



EUROPEAN
ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

“Increasing the Role of the Civil Society
in Political Processes in Armenia” project

Report on Research on RA Constitutional Reforms



YEREVAN 2014

“Increasing the role of the civil society in political processes in Armenia” project

Report

Survey on RA Constitutional reforms

(Comparative analysis of the repetitive research)

Armenia 2014-2015

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Introduction

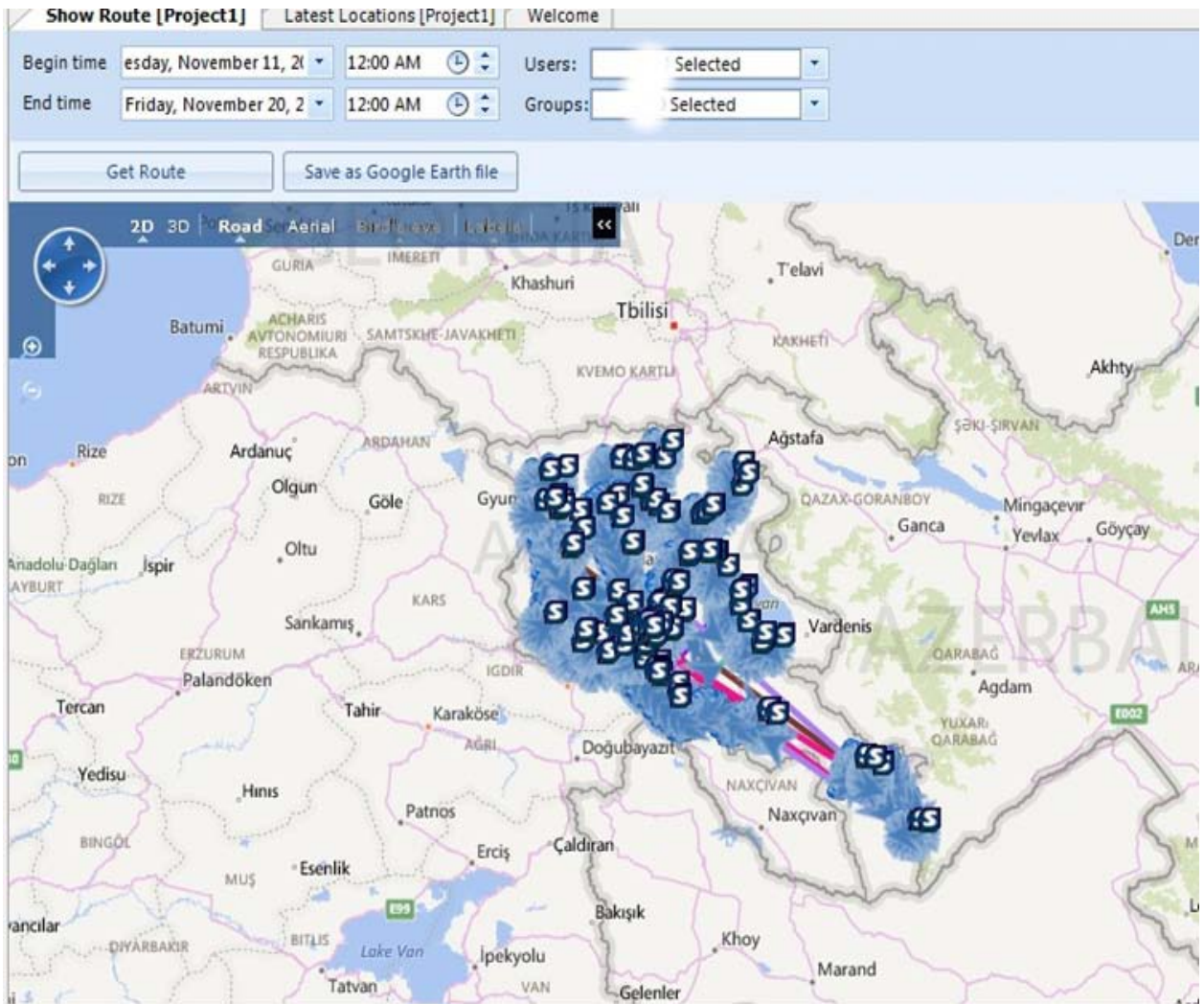
In September 2013 the process of Constitutional reforms was initiated in the Republic of Armenia. In this regard, based on the RA President's decree (as of September 4, 2013), a Specialized Committee on Constitutional reforms was formed with the task to undertake comprehensive analysis of the RA Constitution and develop recommendations for reforms. The Committee developed a draft concept of RA Constitutional reforms and based on discussions it was updated and a draft of Constitutional reforms was developed.

The process of Constitutional reforms has been the subject of active discussions among different civic groups during last two years. Numerous and diverse arguments based on the importance and irrelevance of reforms have been voiced. **“Advanced Public Research Group” (APR Group) non-governmental organization** has initiated a series of studies to understand the public attitude and positions on Constitutional reforms. In 2014 and 2015 APR Group conducted qualitative and quantitative research with the support by the **European Endowment for Democracy** within the framework of “Increasing the role of the civil society in political processes of Armenia”.

In 2014 the findings of the qualitative and quantitative research were presented to the public through meetings/discussions as well as Mass Media. To identify change tendencies in the public opinion, a quantitative research was conducted in 2015 with the similar methodology and sampling conglomerate.

The project involved experienced experts, jurists such as A. Ghazaryan, H. Tigranyan, T. Matinyan, sociologists L. Balyan etc. The Project manager was R. Sargsyan, Chairman of APR Group.

This publication was developed with the support by European Endowment for Democracy. APR Group is responsible for content, data, opinions of experts, comments and conclusions, which may not reflect the position of the European Endowment for Democracy.



Methodology

Within the framework of the project qualitative and quantitative research was conducted in April-July 2014 and a quantitative research was conducted in November 2015. The research results became the subject of sociological analysis. Due to the repetitive research¹ it became possible to outline main change tendencies.

The main goal of 2014 research was to get opinions and recommendations of different public groups on Constitutional reforms.

- Main objectives of the qualitative research were to identify opinions of experts on Constitutional reforms, reveal gaps of the existing Constitution, shortcomings of the proposed draft Concept of Constitutional reforms and develop necessary update and recommendations for the Concept improvement.
- Main objectives of the quantitative research were to identify the opinion of the Armenian population on Constitutional reforms, find out to what extent they are aware of those reforms as well as reveal their expectations from the process of reforms.

The main goal of 2015 research was to identify population's attitude towards Constitutional reforms, as well as a number of other processes. Objectives of the research were to identify to what extent the RA population is aware of the Content of the draft Constitutional reforms, what attitude and expectations they have from Constitutional reforms. The research also discussed such issues as trust in the referendum, readiness to participate etc. Key aspects of the research were:

- **Knowledge** (what people know about the Constitution, what they know about amendments and what they know about the proposed draft)
- **Attitude** (what is the attitude towards the process of reforms, what is the attitude towards the draft Constitutional reforms and their specific provisions)
- **Practice** (what activities are undertaken to promote or hinder the process of reforms, identification of the ratio for participation in the referendum).

The main question groups of the quantitative research were::

1. Satisfaction from the social-economic state of the country
2. Need for Constitutional reforms
3. Human rights
4. Governance system
5. Electoral rights and electoral system
6. Judiciary system
7. Constitutional guarantees of referendum
8. Local self-government
9. Democracy
10. Social demographic data

¹ Repetitive research is a complex of research actions within the same project and specific time intervals which aims to monitor change tendencies in the research subject. The sub-category is the trend research which is conducted for the same conglomerate specific time later and with comparably the same methodology (Ядов В.А. Социологическое исследование: методология, программа, методы)

Research sampling: Samplings for both 2014 and 2015 quantitative research initiative were developed based on the same principles. Quantitative interviews were conducted in all RA marzes/regions (including Yerevan). Respondents were individuals over 18. The research sampling(s) was developed based on the statistical formulas. The conglomerate made up 1399 with the margin of error of $\pm 2.7\%$ and 95% of reliability. A stratified cluster sampling was formed based on the principle of randomness.

The sampling conglomerate calculated in advanced was proportionally distributed according the number of population of Armenian marzes. Afterwards, the number of respondents in each marz is divided into equal clusters. The number of respondents and clusters in each marz is presented in the Table 1 below.

Table 1: Distribution of sampling and cluster according to marzes		
Marz	Sampling	Number of clusters
Yerevan	430	43
Aragatsothn	60	6
Ararat	110	11
Armavir	110	11
Gegharkunik	90	9
Lori	130	13
Kotayk	120	12
Shirak	120	12
Syunik	60	6
Vayots Dzor	20	2
Tavush	50	5
Total	1300	130

In each cluster, from the starting point² residences were selected through left turn method and coordinated random step where respondents were selected through a special soft. Interviews were conducted by interviewers through face-to-face meetings using CAPI soft (Computer-assisted personal interviewing).³ Field work was monitored by coordinators/supervisors and quality controllers through computer software. The soft ensured not only the smooth process of interviews but also effective supervision of the process.

Field work was conducted between November 11 and 19, 2015.

The data analysis was conducted through SPSS statistical package; probabilities were calculated, cross-check and factor analysis were conducted, connections were calculated etc. Results are presented below.

² RA voter lists became the basis for selection of starting points which are enumerated and classified according to marzes. Precinct electoral commissions were selected through random coordinated step. Each precinct makes up one cluster.

³ Is a technique of conducting individual interview(s) with computer assistance during which interviewer inputs information collected during the interview into the electronic questionnaire installed in the computer.

Social demographic data of the respondents

39.4% of respondents were male and 60.6% female.

Table 2: Respondents' sex	Respondent	%
Male	512	39.4%
Female	788	60.6%
Total	1300	100.0%

Age distribution of respondents is presented below:

Table 3: Age groups of respondents	Responde nts	%
18 -25	170	13.1%
26 -35	256	19.7%
36 – 45	237	18.2%
46 – 60	333	25.6%
61 and over	304	23.4%
Total	1300	100.0%

Distribution of the educational level of respondents

Table 4: Educational level of respondents	Respondents	%
Elementary	15	1.2%
Incomplete secondary (8 grades)	97	7.5%
Secondary (10-12 grades)	479	36.8%
High technical / incomplete high	342	26.3%
High (without master's degree)	211	16.2%
High including masters and PhD	156	12.0%
Total	1300	100.0%

The sphere of employment of respondents

Table 5: The sphere of employment of respondents	%
Media	0.1%
Mining Industry	0.3%
Renovation	0.5%
Information technologies	0.6%
Non-Governmental organizations	0.7%
Armed forces	0.9%
Art	1.2%
Healthcare	1.2%
Public services	1.3%
Transport	1.3%

Public governance, LSG	1.5%
Production	2.2%
Construction	3.2%
Trade	3.6%
Service delivery (hotel, restaurants, nursery, driver ...)	4.5%
Agriculture	6.2%
Education	6.8%
Refuse to answer	0.2%
Don't work	63.7%
Total	100.0%

Those respondents that mentioned that they have income generating (profitable) work also answered the question what the nature of their work was. Answers are presented below:

Table 6: Nature of respondent's work	%
Employer/manager	3.8%
Temporary work	13.5%
Self employed (without employees)	27.3%
Hired employee with fixed salary	55.4%
Total	100.0%

Respondents stating that they don't have profitable work also explained why.

Table 7: What is the reason of your unemployment?	%
Can't find work	40.4%
I'm a pensioner	27.6%
I take care of my child/parents/etc	12.1%
I have health problems	8.5%
I'm a student	5.8%
Other	3.4%
Don't want / wish	2.3%
Total	100.0%

Some characteristics on the social-economic state of respondents are presented below:

Table 8: What is the average monthly income of your family?	%
600,000 and more	0.8%
350,000 – 600,000 AMD	2.3%
150,000 - 350,000 AMD	17.8%
65,000 - 150,000 AMD	35.7%
35,000 - 65,000 AMD	21.5%
Up to 35,000 AMD	10.6%
Refuse to answer	11.2%
Total	100.0%

Table 9: Which following statement the best describes the economic state of your family?	%
Money is enough to buy food, clothes and other products	11.8%
Money is enough only to buy food and clothes	24.9%
Money is enough to buy only food but not clothes	35.1%
Money is not enough to buy food	26.8%
Difficult to answer	0.7%
Refuse to answer	0.6%
Total	100.0%

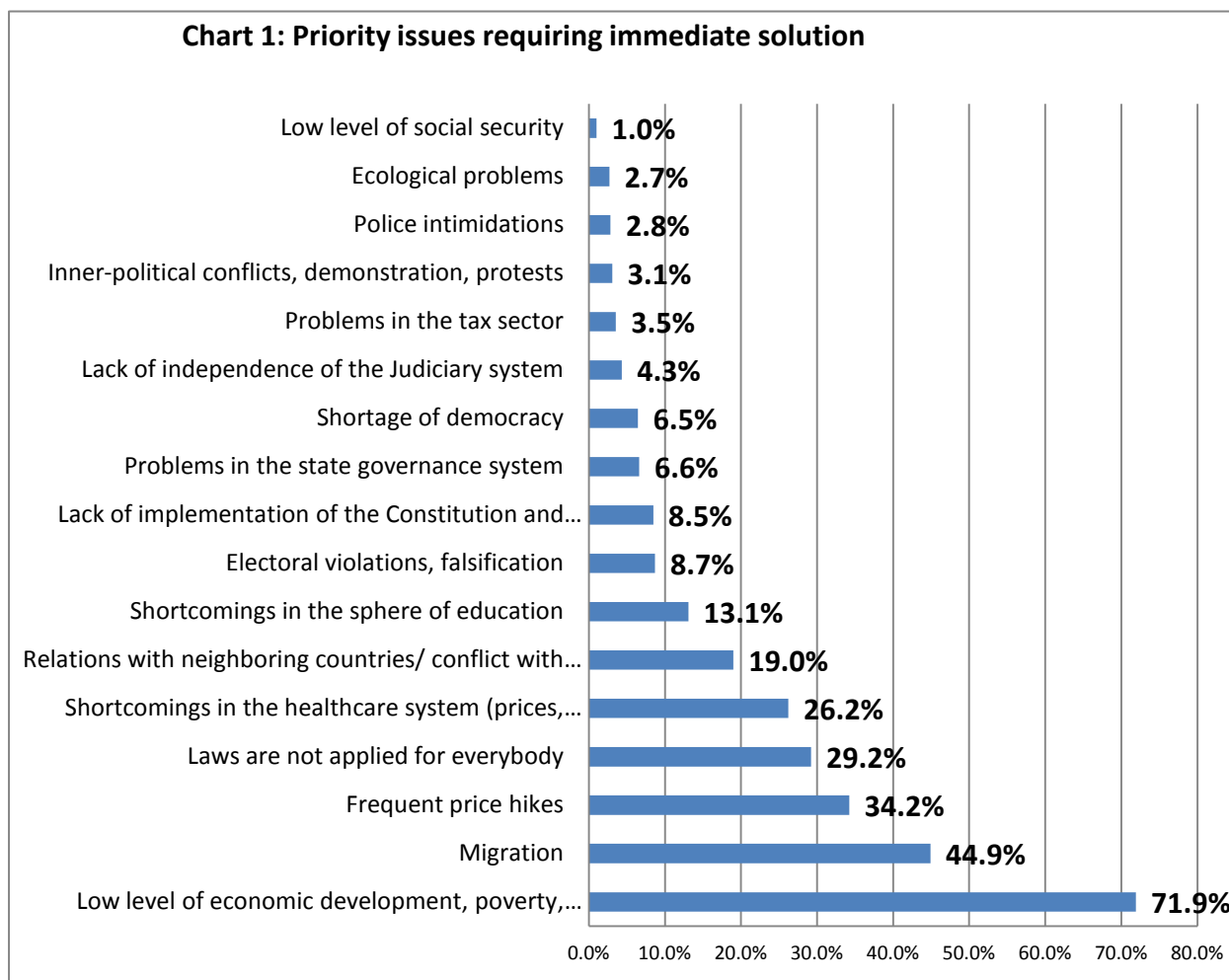
Research findings

Satisfaction from the social-economic state of the country

During the research respondents were asked questions on the satisfaction from the social-economic state of the country that not only describe the attitude of respondents towards several issues but also become basis for cross-check analysis.

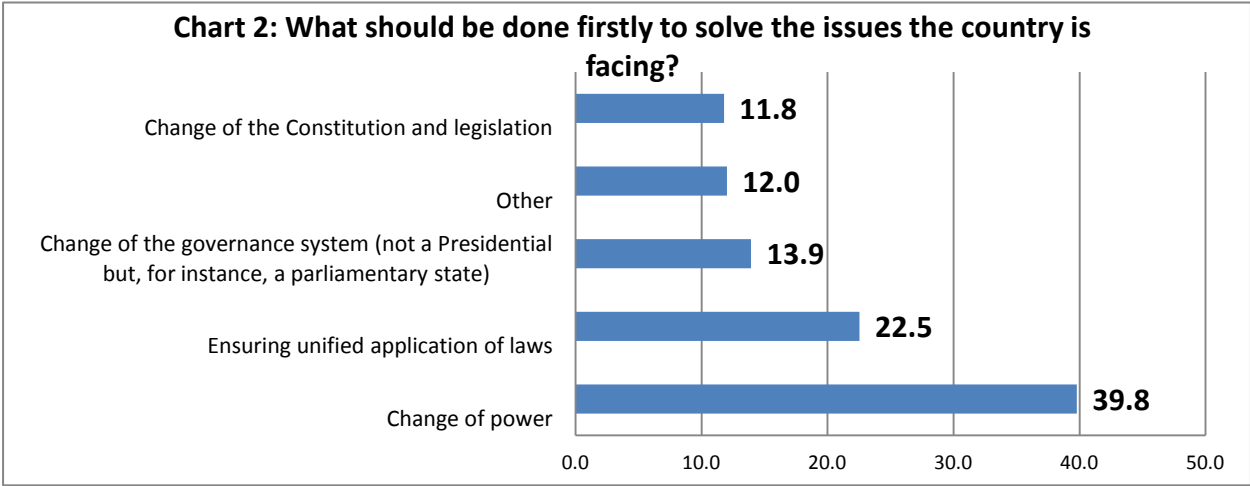
During the survey APR tries to identify which are the three most important issues that require immediate solution according to respondents.

Results are presented in the Chart 1⁴.

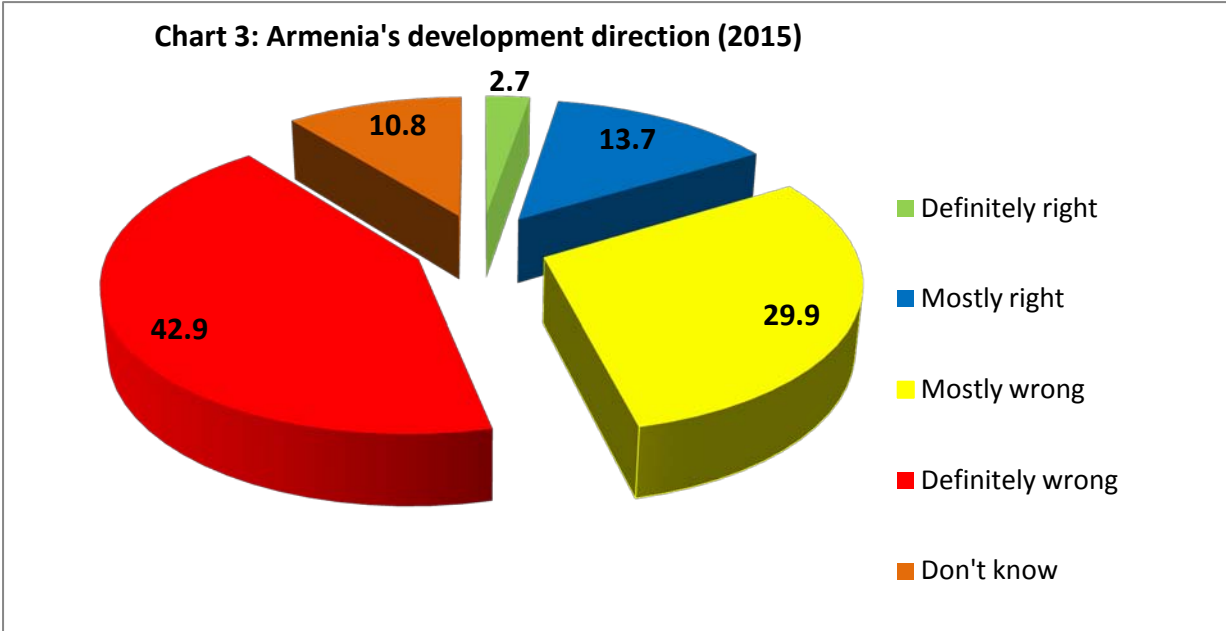


According to 39.8% of respondents, solution of important issues requires change of power.

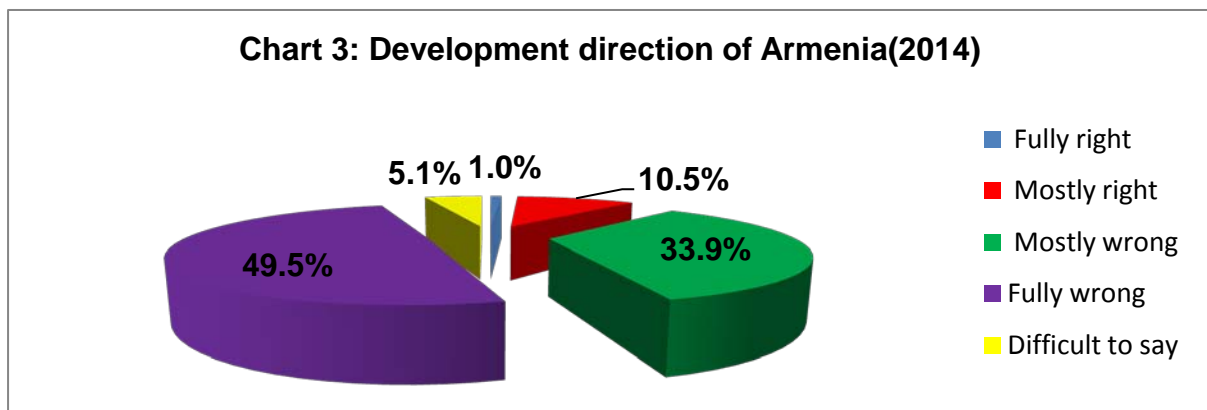
⁴ As respondents have mentioned more than one option, the sum of data will exceed 100%.



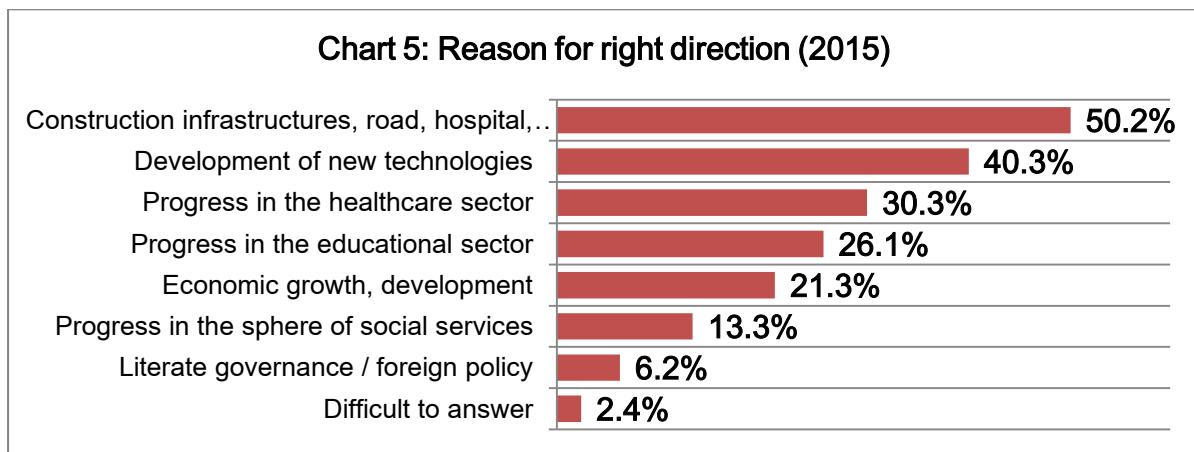
To the question whether Armenia moves in the right or wrong directions, respondents' replies are following:



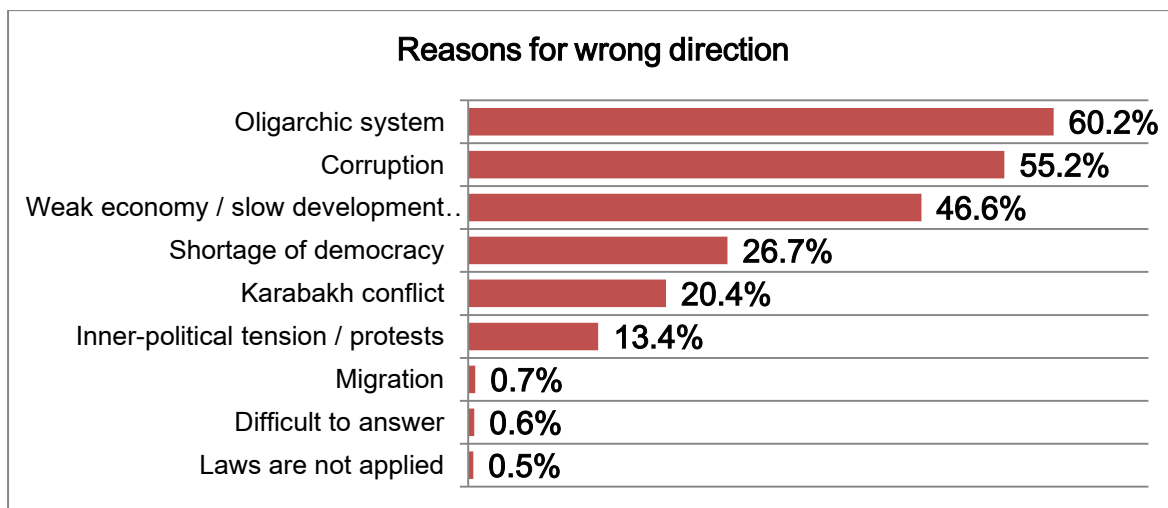
The picture for the same question during the 2014 research was the following:



“Right” or “wrong” replies justified their statement with the following factors:



Reasons for the wrong direction are:



Responses to these questions during 2014 research were the following:

Chart 7: Reasons for right direction (2014)

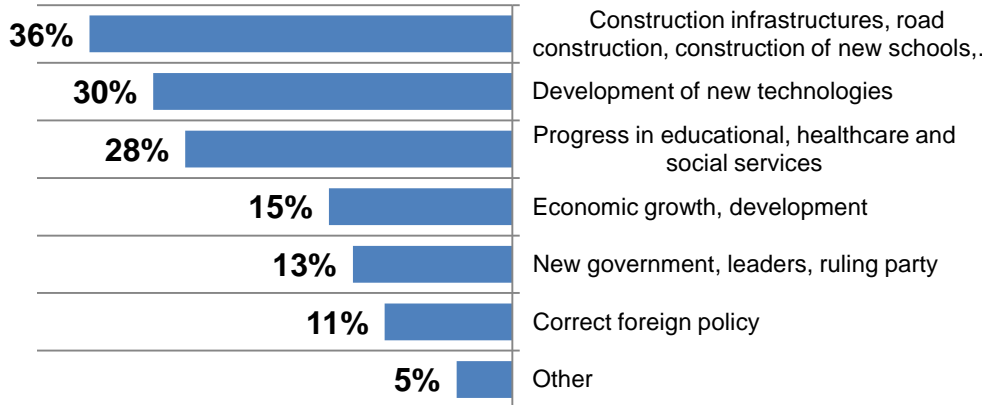
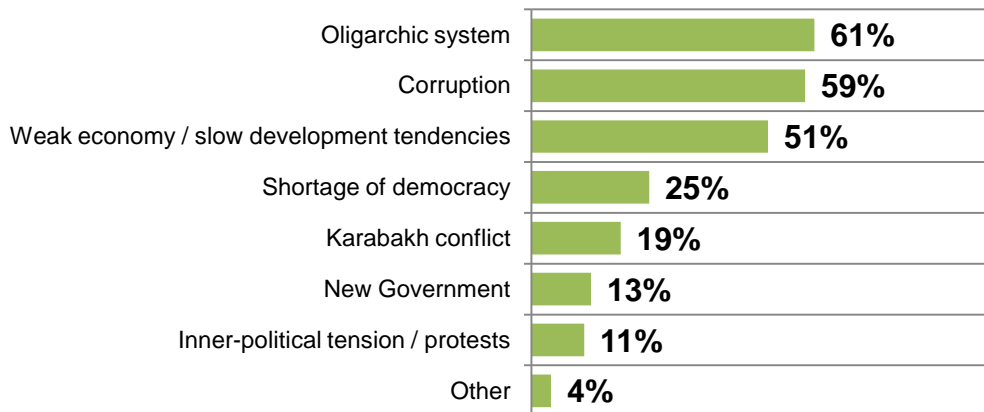
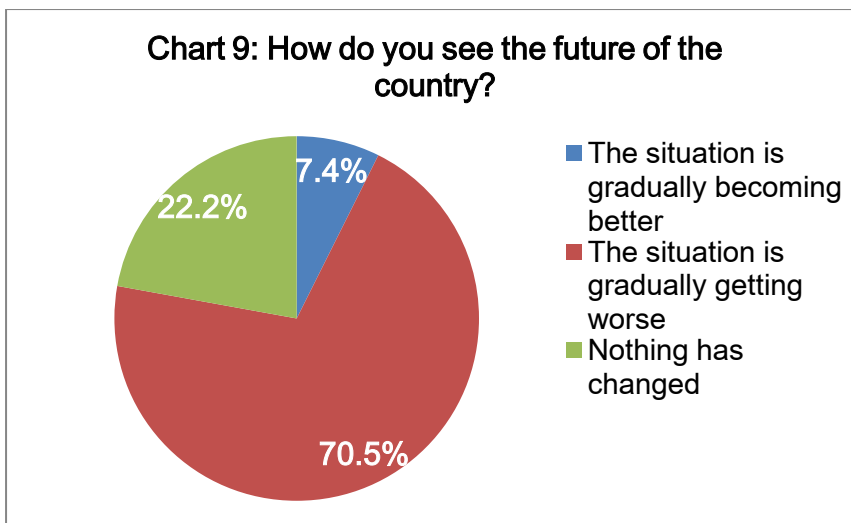


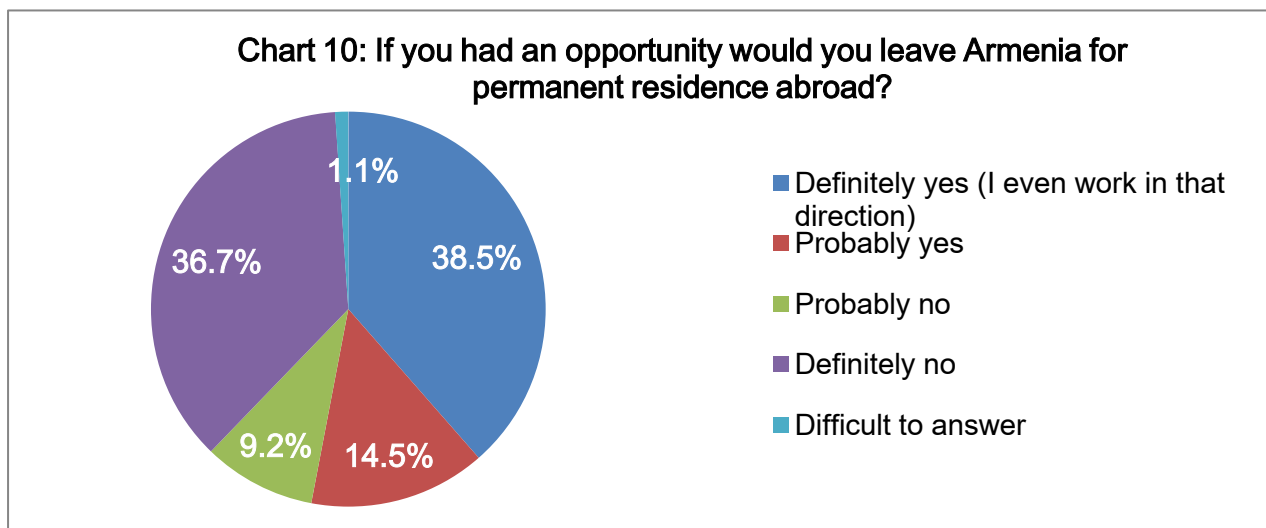
Chart 8: Reasons for wrong direction (2014)



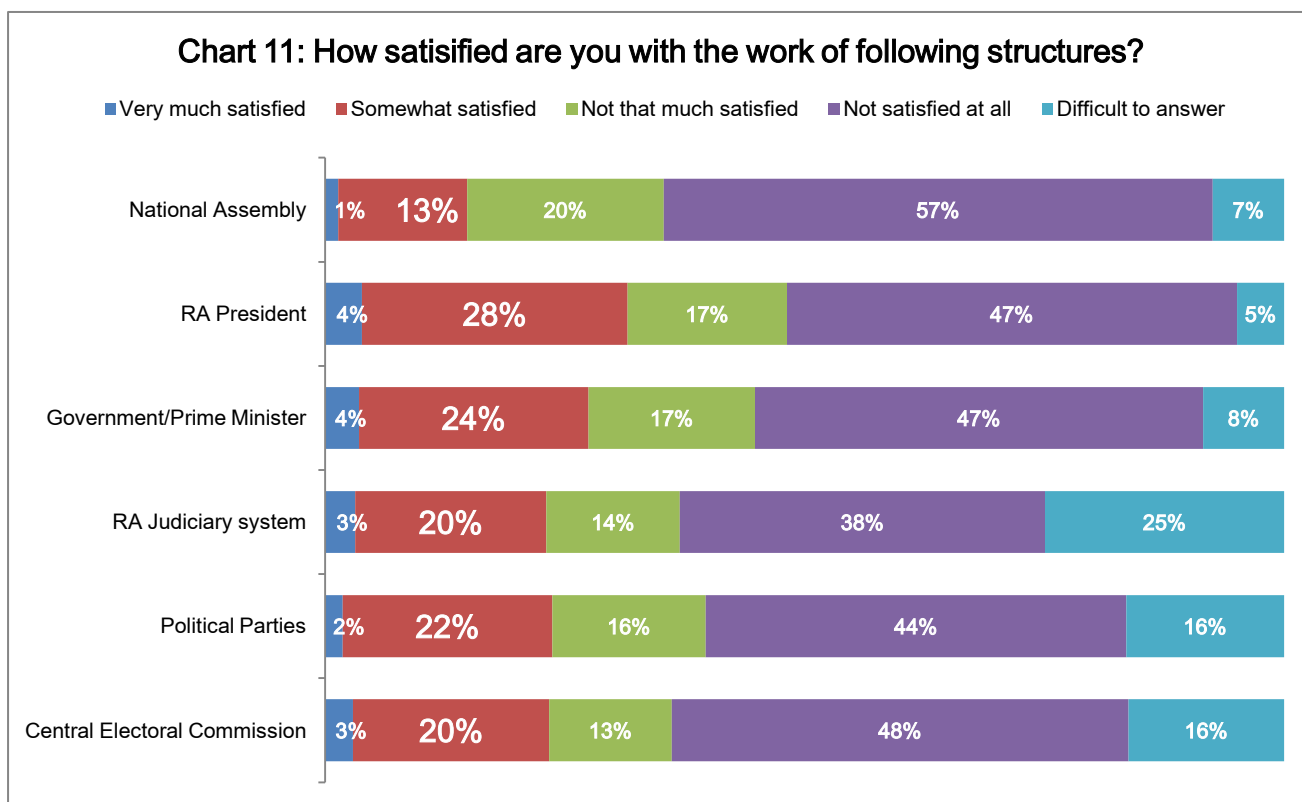
To the question how respondents see the future of the country answers were distributed in the following way:



As obvious, the majority of respondents see the future of the country from negative aspect. In parallel to the future perspective of the country the research tried to find out whether respondents would leave the country for permanent residence. It appeared that 38.5% of respondents has a wish to leave the country and even undertake steps in this direction. 14.5% of them stated that if they had an opportunity they'd probably leave. 45.9% prefers not to leave.

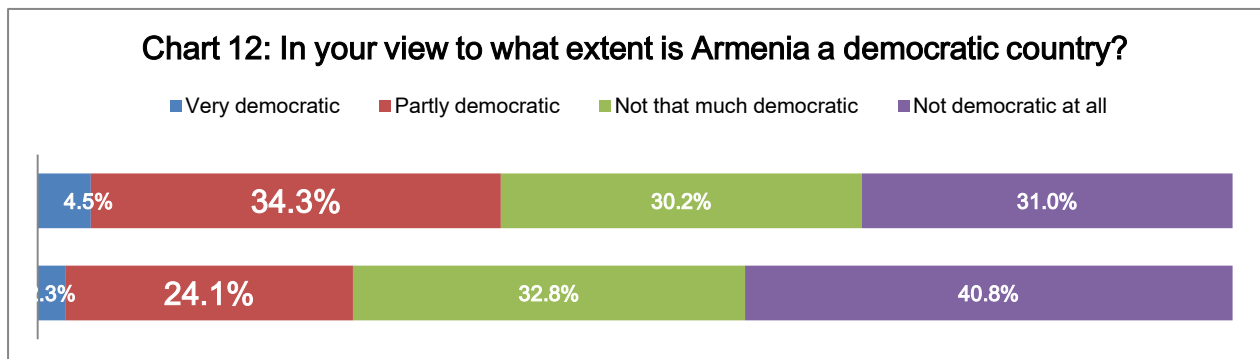


During the interviews, the research tried to identify people's satisfaction from the work of several structures. Answers are presented in the Chart 11.



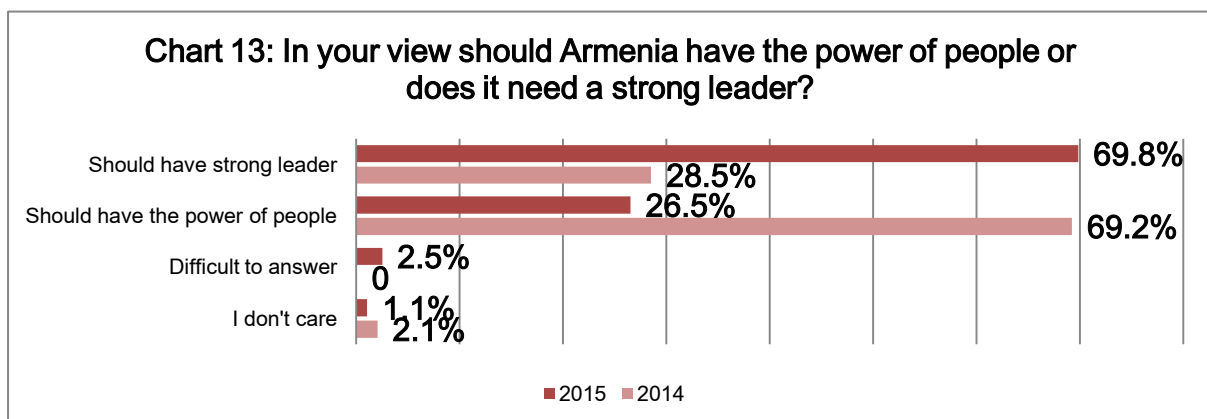
Democracy

It's interesting to look at the change in respondents' opinion on democratic developments and attitude towards the democracy in Armenia. Responses to the question to what extent Armenia is a democratic country are presented in the Chart 12.

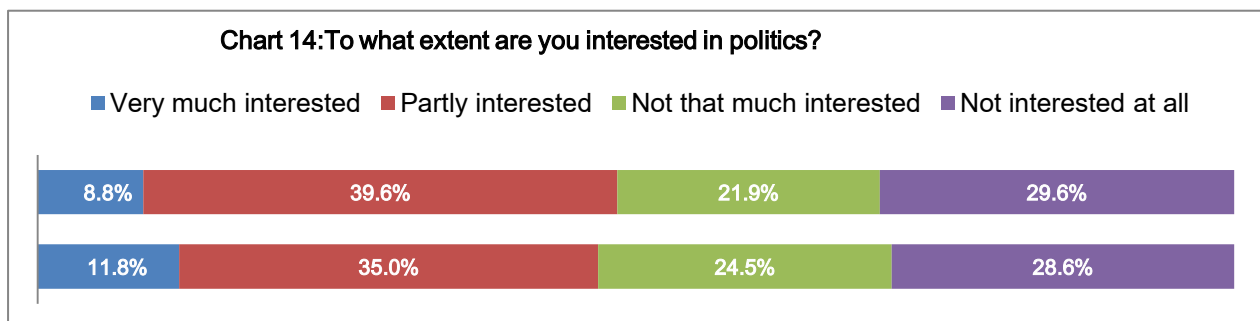


It's worth noting that if in 2014 the number of "Very democratic" and "Partly democratic" was 26.4%, in 2015 number of such responses made up 38.8% and accordingly led to the decrease of the number of replies on lack of democracy.

In parallel to this, in both cases the majority of respondents states that Armenia needs not the power of people but a strong leader.

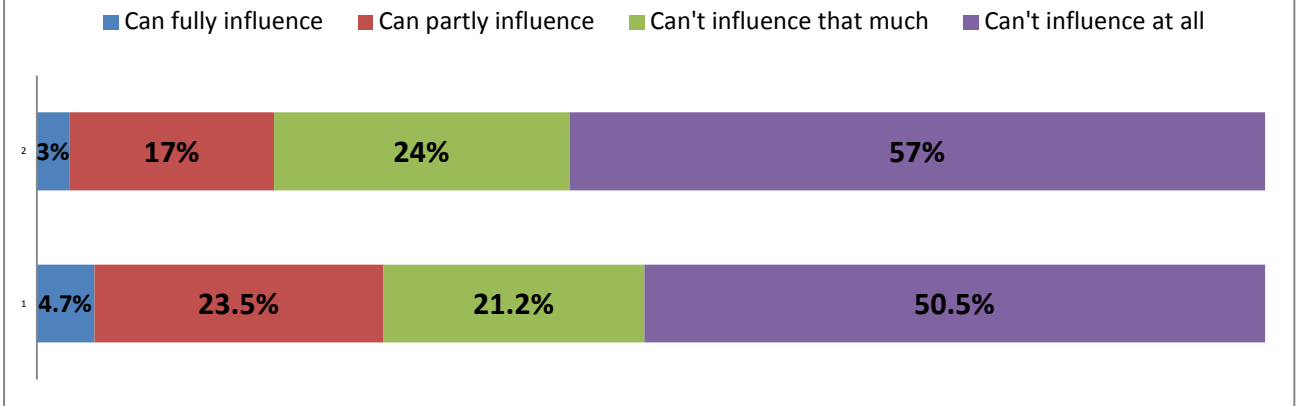


The level of respondents' interest in politics according to both researches is the following:



To the question to what extent citizens can influence on political processes and decisions respondents' answers were following:

Chart 15: In your view to what extent can people like you influence on political processes and decisions?



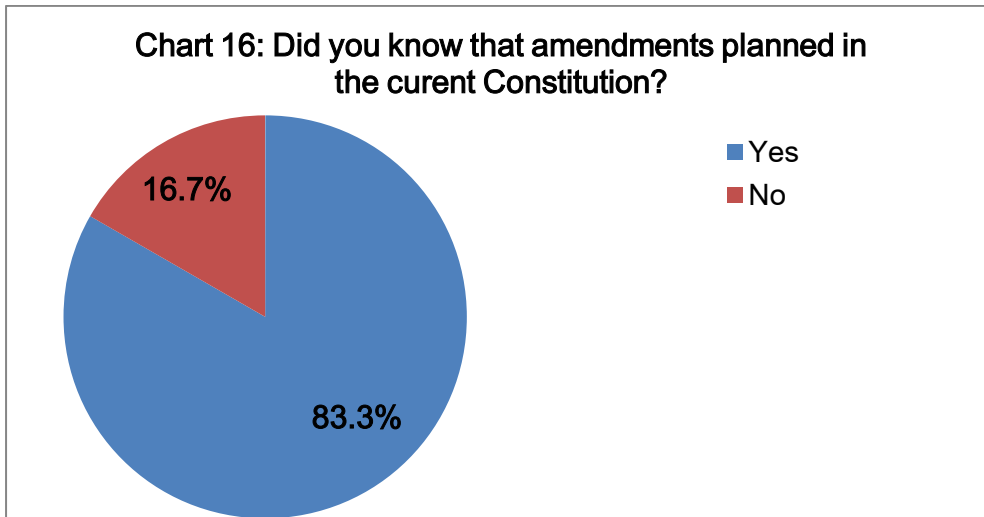
As seen above, there is a positive growth in this regard compared to the last year. In 2015 more people believe that they can influence on political processes more than last year. It's worth noting that, however, in both cases the number of people who think they can influence is low.

Need for Constitutional reforms

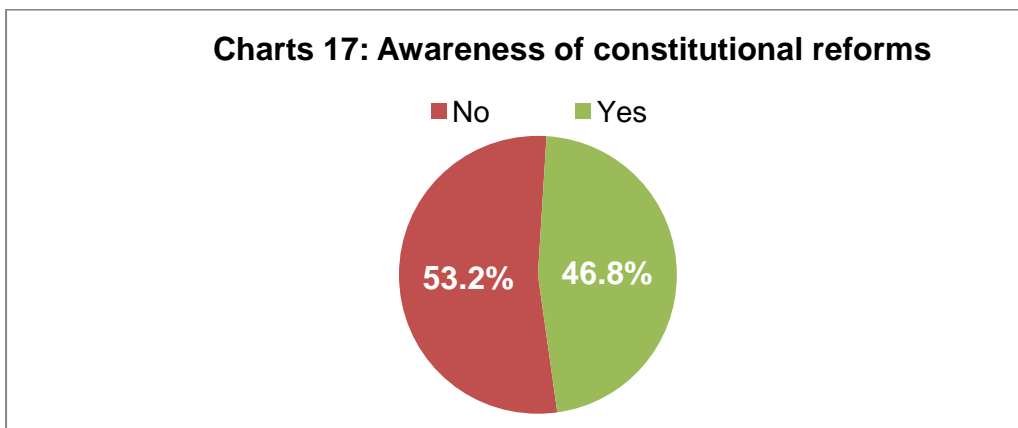
During the quantitative interviews conducted with the population issues related to the need for Constitutional reforms were clarified.

Awareness on Constitutional reforms

Firstly, let's clarify to what extent the population is aware of the reforms initiatives. Results are presented below:



If in 2014 research 53.2% of respondents were aware of that, this year that number reached to 83.3%, however, according to our estimations that level is insufficient when the referendum was to take place 2 weeks later.



Both in 2014 and 2015 the main source of information for respondents was television (only respondents that were aware of reforms answered this question).

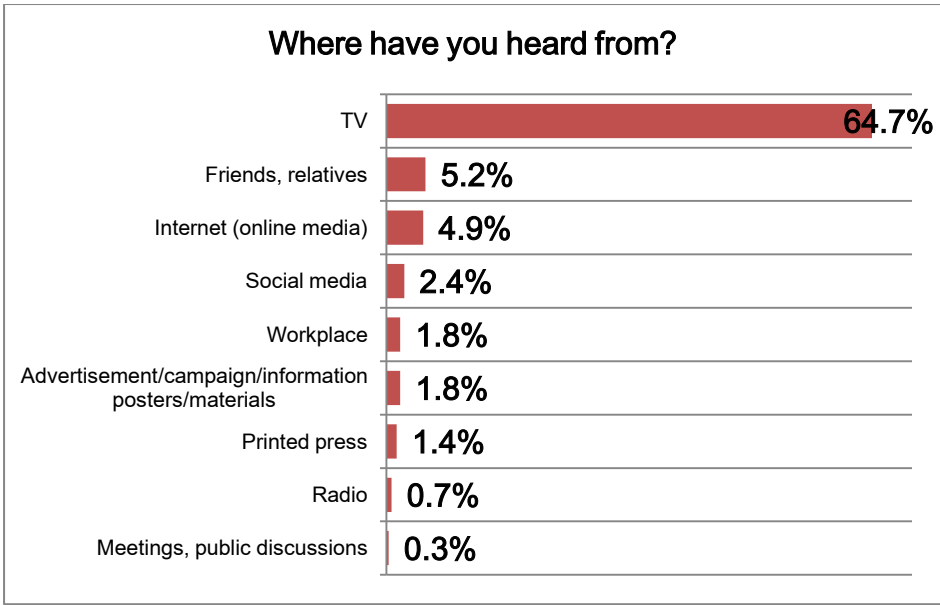
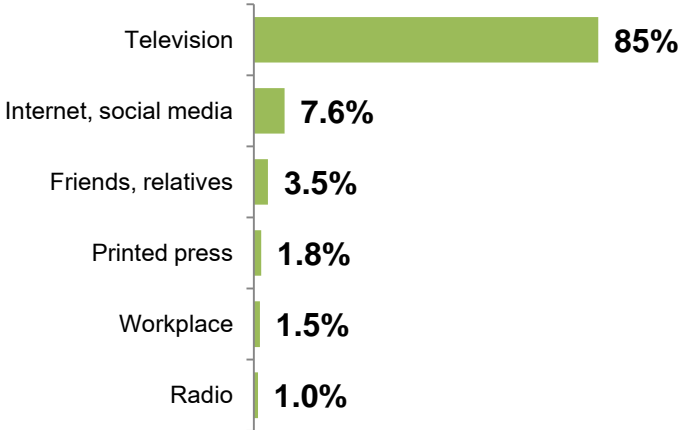
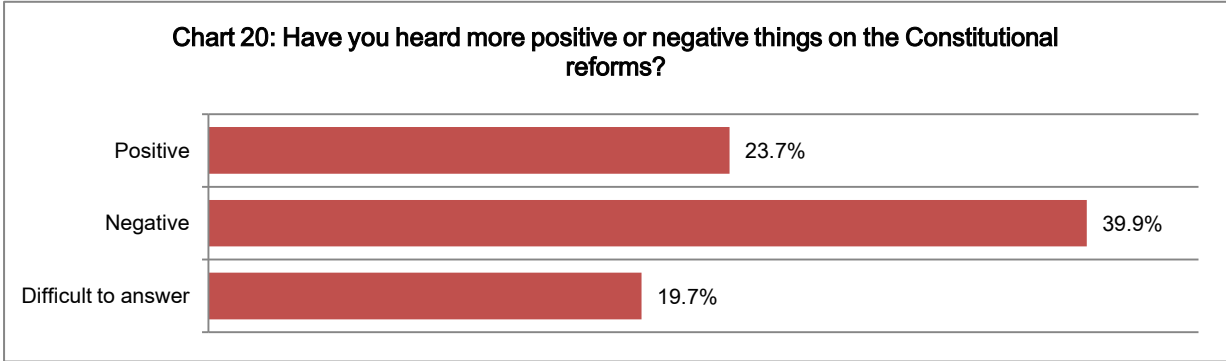


Chart 19: Information sources (2014)

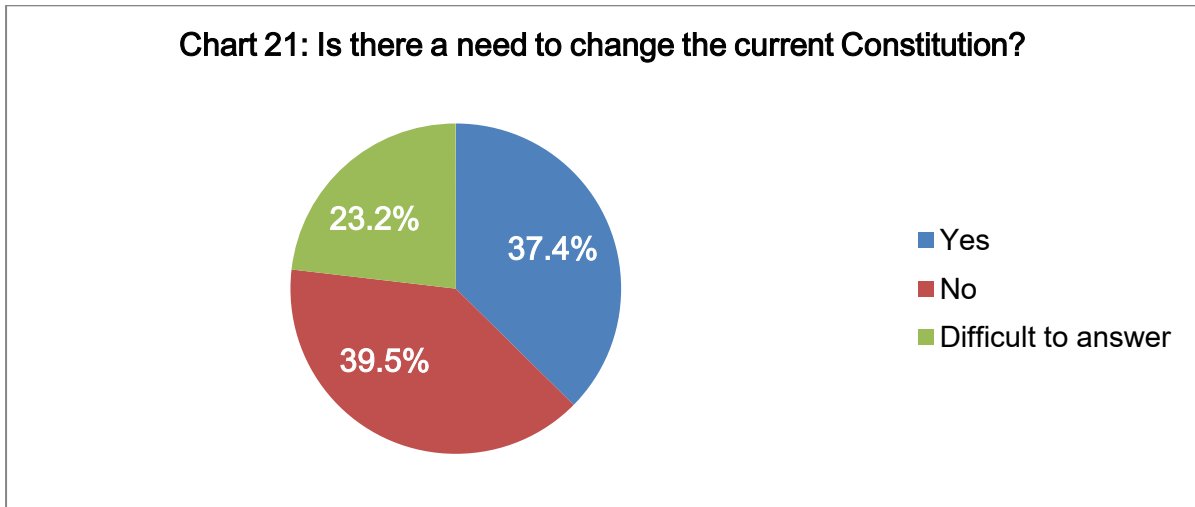


We tried to clarify whether respondents have heard more positive or negative. As a result 23.7% of respondents have heard positive and 39.9% negative things on Constitutional reforms.

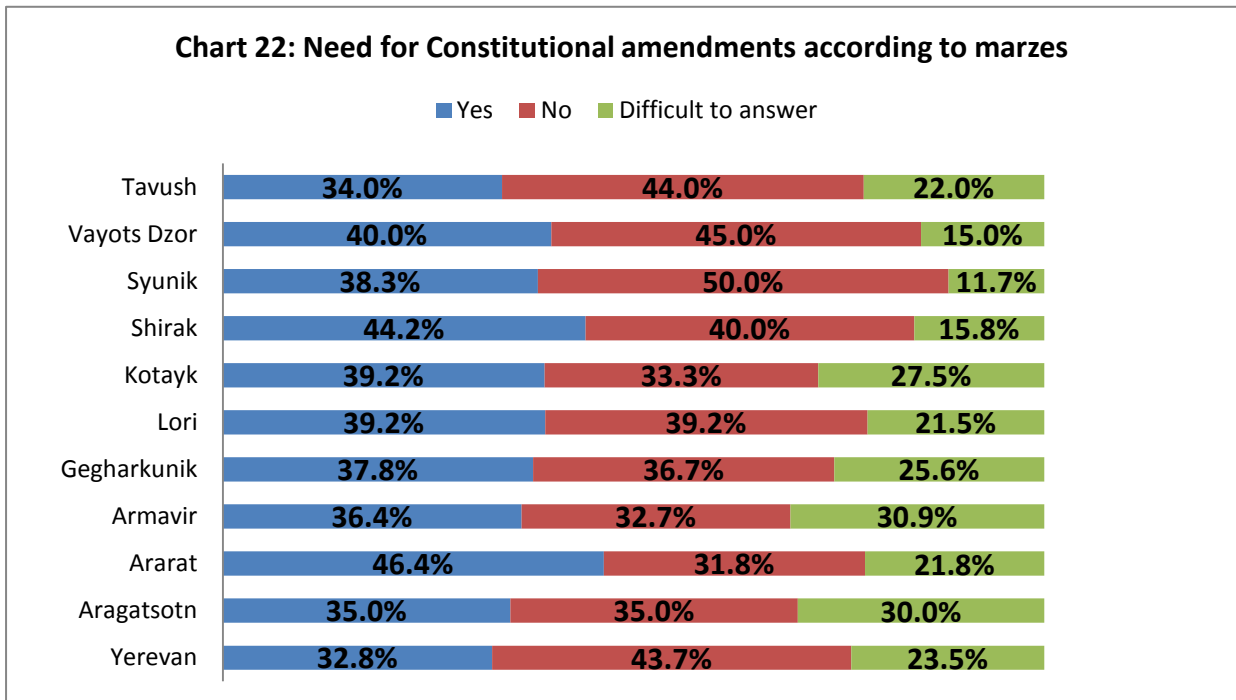


The research found out that only 37.4% of respondents thinks that there is a need for Constitutional reforms. In 2014, 25.4% mentioned “yes” and 60.1% - “no”. In comparison to

the last year % of respondents that don't see a need for reforms has decreased from 60.1% to 39.5%.

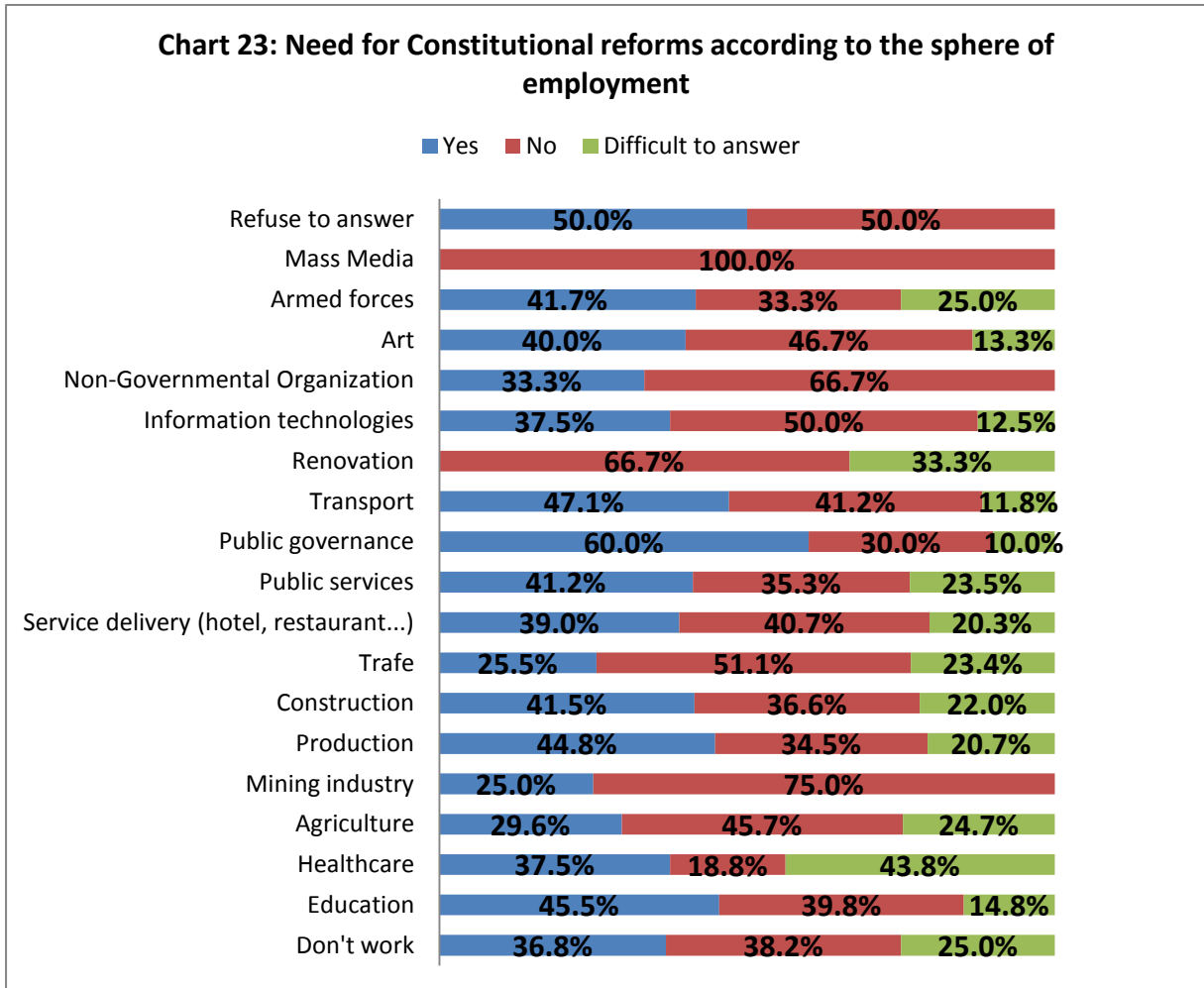


Analysis on the need for reforms according to marzes shows that a higher need for constitutional reforms has been highlighted in Aragatsotn - 50%, Tavush - 45%, Yerevan - 44%, Ararat - 43.7%, Armavir - 40%, Syunik - 39.2%, Kotayk - 36.7%, Shirak - 35%, Gegharkunik - 33.3%, Lori - 32.7% and Vayots Dzor - 31.8%. More favoring marzes are Ararat - 46.4%, followed by Shirak - 44.2%, Vayots Dzor - 40% etc. Moreover, if in Ararat 46.4% was in favor and 43.7% against, in Shiran and Vayots Dzor % of “against” options was comparably lower with 35% and 31.8% accordingly.

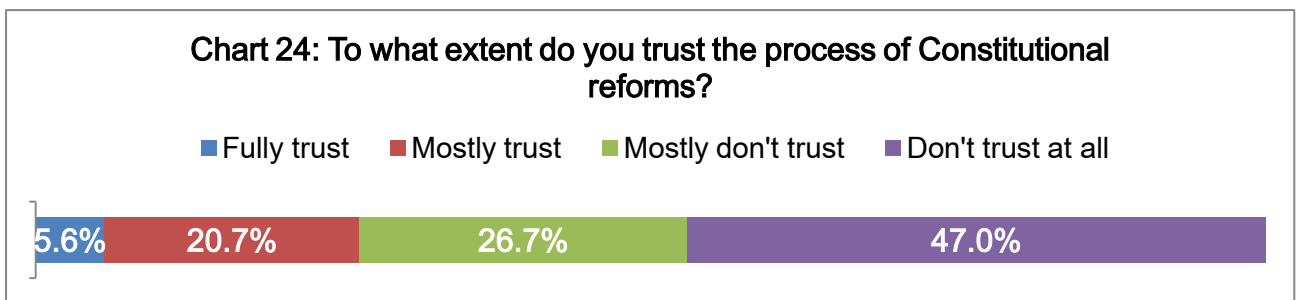


It's also interesting to look at the distribution of “in favor” or “against” need constitutional reforms according to the sphere of employment. As shown in the Chart 19 favoring opinions were voiced by employees in the sector of Public Governance/LSG - 60%, Transport -

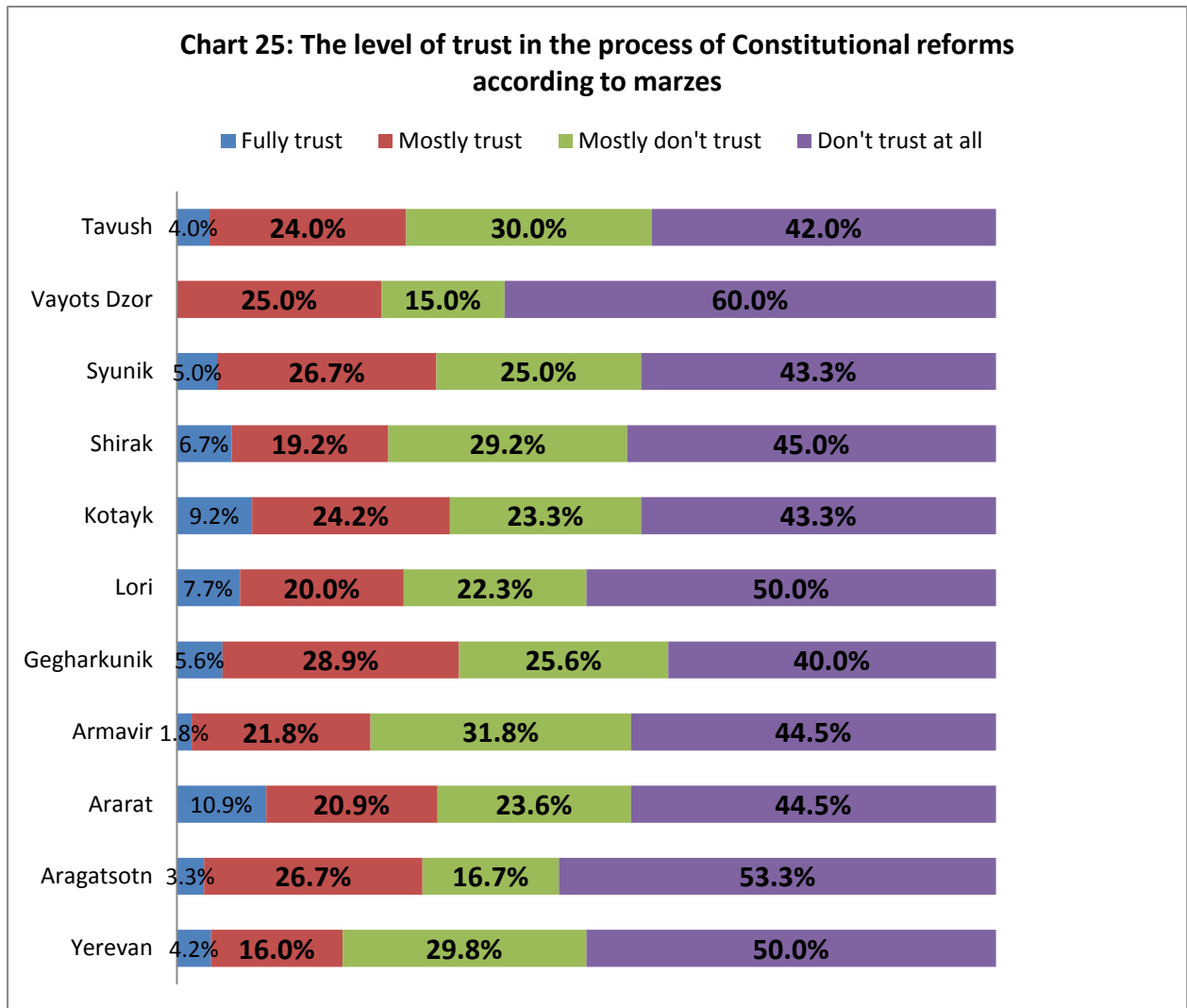
47.1%, Education - 45.5%, production - 44.8%, representatives of armed forces - 41.7%, construction - 41.5%, public services - 41.2%, Art - 40% etc. If the above mentioned sectors were more in favor than against, the number of people against reforms was higher - 46.7%. Those who were against the reforms represented Mining industry - 75%, non-governmental organization - 66.7%, renovation activities - 66.7%, trade sector - 51.1%, information technologies - 50% etc.



The research tried to identify change tendencies in the level of trust in the process of Constitutional reforms compared to the last year. It appeared that 26.3% of respondents trust the process while last year the % was 18.2%. In 2014 responses were distributed in the following way: “fully trust” - 3.1%, “mostly trust” - 15.1%, “mostly don't trust” - 33.2% and “don't trust at all” - 48.6%. The Chart 24 present responses received in 2015.

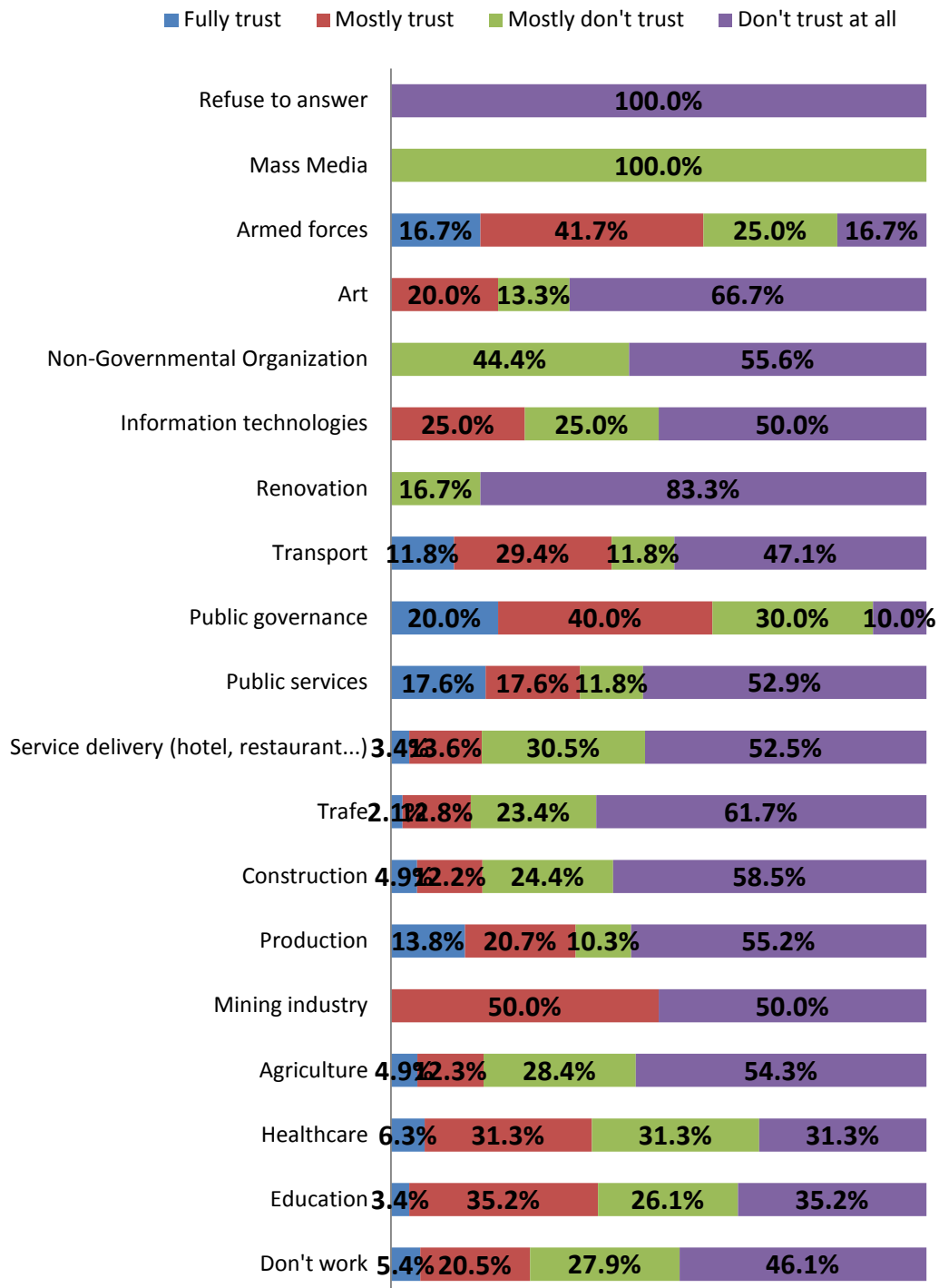


The Chart 25 shows the extent of trust in the reforms process according to marzes.



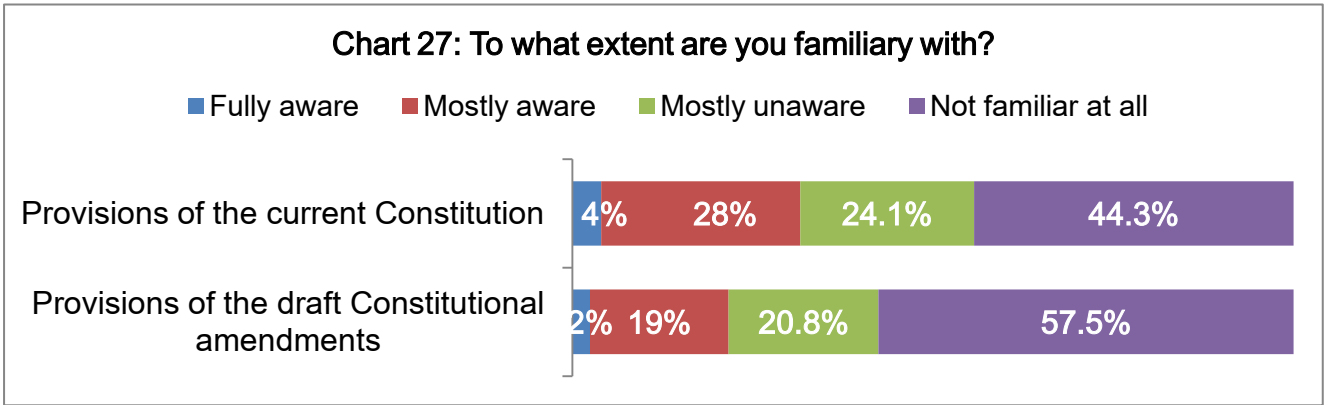
It's interesting also to look at the trust level of respondents according to the sphere of employment.

Chart 26: The level of trust in the process of Constitutional reforms according to the sphere of employment



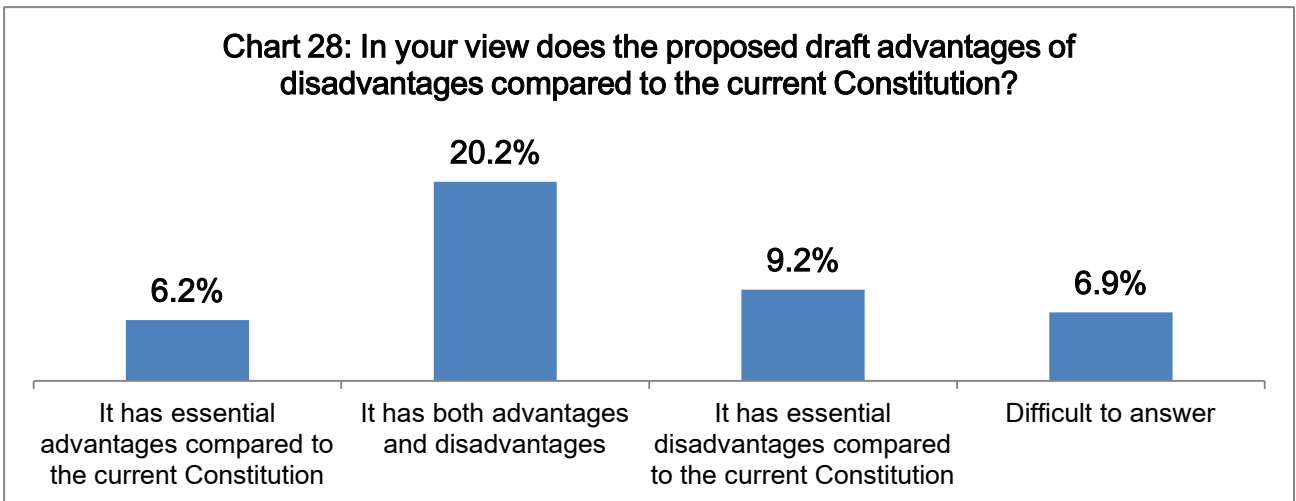
As one can see here the highest level of trust was voiced by employees of the public governance sector - 60%, armed forces (army, police etc) - 58.4%, education sector - 38.6%, healthcare - 37.6%, production - 34.5%.

Afterwards, the research clarified to what extent respondents are familiar with the provisions of the current Constitution and proposed draft amendments.



With this question the research tried to identify the subjective estimation of respondents on their knowledge. Aftermath respondents were asked questions checking their knowledge independent of their subjective assessment.

Respondents were asked whether the proposed amendments draft has advantages or disadvantages in comparison with the current Constitution. Responses are presented in the Chart 28.



The research identified how respondents see the consequences of Constitutional reforms for the country and personally for themselves. The Chart 25 and 29 clearly show that in both cases the majority of respondents states that either nothing will change or will have negative impact.

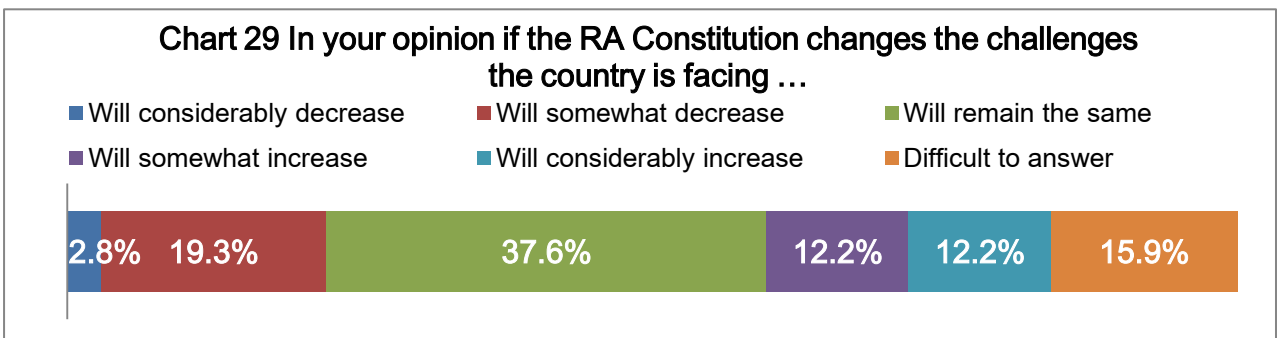


Chart 30: In you view if the Constitution is changed how will the life of your family and yours change?

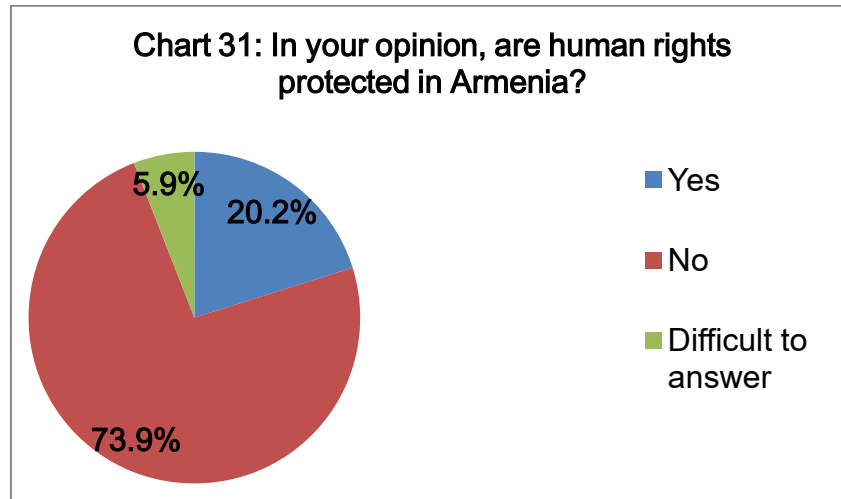
■ Will improve very much ■ Will somewhat improve ■ Nothing will change
■ Will get somewhat worse ■ Will get very much worse ■ Difficult to answer



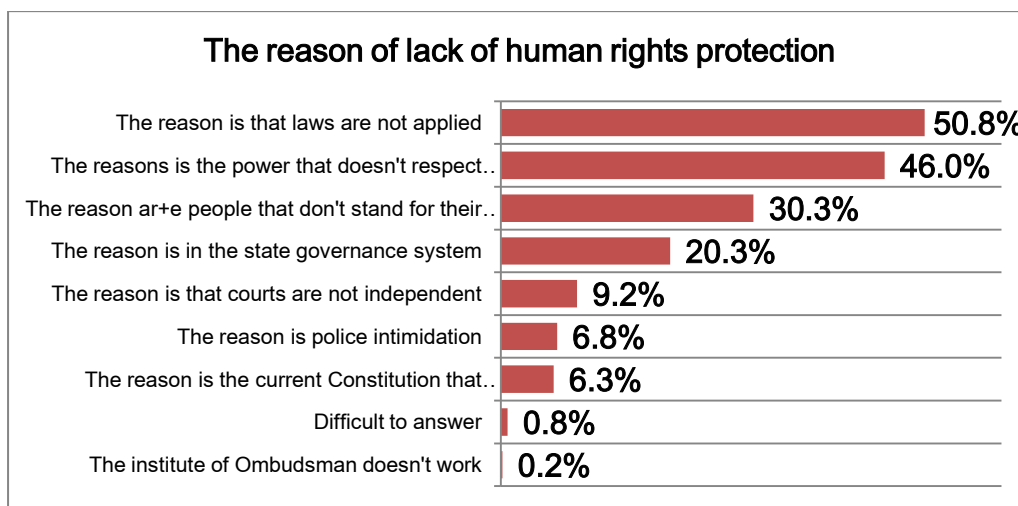
Knowledge on and attitude towards human rights and governance system

Human rights

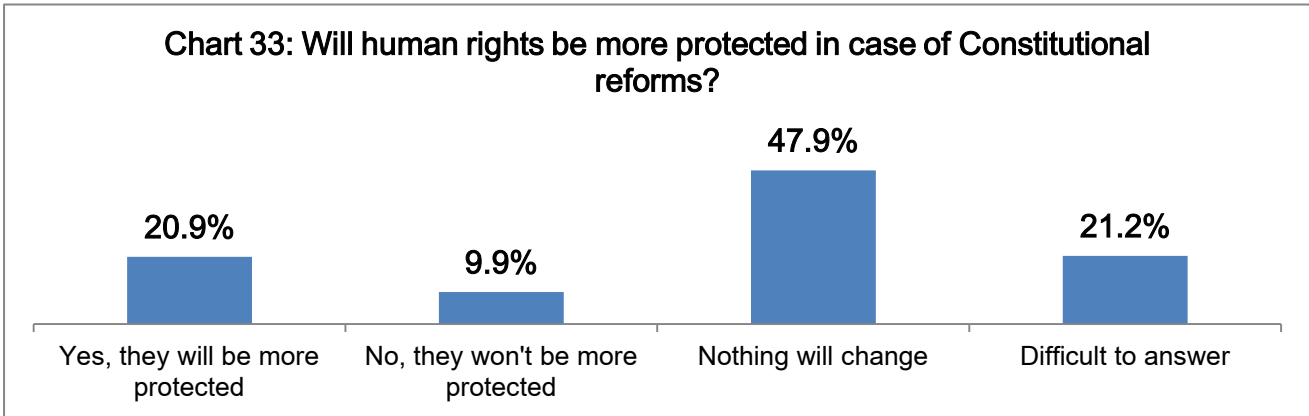
During interviews respondents answered to a number of questions related to human rights. Firstly, the research tried to clarify whether, according to respondents, human rights are protected in Armenia or not. The answers are following:



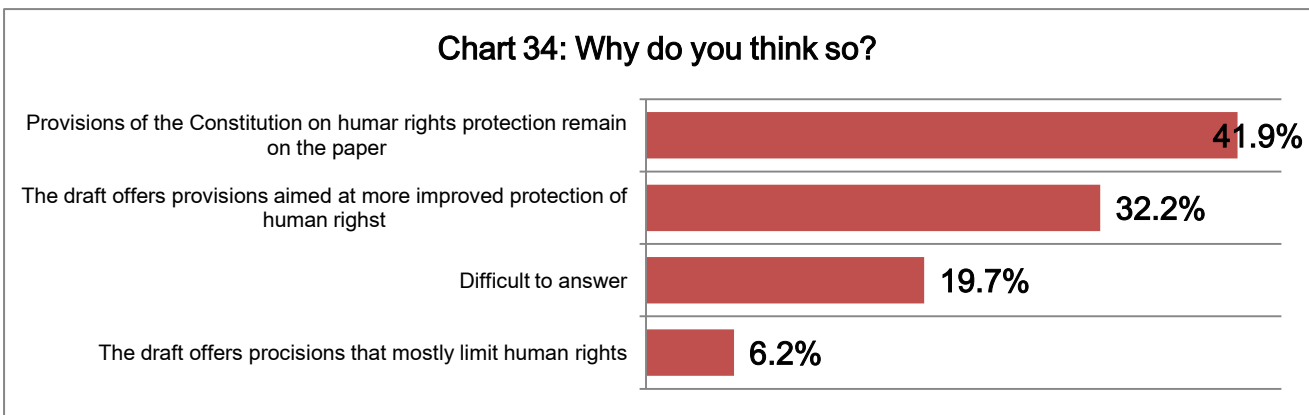
To the question what the reasons are for lack of human rights protection respondents provided the following answers (each respondent could provide up to 3 answers).



The research also identified expectations of respondents on changes related to human rights protection. The picture is presented in the Chart 33.



As visible above here expectation for changes is not high as well. Justifications for this are presented in the Chart 34.



Interviews also tried to find out to what extent respondents are familiar with the provisions on human rights presented by the draft amendments.

Responses are presented below.

Table 10: Knowledge on the legal definition of this or that right

Are you familiar whether the below mentioned rights are defined by the draft Constitutional amendments or not?	Yes, defined	No, not defined	Difficult to answer
1. Right of life	37.1%	14.1%	48.7%
2. Lack of ban on torture	37.5%	15.8%	46.7%
3. Right of physical psychological immunity	41.5%	14.7%	43.8%
4. Personal freedom	51.4%	12.1%	36.4%
5. Right of marriage	63%	5.1%	31.9%
6. Right for respect in personal and family life	58.3%	6.3%	35.3%
7. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion	65.4%	5.8%	28.8%
8. Right to live in the environment promoting health	54.5%	11.4%	34.1%
9. Right for apartment	58.5%	8.9%	32.6%
10. Right of education	73.6%	4.5%	21.9%
11. Labor right	64.3%	10%	25.7%
12. Excluding intimidation	52.4%	12.5%	35.1%
13. Electoral right and right to be elected	73.9%	4.7%	21.4%
14. Right of forming unions	56%	7.1%	37%
15. Freedom of rallies	57.8%	12.3%	29.9%
16. Right of fair court proceedings	59.4%	13.4%	27.2%
17. Right of healthcare and access to main free of charge medical services	48.4%	20.5%	31.1%
18. Right of deserved life	56.9%	11.1%	32%

19. Right of healthy, secure and deserved working conditions	51.8%	14.4%	33.8%
20. Right of social protection	58.5%	12.7%	28.7%

Out of rights listed in the list above, the right to live in the environment promoting health, right of apartment and labor right are not included in the draft of Constitutional amendments at all and all other rights are presented as rights defined by the legislation. Thus, in addition to the fact that respondents could hardly answer whether listed rights are defined by the draft amendments, the number of wrong answers was also high.

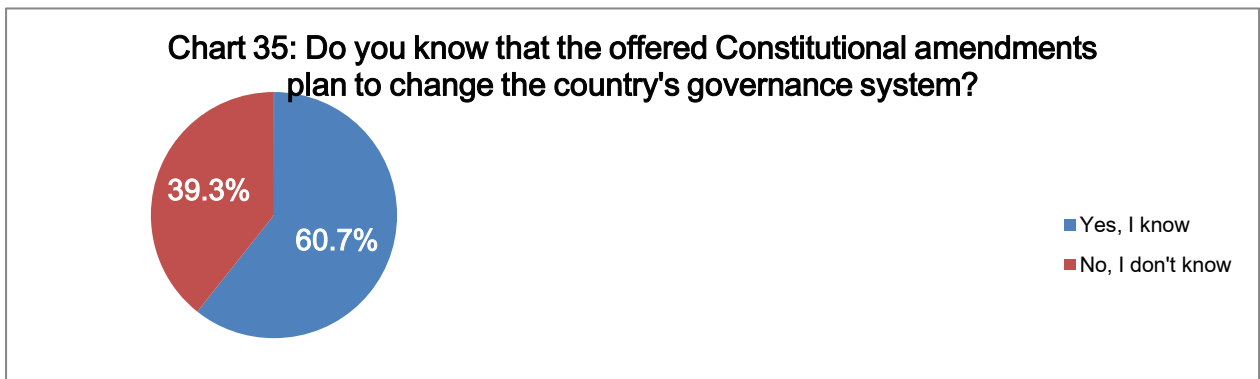
Table 11: Attitude towards the legal definition of this or that right

Should the following rights be defined by the Constitution?	Should be defined	Should n't be defined	Difficult to answer
1. Right of life	79.3%	14.7%	6.0%
2. Lack of ban on torture	78.5%	15.1%	6.5%
3. Right of physical psychological immunity	76.6%	15.0%	8.4%
4. Personal freedom	83.9%	11.5%	4.5%
5. Right of marriage	73.4%	20.8%	5.8%
6. Right for respect in personal and family life	82.5%	13.7%	3.8%
7. Freed of thought, conscience and religion	77.4%	17.9%	4.7%
8. Right to live in the environment promoting health	88.4%	7.8%	3.8%
9. Right for apartment	88.2%	8.5%	3.2%
10. Right of education	93.1%	4.4%	2.5%
11. Labor right	93.2%	4.2%	2.7%
12. Excluding intimidation	83.5%	10.8%	5.7%
13. Electoral right and right to be elected	92.5%	4.2%	3.3%
14. Right of forming unions	74.3%	15.5%	10.2%
15. Freedom of rallies	79.0%	14.9%	6.1%
16. Right of fair court proceedings	92.9%	3.8%	3.2%
17. Right of healthcare and access to main free of charge medical services	93.3%	3.9%	2.8%
18. Right of deserved life	90.8%	5.5%	3.6%
19. Right of healthy, secure and deserved working conditions	91.4%	5.8%	2.9%
20. Right of social protection	93.1%	3.9%	3.1%

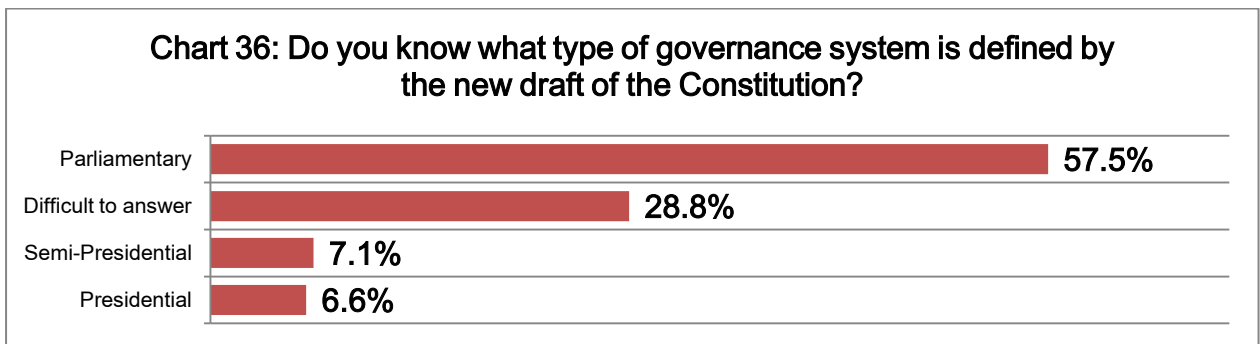
In case of almost all rights, the majority of respondents mentioned that they should be defined by the Constitution. In other words, on one hand, people think that a number of rights should be defined by the Constitution and, on the other hand, they don't know whether they are defined by the Constitution. However they state they'll participate in the referendum and a part of them will say "yes". Information on the participation in the referendum and probable voting will be presented in the next section on practice. Now let's move to the sections on the knowledge and/or attitude toward changes related to the governance system, LSG etc.

Governance system

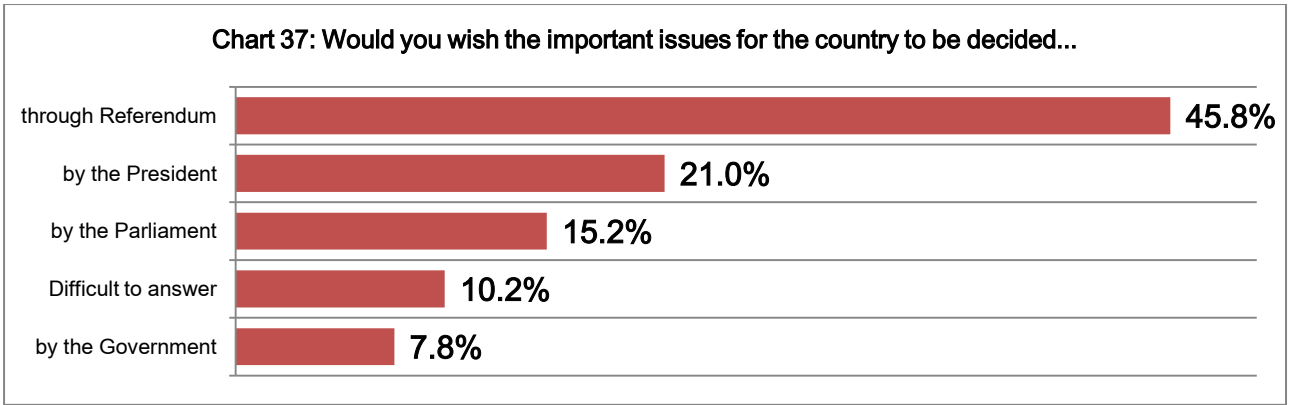
On issues related to the change of the governance system respondents answered the following questions: “Do you know that within the framework of proposed amendments the governance system will be changes?” and respondents were briefed on “formation and scope of power of the RA President, National Assembly and Government”. 60.7% answered yes and 39.3% - no.



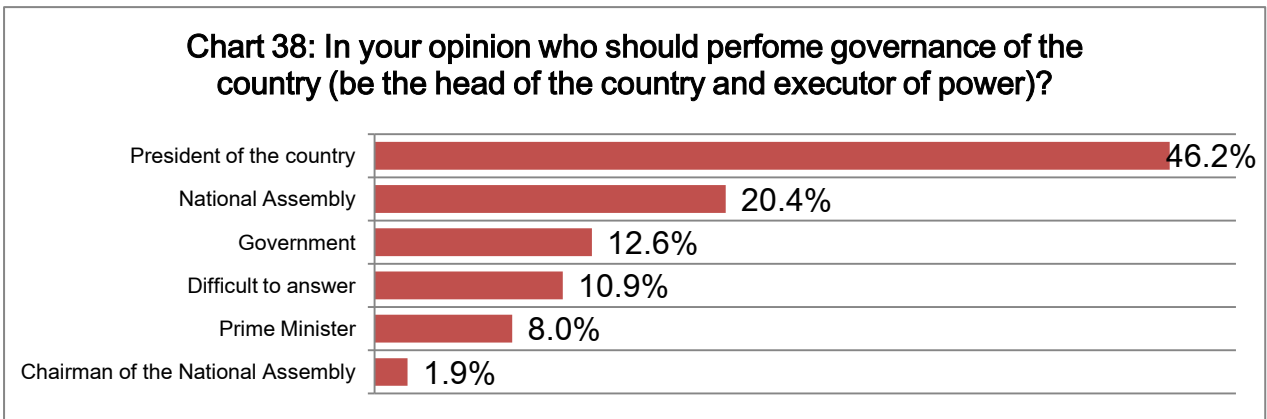
57.5% of respondents knows that the draft amendments propose to move to the parliamentary governance system.



It's worth stating that this was one of knowledge checking questions when RA respondents were more or less aware of. Through subsequent questions the research tried to clarify which type of governance system respondents favor. If 57.5% is aware that the draft amendments propose moving to the parliamentary system, however the number of supporters of practical application of that system is not that much high. 15.2% of respondents mentioned that they would like the parliament to decide on the important issues of the country. The distribution of answers is presented in the Chart 37.



The next question also targeted clarification on the desirable governance system: “In your view who should implement the governance of the country (i.e. be the head of the country and executor of power)”. 46.2% of respondents mentioned “the President of the country”.



To the question on who should elect the president of the country the vast majority of respondents mentioned “citizens” - 92.8%. However to the question whether respondents know who will elect the President under the proposed draft, 36.6% gave the correct answer stating “National Assembly”.

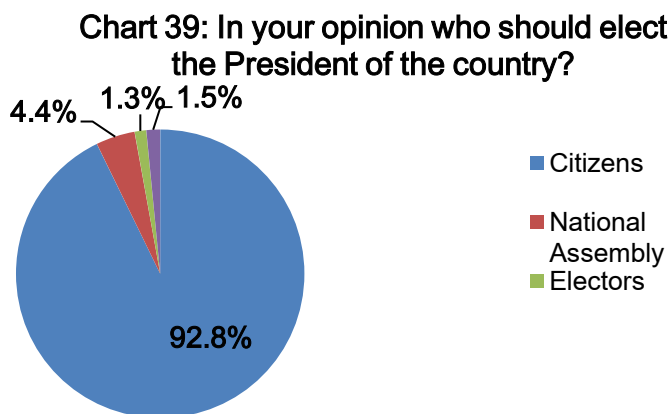
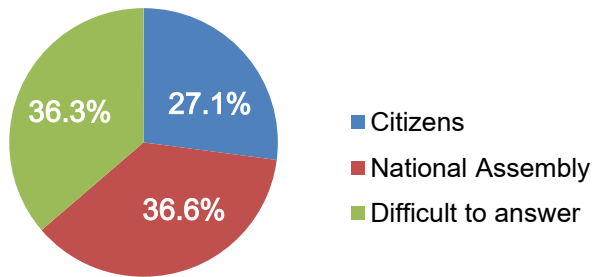


Chart 40: Do you know who should elect the President of the country according to the draft Constitution?



Thus in this case, although respondents have some knowledge, however that doesn't coincide with their preference.

Let's discuss the knowledge on and attitude of respondents towards the procedures of the election/appointment of Prime Minister.

Chart 41: Do you know who should appoint the Prime Minister and form the Government?

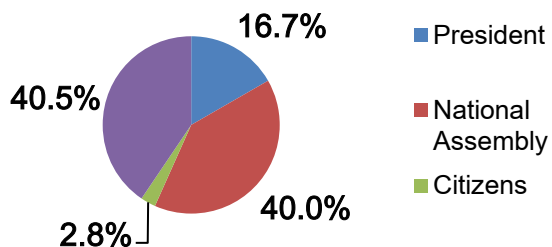
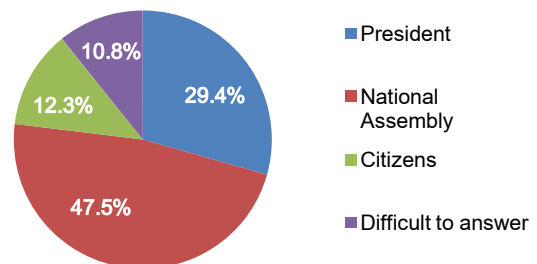
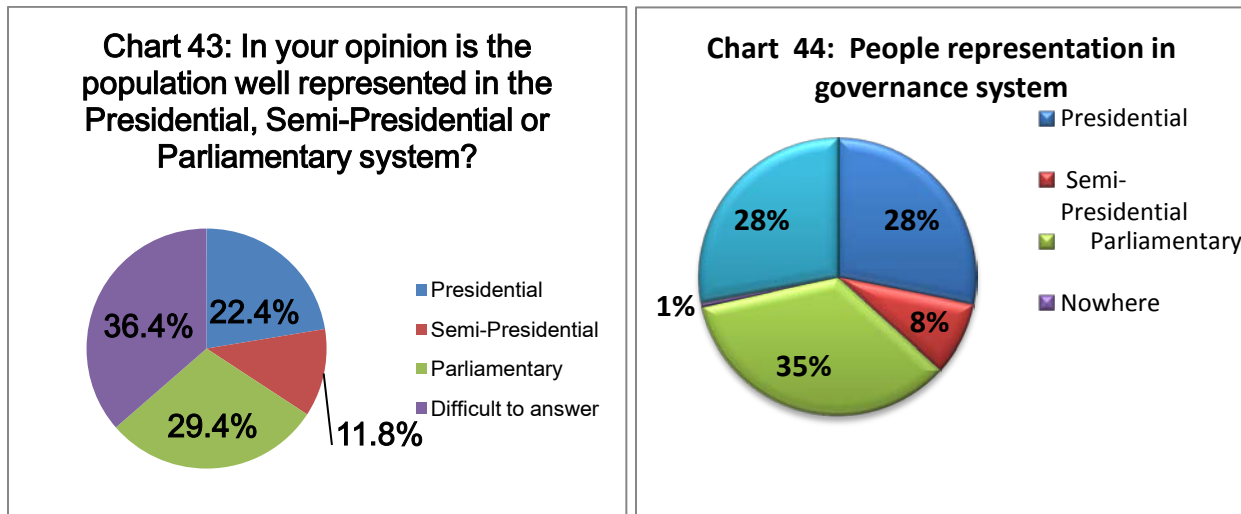


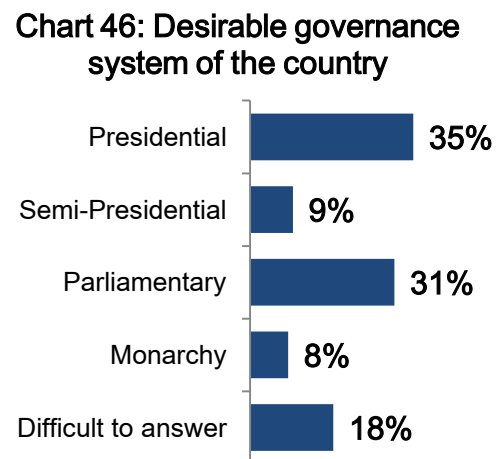
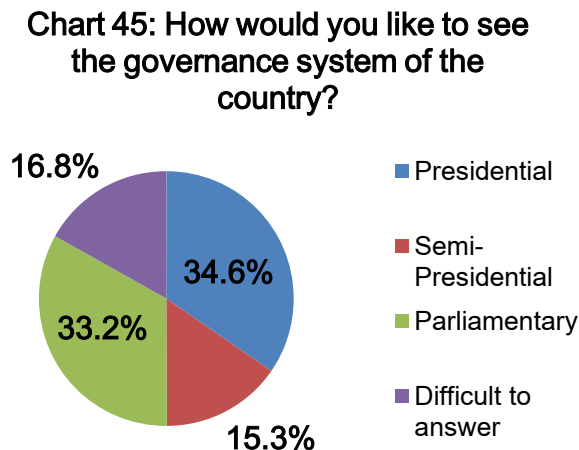
Chart 42: In your view who should appoint the Prime Minister and for the Government?



Several checking questions were asked in regard to the desirable governance system. According to 29.4% of respondents the population is well represented in the Parliamentary governance system; rates of the Presidential and semi-Presidential systems make up 22.4% and 11.8% of respondents. For 36.4% it was difficult to answer. The similar question asked during 2014 research had the following picture; people are well represented in the Parliamentary governance system - 34.8%, Presidential system - 28.2% and difficult to answer 27.9%.



2014 and 2015 data from the question on how respondents would like to see the governance of the system are presented in the Chart 45 and 46.



In case of the question on relations between the President and National Assembly opinions of respondents have been divided into two groups; those who think that the President should have high influence both on the Parliament and Government (37.3%) and those who state that he shouldn't have such influence - 36.9%.

Chart 47: How would you like to see the balance between the President, Parliament and Government (2015)?

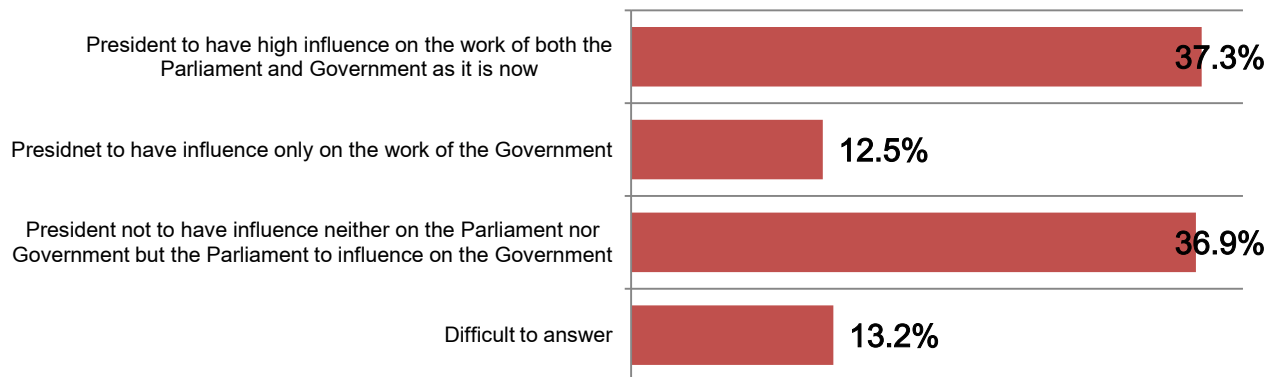
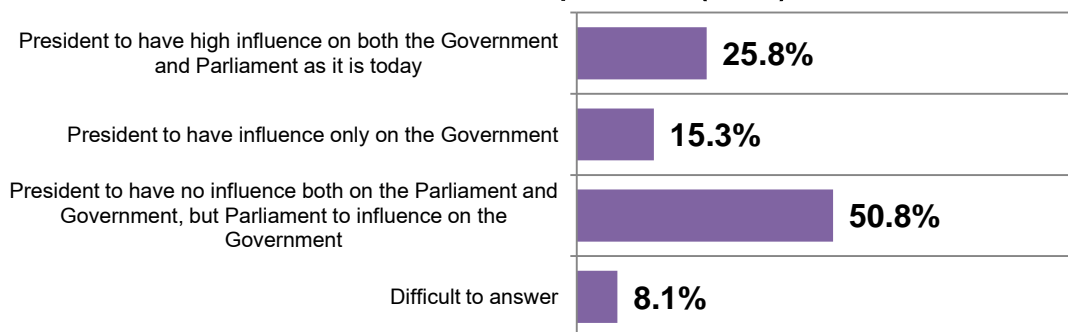


Chart 48: Relations between governance tiers according to respondents (2014)



As we can see the results have changed compared to the last year.

To the question whether the President of the Republic should be a party affiliate or non-partisan the opinions of respondents almost haven't changed.

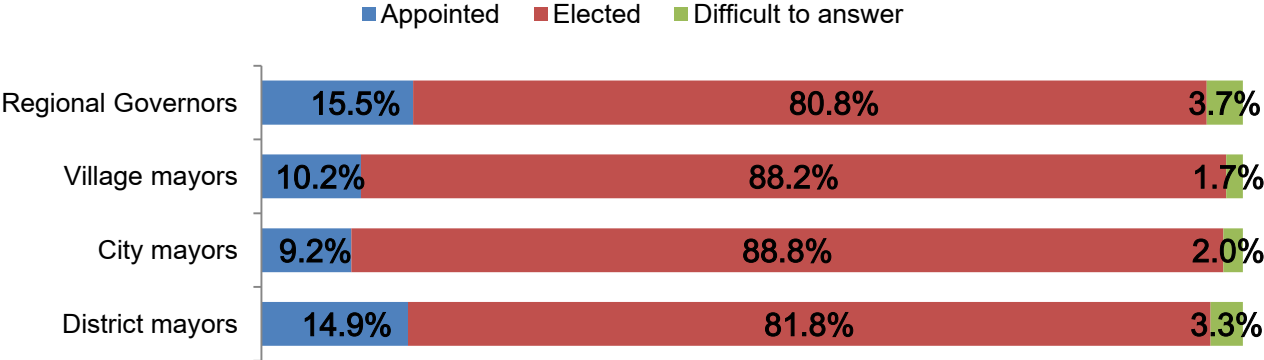
Table 12: In your views should the President of the Republic be a party affiliate or non-partisan?	2015	2014
Should have party affiliation	22.7%	19.8%
Should be non-partisan	63.5%	62.7%
I don't care	7.9%	17.4%
Difficult to answer	5.8%	0.1%
Total	1300	1300

To clarify the level of knowledge of respondents the interviewer asked to describe what the majority and proportional electoral systems mean. 20% of respondents provided correct answers for both systems, 32% gave wrong answer on the majority system and 29% - on proportional system. Respectively 48.1% and 51.3% couldn't answer both questions. However, for subsequent questions respondents were provided with information what the majority and proportional electoral systems mean. That was followed by the question; **"In your opinion should NA members be elected under the majority or proportional system"**. Answers are following: "Majority" was highlighted by 45.6%, "Proportional" - by 21.8%, "Mixed" - by 20.9% and 11.7% couldn't answer.

Local Self Government

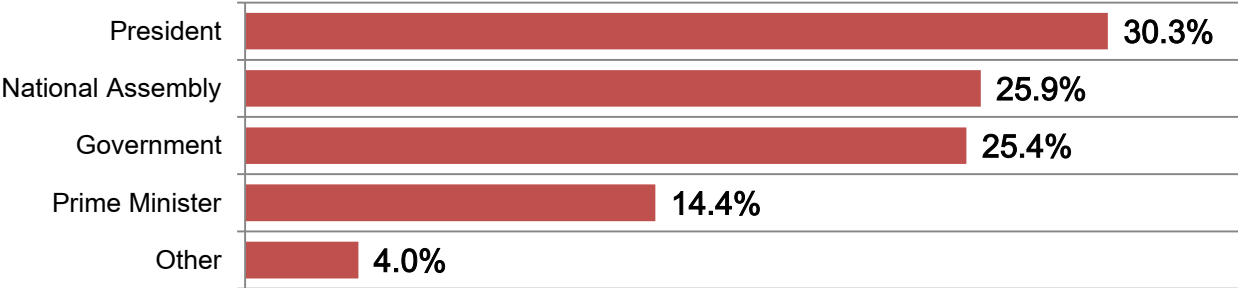
Respondents answered to the question on how village, city and district mayors, as well as regional governors should be elected.

Chart 49: In your opinion should the following bodies be appointed or elected?

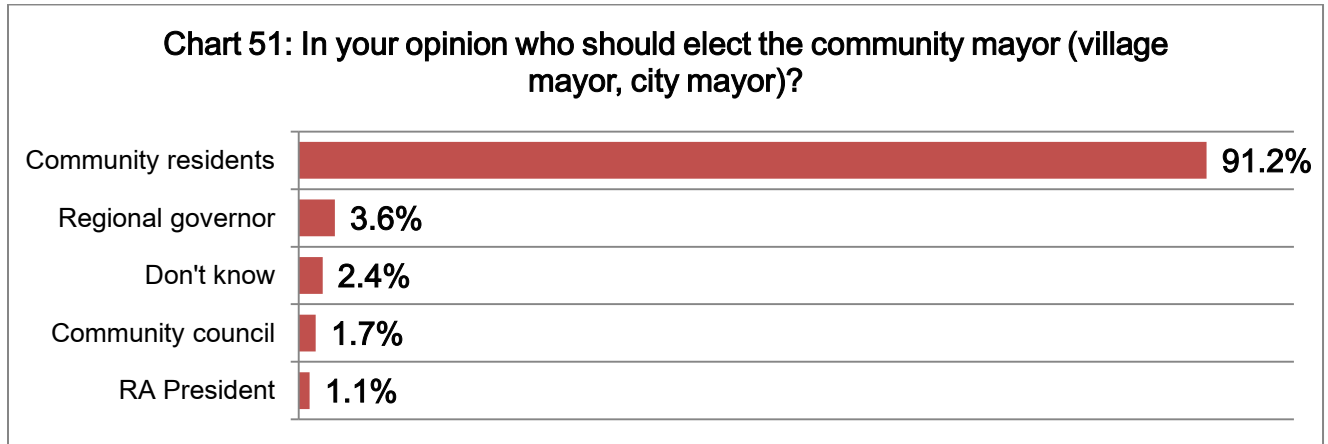


Afterwards, respondents that think that regional governors should be appointed also answered to the question who should appoint them. The picture is following:

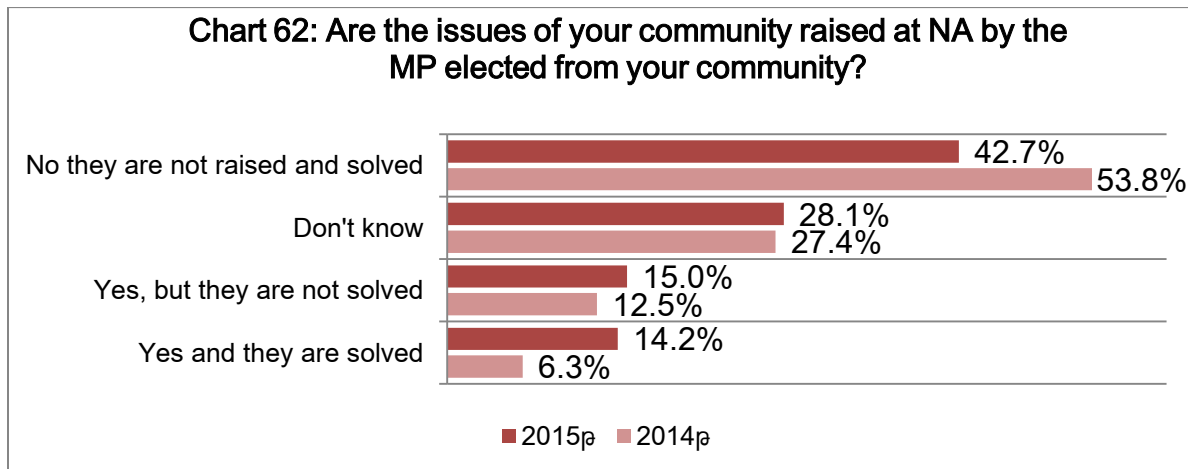
Chart 50: If you think that regional governors should be appointed, in your view, who should appoint them?



Respondents (1300) were asked who should elect the community mayor.



In order to understand the attitude towards the head of the community respondents were asked whether their community issues are raised at NA by MP elected from their community. 42.7% of respondents said “no” and only 14.2% mentioned their issues are raised and solved. Similar data was received also during 2014 research.



To the question whether they know their community council members following answers have been received:

Chart 53: Do you know members of your community council?

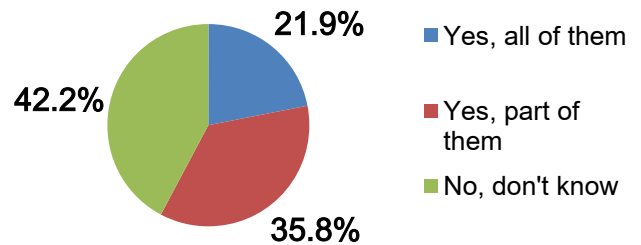
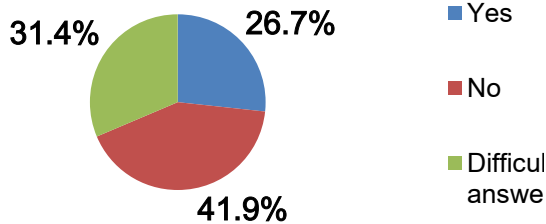


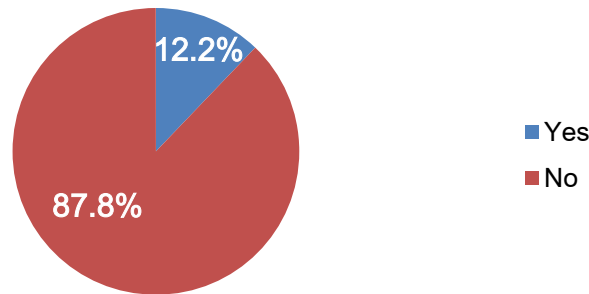
Chart 54: In your opinion does your community council have enough independence from the mayor?



According to 41.9% of respondents the community council doesn't have independence from the mayor.

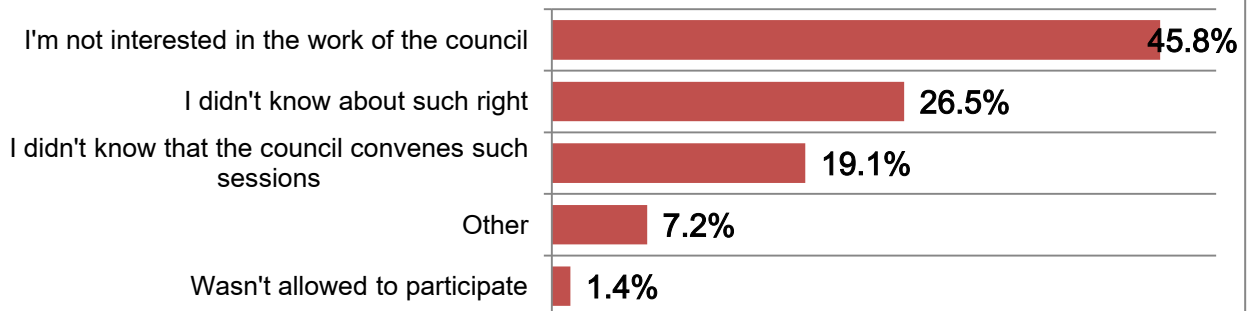
To the question whether they have participated in sessions of their community council 87.8% gave a negative response.

Chart 55: Have you ever participate in sessions of your community council?



Respondents that haven't participated in council sessions were asked to clarify why. It appears that 45.8% of respondents is not interested in council activities, while 26.5% doesn't know that they have such right, 19.1% is not aware of such sessions and according to 1.4% they weren't allowed to participate.

Chart 56: You haven't participated in council sessions because...



The research also tried to find out whether respondents are aware of changes in LSG deriving from the draft amendments. Particularly they were asked whether they're aware that the community mayor and council shall be elected for 5 and not 4 year term. We also tried to clarify their attitude towards and/or expectations from those changes.

Chart 57: Are you aware that the community council and mayor will be elected for 5 and not 4 year term?

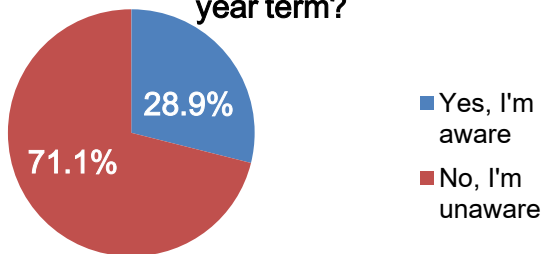
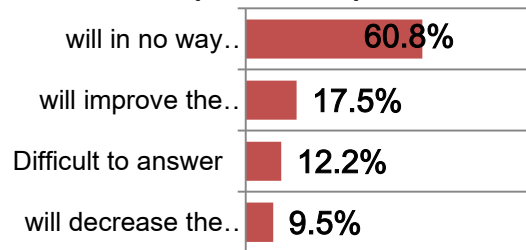
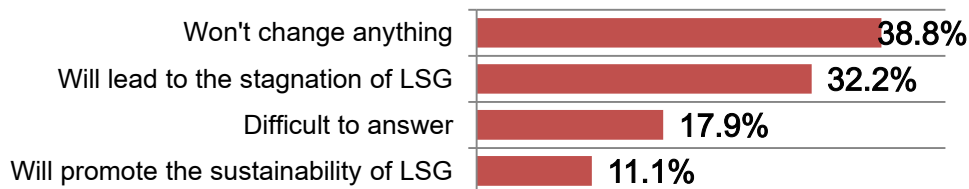


Chart 58: Extending the term of office for the community council and mayor for one year...



From the Chart 51 and responses to the subsequent question it becomes obvious that respondents don't expect positive progress from proposed amendments in LSG.

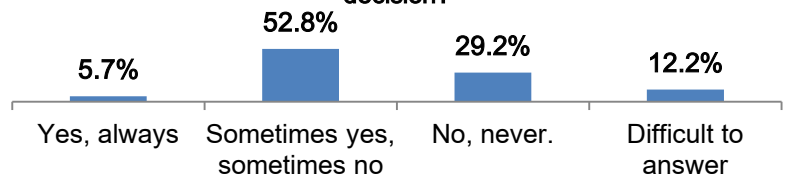
Chart 59: According to the new draft the council and mayor can be elected without any limitations on terms of office. That...



Judiciary system

Respondents answered several questions on the judiciary system. Answers to the question on the equity of the judiciary system ("In your view do courts in Armenia make fair decisions?") were following:

Chart 60: In your view do Armenian courts make fair decision?



To the question whether respondents would like Armenian courts to have juries answers were following:

Chart 61: Would you like RA to have courts with juries (2015)?

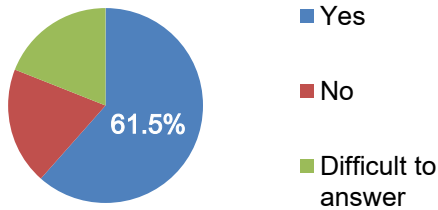
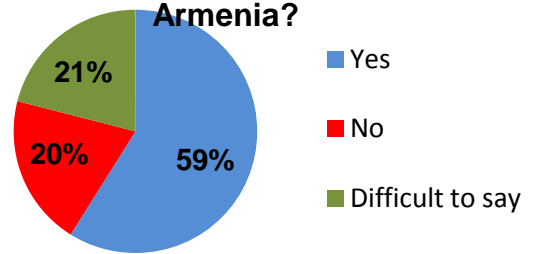


Chart 62: Desire to have courts with juries in the Republic of Armenia?



For this question responses haven't changed.

The picture on the level of trust of respondents in courts is following:

Chart 63: To what extend do you trust courts (2015)?

■ Fully trust ■ Trust partly ■ Don't trust that much ■ Don't trust at all



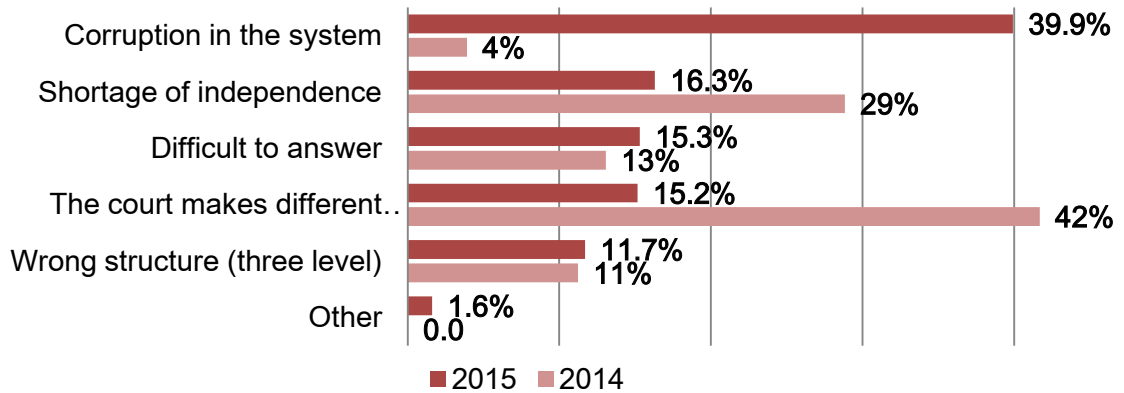
Chart 64: To what extend do you trust courts? (2014)

■ Fully trust ■ Trust partly ■ Don't trust that much ■ Don't trust at all



Opinions of respondents on shortcomings of the judiciary system are following:

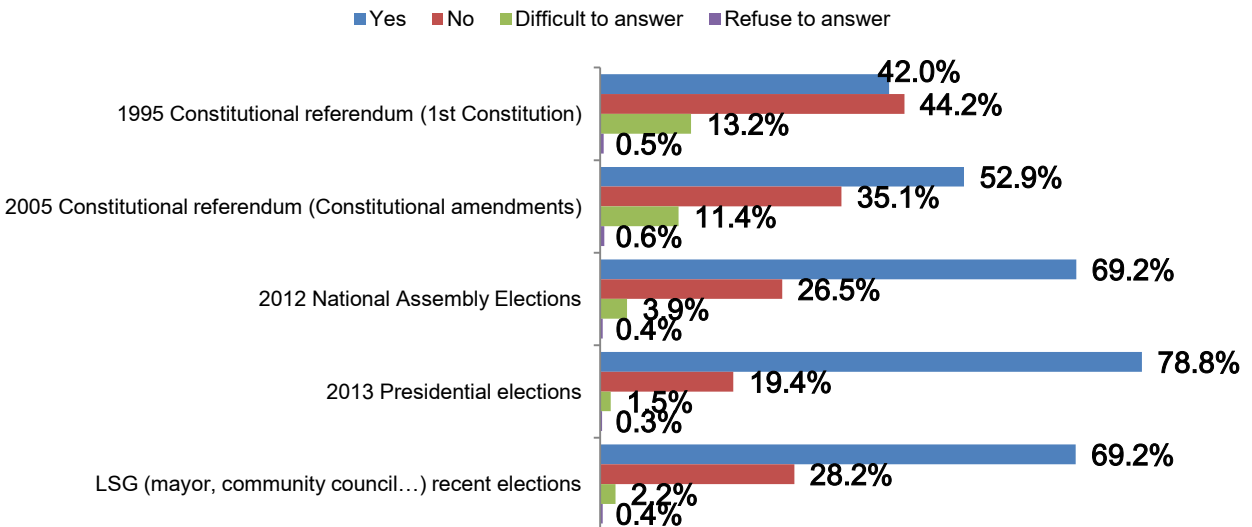
Chart 65: In your opinion, which is the major shortcoming of the judiciary system?



Readiness to participate in the referendum - Practice

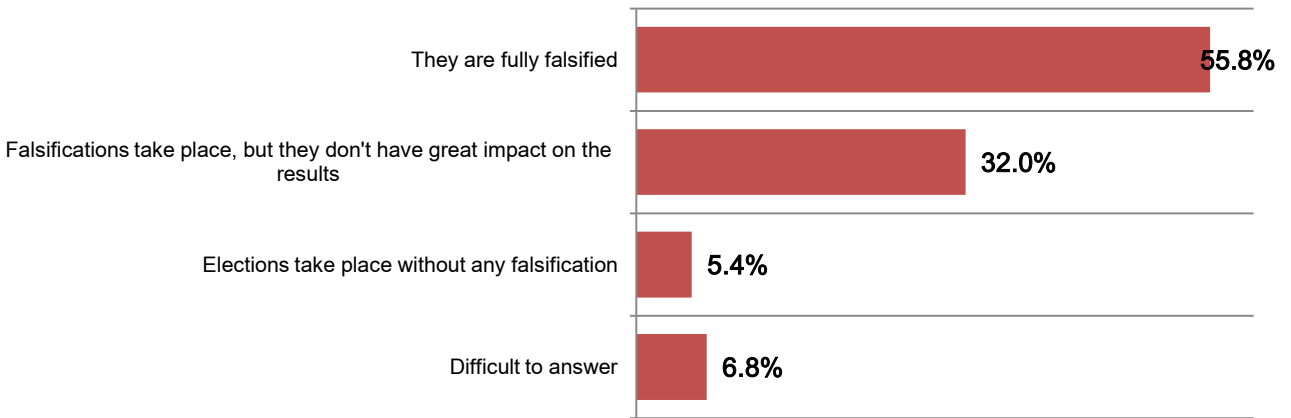
In order to understand positions of respondents on participation in the referendum a few basic questions were asked. Previous experience of respondents in previous elections and referendums were identified. Results are presented in the Chart 66.

Chart 66: Did you participate in the voting for the following?



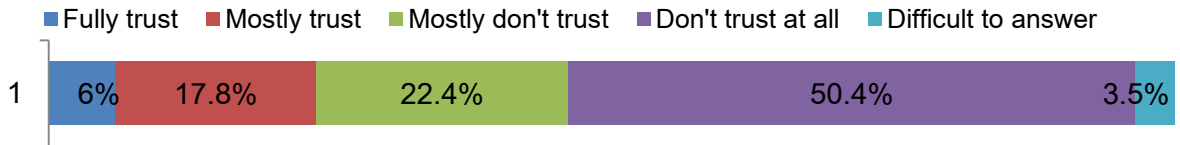
As we can see the growth tendency after 2013 Presidential elections start to decrease in contrast to lack of participation. To understand the attitude of respondents towards electoral processes respondents were asked, "In your opinion to what extent results of election in Armenia match the reality?" Responses are following:

Chart 66: In your view to what extent do elections in Armenia correspond to the reality?



It appears that 72.8% of respondents doesn't trust electoral processes.

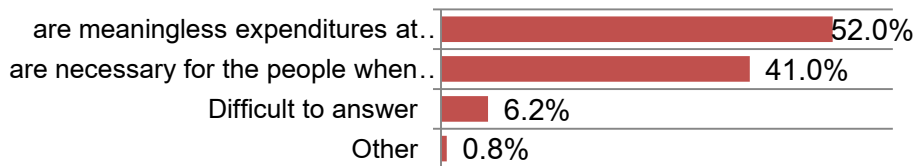
Chart 68: To what extent do you trust electoral processes in Armenia?



From the two questions above it becomes obvious that the majority of population has no trust in electoral processes.

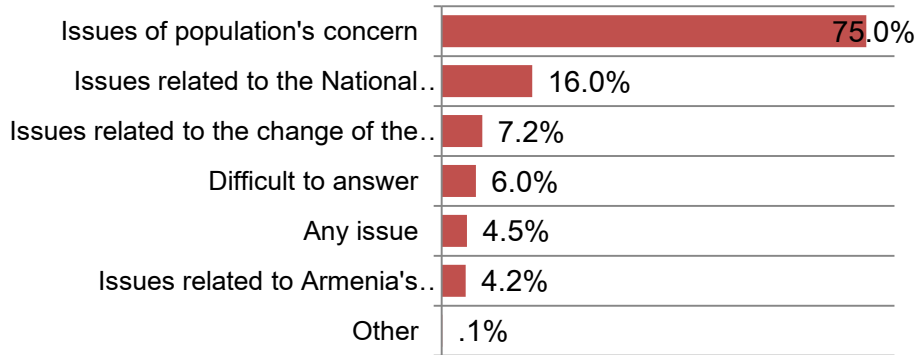
Subsequently, the research tried to identify what particular attitude respondents have towards referendums. According to 52% of respondents referendums are meaningless expenditures at the expense of the state budget and 41% stated that they are necessary to solve important issues.

Chart 69: In your view, referendums...



To the question what type of issues should be put to referendum responses are following:

Chart 70: Issues to be put to referendum



Those were reflections of the general attitude towards referendums. To identify the readiness to participate in the Constitutional referendum the research, first of all, tries to find out the level of respondents' awareness. It appeared that 80% of respondents knew when the Constitutional referendum will take place. Only 75% out of 80% knew the exact date of the referendum.

Chart 71: Do you know that a Constitutional referendum is taking place?

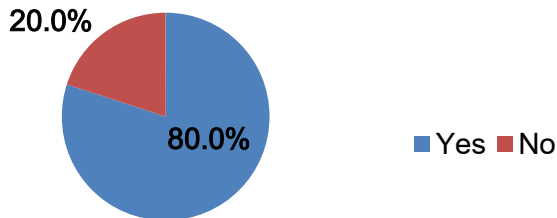
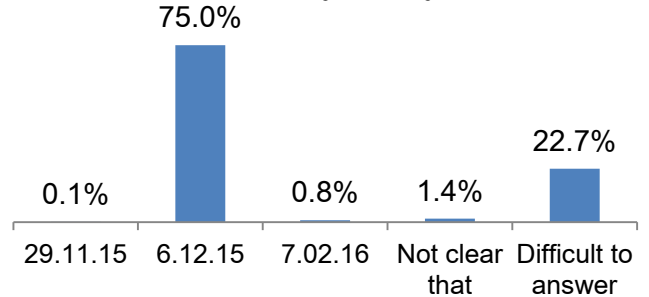
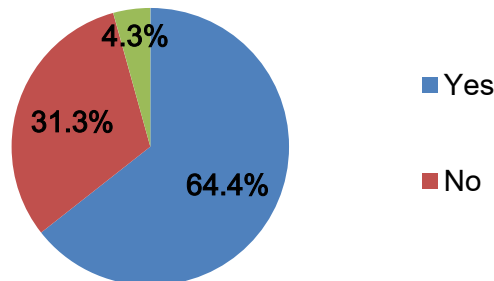


Chart 72: Can you say when?



If the referendum was to take place this Sunday 64.4% of respondents would participate.

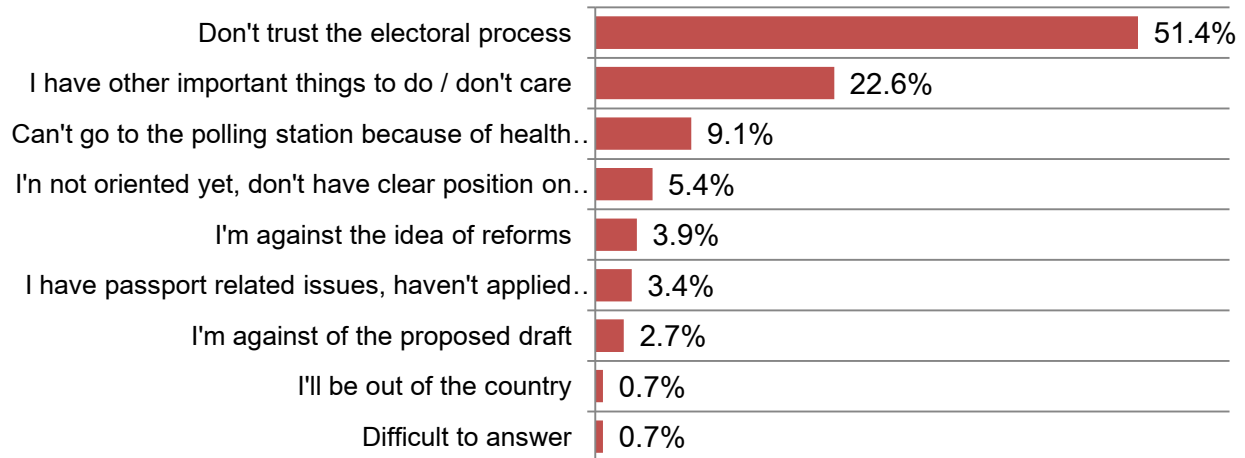
Chart 73: If the Constitutional referendum was to take place this Sunday would you participate?



If we compare answers of this question with answers to the first question of this section, it'll become apparent that decrease of the participation tendency and increase of ignorance tendencies continue.

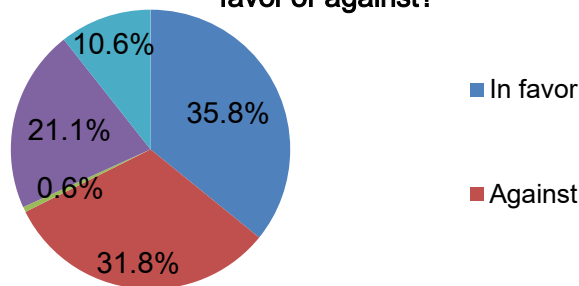
Respondents who answered that they wouldn't participate in the referendum justified their decision with negative attitude towards the results of the referendum.

Chart 74: If no why?

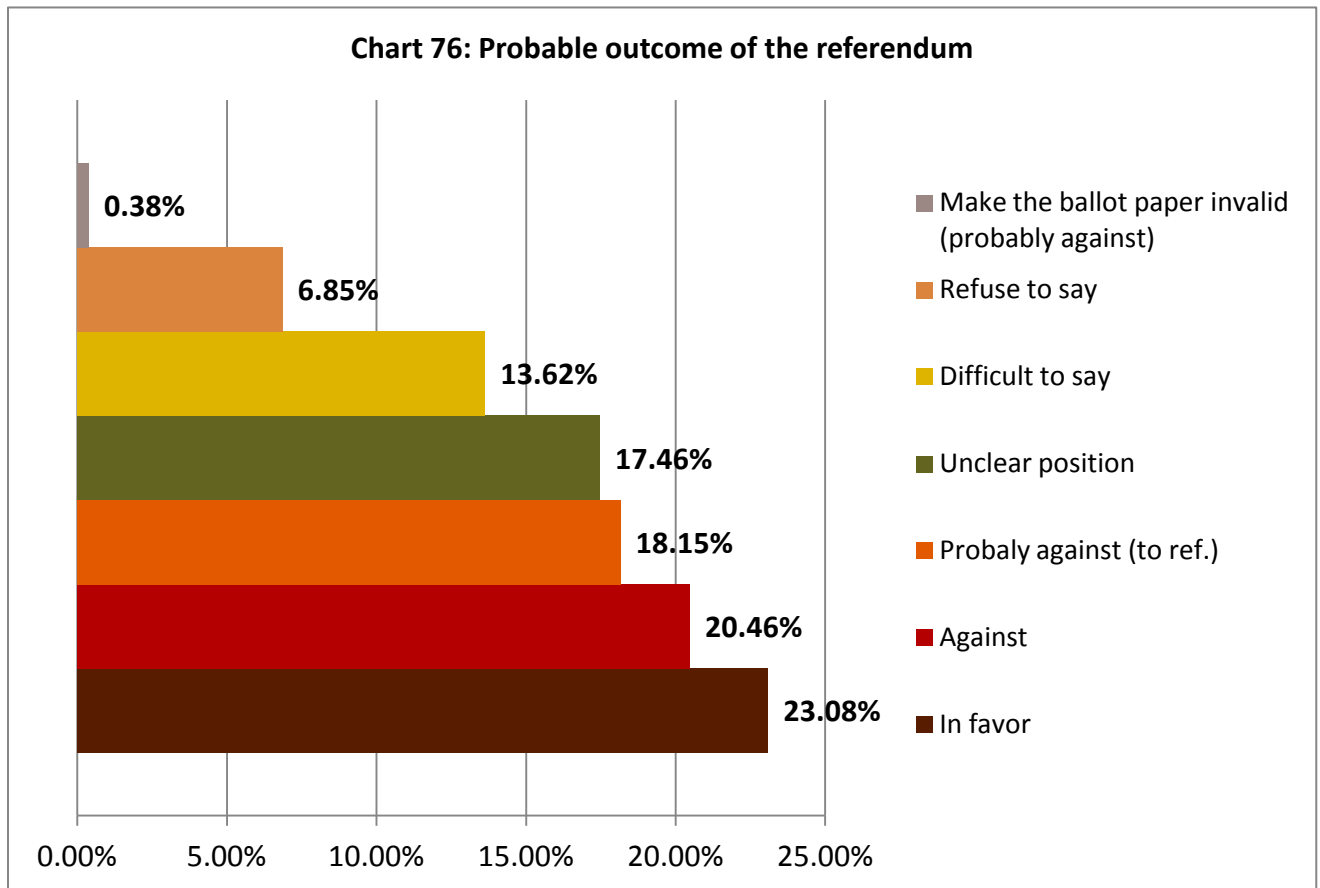


Respondents that expressed readiness to participate (837 individuals) answered to the question how they'd vote.

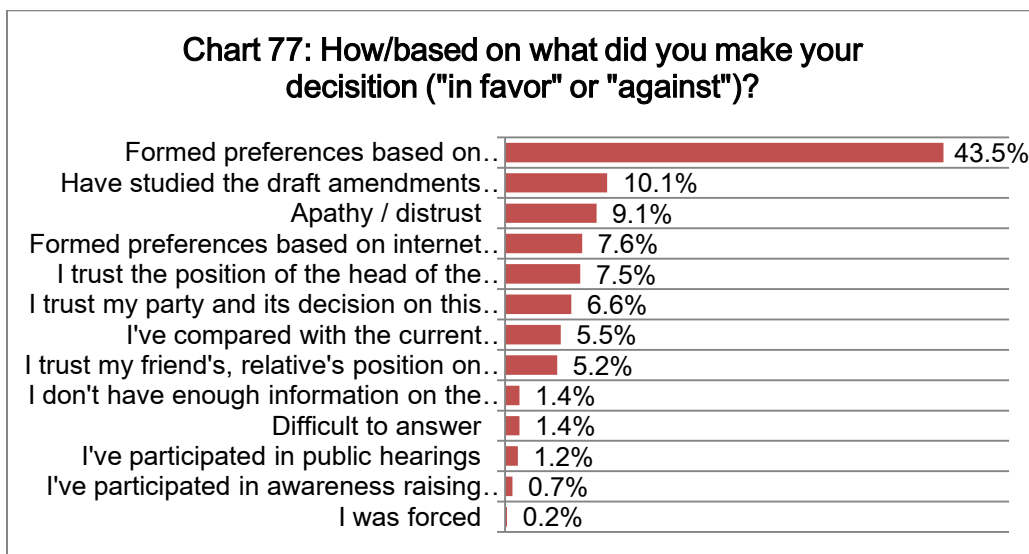
Chart 75: If yes how would you vote - in favor or against?



Through combination of the results of above mentioned questions we can assume that 23.08% of the population has a positive attitude towards the Constitution, 38.99% - negative and 37.93% have no clear preferences yet. Position of this group (in favor or against) highly depends on the work done with this group.

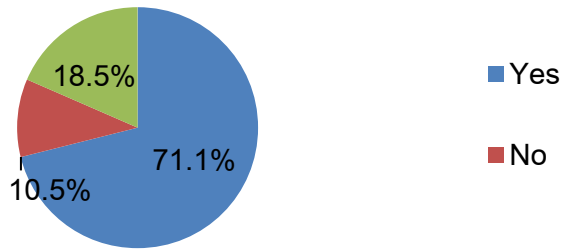


We also tried to clarify based on what people have built their positive or negative position. The results are presented in the Chart 77.



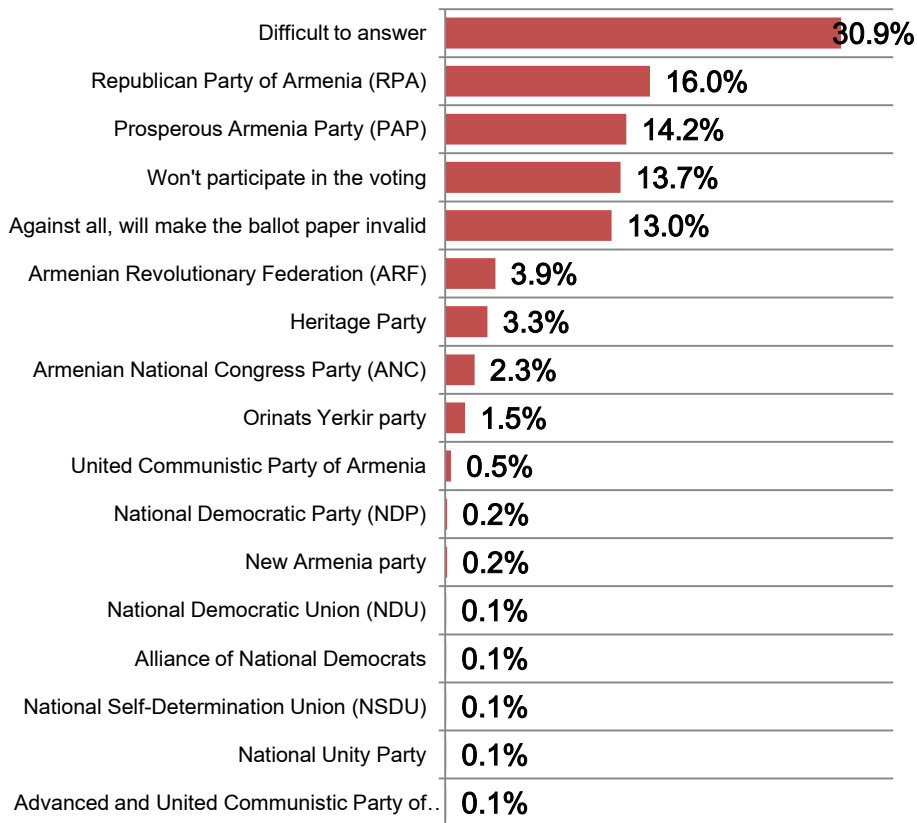
To the question whether the draft amended Constitution will be adopted independent of their position 71.1% said "yes". Based on this we can assume that this issues is partly connected to the level of trust in electoral processes.

Chart 78: Independent of your position, in your view, will the draft amendments to the Constitution be adopted?



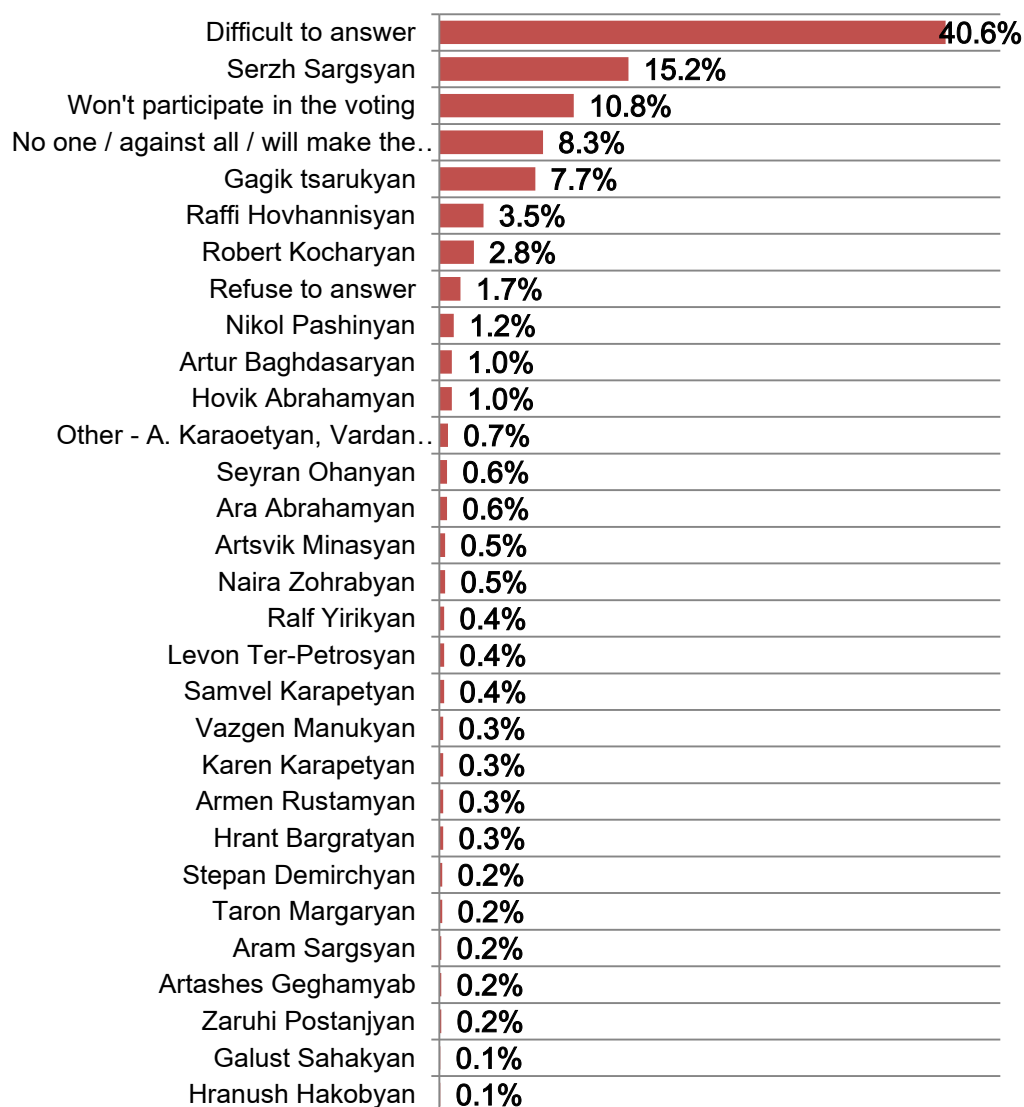
In order to understand political views of respondents with positive and negative positions, they were asked that if the National Assembly were to take place this Sunday what party they would vote for. Answers are presented in the Chart 79.

Chart 79: If NA elections were to take place this Sunday which party would you vote for?



After that we clarified which candidate they'd vote for in case of Presidential elections (Chart 80).

Chart 80: If Presidential elections were to take place this Sunday who would you vote for?



A cross-checking analysis was conducted according to party and Presidential preferences, intention to participate and voting (in favor or against). Results are presented below.

Chart 81: Participation according to parties

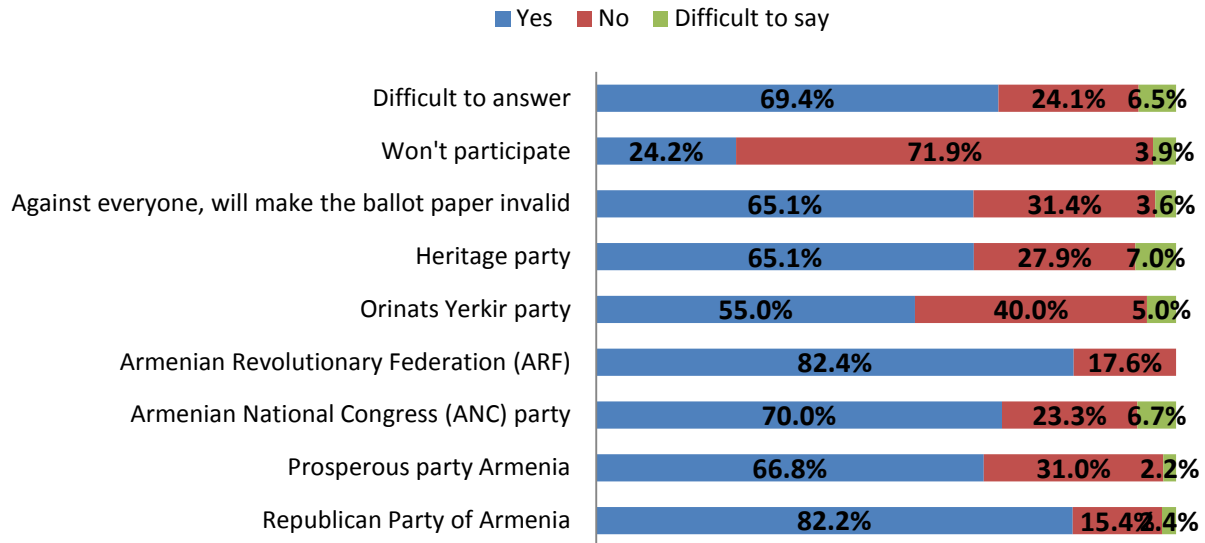


Chart 83: Participation according to the Presidential candidate

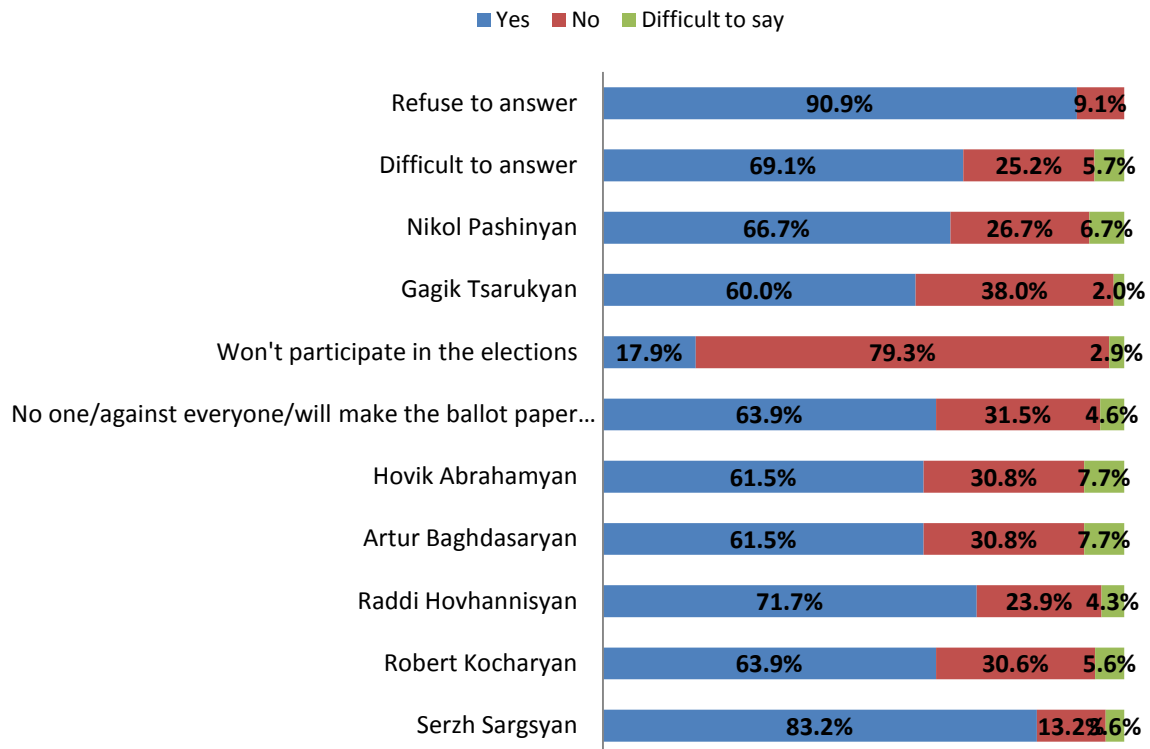
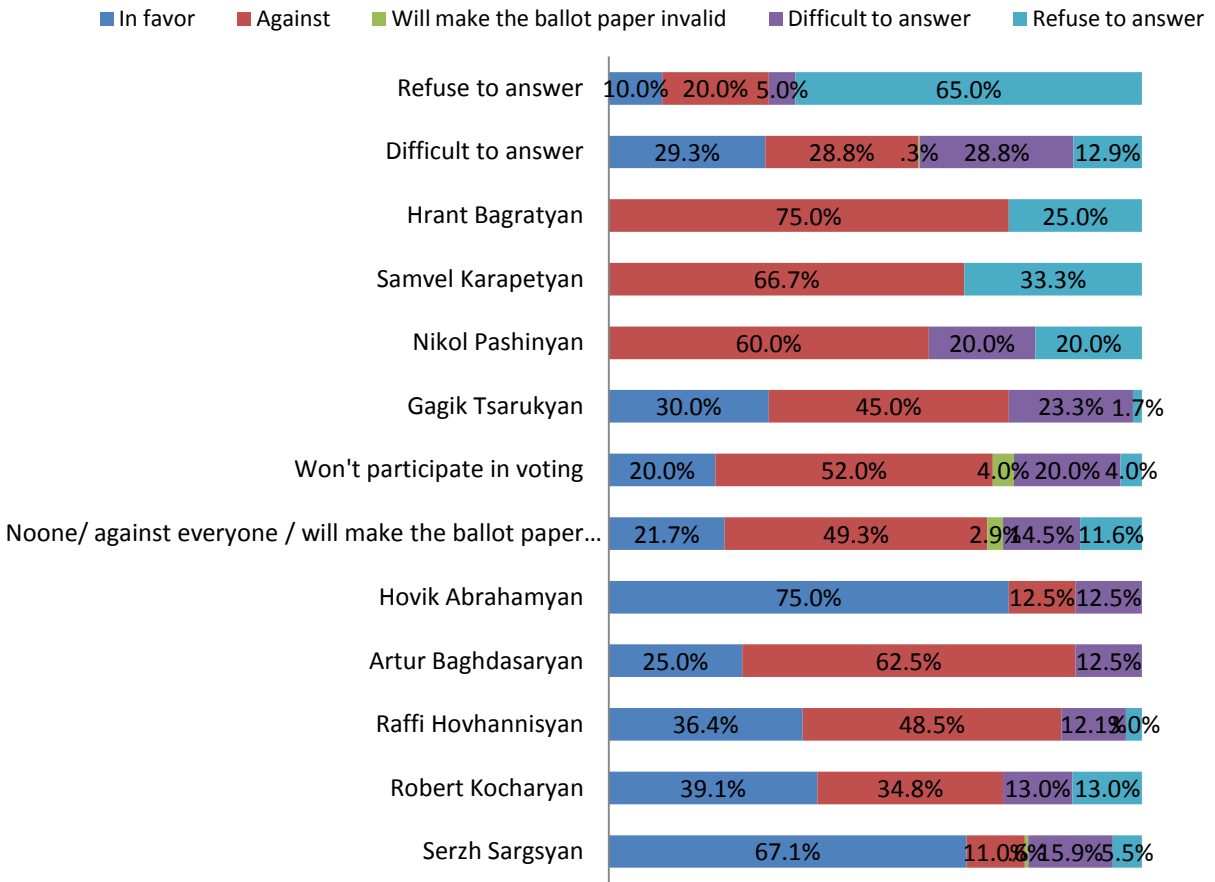


Chart 84: Voting according to Presidential candidates



As we can see “yes” or “no” votes depends on respondents’ preferences on political forces.

CONCLUSION

To summarize the research results it's worth outlining following findings:

- Respondents are pessimistic about the future of the country. The majority thinks that the situation in the country is getting worse (70.5%) as the country is developing / moving in the wrong direction (72.8%). Such opinion on the future of the country results in the intention to leave the country permanently by the majority of respondents (53%), 38.5% out of which is undertaking specific steps in that direction.
- Although Armenia is not considered as a democratic country by the majority of respondents (61.2%), however, compared to the last year, the number of people considering Armenia democratic has increased from 26.4% to 38.8%. Similarly, the number of people thinking that they can influence on political processes has also increased making up 28.2% against 20%.
- The level of awareness of the population on Constitutional reforms is quite low. 2 weeks prior to the referendum only 83.3% knew about it. And only 2% of respondents were familiar with the draft amendments (19% was partly aware). The vast majority of respondents were unaware of amendments on human rights suggested by those reforms (from the list of rights respondents couldn't correctly state whether they're included in the draft or not), as well as changes in LSG (71.1% doesn't know that the community council and mayor will be elected for 5 and not 4 year term etc) and changes in the judiciary system. Respondents were more or less aware of the provisions that suggest changes within the governance system (60.7% was aware that the governance system will change, 57.5% was aware that the draft amendments suggest moving to the Parliamentary governance system).
- 26.3% of respondents trust the process of Constitutional reforms. Only 37.4% of respondents sees need for Constitutional reform. One of the main reasons for lack of need for reforms is that only 6.2% of respondents thinks that the proposed draft has advantages compared to the current Constitution. It's worth noting that people don't have positive expectations from Constitutional reforms (37.6% thinks that Constitutional reforms won't change anything in addressing the challenges the country is facing, 58.5% doesn't expect any change for oneself, and negative changes are outlined by 24.6% and 9.5% respectively). Constitutional referendum will make no change in the state of human rights protection (47.9%) or it'll lead to negative changes (9.9%). There are low expectations from LSG, 60.8% thinks that nothing will change, 9.5% expects negative changes and only 17.5% thinks that LSG related changes will have positive impact.
- Although 64.4% of respondents stated that they will participate in the Constitutional referendum, 35.8% of which mentioned that will vote in favor, however, we can state that the voting will not be that much conscious judging from the knowledge on proposed amendments as well attitude towards specific provisions (for instance, inconsistencies on which rights should be defined by the Constitution; the majority of respondents outlined several rights to be regulated by the Constitution which are, in fact, absent from the draft). Particularly on issues related to the change of the governance system, although the majority of respondents is aware that the draft proposes moving to the

Parliamentary governance system, however they prefer the Presidential system (to the question who should govern the country 46.2% mentioned “the President of the country”, 92.8% thinks that citizens should elect the President, 34.6% pointed out the Presidential system as a desirable one, 25.3% - semi-presidential, in case when the Parliamentary system was voiced by 33.2% of respondents; to the question on relations among the President, Parliament and Government supporters of Presidential and semi-Presidential systems makes up the majority of respondents - 37.3% and 12.5%, in case when the number of supporters of the Parliamentary system made up 36.9%).

- The fact that Armenia is still not ready to move to the Parliamentary system is proved by the opinion of about 70% of respondents that Armenia needs strong leader and not the power of people. In addition to the fact that respondents are mostly dissatisfied with the work of several structures, the National Assembly enjoys higher level of dissatisfaction (the vast majority of respondents is not satisfied with work of the National Assembly (77%), moreover that's the highest one compared to dissatisfaction from other structures (RA President - 64%, Government - 64%, Central Electoral Commission - 61%)).
- However 64.4% of respondents stated that they will participate in the Constitutional referendum, 35.8% of which mentioned that will vote in favor. Taking into account a number of factors it was concluded that 23.08% of population is optimistic about the referendum, 38.99% - pessimistic and 37.93% has no preferences yet. Their participation in the referendum and (yes or no) voting highly depends on the work to be done with this group. In addition, 71.1% of respondents thinks that Constitutional reforms will be approved. This can be explained with distrust in electoral processes (only 5.4% of respondents thinks that elections in Armenia take place without falsifications and 72.8% of respondents stated that they don't trust electoral processes). Distrust in electoral processes is also reflected in the gradual decrease of voter turnout (1995 - 42% turnout, 2005 - 52.9%, 2012 - 69.2%, 2013 - 78.8% and LSG elections - 69.2%).

These were the key findings revealed as a result of the public opinion poll on Constitutional reforms in Armenia.



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