



Armenian society perceives certain traits for both men and women, separating them in terms of importance. Thus, it is relevant to understand what specific traits are given importance for each sex, given that society uses them to

create acceptable or unacceptable gender perceptions, which ultimately reflect on the practical realities of life. For example, women are considered less intelligent, thus hindering their acceptance as employers, business owners, political and organizational leaders.

Respondents were asked to list those qualities they pay attention to when selecting a spouse (see Chart 4 and 5). When we look at the top three traits that men look for in a woman in Chart 4, we see that these are “external appearance” (29%), “intelligence” (21%) and “obedience” (15%). In addition, when we look at all the listed traits, we see that they are qualities that imply a more passive role for women, both on a personal level and in terms of societal engagement. Chart 5 shows that women look for financial “security” (27%), “intelligence” (25%), and “education” (18%), in a man.

In Charts 3 and 4, we observe an interesting discrepancy. While 53.1% in the former chart give importance to a woman’s intelligence, only 14% in the latter desire that the wife should be educated.

Chart 4

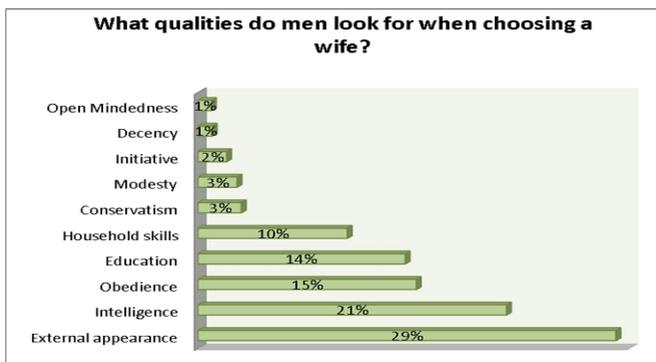
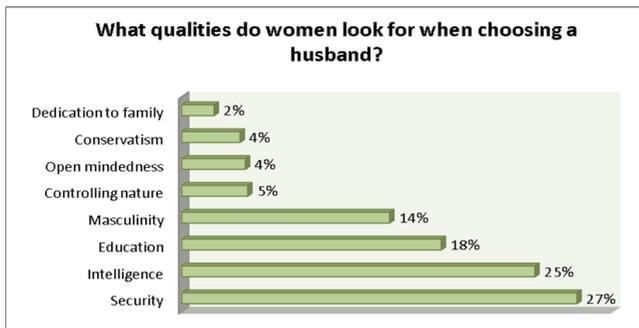


Chart 5



Only 1% of respondents note that men value open mindedness in a spouse, but 3% prefer conservatism and 15% obedience, which points to a subservient role of the wife. 5% value the controlling nature of a husband, and if added to the 14% who value masculinity, then we have a high percentage who value power and controlling traits in a husband, which can lead to DV.

In Charts 6 and 7, one can see answers to the same question according to the sex of the respondents. We see that there are significant differences regarding the qualities sought by men and women while seeking spouses based on a gender perspective. Thus, for example, 66% of female respondents note "dedication to family" as an important quality, while only 34% of males value to this quality. This means that there is not one overriding average depiction in society as to what traits are valued and given importance for each gender image. It is also worth noting that 53% of male respondents state that women look for "controlling nature" in their future spouse, while the number for women stating the same was much less,

at 47%. Yet, at the same time, this high percentage of responses from both sexes is quite disturbing regarding the “unhealthy” nature of this quality in and of itself, reinforcing the main cause of DV, which is power and control.

It is interesting to see the high percentage of male respondents who value dedication to family (34%). We will see later on that men also justify DV in case of neglect of family responsibilities.

Chart 6

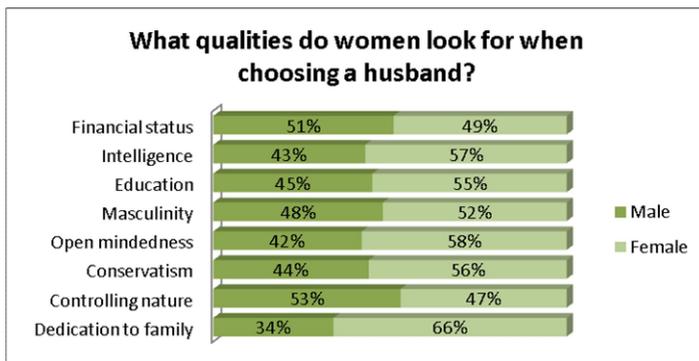
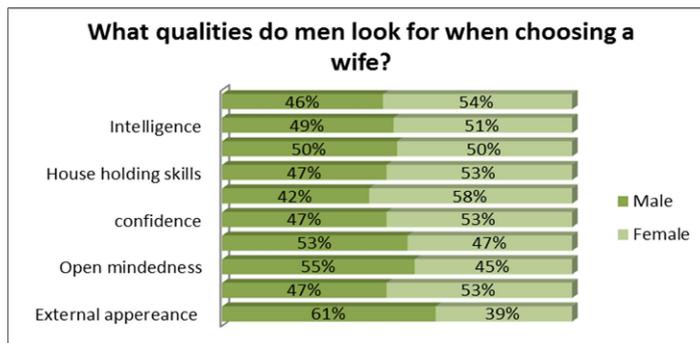


Chart 7 asks the same question, this time regarding prospective wives. Similar preferences such as in Chart 6 are seen here as well, however, there is no consensus regarding the importance of traits. For example, 61% of male respondents state that “external appearance” was important while choosing a future wife, but only 39% of female respondents state the same.

A look at the charts allows us to conclude that very often women themselves are the bearers and reproducers of gender stereotypes and stereotypical gender roles.

Chart 7



In order to understand what qualities are encouraged more than others, the study attempted to ascertain what qualities are shaped by parents in their children based on the gender of the child. Exposing these qualities allows us to understand society’s expectations based on the sex of the child, since they serve as a basis in shaping gender images and gender stereotypes throughout a person’s life.

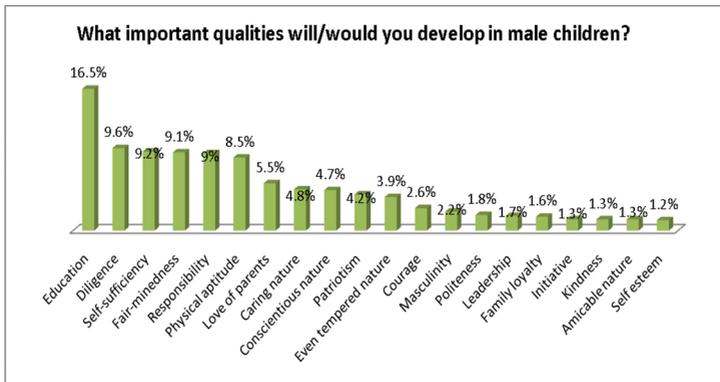
Chart 8 shows those qualities that, according to the respondents, should be encouraged in male children. Those most noted were “education” (16.5), “diligence” (9.6%), and “self-sufficiency” (9.2%). If we take into account all the traits listed, we see that those getting the highest scores were non-gender based traits. Conversely, gender based traits encouraged in male children, such as “masculinity” (2.2%),

received much lower scores. However, based on the exposure of the Women’s Support Center to the youth during focus group sessions, many mothers are not even cognizant of the traits they instill in their children since common stereotypical approaches are deeply embedded.

It is interesting to see in the chart below that trait of self-esteem in boys ranks as lowest (1.2%). This is a word or concept that is perhaps not well understood in our society.

The “love of parents” appears to be higher in male children (5.5%) than in female children (1.9%), since in Armenian society the task of caring for parents is considered a son’s responsibility.

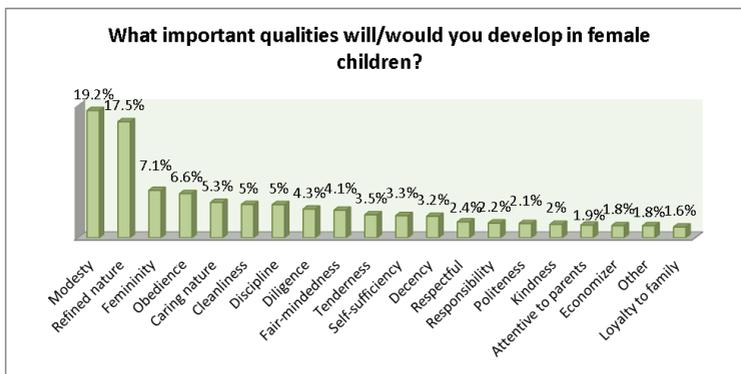
Chart 8



The same question was asked of respondents regarding female children. The resulting picture, depicted in Chart 9, is quite different. For example, education is not something valued while raising girls, which is perplexing given that in Chart 4,

40% of respondents value education in a wife. The traits receiving the highest scores were gender-based and had a gender context, according to what society deems as “appropriate” for the female gender. For example, the traits noted the most are ”modesty” (19.2%), and “refined nature” (17.5%), with “femininity” (7.1%) and “obedience” (6.6%) following. If we look at the traits receiving the lowest scores, we see that a gender context dominates here as well, as opposed to the previous chart regarding male children. It should be mentioned that in Chart 8 the respondents themselves raised the traits mentioned, as opposed to choosing from the given options.

Chart 9



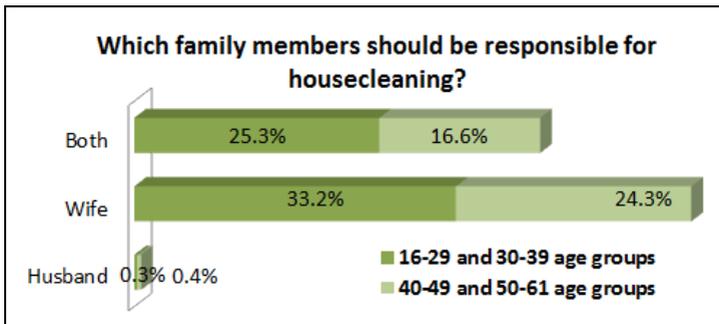
c. Gender Responsibilities

These traits and qualities linked to gender imply a set of obligations. Thus, it is important to understand how respondents view the distribution of domestic/family obligations based on gender characteristics.

The household responsibilities of spouses differ depending on the task. For example, we find a smaller gap between the “sole responsibility of the wife” and the “sole responsibility of the husband” or “both together” when it comes to housecleaning and childrearing. However, a significant discrepancy occurs in the responsibility of preparing meals.

When asked who should be in charge of housecleaning, the majority of respondents from both post and pre-independence generations stated that it is the wife’s duty (33.2% and 24.3%). At the same time, 25.3% of the post-independence age groups noted that spouses should do the work together. While almost none of the respondents believe that housecleaning should be the responsibility of only the husband, there is nevertheless a changing trend in perceptions between generations.

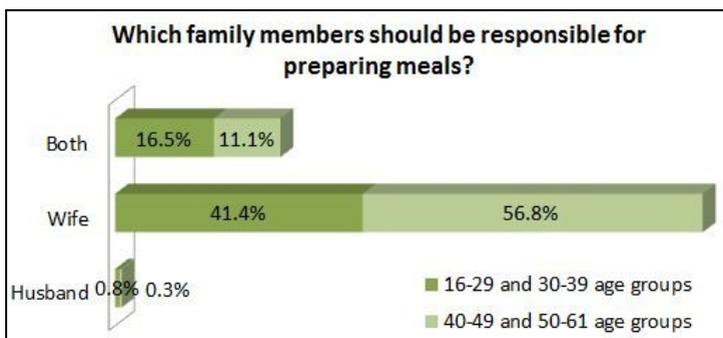
Chart 10



Regarding the household job of preparing meals, in contrast to the preceding question only a handful of respondents from both the pre and post-independence generations (0.8% and 0.3% respectively) thought that the husband alone should be

responsible for preparing meals. Yet, a slight change in attitudes is noticed between generations, where a lower percentage of respondents (41.1%) from the post-independence age groups believe that the wife alone should be responsible for meal preparation, compared to 56.8% of pre-independence respondents believing the same. Moreover, the post-independence generation shows signs of modernization, where 16.5% of respondents believe that both spouses are responsible for meal preparation, in contrast to 11.1% of pre-independence respondents believing the same.

Chart 11

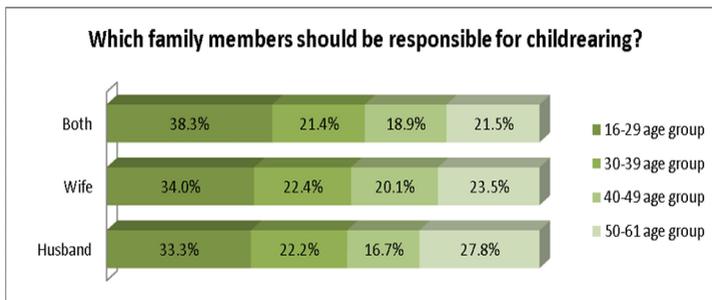


The distribution of household responsibilities leads to a change of societal functions. Statistics from past studies¹⁵ show that women were mostly engaged in childrearing, a minimum of 60%, whereas men - 40%. A significant majority of this survey's respondents (73.5%) believe both spouses

¹⁵ The "Keep me free of your stereotypes" study conducted by the "Society without Violence" NGO; Yerevan, 2011. Page 39
 This survey sample consisted of 550 from both Yerevan and the regions (no specification was given).

must share the responsibility of childrearing. The notion that women must bear the burden of raising children is no longer widespread in our society. The chart below shows the perceptions of various age groups on the matter. Interestingly, here we also see a shift in the pre-independence age groups (16-29 and 30-39) - almost 60% think that childrearing is a shared responsibility.

Chart 12

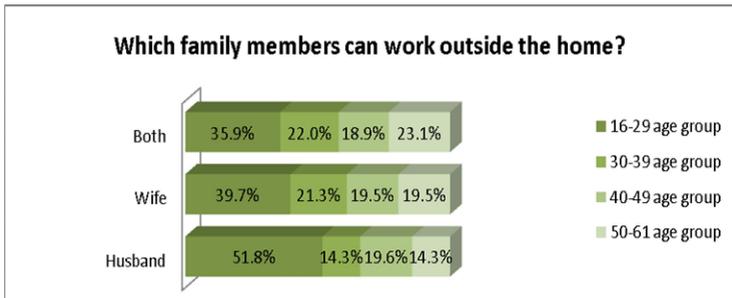


Women, in addition to their traditional role as mothers, take on other responsibilities, including employment. When asked who in the family could work outside the house, 77.7% of all respondents replied “both” spouses. This also signifies a change in societal perceptions and a redistribution of domestic roles. In other words, the role of women as mere “housewives” is no longer the norm for respondents even though 10% believe that, when “choosing a wife”, men focus on the household skills of a woman (Chart 5).

We asked this question because one of the traits of DV is not allowing victims to leave the house either for education or employment.

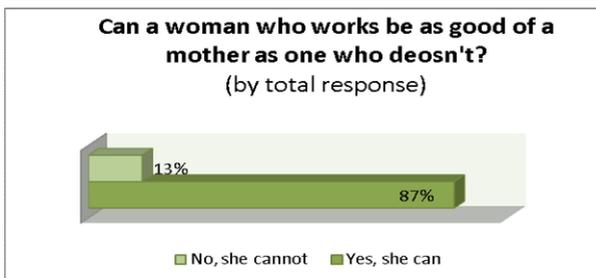
The extreme notion that only the husband can work outside the home found the most support (51.8%) in the 16-29 age group. This contrasts to what we see up to this point regarding the more ‘modern’ outlook of the younger generation towards these issues.

Chart 13



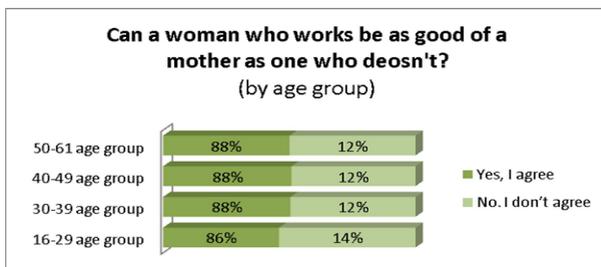
When asked if a working woman could also be a good mother, 87% responded affirmatively (Chart 14). The 13% who disagreed argued that a working woman would not have ample time to devote to both work and to her children. Finally, 1.6% believed that children of a working woman would be neglected.

Chart 14



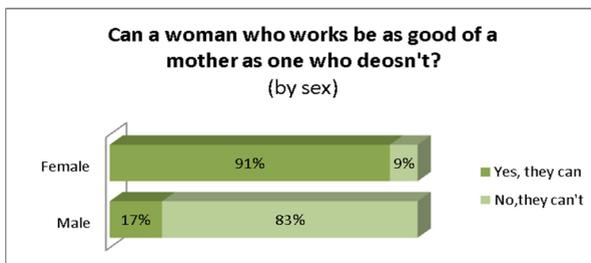
For the purposes of this study, it is very important to understand how different age groups perceive this question. Chart 15 below depicts differences of perceptions among different age groups. Here we see that in all age groups the majority of respondents gave positive answers (Yes, I agree). We also see that the most negative response (No, I don't agree) is in the 16-29 age group, the post-independence generation, with 14%.

Chart 15



If we look at how the replies for the same question break down according to sex, in Chart 16, there is a significant contrast between responses. Only 17% of all male respondents and 91% of all female respondents believe that a working woman can be as good of a mother as a non-working woman.

Chart 16



To better understand the positions of respondents on this issue, we asked them if their mothers worked while they were growing up (Chart 17). We only asked this of respondents who replied that working women could not be as good of a mother as non-working women. The answers were: “Yes” 72.7% and “No” 27.2%, alluding to the fact that whether or not their mothers had or had not worked when they were children had no significant bearing on their answer to the preceding question.

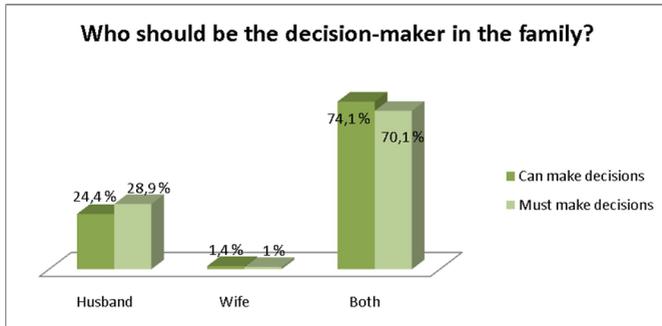
Chart 17



The change in traditional roles for women has led them to take on other roles in addition to that of the “mother” of the family; including decision-maker regarding family matters. Chart 18 shows the breakdown of the family decision-making process according to two perceptions – the possible (who can make decisions) and the imperative (who must make decisions). If we compare these two sub-sets, we see that only 1.4% (can make decisions) and 1% (must make decisions) of respondents, are ready to place the sole burden of decision-making on the woman. Those ready to place the same burden solely on the man, are 24.4% (can make decisions) and 29% (must make decisions). The majority of respondents, (74.1%),

however, believe that decision-making can be shared and (70.1%) that it must be shared.

Chart 18



Perhaps, the responses to this question need to be treated with a degree of reservation, since certain factors may have influenced the reliability of the answers, and thus, the depiction of reality could have changed.

- *Symbolic context of the question* – The context of the question itself implies that any uni-polar answer has negative nuances. Thus, it is possible that respondents selected a neutral answer in order to avoid a negative one.
- *Conformity* – Frequently, before a personal opinion is to be publicized, it is shaped by the perceived socially accepted opinion and not by one's individual views.
- *Management of impressions* – Such high percentages of positive answers to this question may be due to the attempt of respondents to create a more liberal,

educated and democratic image of themselves in the eyes of the survey takers. Thus, respondents provided answers that actually do not reflect their real opinion.

When observing the data shown in Charts 18a and 18b we notice that respondents from all age groups and both genders are inclined towards the notion that the decision maker in the family should be both the husband and the wife. Yet, at the same time in Chart 18a, we see that quite a large percentage of the respondents, almost 29% (16.6% of the post-independence generation and 12.2% of the pre-independence generation), believe that the husband should be the sole decision maker in the family.

Chart 18a

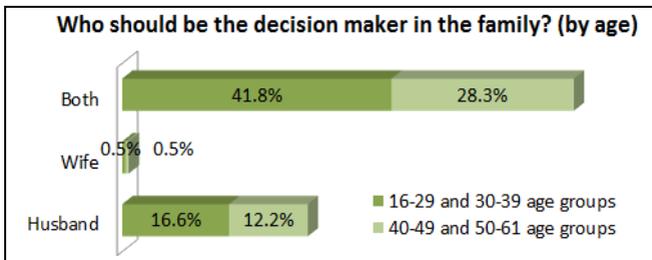
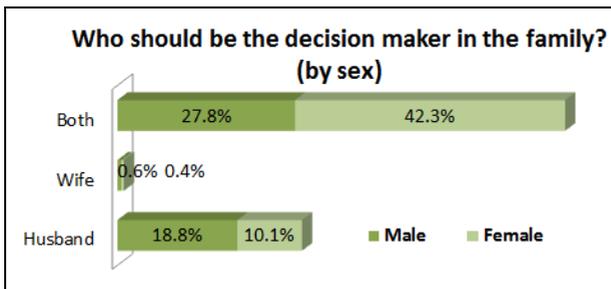
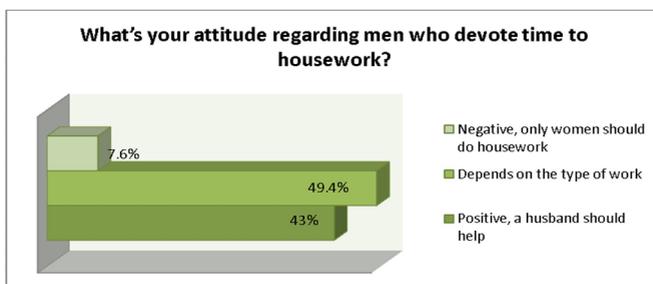


Chart 18b



Because of the transformations occurring in society, the accepted image of the man is subject to change. According to the traditional depiction, only the woman must engage in household chores. However, the statistics below (Chart 19) indicate that only 7.6% of respondents drastically oppose the notion of men engaging in housework. The rest of the respondents are more open-minded about the issue. Similar results were obtained in a study by the “Society without Violence” NGO. According to that study, 57% of respondents believed that men could do housework, while 4% did not; and 39% noted that their position on the matter depended on the type of work in question.¹⁶

Chart 19

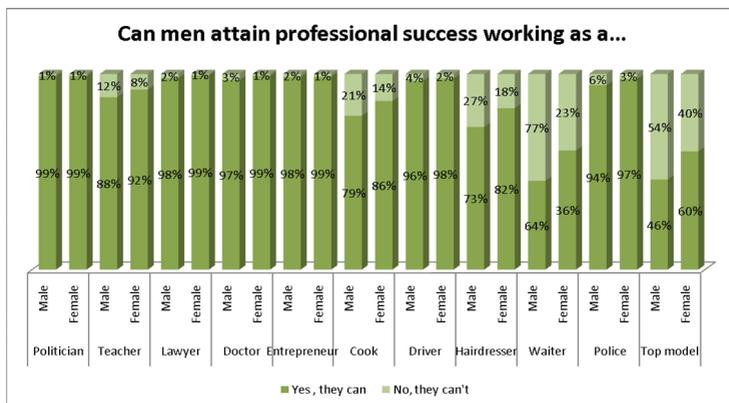


Given that there is a preconceived notion, depending on sex in the choice of professions and attaining professional success, it is also necessary to note those perceptions, since they aid in understanding gender stereotypes.

¹⁶ “Keep me free of your stereotypes” study conducted by the “Society without Violence” NGO; Yerevan, 2011. Page 40

The next Chart shows how respondents feel regarding the opportunities for males and females to attain success in specific professions. It is no secret that there are certain professions that, according to traditionally held societal notions, are not appropriate for either men or women. Chart 20 depicts the positions of respondents according to their sex. Thus, according to 54% of the male respondents, men cannot attain professional success as models. Looking at the issue from a women’s perspective, 60% of female respondents believe that men can indeed be successful in the field of modeling. Such differences are seen regarding other professions as well, as can be seen in Chart 20. Another note of interest is that the perceptions of women appear more flexible and free of gender stereotypes regarding the attainment of professional success for men in one profession or another. However, this notion is quickly rejected while looking at responses in Chart 21 in regards to the attainment of professional success for women.

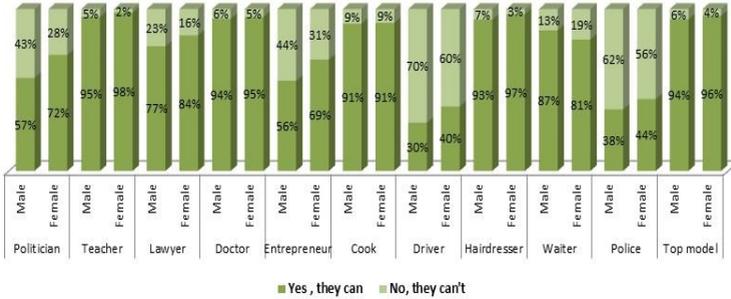
Chart 20



We asked the same question regarding women, i.e. whether they can attain professional success in several areas. Chart 21 depicts the opportunities for women to attain success in various professions according to both male and female respondents. A comparison of the answers in this chart and the previous one reveals that attaining success in our society is still perceived to be a matter of sex. For example, 94% of male and 96% of female respondents believe that women can be successful models. However, when it comes to whether women can be successful police officers, drivers, and politicians, preconceived stereotypical notions still exist in both male and female respondents, as evidenced by the low scores they gave regarding the opportunities for women to attain success in those sectors. In other words, there is a general societal perception that certain fields are a “no-go” for women and that women themselves adhere to these preconceived notions. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why women are under-represented in these and similar fields; because they themselves do not believe they can attain professional success in them or because these fields are “fit” for women - a false and destructive belief that is rooted in gender stereotypes.

Chart 21

Can women attain professional success working as a...



It is also very important to view responses to the previous question according to the age distribution of the respondents. The table below shows how men and women see their opportunities to gain professional success in the following spheres according to their age groups. If we compare answers according to age groups, we will see that age actually does not play a determining role, although the gender of the respondent does, as we saw in the two previous charts.

Differences in responses between age groups are noted only in several cases. For instance, we note significant differences mainly in the 16-29 and 50-61 age groups. Middle age respondents from 30-49 do not show a differentiated approach toward gaining success in various occupations because of gender. In Table 4, we see that in the 50-61 age group, respondents answering, “Cannot obtain professional success in the political sphere”- men 40% and women 22%. Significant differences can also be seen in the same age group regarding the profession of doctor, where “cannot obtain

professional success as a doctor” –men 35%, and women 20%, and in the 16-29 age group for the same statement perceptions are as follows: men 24%, women 49%. “Cannot obtain professional success as a hairdresser”- men 42% and women 32%, and in the 50-61 age group for the same statement perceptions are as follows: men 21% and women 30%.

Table 4

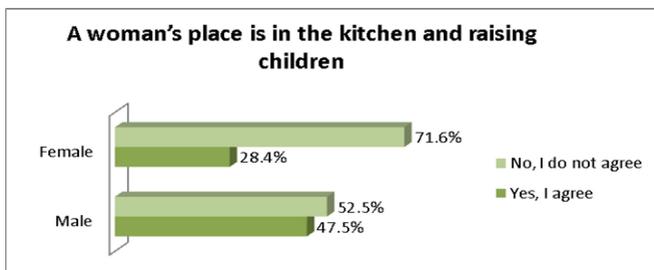
		16-29 age group		30-39 age group		40-49 age group		50-61 age group	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Politician	Yes	37%	39%	22%	21%	19%	19%	22%	21%
	No	20%	36%	20%	23%	20%	19%	40%	22%
Teacher	Yes	38%	37%	21%	22%	19%	19%	22%	22%
	No	39%	31%	24%	19%	17%	23%	20%	27%
Lawyer	Yes	37%	38%	22%	22%	19%	20%	22%	20%
	No	35%	35%	20%	20%	15%	17%	30%	28%
Doctor	Yes	37%	36%	22%	23%	19%	19%	22%	22%
	No	24%	49%	24%	15%	17%	16%	35%	20%
Entrepreneur	Yes	37%	37%	22%	24%	19%	19%	22%	20%
	No	23%	38%	23%	19%	18%	18%	36%	25%
Cook	Yes	38%	37%	22%	21%	19%	20%	21%	22%
	No	35%	40%	18%	28%	22%	9%	25%	23%
Driver	Yes	38%	44%	21%	18%	19%	18%	22%	20%
	No	21%	37%	28%	22%	19%	19%	32%	22%
Hairdresser	Yes	36%	38%	22%	22%	19%	19%	23%	21%
	No	42%	32%	18%	21%	19%	17%	21%	30%
Waiter	Yes	38%	38%	22%	21%	19%	19%	21%	22%
	No	35%	37%	21%	24%	21%	18%	23%	21%
Police	Yes	37%	39%	22%	22%	19%	19%	22%	20%
	No	40%	36%	12%	21%	21%	20%	27%	23%
Top model	Yes	41%	38%	20%	22%	18%	19%	21%	21%
	No	32%	34%	24%	16%	20%	20%	24%	30%

d. Gender Stereotypes

To reveal the particularities underlying the stereotypical mentality of the respondents (if any), the survey asked them to

express their positions on a number of gender stereotype assertions. Their answers, broken down according to the sex of the respondents, are found in Charts 22-30.

Chart 22

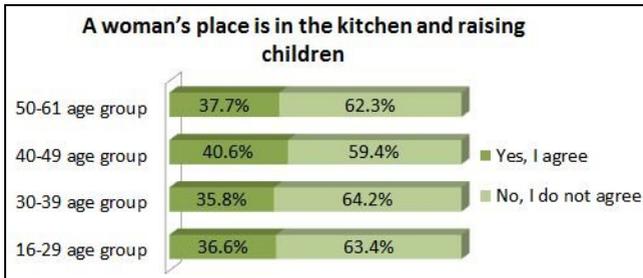


Beginning from the most commonly heard gender stereotype “a woman’s place is in the kitchen and raising children” we see in Chart 22 that 71.6% of female respondents do not agree and only 28.4% of females agree; whereas a large proportion of male respondents, 47.5%, agree with the statement. 62.2% of total respondents do not agree that a woman’s place is solely in the kitchen and raising the children. The Republican Party’s booklet “The Armenian Family”, where the role of a woman is clearly depicted as a good wife, housekeeper and mother, does not reflect the majority view of society.

The chart below (Chart 23) shows that there is a difference in perceptions regarding the same statement according to different age groups. Here we see that in each age group there are two types of respondents - the ones who agree and the ones who disagree, which significantly differ in their percentages. The overall image is that in all age groups more respondents tend to disagree with the statement “a woman’s place is in the kitchen and raising children”. Furthermore,

those who agree with the above-mentioned statement are less in the post-independence age groups as compared to the pre-independence groups, which implies a digression on the attitude towards the role of women.

Chart 23



The results of Chart 24 below, indicates that 54.4% of male respondents and 44.1% of female respondents agree that women cannot be full members of society without a man. This points out that men have a preconceived notion of society as patriarchal; as a “man’s world”.

Chart 24

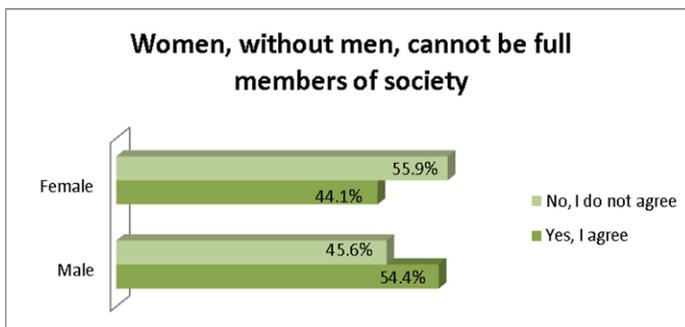
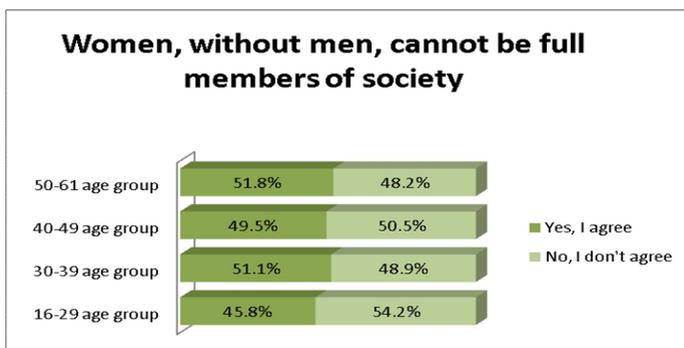


Chart 25 depicts age distribution for the same statement. Here we see that practically in all age groups the majority of respondents agree with the statement: in the 16-29 age group 45.8% agree, in the 30-39 age group 51.1% agree, in the 40-49 age group 49.5%, and in the 50-61 age group 51.8% agree. These results are troubling, since it means that the majority of respondents believe that men have a privilege over women in society and that women have less value in society. This will most definitely have a further impact on women in their day-to-day social lives particularly, and on different spheres of society in general. What is encouraging is that, 54.2% of respondents from the post-independence 16-29 age group do not agree with the statement compared to 48.2% in the 50-61 age group.

Chart 25



Moreover, as seen in the correlation table below, there is a strong positive correlation of .253 at a 99% significance level between the statements in Charts 23 and 24. This means that respondents who disagreed with the statement “a woman’s

place is in the kitchen and raising the children” also disagreed with the statement that “women, without men, cannot be full members of society”.

Correlations

		A woman's place is in the kitchen and raising children	women, without men, cannot be full members of society
A woman's place is in the kitchen and raising children	Pearson Correlation	1	.253**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	1495	1490

Next, concerning the assertion “Politics is no place for a woman”, the breakdown of responses was quite interesting: 37.4% of female and 50.1% of male respondents agree with the statement. This stereotypical notion is evidenced by the under-representation of Armenian women in politics. This, in turn, may be a consequence of the fact that women do not regard themselves as political players. As previously mentioned in Chart 2, the principal qualities of women are associated with femininity, modesty, obedience, tenderness, and other traits stereotyped as “fit for a woman”. Moreover, in Chart 4 it becomes clear that when it comes to “Choosing a wife”, external appearance, intelligence, and obedience are the qualities most stressed. Digging deeper into the probable cause of women’s disbelief in their own ability (and low self-esteem as political actors), Chart 9 shows that the qualities given importance to when raising a female child are “modesty”, “refined nature”, “femininity”. All listed qualities, besides intelligence and overall refinement, have no connection to the skills of decision-making, governance, and management, qualities often exclusively ascribed to men in

the current study and qualities vital for engaging in politics or holding decision making positions.

Chart 27

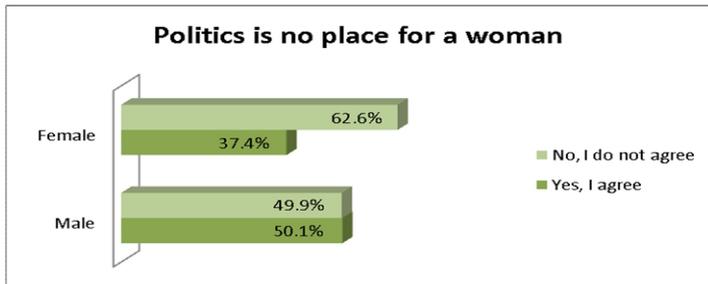
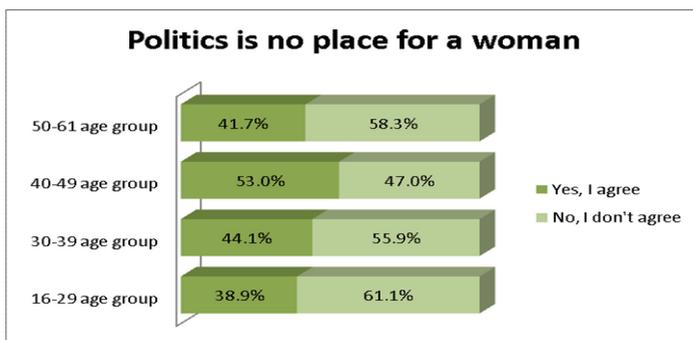


Chart 28 shows responses according to the age distribution of respondents, to the statement “Politics is no place for a woman”. Here it is evident that the majority, 61.1%, of respondents from the 16-29 age group said, “No, I don’t agree” with the statement, which is very encouraging. In the 30-39 age group the image is somewhat changing with 55.9% saying “No, I don’t agree”, and in the 40-49 age group the percentage of this response decreases even more, to 47 %.

Chart 28



As to the statement “Leadership skills are more developed in men”, both male and female respondents’ answers display a stereotypical approach, as seen in Chart 29. Respondents from both sexes strongly agree that the assertion was correct. Specifically, 62.3% of female respondents and 75.1% of male respondents agree to the statement. This biased perception may be another reason why women are under-represented in politics and in management, or if they are present, merely serve in subordinate/low-ranking positions. Similar results were obtained in another study, in which 60.4% of the male and 39.6% of the female respondents agreed that a woman could not be a good manager.¹⁷ As was demonstrated in the first Charts of this study, in the typical traits defining each gender, “governance skills” are of greater importance for men than for women according to the respondents’ perceptions. Likewise, as a quality for raising children, this trait is only stated as necessary for male children. Interestingly, leadership skills received only 1.7% in Chart 8 as a quality one should develop in boys. Yet in Chart 20, we see that a politician as a profession (which requires leadership skills) ranked high for men, 99%. The notion of leadership is skewed for people. In raising a girl, this trait is not even encouraged. Most likely corrupt and unprofessional politicians are poor examples of leadership for people. Rather this trait is confused with the autocratic characteristics of a politician.

Regarding opinions on the statement “politics is no place for a woman”, it is interesting to see that when correlated with the

¹⁷ The “Keep me free of your stereotypes” study conducted by the “Society without Violence” NGO; Yerevan, 2011. Page 32

statement “a woman’s place is in the kitchen and raising the children”, there is a strong positive correlation of .259 at a 99% significance level. In other words, respondents who disagree with the first statement disagree with the second statement as well.

Correlations

		Politics is no place for a woman	A woman’s place is in the kitchen and raising the children
Politics is no place for a woman	Pearson Correlation	1	.259**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	1487	1486

Chart 29

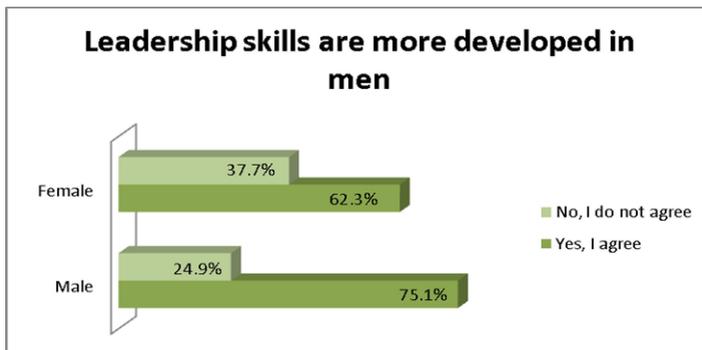
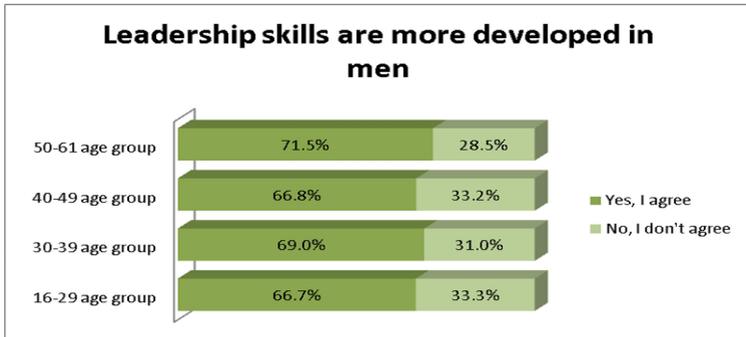


Chart 30 below shows the differences in the perception of the statement “Leadership skills are more developed in men”. The chart shows that respondents from all age groups mainly agree with the statement. This kind of belief may be reason why women, and especially young women, do not apply for high-ranking jobs that require leadership skills. They are convinced that they are not suitable for the position. In addition, we

believe that notion of leadership is not properly understood in society.

Chart 30



When looking at the correlation between the statement “leadership skill are more developed in men”, and the question “can women attain professional success as politicians”, it is interesting to see that there is a strong negative correlation of $-.240$ at a 99% significance level. Respondents believe that women can in fact attain professional success as politicians – a sphere usually demanding leadership skills. Yet they also believed that leadership skills are more developed in men.

Correlations

		Can women attain professional success as politicians?	Leadership skills are more developed in men
Can women attain professional success as politicians?	Pearson Correlation	1	$-.240^{**}$
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	1462	1452

e. Role Model

Generally, societal relations are conditioned on the conduct of those individuals in society who are highly admired and looked up to, since they are the ones who have the power to influence the public and, as a result, serve as role models. For this reason, it is important to understand who those individuals are in our society, given that it is their behavior and conduct that appears to serve as an example for society in general. As will be seen in the tables below, role models do not exist outside the family since respondents are still very connected with family members who are their main influence. This is not a good sign, since the family is perceived to perpetuate conservative and mainly backward values. It also indicates that individuals have limited exposure to ideas, societal values, and individual personalities that have globally been influential.

Table 5 represents the ideal male figure as perceived by respondents from various age groups. The table shows that the male figure receiving the highest percentage of responses was the father of the family, with 36% overall. Other role models mentioned by the respondents were “husband” (8.5%), “grandfather” (3.7%), “brother” (3.5%), and “other family members” (3%).

Table 5

Ideal male figure – Family					
	Age group				Total
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	
Difficulty answering	34.7%	21.8%	21.2%	22.3%	43%
Father	45.6%	22%	15.3%	17.1%	36%
Husband	18.9%	27.6%	26.8%	26.8%	8.5%
Grandfather	39.3%	17.9%	23.2%	19.6%	3.7%
Brother	46.9%	14.3%	14.3%	24.5%	3.5%
Other family member	37.8%	20%	15.6%	26.7%	3%
Son	5.7%	8.6%	17.1%	68.6%	2.3%

Table 5 shows that a large percent of respondents (43%) have difficulty citing an example of a role model even within their own family. If there is no role model for the younger generations to look up to, learn from, and follow, then the chances of becoming useful members of society decrease.

The same lack of role models is apparent within the society, as we will see in the following tables. This speaks volumes about the fact that leaders with good moral principles are missing in society. The lack of positive role models hinders the development of positive personality traits in an individual, and young people do not aspire to higher moral standards.

In Table 6, respondents' answers regarding an ideal male figure in the sphere of politics are presented according to age group breakdown and according to the total count.

Table 6

Ideal male figure - Politics					
	Age group				
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	Total
Difficulty answering	36.5%	22.8%	18.9%	21.8%	73.5%
Gagik Tsarukyan	36.10%	22.20%	16.70%	25.00%	2.4%
Serzh Sargsyan	37%	22.2%	11.2%	29.6%	1.8%
Levon Ter-Petrosian	30.4%	17.4%	26.1%	26.1%	1.5%
Raffi Hovannisian	20%	15%	25%	40%	1.5%
Karen Demirchyan	38.1%	9.5%	23.8%	28.6%	1.4%

When asked whom they could point to as an ideal politician, the answers of respondents were alarming. 73.5% of the total number of respondents had difficulty answering this question, and the answers given each barely received a 1% response rate. This may indicate two things - either respondents have a myriad of political leanings, which in turn resulted in a diverse set of answers, or there is a lack of such figures in the Armenian political arena that can unequivocally be accepted as ideal politicians. This is borne out by the fact that political figures from Armenian history were also mentioned in the answers – Tigran the Great (1%), Moushegh Sparapet (1%), and Nzhdeh (3%). What is also interesting to note is that 70% of respondents had difficulty answering the question.

Table 7 shows the respondents' answers regarding their perceived ideal male figures in the sciences. The small list of names in this category may be a result of the respondents' unfamiliarity with scientists in general.

Table 7

Ideal male figure - Sciences					
	Age group				Total
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	
Difficulty answering	38.9%	22.6%	19.4%	19.1%	83%
Viktor Hambardzumyan	19.7%	16.5%	20.5%	43.3%	8.4%
Albert Einstein	40%	20%	20%	20%	1.7%

We see that 83% of respondents had difficulty in naming their ideal male scientist, while only 8.4% named Viktor Hambardzumyan, and 1.7%, Albert Einstein. Even here we note that in the post-independence generation the percentage of recognition of male scientists is far less, 43.3% (50-61 age group) to 19.2% (16-29 age group). Other names mentioned garnered a response rate of less than 1% and thus were not included. However, even here the majority of respondents, 56%, had difficulty answering this question, once again showing the lack of clear-cut male role models in the minds of the respondents.

Table 8 shows the results regarding the ideal male personalities in show business according to the respondents. We included this question to see if the respondents were more familiar with popular culture rather than with science and politics. The table shows that respondents perceive modern-day singers as ideal figures - but 56% still had difficulty naming someone. The respondents perceive show business exclusively as a musical arena, and that they only perceive young modern performers as ideal figures (with the exception of Charles Aznavour), since the overwhelming majority of television programs are musical variety shows.

Table 8

Ideal male figure – Show business					
	Age group				Total
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	
Difficulty answering	38.5%	21.5%	19%	21%	56%
Arame	26 %	32%	31.5%	10.5%	2.5%
Tata	28%	20%	32%	20%	1.7%
Hayko	47.6%	9.5%	23.8%	19.0%	1.4%
Charles Aznavour	31.6%	15.8%	15.8%	36.8%	1.3%
Arman Hovhannisyán	18.8%	25%	6.3%	50%	1.1%
Andre	31.3%	43.8%	6.3%	18.8%	1.1%

The table below shows the answers of respondents regarding their perception of the ideal female figure in the family. Once again, a large percentage of respondents, 38.5%, had difficulty answering the question. 48% acknowledged the mother of the family as the ideal female figure (in contrast to Table 5 where 36% acknowledged the father of the family as the ideal male figure). What is also interesting is that a mere 4.5% of respondents selected the wife as the ideal female figure in the family (in contrast to Table 5 where 8.5% selected the husband as the ideal male figure in the family).

Table 9

Ideal female figure – Family					
	Age group				Total
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	
Difficulty answering	34.7%	19.5%	22.6%	23.3%	38.5%
Mother	42%	24.1%	15.8%	18%	48%
Wife	28.4%	16.4%	20.9%	34.3%	4.5%

Grandmother	36.5%	21.2%	25.0%	17.3%	3.5%
Other family member	22.4%	18.4%	14.3%	44.9%	3.3%
Sister	22.2%	33.3%	27.8%	16.7%	1.2%
Daughter	15.4%	0%	15.4%	69.2%	1%

Table 10 shows the names of those women who best match the respondents' perceptions of what an ideal female politician should be. The names listed may not only be a result of their compatibility with respondent perceptions, but also a consequence of the political views held by respondents and the fact that there are very few women in politics well-known to the public. The individuals selected also have received the most PR exposure in the media. Thus, the list is short and consists of recognized women politicians. Once again there is an extremely high percentage of respondents (84.4%) who expressed difficulty answering.

Table 10

Ideal female figure - Politics					
	Age group				Total
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	
Difficulty answering	38.9%	21.9%	18.8%	20.4%	84.4%
Anahit Bakhshyan (Heritage Party)	26.1%	21.7%	20.3%	31.9%	4.6%
Hranush Hakobyan (Republican Party)	25%	25%	23.2%	26.8%	3.7%
Larisa Alaverdyan (Heritage Party)	33.3%	10%	16.7%	40%	2%
Zaruhi Postanjyan (Heritage Party)	33.3%	29.6%	14.8%	22.2%	1.8%

Below, in Table 11, are the respondents’ perceptions of ideal female figures in show business. Much like the corresponding results for ideal male figures in show business (Table 8), here too we see that respondents perceive “show business” exclusively as the musical sphere, indicating how prevalent popular music is amongst the population.

Table 11

Ideal female figure – Show business					
	Age group				
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	Total
Difficulty answering	37.3%	21.6%	19.1%	22%	71.8%
Noune Yesayan	30%	20%	20%	30%	2.7%
Sirusho	38.7%	25.8%	22.6%	12.9%	2.1%
Shushan Petrosyan	17.9%	17.9%	28.6%	14.8%	1.8%
Kristineh Pepelyan	44.4%	14.8%	25.9%	21.1%	1.4%
Syuzan Sargsyan	31.6%	36.8%	10.5%	66.7%	1.4%
Flora Martirosyan	14.3%	9.5%	9.5%		
Nazeni Hovhannisyan	44.4%	11.1%	27.8%	16.7%	1.2%

Table 12

Ideal female figure - Sciences					
	Age group				Total
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61	
Difficulty answering	37.2%	22.3%	19.2%	21.4%	94%
Lyudmila Harutyounyan	12.5%	25%	12.5%	50%	1%
Karineh Danielyan	33.3%	16.7%	.0%	50%	1%
Karineh Nalchajyan	100%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1%

f. Perceptions of Domestic Violence

The next part of the study involves problems of domestic violence (DV) and the perceptions members of society hold about this phenomenon. Domestic violence is largely conditioned by the perception of a women's role in society, coupled with the desire for power and control of partners/abusers. In her 1996 report submitted to the UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women defined domestic violence "as violence that occurs within the private sphere, generally between individuals who are related through intimacy, blood, or law"¹⁸. The abuse can be physical, psychological, economic, or sexual. As a rule, if healthy relations based on respect and equality exist between men and women, then it will also manifest in the family and vice-versa.

In regards to our first question regarding DV (Chart 31), 48.7% of respondents said that they know a victim of domestic violence in their immediate circle. This percentage if broken down according to the gender of the respondents, 46.6% of male and 50.4% of female respondents say that they know someone like that. This is a very high percentage, especially when we take into consideration the fact that the survey is representative of the population. Women tend to be better informed regarding DV cases since women share private matters and are more often the victims themselves.

¹⁸ Report of the Special Rapporteur on "Violence against women, its causes and consequences", submitted to the Commission on Human Rights. E/CN.4/1996/53. 5 February 1996.

Chart 31

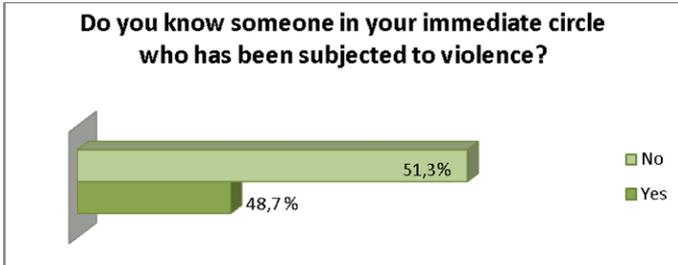


Table 13 shows the geographical breakdown of respondents who said they knew a person from their immediate circle subjected to domestic violence. Most of these respondents are from Yerevan (21.3%), followed closely by Gyumri (20.9%). The least are from Vanadzor (12.4%) and Martuni (12.4%). These percentage distributions can be explained by awareness raising campaigns, which mainly happen in big cities like Yerevan and Gyumri, and the larger section of the population in those locations.

Table 13

I know someone in my immediate circle who has been subjected to violence	Place of residence					
	Yerevan	Gyumri	Goris	Metsamor	Martuni	Vanadzor
	21.3%	20.9%	18.3%	14.7%	12.4%	12.4%

The table below shows the replies to the same question according to age. Table 14 shows that the most informed and open to expressing their perceptions on DV is the 16-29 age group (the post-independence generation age group). This can be explained by the fact that majority of awareness raising

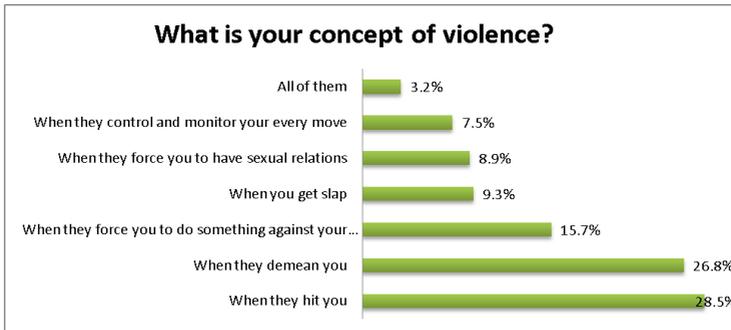
projects involve the participation of younger generation. Yet at the same time, it is interesting to see that the same age group was also leading in answering “no” to knowing a victim of DV in their immediate circle, something that may be the result of general stigma/silence regarding the matter of domestic violence in our society.

Table 14

Do you know someone in your immediate circle subjected to violence?				
	Age group			
	16-29	30-39	40-49	50-61
Yes	35%	21.5%	21.3%	22.2%
No	39.2%	21.8%	17%	22%

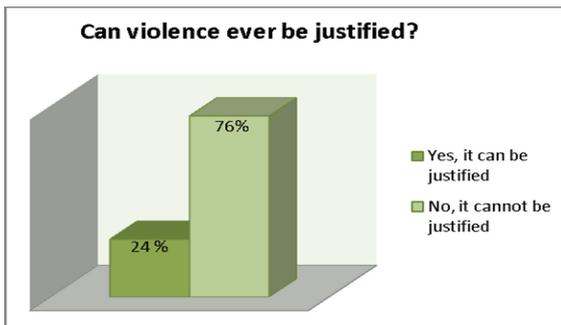
However, since each individual possesses a unique perception on what defines an act of domestic violence, we asked them to clarify what they regard as DV. Chart 26 shows that the most perceived form of domestic violence is physical: “When they hit you” - 28.5%; the second highest score was for psychological violence: “When they demean you” - 26.8%. The rest of the replies were mixed and included “forced sexual relations” – 8.9%, and “monitoring every move” – 7.5%. All of the mentioned varieties of violence are of course correct, yet a very small percentage of respondents, 3.2%, answered “all of the above”; something which may lead us to conclude that the concept and definition of domestic violence is still not fully understood in our society.

Chart 32



When asked if violence could ever be justified, a large segment of respondents (76%) said “No, it cannot be justified”, even though a considerable 24% believed that it could (Chart 33). Only 8.9% of all respondents believe that subjecting a partner to non-consensual sexual relations is violence.

Chart 33



It is interesting to see the breakdown of the responses according to place of residence of the respondents. As Table 15 shows, the highest response rates (21.7%) concurring that

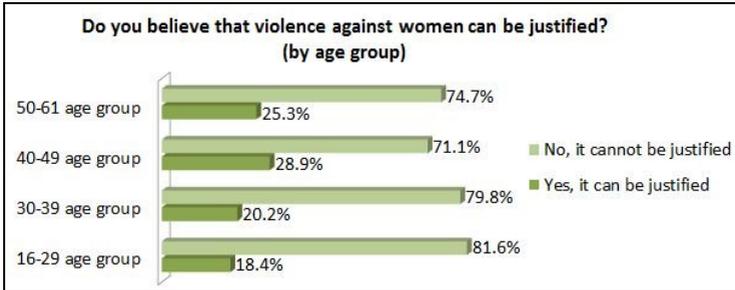
violence against women can be justified, came from Gyumri and Goris. The largest segment of respondents believing that violence cannot be justified came from Yerevan (27.5%), where more awareness raising has been done by civil society and where the population is more modernized and less constrained by old-fashioned values.

Table 15

Do you believe that violence against women can be justified?	Place of residence					
	Yerevan	Gyumri	Vanadzor	Goris	Martouni	Metsamor
Yes	18.3%	21.7%	7.2%	21.7%	17%	14%
No	27.5%	13.3%	17.2%	13.4%	14.2%	14.3%

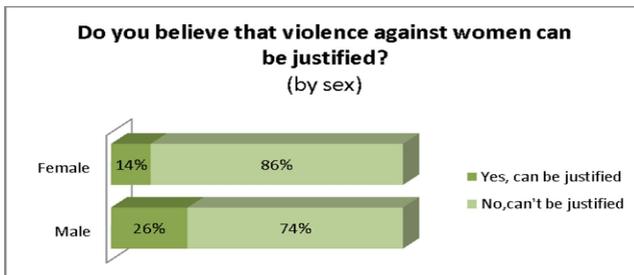
It is also important to pay attention to how different age groups respond to the issue of justified or unjustified domestic violence (Chart 34). It appears that using violence is more acceptable to the 40-49 pre-independence age group (28.9%) and most frowned upon by those in the 16-29 post-independence age group (18.4%). This would suggest that the use of violence is gradually becoming less acceptable for young people. This is very important because if the younger generation gradually starts condemning violence towards women, it starts challenging the stereotypical thinking regarding DV and starts condemning it as unacceptable behavior in a relationship.

Chart 34



Lastly, the issue of justifying or condemning violence towards women should be looked at from a gender perspective. Chart 35 shows that male respondents are more inclined to justify violence (26%), than women are (14%). Even though a comparably low percentage of women justify violence in some cases, this is still a troubling fact. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why some women, either victims of violence or simply witnesses of gender-based violence, do not speak out, let alone contact law enforcement authorities or some other appropriate social agency.

Chart 35



Those respondents who believed that violence could be justified were asked to note the extenuating circumstances during which such behavior could be justified. Three main reasons stood out in the responses: “When a wife is unfaithful” – 34.9%, “When the wife neglects the children” – 27.6%, and “When the wife disobeys her husband” (see chart 36). When looking at these answers we should keep in mind that the perpetrator of violence will always try to give an extensive list of justifications, convincing his victim, onlookers, as well as himself, that the act of violence was necessary. Yet, despite all justifications, the only known reason for DV is the desire of power and control by the batterer.

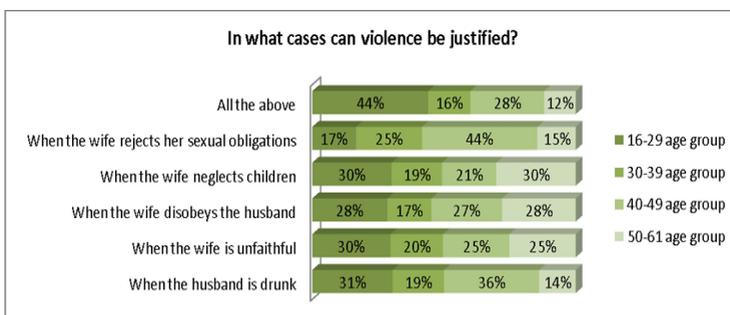
Chart 36



The question of justifying DV or not was also studied by age group, the result of which can be seen in Chart 37. Here we see that, unfortunately, those who replied that DV can be justified in all the mentioned cases were mostly from the post independence age groups (16-29 - 44%). Moreover, 30% of those who responded that DV is justified “When the wife

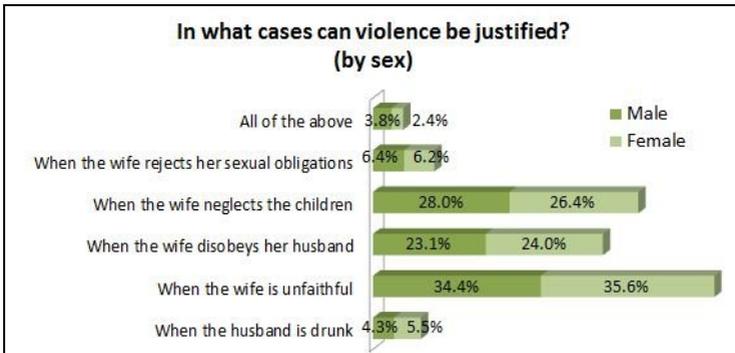
neglects children”, and 30% of those who responded it can be justified “When the wife is unfaithful” belong to the 16-29 age group as well. The largest percentage of responses for justifying DV “When the wife rejects her sexual obligations” is 44% and comes from the 40-49 age group, showing that both pre and post-independence age groups have rather distorted beliefs regarding the justification of domestic violence.

Chart 37



The same question of justifying violence is observed through a gender lens in Chart 38. Here we see that, luckily, only a small percentage of male and female respondents believe that in all of the mentioned cases violence against women may be justified. The most popular answer among both men and women is “When the wife is unfaithful”, with 34.4% of male respondents choosing this justification, and 35.6% of female respondents. The second and third most chosen justification for both sexes was “when the wife neglects the children” (males – 28%, females – 26.4%), and “when the wife disobeys her husband” (male – 23.1%, females – 24%).

Chart 38

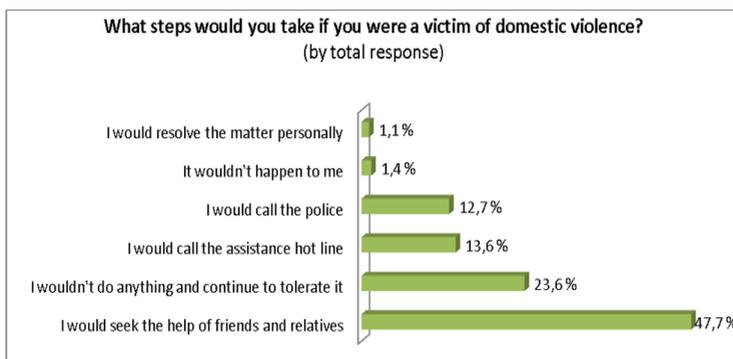


When asked what steps they would take if they became victims of domestic violence (Chart 39), 47.7% responded that they would seek the help of friends and relatives; 23.6% said they would not do anything and would continue to tolerate it. At this point, it is important to note that it is exactly because victims of domestic violence remain silent that a majority of the cases remain hidden, disregarded and unpunished, further encouraging the perpetrators and further crippling the victims.

If we add to these two groups the percentage of respondents who say that they would resolve the matter through personal means (1.1%), we then come up with 72.4% of respondents who simply are uninformed about institutions and services tasked with assisting people in such circumstances or are unwilling to take any action. Furthermore, only 12.7% stated that they would call the police and only 13.6% stated that they would call a hot line designated for dealing with domestic violence cases. These low percentages indicate that DV remains within the family boundaries and only 12-13% reach

out to police and hotlines/NGOs respectively. The high figure of 23.6% indicates that they would tolerate it and this is even higher, 57%, in Chart 40. We see this approach among many women that come to Women’s Support Center who have been victims of DV for an average of 8-9 years. News regarding only the most severe cases escapes the confines of the family. Thus, it is possible to imagine that the high number of DV cases in Armenia endures and that many merely seek some help or solace from family. Therefore, this situation hinders organizations of civil society to obtain the true picture of the prevalence of DV in our society.

Chart 39



The following Chart (40) clearly reveals that only male respondents (100% of them) noted, “Such a thing couldn’t happen to me”. This signifies that the vast majority of men perceive domestic violence only in physical terms and since men are usually physically stronger than women are, male respondents feel that they could not possibly be victims of violence. In addition, an incredibly large percentage of respondents (93%) who said that they would “personally

resolve the matter” were male. Unfortunately, 57% of respondents who said, “I would do nothing and continue to tolerate it”, were women.

Chart 40

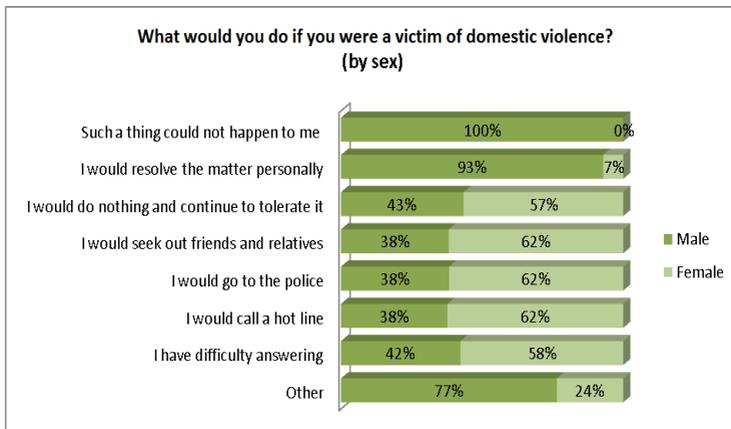
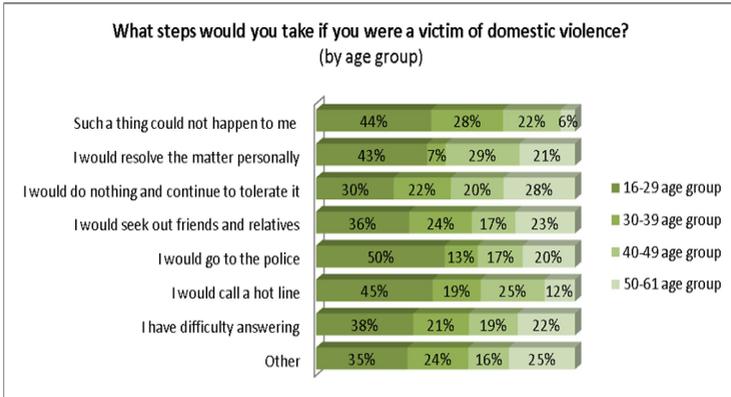


Chart 41 depicts how respondents reacted to the same question according to their age bracket. What is interesting is that respondents in the 16-29 age group surpassed the others in terms of taking “proactive” steps (going to the police 50%, calling the hot line – 45%, etc.) when faced with domestic violence. Sadly, however, the same age group also led the way with 30% in responding, “I would do nothing and continue to tolerate it”, and with 44% in responding, “Such a thing would never happen to me”.

Chart 41



While looking at the age and gender distribution of responses, it is important to understand how individuals with varying degrees of education act. Is there, in fact, a connection between an individual’s level of education and his/her choice of strategies?

It might seem that those with a college or university degree would be more inclined to take more result-oriented steps. Yet, having a higher education in this case has the opposite effect. Some people, based on their social standing and level of education, believe that to confess being a victim of domestic violence is shameful and embarrassing. Consequently, to reveal the issue would bring with it stigma that might jeopardize their position and status in society. This is perhaps the reason why only 14.2% of respondents with higher education noted that they would go to the police. The vast majority of respondents of all education levels still rely on friends and relatives as the first contact point when abuse

occurs. This may also indicate why so many cases of violence are underreported or are never revealed.

Chart 42

What steps would you take if you were a victim of domestic violence?
(by education)

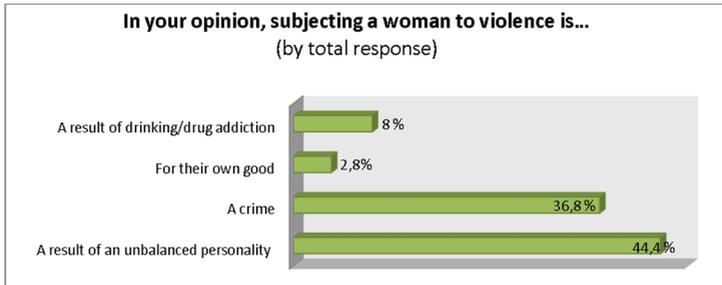
	I would call a hot line	I would go to the police	I would seek help from friends and relatives	I would do nothing and continue to tolerate it	I would resolve the matter personally	Such a thing would not happen to me	Other
■ Secondary education	12.4%	9.6%	44.9%	25.4%	1.1%	1.4%	5.1%
■ Secondary vocational education	13.2%	9.3%	49.4%	23.6%	1.7%	0.6%	2.2%
■ Higher education	12.4%	14.2%	46.6%	20.1%	0.4%	1.8%	4.5%

Frequently, based on societal perceptions, the figure of a perpetrator of violence is perceived in a different way by different members of society. For this study it is important to understand how the respondents perceive a perpetrator of DV. Chart 43 shows that only 36.8% noted that DV is a crime. The remainder gave other answers, including that subjecting a women to violence is for their own good”. Luckily, this appalling excuse was expressed by a mere 2.8%. A large percentage of repondents, 44.4%, believe that violence is the result of an unbalanced personality. This last option, which as the highest scoring response for this question, is somewhat faulty since many professionals, such as Lundy Bancroft¹⁹, reject the claim that an unbalanced personality or a mental illness can cause violence. Specifically, Bancroft states that the psychology of the perpetrator is not the problem, it’s his/her value system. This is simply because the perpetrator has a ‘distorted sense of right and wrong’ – he/she believes

¹⁹ Lundy Bancroft, *Why Does He Do That? Inside the Minds of Angry and Controlling Men* (New York: Berkley Publishing Group, 2002), 35.

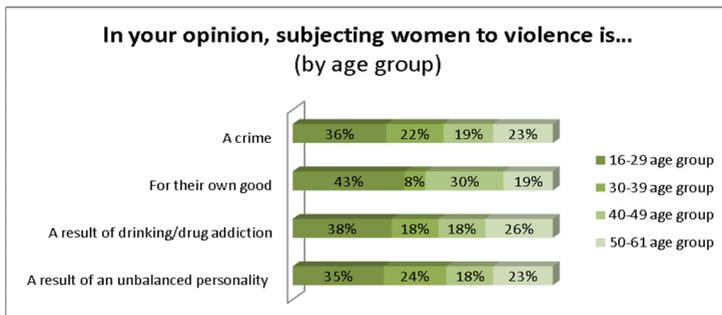
that violence is correct, it is for the victim's own good, and of course that it can be justified.

Chart 43



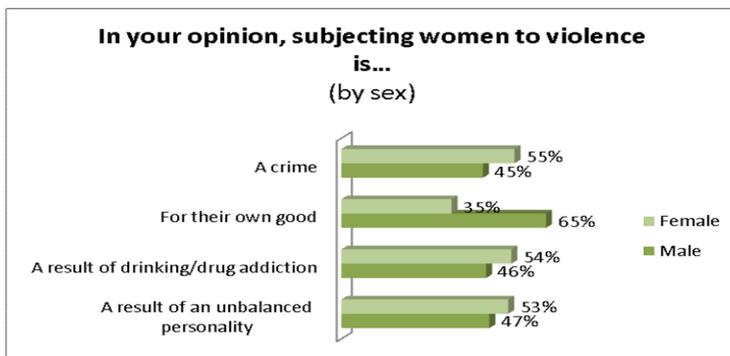
It is very important to understand how different age groups view subjecting women to violence, given that the degree to which one finds such conduct acceptable and something to imitate, in the future, also depends on current perceptions. The Chart below shows the varying perceptions of a perpetrator of violence that top the lists of responses for different age groups. For example, the view that subjecting women to violence is “for their (women’s) own good” tops the list for the 16-29 age group (43%), as well as for the 40-49 age group (30%).

Chart 44



Next, Chart 45 depicts descriptions of violence against women as broken down according to the sex of the respondents. It appears that the majority of respondents, 55%, who consider subjecting women to violence as a crime, are female respondents. 65% of those who believe that subjecting a woman to violence is for her own good are male respondents. The majority of respondents who believe in the remaining views (“a result of drinking/drug use”, “a result of an unbalanced personality”) were women. This might be another factor as to why women exposed to violence do not take appropriate steps, since violence is perceived as a manifestation of external causes – drinking/drugs, unbalanced personality. In a way, they justify the actions of the aggressor.

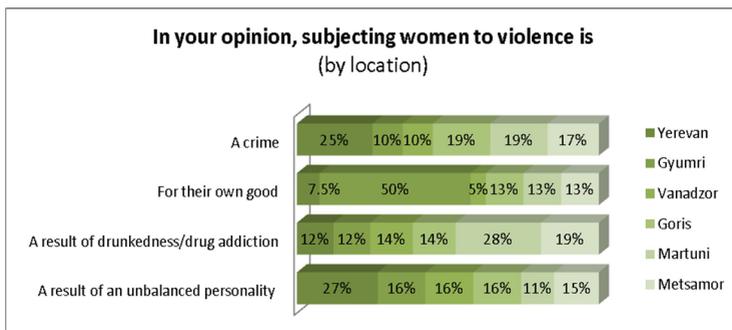
Chart 45



The issue of labeling violence is also viewed from a geographic perspective; i.e. where respondents reside. Chart 46 shows this distribution. It is interesting to note that violence, regarded as a result of drunkenness and drug use, received the largest percentage of responses from the Martuni region, a town known for the manufacturing and heavy

consumption of hard alcohol. This is a misconception. It has been shown that alcohol is only a releaser of inhibitions and that the batterer is very much aware of what he does. The view that violence is “for their own good” topped the chart in Gyumri with 50% of responses. Finally, 25% (the highest percentage for this category), of respondents who viewed violence as “a crime”, were from Yerevan. This is most likely because the awareness level regarding DV is higher in Yerevan, since residents have been more exposed to campaigns against DV, as well as the high population number with internet access.

Chart 46



When asked if there is discrimination against women in Armenia, 60.2% of all respondents said “yes”. The table below breaks down the answers according to sex and place of residence of the respondents.

In Table 16, we see that, the greatest disproportionality based on the sex of respondents appears in the town of Metsamor, where only 28% of male respondents, compared to 72% of females, believed that discrimination against women exists in

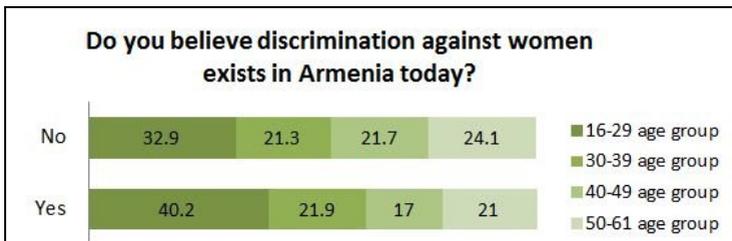
Armenia. In other cities, the gap between the responses of men and women is not as significant. Yet, we should note that in all six cities included in the study men are always the minority of respondents who answer, “Yes, discrimination against women exists in Armenia today”.

Table 16

Place of residence	Do you believe that discrimination against women exists in Armenia today?	Sex	
		Male	Female
Yerevan	Yes	41%	59%
	No	58%	42%
Gyumri	Yes	48%	52%
	No	59%	41%
Vanadzor	Yes	49%	51%
	No	49%	51%
Goris	Yes	48%	52%
	No	51,5%	48,5%
Martuni	Yes	45%	55%
	No	58%	42%
Metsamor	Yes	28%	72%
	No	49%	51%

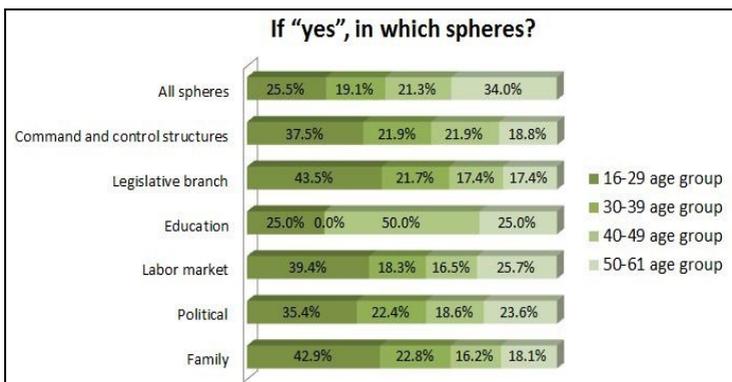
Furthermore, Chart 47 depicts views on discrimination against women in Armenia according to the age group of respondents. We see that the majority of respondents who answered “yes” to the question are representatives of the post-independence age groups (40.2% - 16-29 age group and 21.9% 30-39 age group). This is reassuring in the sense that future generations acknowledge the issue of discrimination against women; a first step in tackling the issue.

Chart 47



The same question below in Chart 48 shows the responses according to the age breakdown.

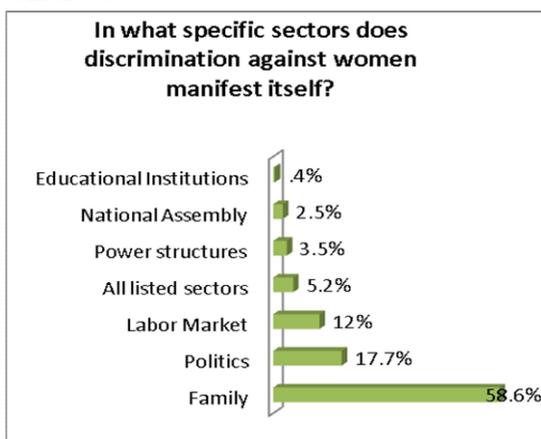
Chart 48



Further probing respondents' perceptions on the matter, we asked those who answered "Yes" to the previous question ("Do you believe that discrimination against women exists in Armenia today?"), to cite the specific sectors where they believe violence against women exists. As Chart 49 illustrates, the majority of respondents, 58.6%, pointed to "The family"; 17.7% claimed "Politics"; and 12% responded "The labor

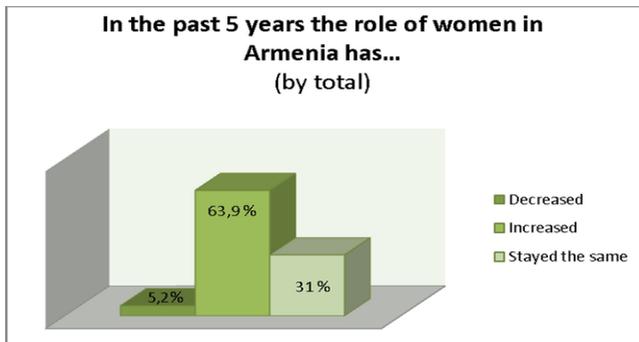
market”. The family, as the area where most inequality is perceived to exist, indicates that a) the family unit has remained the strongest point of reference and is still structured based on conservative values, and b) people do not comprehend how gender discrimination is evident in all other areas such as education and politics.

Chart 49



As to what defines the status of women in Armenia and whether or not it has increased in the past 5 years, 63.9% of respondents noted that it has in fact increased (Chart 50). 31% noted that it has largely remained the same, and 5% claimed that it has decreased.

Chart 50



Male and female respondents differ slightly in their opinions regarding the changes in the role of women in the past five years. Chart 51 shows the opinions of both, where 66% of females and 61% of males believe that the role of women in the country has increased.

Chart 51

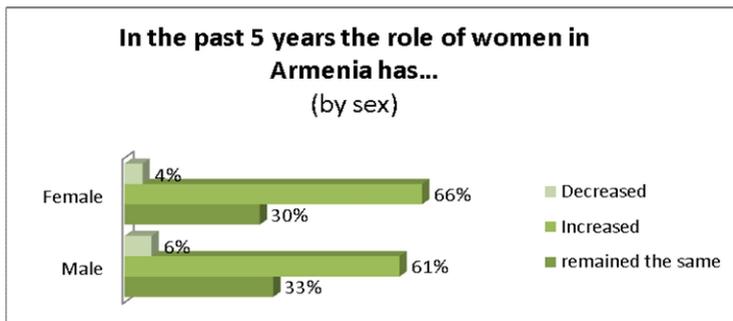
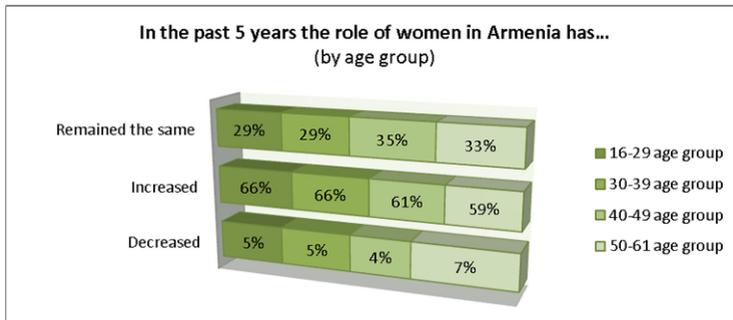


Chart 52 shows how various age groups perceive changes in the societal role of women in Armenia in the past five years. Overall, respondents were inclined towards the view that the

role of women has increased. In the youngest age group, 16-29, 66% believe that the role of women has increased.

Chart 52



This perception is misleading and we believe that the role of women may have been confused with other liberties. For example, the increased presence of women in various low ranking and visible positions in the labor force as well as liberties that women now have, such as their dress code, access to cafes and restaurants, driving, etc. may give the false impression that the role of women has improved.

For example, we asked respondents to justify their position regarding the changing role of women in Armenia. Respondents who said that the role of women had increased justified their position according to the below factors depicted in Chart 53. The prime reason cited, with 43.1% of responses, was the “Greater inclusion of women in politics”. This is also erroneous as television coverage of the 3-4 female members of parliament and two female ministers have given the impression that more women are engaged in politics. This was followed by, television serials raising women’s issues more

(19.9%); more women working in a variety of professional fields (18.4%), and a change in the national mentality (14.6%).

Chart 53

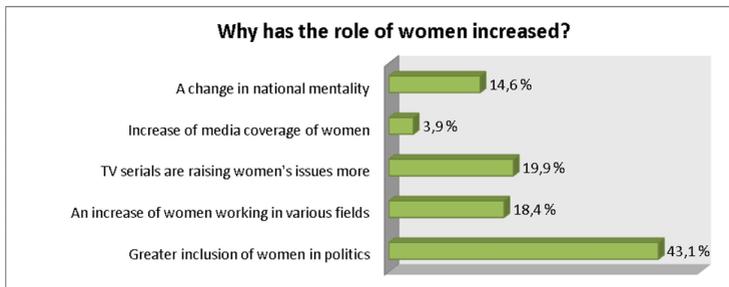
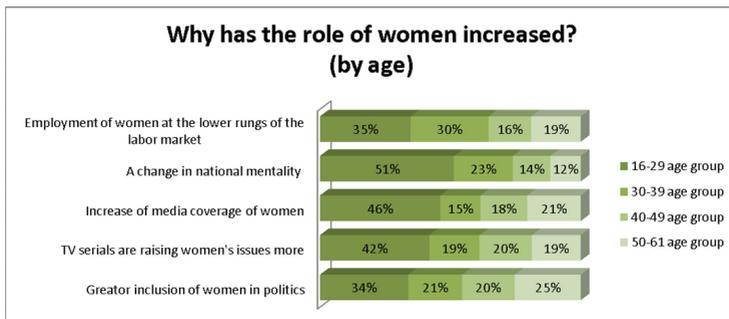


Chart 54 represents the perception of the increase of women's roles in Armenia according to the age distribution of respondents. From the chart, we see that there is no significant difference in answers according to age groups. Yet the majority of the youngest age group, 51%, believes that the increase of women's roles is due to a change in national mentality; while none of the other age groups attribute this increase to the same reason.

Chart 54



The small percentage of respondents who claim that the role of women had decreased in Armenia in the past five years, pointed to “Increased exposure of violence against women” (37%), “Broadcasting of TV serials denigrating women” (32%), and “Employment of women at the lower rungs of the labor market” (31%), as some of the main reasons for their negative answer. See Chart 55).

Chart 55

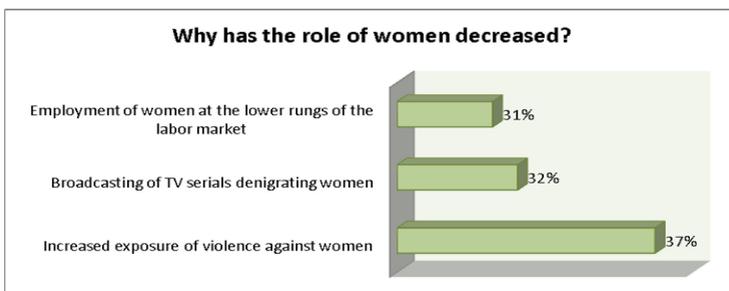
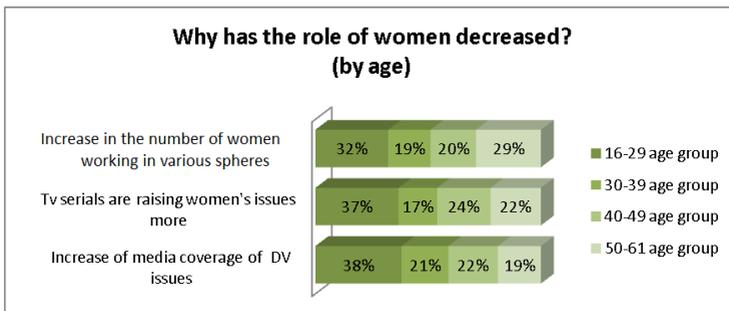


Chart 56 shows the age distribution of the respondents to the previous question, where we see that the responses of all age groups are almost evenly divided between all three reasons, hinting that all three are important according to all age groups.

Chart 56

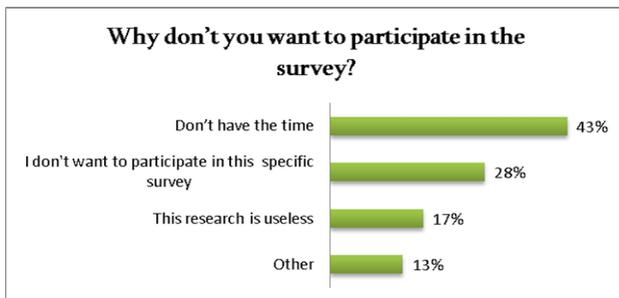


ADDENDUM I: ANALYSIS OF REJECTED QUESTIONNAIRES

Below, we present a breakdown of the answers of individuals who refused to take part in the survey (Chart 1).

We should note that the primary reason given for not participating was the lack of time (43%). Potential respondents not wanting to participate in this particular survey (28%), followed. Finally, 17% of those who refused to participate argued that the survey would change nothing and thus it was useless. The total number of refusals amounted to 8%.

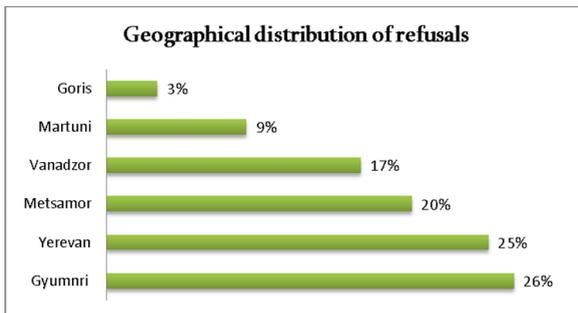
Chart 1



The geographical distribution of potential respondents who refused to participate in the survey are presented in Chart 2. Gyumri and Yerevan topped the list with 26% and 25% respectively.

Lastly, 59% of those who refused to participate were men and 41% were women.

Chart 2



ADDENDUM 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

Date_____ Questionnaire # Interviewer#

Dear respondent,

The Women's Support Center is conducting a study tasked with clarifying the perception of gender related roles in Armenian society. The survey is anonymous. The answers will be tallied and presented collectively. We hope you will answer honestly.

**1. List those qualities that are characteristic of men
/Select you top 5 choices.**

1. Masculinity
2. Strength
3. Intelligence
4. Caring nature
5. Balanced nature
6. Controlling
7. Responsible
8. Free
9. Self-sufficient
10. Crude
11. Energetic
12. Aggressive
13. Emotional
14. Pretentious
15. Other _____/Note/

2. List those qualities that are characteristic of women/Select your top 5 choices.

1. Modesty
2. Feminine
3. Caring
4. Controlling
5. Obedient
6. Active
7. Intelligent
8. Tender
9. Punctual
10. Self-sufficient
11. Economizing with money
12. Multifaceted/versatile with money
13. Polite
14. Emotional
15. Miserly
16. Initiator
17. Pretentious
18. Other _____/Note/

3. What qualities do men look for in a wife/Pick 3.

1. External appearance
2. Multifaceted background
3. Education
4. Ability to run a household
5. Obedient nature
6. Boldness
7. Takes the initiative

8. Broad-minded
9. Conservatism
10. Other _____/Note/

4. What qualities do women look for in a husband/Pick 3.

1. Security
2. Multifaceted background
3. Education
4. Masculinity
5. Broad-minded/liberal thinking
6. Conservatism
7. Controlling nature
8. External appearance
9. Other _____/Note/

5. What qualities are you teaching/will you teach your son/Name 3.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

6. What qualities are you teaching/will you teach your daughter/Name 3.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

7. Which family members should be responsible for the housecleaning?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Both

8. Which family members should be responsible for the meal preparation?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Both

9. Which family members should be responsible for childrearing?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Both

10. Can a woman who works be just as good of a mother as one who does not work?

1. Yes/*go to question 10*
2. No

11. Why can't a working woman be just as good of a mother as one who does not work?

1. _____

12. When you were a child, did your mother work?

1. Yes
2. No

13. Which family members can work outside the home?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Both

14. Who can be the decision maker in the family?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Both

15. What is your attitude towards men who help with the housework?

1. Positive – husbands must help their wives
2. Depends on the type of work
3. Negative – only women should do the housework

16. Who must be the decision-maker in the family?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Both

17. Rate the chances of men/women achieving professional success in the following fields

	Men		Women	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Politician	1	2	1	2
Teacher/lecturer	1	2	1	2
Lawyer	1	2	1	2
Doctor	1	2	1	2
Business	1	2	1	2
Cook	1	2	1	2
Driver	1	2	1	2
Hairdresser	1	2	1	2
Waiter	1	2	1	2
Police officer	1	2	1	2
Model	1	2	1	2

18. Do you agree with the following claims?

Statements	Yes	No
A woman's place is in the kitchen and her job is raising children	1	2
Women, without men, cannot be full members of society	1	2
Politics is no place for a woman	1	2
Governance skills are more developed in men	1	2
Wars occur due to the aggressive nature of men	1	2

19. Whom can you name as your ideal male figure?

1. Family member _____ /Which /
 2. Politician _____ /Give name/
 3. Show business star _____ /Give name/
 4. Scientist _____ /Give name/
 5. Other _____ /Give name/
99. Difficult to answer

20. Whom can you name as your ideal female figure?

1. Family member _____ /Which /
 2. Politician _____ /Give name/
 3. Show business star _____ /Give name/
 4. Scientist _____ /Give name/
 5. Other _____ /Give name/
99. Difficult to answer

21. Do you know anyone in your immediate circle who has been subjected to domestic violence

1. Yes
2. No

22. In your opinion, violence occurs when... (You can select several answers)

1. When they periodically hit you
2. When they sometimes slap you
3. when they constantly disparage/demean you
4. When they force you to do something against your will
5. When they force you to have sexual relations
6. When they want to control and monitor your every move
7. When they don't let you work
8. Other _____/Cite/

23. In your opinion, can violence against women ever be justified?

1. Yes
2. No /Go to question 25/

24. In what cases can violence against women be justified? (Select up to 3 answers).

1. When the husband is drunk/under the influence of drugs
2. When the wife is unfaithful
3. When the wife disobeys her husband
4. When the wife neglects the children
5. When the wife refuses her sexual obligations
6. All the above

25. What would you do if you became a victim of domestic violence?

1. I'd telephone the 0 8000 11 00 hot line
2. I'd go to the police
3. I'd go to friends and relatives for help
4. I'd do nothing and continue to tolerate it

5. Other _____/Cite/

26. In your opinion, subjecting women to violence is...

(Select only 1)

1. A crime
2. A result of drinking/drug addiction
3. A result of an unbalanced personality
4. For their own good
5. Other _____/Cite/

27. Is there discrimination against women today in Armenia?

1. Yes
2. No /Go to question 29/

28. If yes, in what particular sectors?

1. Family
2. Politics
3. Labor market
4. Education
5. Legislative bodies
6. Command & Control structures
7. Other _____/Cite/

29. In your opinion, the role of women in Armenia during the past five years has...

1. Decreased
2. Increased /Go to question 31/
3. Remained the same

30. If you believe it has decreased, please note why (Select up to 3)

1. Increased exposure of violence against women
2. TV serials regarding women
3. Employment of women at the lower rungs of the labor market

4. Other _____/Cite/

31. If you believe it has increased, please note why (Select up to 3)

1. Greater inclusion of women in politics
2. TV serials are raising women's issues more
3. Increase in media coverage of women,
4. Change in national mentality
5. An increase of working women in various fields
6. Other /Cite/ _____

DEMOGRAPHIC SECTION

32. Sex

1. Male
2. Female

33. Age

1. 16-29
2. 30-39
3. 40-49
4. 50-61

34. Education

1. High School
2. Specialized Trade
3. Higher Education

35. Marital Status

1. Not married
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Widow/Widower
5. Civil marriage

36. Employment Status

1. State employee
2. Private sector
3. Self-employed
4. Housewife
5. Student
6. Pensioner
7. Unemployed

Place of residence

1. Yerevan
2. Gyumri
3. Vanadzor
4. Goris
5. Martuni
6. Metsamor