



# SCORE ARMENIA

Pilot Study, 2019

## ABSTRACT

Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index (SCORE) was calibrated and adapted to the context of Armenia to investigate citizens' perceptions with regards to the reform process, service delivery, corruption and governance. The study also investigated civic attitudes, intergroup relations and youth engagement. The data collection was conducted by Armenia Sociologist Association between May – July 2019. SCORE Armenia aims to support evidence-based program and policy design by identifying the entry points with the most likelihood of positive social change, and inform the efforts of international and national stakeholders towards a more prosperous and cohesive Armenia.

SCORE Armenia pilot study is commissioned by the USAID/OTI, implemented by the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) and authored by Dr Ilke Dagli Hustings, with key contributions from Alexander Guest, Marian Machlouzarides and Maria Sikki.



# SCORE Armenia Pilot Study: Analysis & Recommendations

## Executive Summary

The evidence presented in this report is based on the SCORE Index methodology calibrated and implemented by the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) in Armenia between May – July 2019. The SCORE Armenia study aims to provide robust scientific evidence that can identify policy and program interventions with the greatest likelihood of impact and help partners validate their theories of change before sponsoring and endorsing new investments. In Armenia, the national adaptation, utilization and scale-up of the tool can enrich and empower the work of the USAID/OTI and its partners in terms of mobilization of resources, precise targeting, supporting reform processes, tracking progress and enhancing monitoring and evaluation toolkits. More importantly, **SCORE Armenia findings can inform pertinent national processes and policies, such as the Armenia Transformation Strategy 2050 (ATS) and the National Security Strategy (NSS) drafted in the summer of 2019, which coincides with the SCORE data collection period and positions SCORE Armenia as a valuable baseline for tracking future progress. SCORE Armenia can help translate ATS and NSS that will guide the country's transformation following the Velvet Revolution of 2018, into operational roadmaps, action plans and interventions.**

The overall goal of SCORE Armenia is to better understand the needs, expectations and attitudes of citizens following the Velvet Revolution of 2018 that marked the apex of civic mobilization and the start of significant socio-political transformation in the country, and contribute to democratic transition and promote prosperity, stability and cohesion in Armenia through well-informed and tailored policies and programs to address those these needs and expectations. Based on this overall framework, the analysis presented in this report is organized under three thematic chapters covering Good Governance, Constructive Citizenship, and Peace-process and Inter-group Harmony. The Table 1 below summarizes the key findings for each research question formulated under thematic areas of investigation. Based on the comprehensive analysis of indicators guided by the research questions, SCORE Armenia pilot study makes the following policy and program recommendations:

- **Service delivery and economic challenges can pave the way and build momentum towards democratic transition.** Socio-economic economic investments can achieve concrete and visible improvements in human security indicators and hence, build confidence in government institutions through effective service delivery. To that end, SCORE Armenia recommends prioritization of municipal services and citizens dialogue with local administrations, as well as investing in infrastructure and utilities by improving public transport, waste management, green spaces and provision of electricity and heating.
- **Judicial reform should be prioritized as the top reform to facilitate effective delivery and sustainable implementation of other reform packages and agendas.** The judiciary is the least trusted and perceived as the most corrupt among Armenian citizens. Thus, progress in the implementation of judicial reform would **enhance people's confidence in the justice system and rule of law.**
- **Anti-corruption measures should be mainstreamed to effectively tackle daily corruption, tolerance to corruption** and nepotism among citizens.
  - Awareness raising and capacity building programs to improve citizens' understanding of and reporting on corruption would help **reduce tolerance to corruption**, support anti-corruption policies and fight against daily corruption.
  - Skepticism about the reform process is linked to tensions and frustrations towards the My Step, sense of neglect and disenfranchisement and low political security. Promoting **inclusive public debate on the reform process** (e.g. town hall meetings) would alleviate the sense of

neglect and improve political security by acknowledging citizens' voices and needs and hence, curb skepticism.

- **Fostering constructive citizenship** calls for policies and programs aimed at improving civic skills and attitudes. Efforts should also focus on improving **gender sensitivity and human rights ethos as well as negotiation and leadership skills** that specifically target rural women and young males coming out of military service.
- **Youth participation and civic engagement are the key entry points to good governance, and fostering social cohesion.** With the strongest multiplier effects on all outcomes of interest in Armenia. Mobilizing young people to trigger citizens dialogue in their localities (e.g. about reforms and policy priorities) would improve youth inclusion, inter-generational dialogue, reduce skepticism towards reforms and mitigate brain drain.
  - Corruption and ineffective governance are the strongest push factors while sense of civic duty and locality satisfaction are the strongest **mitigating factors against brain drain**. Thus, effective implementation of reforms and enhancing good governance are intricately and strongly linked with **mitigating negative population trends**.
  - Initiatives on the municipal level aimed at promoting civic engagement particularly focused on improving **environmental quality and leisure opportunities** for young people would have significant positive impact.
  - **Young people need mechanisms to channel their activism constructively. Investing in shared and creative public spaces** that can provide a fertile ground (such as shared urban spaces, innovation hubs, community centers, youth civic deliberation platforms) would enable the organic development of social and environmental initiatives, social entrepreneurship and social corporate responsibility.
- Focus on achieving progress on Track 1 level **confidence building measures** (CBMs) that enjoy strong support among Armenians. Promoting participation of civil society in peacebuilding can pave the way to other CBMs and help invigorate the peace process. Women, who express stronger support for CBMs, can play an important role in widening the peace process to other tracks. This would also help achieve progress towards the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on **Women, Peace and Security**.
- Supporting peacemaking with peacebuilding on the civil society level and cultivating constructive citizenship through skills (i.e. human rights ethos, democratic pluralism) would help **improve openness to compromise**. **Southern region**, where openness to dialogue is stronger, and could be targeted as a **pilot location**.

Table 1. Key findings summarized in relation to the research questions

<b>Area of Investigation 1: Good Governance</b>	
<b>How do Armenians assess the current government and government institutions including service delivery, trust, confidence and corruption?</b>	<p>Provision of infrastructure ranks at the bottom with only 1 in 10 Armenians assessing it as effective. This is followed by justice, social services and healthcare, where nearly 70% has expressed that these services are provided ineffectively. When it comes to different state functions, Armenians are divided. While only 50% believe that institutions are effective in passing laws, implementing laws and fighting crime, only 40% think the state is effective in managing the economy.</p> <p>The army is the most trusted institution, with almost 90% of respondents expressing strong confidence in the army, followed by the President and the Prime Minister at 86% and 76% respectively. The judiciary is the least trusted institution, with nearly 80% of Armenians expressing <u>mistrust</u> towards courts and judges followed by the members of parliament. Young people and people in rural areas are more trusting of the government institutions. On the other hand, people with low socio-demographic risk index (people who are better-off) express significantly less trust in government institutions and least confidence in the current government.</p> <p>SCORE Armenia’s confidence in current government indicator combines level of trust in ministers and Prime Minister with confidence in Mr. Pashinyan and his team. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 indicates zero confidence and 10 indicates absolute unwavering confidence in the current government, the score is 5.8. Yerevan and Lake Sevan regions express lower levels of confidence at 5.4, and the center region expresses the highest at a score of 6.6. Interestingly, confidence in current government is most strongly correlated people’s positive assessment of the Velvet Revolution and believing that authorities care for public good rather than with service provision indicators. It is also positively associated with sense of civic duty and political security. Thus, dialogue between citizens and decision makers is an important entry point for improving performance and effectiveness while building confidence.</p>
<b>How do Armenians assess different institutions on corruption and to what extent Armenians normalize corruption?</b>	<p>Armenians perceive the judicial system as the most corrupt with 58% believing that judges and prosecutors can be bribed. While 69% of Armenians trust the police, 4 in 10 believe that Police officers often cover up organized crime or let criminals go in exchange for informal payments. In general, where 0 means there is no corruption and bribery and 10 means corruption and bribery is very prevalent on multiple levels across multiple institutions, the country average is 5.0, with respondents from Lake Sevan region perceiving level of corruption significantly higher compared to other regions.</p> <p>Many people believe that prevalence of corruption has decreased in the past year. Those who believe the things got better in terms of corruption have a higher rate of participation in the Velvet Revolution, higher trust in the government, more confidence in Mr. Pashinyan. However, further analysis indicates that it is <u>not</u> just Pashinyan supporters who think the country is going in the right direction.</p> <p>Where 0 means absolute intolerance to bribery and corruption, and 10 means very strong justification of corrupt practices, tolerance to corruption among Armenians is 3.6. In other words, Armenians normalize and justify bribery if this means quicker access to services. 4 in 10 Armenians believe that accepting small amounts of money, gifts or favors for performing official functions does not represent corruption, and 3 in 10 do not care if public officials make money through informal payments so long as the government is providing good services.</p>
<b>What is the level of support for different reform packages and policy priorities? Which groups express less support or more skepticism towards the reform process?</b>	<p>People are generally supportive of all reforms, with e-governance receiving the least priority with 78% support. Social policy reform focusing on “fighting against domestic violence and provide protections for vulnerable groups” and judicial reform focusing on “enhancing disciplinary accountability of judges, harmonization with the Council of Europe standards and capacity building on rule of ethics, professional standards” are among the top priorities with over 90% support from respondents, closely followed by education and energy reform. Women express higher support for social policy and education reforms compare to men (8.3 vs. 7.9), and support for both these reforms is strongest in the southern region.</p> <p>In addition to reforms, respondents rank socio-economic policies as the top priority for a well-functioning democratic and cohesive society. There is a strong demand to increase minimum wage and implement robust policies to reduce unemployment, to improve accessibility to health and education, and to attract foreign investment. Policies that relate to improving local municipal services and environmental quality receive significantly more emphasis from young people.</p>

	<p>People who report higher levels of corruption and lower levels of personal security, who share stronger social tolerance, and who have a relationship to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh either personally or through family relations are more supportive of reforms. This underlines that citizens' support for reforms is underpinned by a demand for good governance and security.</p> <p>However, there is undeniable skepticism towards reforms. Where 10 means very strong and prevalent skepticism towards the reform process, the country average is 4.0. In fact, 4 in 10 Armenians think that reforms are mere publicity stunts, neither will they be implemented effectively, nor will they benefit the ordinary people. Men and people with higher socio-demographic risk status (worse off people) are more skeptical, youth are less skeptical about reforms.</p> <p>On the other hand, people who are skeptical of the reform process and think that it is a publicity stunt have lower political and economic security and lower trust in government and institutions. They feel neglected by the authorities and feel closer to the Republican Party of Armenia.</p>
<b>Area of Investigation 2: Constructive Citizenship</b>	
<p><b>What is the level of civic engagement and active citizenship?</b></p>	<p>Citizens' active engagement in formalized civic and political matters is especially low outside of Yerevan. Where 0 means no one ever participates in activities public hearings, economic driven initiatives, petitions, demonstrations, volunteering and activities and 10 means everyone frequently participates in civic initiatives, the country average is 2.2. Over 52% of Armenians fall within the passive citizenship category. Women and older people are more likely to be passive disconnected citizens.</p> <p>Although young people score higher in democratic values and gender equality compared to older people, 6 in 10 young people think that women should have more delicate jobs (e.g. nurse, teacher) and that men should have the final word when important decisions are made. While 51% of young people do not recognize religious freedom as a fundamental human right, 41% think freedom from inhuman punishment and torture irrespective of alleged or proven is good but optional. 3 in 10 young people do not agree that cultural and historical heritage of other religions and groups enrich Armenia and should be protected.</p> <p>The drivers of constructive civic engagement and active citizenship include a strong sense of civic duty, the belief that civic initiatives can produce positive social change and locality satisfaction.</p>
<p><b>Can Armenian youth drive the democratization and reform process forward, and play a key role in building the country's future?</b></p>	<p>Youth (under 30 years old) demonstrates healthy civic characteristics that can help drive the revolution forward. Young people in Armenia are characterized by higher levels of active citizenship, social tolerance, democratic pluralism, gender equality mindset and sense of civic duty compare to the older groups.</p> <p>However, youth expresses high migration tendencies. Migration tendency indicator measures the extent to which one is inclined to leave one's country in search for more or better opportunities elsewhere. Where 0 means no one is thinking about living anywhere else but Armenia and 10 meaning that every citizen is making concrete plans to leave as soon as possible, the average score for the country is 3.7. This is significantly higher (4.3) for young people under 18-29.</p> <p>Migration tendency among young is even higher among those with strong leadership skills, which highlights the risk that skilled young change makers are more likely to emigrate.</p> <p>Contrary to popular belief, analysis reveals that corruption, lack of confidence in government and low locality satisfaction are the stronger push factors for migration and brain drain than income and employment status. On the other hand, locality satisfaction and civic duty are the strongest mitigating factor against brain drain. This finding explicitly links good governance to positive population trends essential for economic growth, and it is crucial for designing effective mitigation programs. Young people also report lower levels of locality satisfaction. While 3 in 10 believe that their locality is not a good place to raise a family, while almost half believe that their locality is not a good place to live and work.</p>
<b>Area of Investigation 3: Peace Process &amp; Intergroup Harmony</b>	
<p><b>How do Armenians feel about the peace process and the conflict in</b></p>	<p>Although 69% Armenians strongly wish the negotiations lead to a mutually acceptable settlement to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, only 45% are hopeful that there will be a mutually acceptable settlement in the near future. 82% of agree that Armenia must immediately start negotiations with Azerbaijan to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.</p>

<p><b>Nagorno-Karabakh?</b></p>	<p>There is significant support towards majority of the Madrid Proposals. More than 8 in 10 support peacekeeping operations, initiation of negotiations and territorially linking Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. However, only 55% support the right to return for internally displaced people, and only 9% agree to the proposal about returning some of the territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan.</p> <p>Despite the strong support for a settlement, openness to compromise is very low across the country. Where 0 means that no one is prepared to make any concessions at all towards a compromise and 10 means that people are very open to make concessions, the country average for openness to compromise is only 1.8. Only 17% of think that Armenia should be prepared to make some concessions to achieve a solution to conflict. People, who have friends and family in Nagorno-Karabakh either personal or through a family or friend, are significantly less open to compromise and support peace processes less.</p> <p>Interestingly, perceived level of corruption has a strong negative influence on citizen’s openness to compromise, as it decreases people’s confidence in a negotiated solution. Democratic values and sense of civic duty are strong drivers of openness to compromise and support for CBMs.</p>
<p><b>Which Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are most viable and preferable?</b></p>	<p>Overall, Armenians have a positive attitude towards CBMs but do not seem ready for reconciliation programs based on people to people contact. There is greater support towards CBMs related to Track 1 and demilitarization. More frequent meetings between the leaders of the two countries, reduction in snipers and removal of landmines are most strongly supported CBMs among Armenians with over 8 in 10 Armenians in favor. While CBMs relating to peace journalism and protection of cultural heritage receive the support of 7 out of 8 Armenians, Armenians are more divided about a common education committee for peace education and programs that promote social contact between the two communities. In general women are more supportive of the peace process and CBMs.</p>
<p><b>How do Armenians feel towards different groups?</b></p>	<p>Intergroup tension is a big obstacle against widening the room for compromise. 9 out of 10 Armenians feel very strong intergroup tension towards Azeris and Turks; and only 2 out of 10 are open to dialogue with these two groups. 7 out of 10 believe they can engage in mutually beneficial dialogue with people from Nagorno-Karabakh. While almost 5 out of 10 feel tension towards Russians and Republican Party of Armenia supporters, openness to dialogue with these groups are higher. South is generally more open to dialogue with all groups but intergroup tension is significantly higher towards most groups in Lake Sevan region.</p>

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## Armenia Country Overview & Introduction

Unlike the previous civil society protests, the 2018 Velvet Revolution in Armenia led to significant socio-political changes. It brought Mr. Nikol Pashinyan to power as the Prime Minister invigorated relations with the EU, exponentially increased citizen demands for reforms and illustrated the strength of civil society movements in achieving change. The 2018 Velvet Revolution was not only a political milestone that shifted traditional power structures but also a civic milestone that fueled the metamorphosis of civil society towards institutionalization, and greater inclusion and participation.

According to the Caucasus Barometer, civic initiatives had suffered from ephemeral action, lack of institutionalization and mistrust among the general public in Armenia.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the civil society protests of 2008 and 2011, which did not yield any fundamental change in power, the strong bottom-up mobilization of 2018 that swiftly achieved peaceful change in leadership and government was very inspiring and enthusing for many national and international actors. Especially considering the global political trend towards proliferation of “illiberal democracies” in multiple contexts ranging from Turkey to China, and from Hungary to Brazil, the Velvet Revolution is an opportune and critical moment for consolidating democratic transitions in Armenia and beyond. We are experiencing a rise of populism and populist leaders underpinned by exclusionary ‘identity politics’, who are harnessing and fueling disillusionment with democracy globally. One of the world’s leading democracy scholars, Larry Diamond has heralded this as “the democracy recession”. Investing in public participation and civil liberties, and tackling the issues of transparency, accountability and corruption, would go a long way towards improving confidence in democracy and democratic values. **Capitalizing on the momentum and ensuring progress is achieved to meet citizen expectations in Armenia can have positive multiplier effects on national and regional peace and development outcomes.**

However, countries in transition usually face a double challenge with regards to socio-political and economic reforms in an ever-changing and fast-paced global conjecture. They do not only have to navigate the transformation of their governance structures, deal with internal and external border disputes and reconfigure their identities and geopolitical relationships, but also face the common global policy challenges that come with 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, climate change, far-right extremism and disinformation also known as the “fake news” epidemic that instills confusion and doubt in information and truth. Following the elections at the end of 2018, the new government has subsequently focused on drafting a long-term multi-sectoral Armenia Transformation Strategy 2050 (ATS) and concentrated their efforts on reforms. ATS especially emphasizes anti-corruption measures and judicial reform, while seeking to take concrete steps towards tackling the socio-economic problems of unemployment and emigration. Further, the government announced a National Security Strategy (NSS), which revised the outdated security policy significantly by bringing in a more holistic approach to security that goes beyond military and defense. Yet, while the ATS needs effective operationalization to deliver on its pillars and reforms, the NSS lacks a concrete roadmap that can translate the new foreign and security policy into an action plan.

Undoubtedly, **one of the biggest challenges of any revolution is to transition from activism for change to inclusive politics that can deliver change via rebuilding the legitimacy and effectiveness of institutions.** Revolutions that successfully lead to a change in power can easily lead to loss of faith in democracy if they fail to deliver. Over a year after, the euphoria of the Velvet Revolution is slowly dissipating. This is in fact evident in SCORE findings presented in this report. SCORE Armenia illustrates that disappointment over the extent to which the revolution has created positive impact on daily life is starting to take root especially among certain demographic groups. If not mitigated this could translate into skepticism, civic apathy and/or widespread disenfranchisement.

National and international actors are acknowledging this critical juncture in Armenia’s history and recognizing the explicit political will to institute reforms along with the citizen’s expectations for quick results. The United

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<sup>1</sup> <https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/cb2017/TRUNGOS/>



States Agency for International Development Office of Transition Initiatives (USAID/OTI) understands the need to lay strong foundations for lasting democratic change and is focused on supporting the implementation of reform agenda and building confidence in state institutions and capacities through visible and tangible achievements. In addition, USAID also supported the establishment of The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) in 2018 to provide technical assistance for country's democratic transition. Similarly, the European Union (EU) has earmarked over 8 million EUR for strengthening institutions and good governance, improving mobility and people-to-people contacts and enhancing human rights and citizen's participation by the end of 2020; and the Council of Europe's Action Plan for Armenia aims to support the Armenian government and civil society to reinforce human rights, ensure justice, combat the threats to the rule of law, and promote democratic governance to deliver concrete results by 2022. In other words, the time is ripe and the ground is fertile in pushing for tangible progress and achieving concrete results on these shared governance and development outcomes, and efforts need to be guided by robust and contextual empirical evidence to tailor investments and monitor progress.

The socio-political juncture following 2018 provides an invaluable moment to enhance civic engagement, cultivate constructive citizenship and propel democratic transition processes in Armenia. It also provides an opportunity to reimagine and enhance civic and corporate strategies that have the potential to address societal fault lines towards a more increased cohesion and harmonious coexistence. This can only be achieved if policy-making and programming is evidence-informed and well-tailored to address citizens needs and demands while responding to contextual and structural challenges. Beyond wasteful allocation of resources, policies and programs that are not well-targeted and well-tailored to the local challenges and needs can trigger mistrust and create fatigue, frustration and disengagement among citizens.

SCORE Armenia is a tool that is calibrated and designed to deliver precisely on this front by providing robust evidence to support the efforts of national and international actors towards enhancing stability, prosperity and democracy for the South Caucasus. As such, SCORE Armenia pilot study assesses over 116 indicators to investigate multiple dimensions of social cohesion in the country, with a specific focus on confidence in governance and human security, civic attitudes and life skills of citizens, intergroup relations and perceptions towards the peace process as well as support for reforms and policy preferences. All evidence and recommendations presented in this report is based on the advanced statistical analysis based on a representative sample of over 700 citizens across Armenia. SCORE can help align the NSS and ATS with development sector strategies in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), while investigating the drivers of civic engagement and migration tendencies, identifying policy entry points with the most likelihood of positive impact and enhancing monitoring and evaluation toolkits to track progress.

The findings of SCORE Armenia pilot study are organized under four chapters. **Chapter 1**, focuses on **Good Governance** and covers economic factors, service provision, service delivery, confidence in institutions and corruption. It investigates the relationship between brain drain and good governance, and finally assesses citizens policy priorities, and level of support and skepticism towards reforms. **Chapter 2** takes a closer look at civic indicators that relate to engagement, gender equality and democratic values, and explores policy entry points for cultivating constructive citizenship. **Chapter 3** delves into inter-group relations and perceptions towards the peace-process to identify measures that can help build confidence and contribute to inter-group harmony. Each chapter makes evidence-based recommendations that can facilitate good governance efforts, inform the reform process to facilitate their implementation, design policies towards mitigating brain drain and contribute to the peace process on Nagorno-Karabakh. The detailed explanation of the SCORE Armenia **research design and methodology** can be found in the Annexes of the report along with the indicator glossary.

## Chapter 1: Good Governance & Support for Reforms

Governance refers to the inclusive development, management and distribution of natural and economic resources, and the provision of public services in a way that can ensure the security, wellbeing and dignity of individuals in any given society. International development organizations and the literature recognizes the inherent link between good governance and sustainable development, and recognizes that absence of good governance is an undeniable fragility factor. Undoubtedly, democratic systems are best placed in delivering good governance. However, global research including the Democracy Index have demonstrated that confidence in democracy is on the decline, with 2018 experiencing the biggest fall in the Democracy Index since 2010.<sup>2</sup> The Democracy Index 2018 reports that disillusionment with democratic processes is most explicit in the functioning of government category, with consistently low scores for transparency, accountability and corruption. In other words, role of good governance in upholding faith in democratic systems and values cannot be overstated.

Since the global adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, good governance has taken a central point in sustaining peace and development outcomes relating to peaceful coexistence, stability and social cohesion. SDG 16 and its targets explicitly call for the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provision of access to justice for all, and construction of effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. While we may not need good governance for absolute economic growth as authoritarian regimes can indeed be effective in producing revenues and capital, it is a prerequisite for inclusive and sustainable growth. In other words, good governance makes development possible but economic growth in itself does not produce good governance. In the case of Armenia, SCORE findings also reveal that good governance is also essential for mitigating brain drain, and it is more strongly associated with migration tendencies than economic indicators.

Good governance is both a means and an end. As the means, it provides the structural and political context for achieving global policy priorities, including poverty reduction, inclusive growth, protecting natural resources and tackling inequality. As the end, it provides a climate of respect for universal rights and socio-political inclusion for disadvantaged groups. Thus, it is essential for building endogenous resilience against systemic shocks (e.g. epidemics, economic crisis, natural disasters). A holistic approach to governance that goes beyond service provision to include on transparency, fairness and inclusion on national as well as local level would nurture a constructive social contract between the citizens and the state. In fact, the role of local administrations as the key actors in achieving good governance cannot be overstated. The analysis presented in this chapter highlights the importance of locality satisfaction for good governance and development, and are highly relevant to contextualization of and benchmarking progress towards the achievement of SDG 16 targets in Armenia.

According to the global Democracy Index, Armenia saw the most improvement among all “hybrid regime” countries in eastern Europe in 2018, and its global ranking climbed upwards from 111 to 103.<sup>3</sup> The desire for a more just, accountable and effective governance has reached its apex among the general population and civil society in Armenia with the Velvet Revolution of 2018. Mr. Pashinyan’s subsequent anti-corruption campaign played a key role in improving the country’s scores for government accountability and transparency. They also resulted in a vast improvement in citizens’ participation, perception of corruption and confidence in institutions. However, the country has a long way to go on its democratic transition journey. Thus, effective implementation of reforms to address the policy expectations of citizens and delivering on the promises of the Velvet Revolution is of utmost importance to safeguard citizens faith in democracy.

However, the post-Soviet heritage of the South Caucasus, multiple territorial disputes in the region coupled with Armenia’s stagnated economic growth and isolation of trade routes present specific contextual challenges for enhancing good governance as a high-level outcome of interest. Moreover, the governance

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>

<sup>3</sup> [file:///Users/ilke/Dropbox%20\(SeeD\)/Projects/Armenia/01\\_Literature%20and%20Background/LIT\\_Armenia19\\_Democracy\\_Index\\_2018.pdf](file:///Users/ilke/Dropbox%20(SeeD)/Projects/Armenia/01_Literature%20and%20Background/LIT_Armenia19_Democracy_Index_2018.pdf)

institutions and decision-makers of post-revolution Armenia are faced with significant structural and political challenges, and need to combat deep rooted corruption and nepotism, as well as incapacitating poverty especially outside of Yerevan. Meanwhile, institutional capacity and legitimacy of these processes is crucial to ensure these expectations are met and faith in democracy is not lost. Enhancing good governance while tackling these contextual challenges necessitates timely and tailored investments in Armenia.

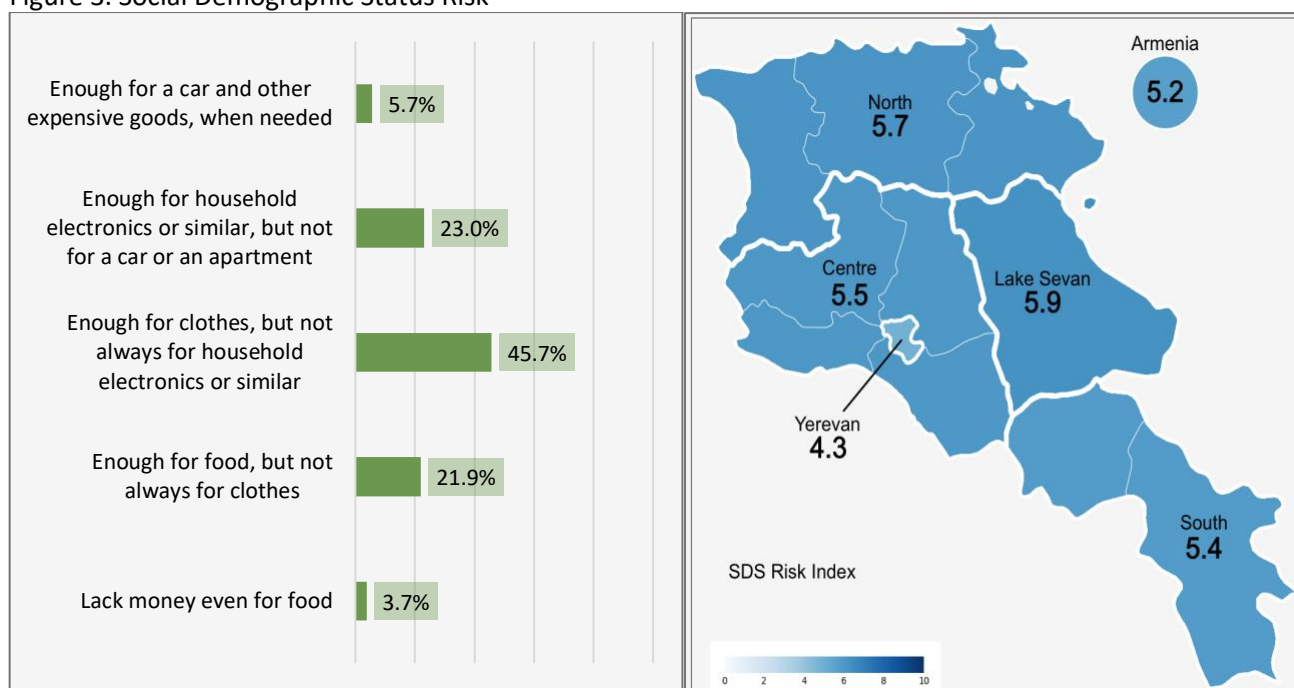
Although the new government and Mr. Pashinyan have made anti-corruption and economic growth a central part of their agenda, the ATS 2050 does not present an action plan towards and operational strategy to achieve these goals. Still, ATS 2050 is a fundamental step towards maintaining the momentum for the reform process that can strengthen rule of law, foster political inclusion, improve social welfare and human security, propel economic development while facilitating further stability and peacebuilding in the region. **SCORE Armenia findings can inform pertinent national processes and policies, such as the Armenia Transformation Strategy 2050 (ATS) and the National Security Strategy (NSS) drafted in the summer of 2019, which coincides with the SCORE data collection period and positions SCORE Armenia as a valuable baseline for tracking future progress. SCORE Armenia can and help translate ATS and NSS that will guide the country's transformation into operational roadmaps, action plans, interventions and monitoring & evaluation toolkits.** To that end, this chapter makes four key arguments:

- **Armenia is experiencing a justice crisis. The judiciary is the least trusted and perceived as the most corrupt among Armenian citizens.** Judicial reform should be prioritized to facilitate effective and sustainable implementation of other reform packages and agendas, and to enhance people's confidence in the justice system and rule of law.
- Effectiveness of government functions (i.e. performance) is assessed significantly more positively compared to citizens' emotive response to institutions and government itself. This is pointing to a **breakdown in dialogue between citizens and decision-makers, which highlights the need to invest in public participation to foster confidence in government institutions and the government itself.** Citizens dialogue efforts should prioritize conversations about justice and law enforcement particularly in Yerevan, Lake Sevan and the South. The South can serve as a strong pilot case because it is geographically most remote and hence disconnected from the capital with lower confidence but scores higher in openness to dialogue with different groups.
- **Skepticism about the reform process is linked to tensions towards the My Step, sense of neglect and disenfranchisement, and low political security.** Promoting inclusive public debate on the reform process would alleviate skepticism and improve political security by acknowledging citizens' voices and needs.
- **Improving the effectiveness of service delivery especially in the areas of infrastructure and utilities would especially benefit Armenians living under the national poverty line and build momentum for democratic transition.** Socio-economic economic investments can achieve concrete and visible improvements in human security indicators and hence, build confidence in government institutions through effective service delivery. To achieve visible and tangible progress, SCORE Armenia recommends prioritization of municipal services and citizens dialogue with local administrations, as well as investing in infrastructure and utilities by improving public transport, waste management, green spaces and provision of electricity and heating. Geographically, the center region scores the lowest across most services thus investments should prioritize this region.
- **Anti-corruption measures should be mainstreamed to effectively tackle both institutional and daily corruption by addressing citizens tolerance to corrupt practices and nepotism.** Awareness raising and capacity building programs to improve citizens' understanding of and reporting on corruption would help reduce tolerance to corruption, support anti-corruption policies and fight against daily corruption.

## Economy and service provision

Good governance is essential for sustainable development. Although bad or authoritarian governance could lead to short-term economic growth, it undeniably serves as a fragility factor that can trigger conflict and violence. Governments are responsible for managing and distributing national budgets and resources. Thus, **when economic output is not distributed equally and poverty is prevalent, confidence in governance institutions weakens along with the social contract.** Inclusive access to labor markets, decent employment and effective social welfare are prerequisites for the wellbeing of any given society. In contrast to many other countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia, where unemployment rates have been on the decrease, unemployment in Armenia remains high and volatile<sup>4</sup>. Many economic studies including the World Bank report that almost one-third of Armenians live below the national poverty line.<sup>5</sup> This is also validated by SCORE evidence. SCORE measures Socio-Demographic Status (SDS) Risk, which is a composite scale that combines demographic indicators that can help identify vulnerable high-risk groups. This scale combines house over-crowdedness, family income, level of education, marital status and employment. Where 0 indicates no risk (well-off people with assets) and 10 indicates high risk (very vulnerable to extreme poverty), the average SDS risk score for the country is 5.2. Unsurprisingly, Yerevan has the lowest SDS risk score at 4.3 and Lake Sevan has the highest at 5.9.<sup>6</sup> Across the country over 28% of the population is living with an SDS risk score higher than 8/10. It is troubling that over 1 in 5 Armenians lack money for clothes and nearly 1 in 2 lack money for more expensive items such as household electronics.

Figure 3. Social Demographic Status Risk



Since governments are responsible for the provision of public goods to their citizens, a performance and deliverables lens can provide a precise way of aligning and prioritizing good governance outcomes with the citizens' demands such as security, health, education, water, employment, property rights, voter rights and protection to the environment.<sup>7</sup> SCORE reveals that economic challenges of Armenians are further

<sup>4</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=AM&view=chart>

<sup>5</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/country/armenia>

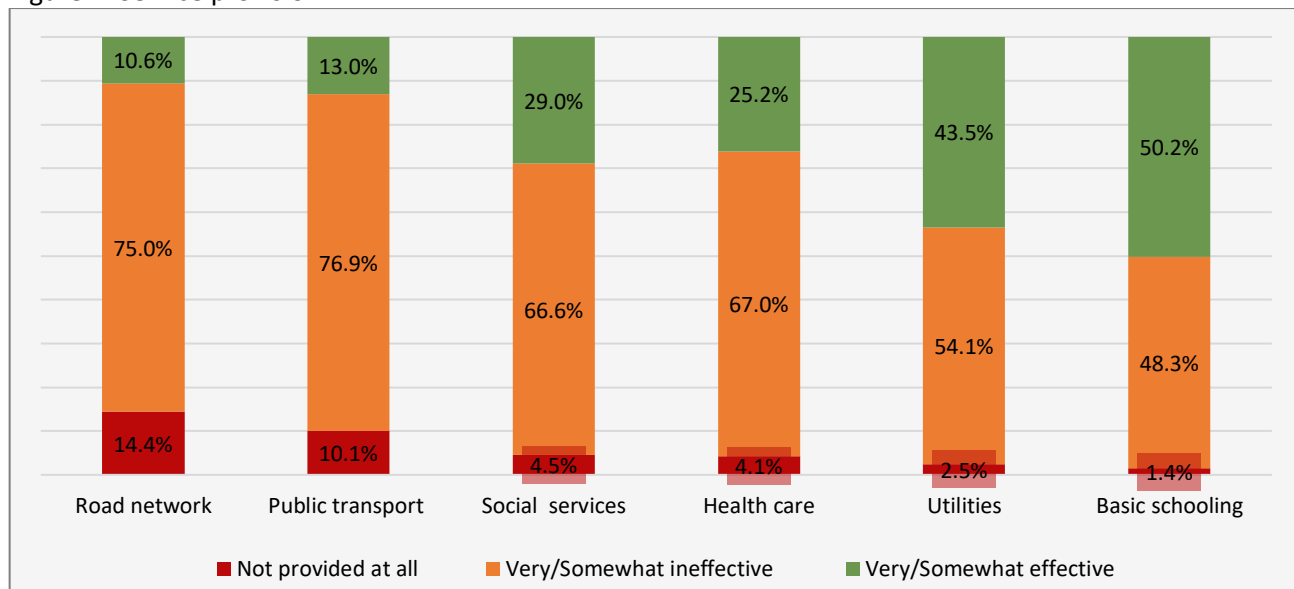
<sup>6</sup> Lake Sevan region also has low employment scores but higher than average income scores. This is due seasonal nature of the tourism and service industry in the region that also comes with informal employment.

<sup>7</sup> Rotberg, Robert (July 2014). "Good Governance Means Performance and Results". *Governance*. 27(3): 511–518.

exacerbated by weak service provision. Citizens assess infrastructure (roads and public transport) and utilities (heating, electricity, water) as highly ineffective, followed by public services (healthcare, education). Less than 1 in 10 Armenians assess provision of infrastructure, and only 4 in 10 consider utilities as effective. Thus, it is not surprising that a considerable majority of Armenians do not trust the government institutions.

**Geographically, the center region scores the lowest across most services thus investments in service provision should prioritize this region.**

Figure 4. Service provision

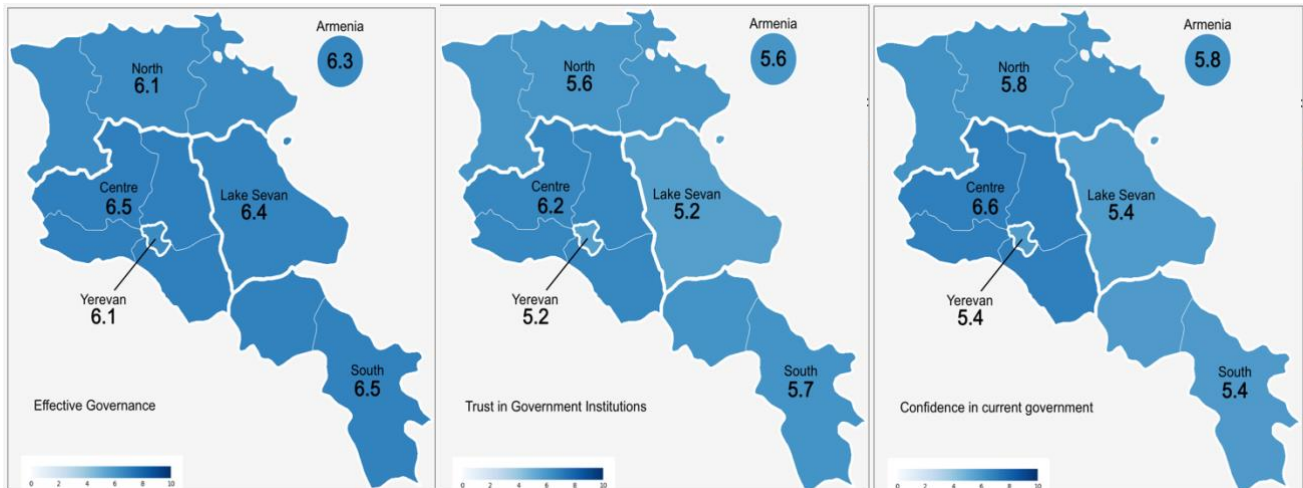


## Effective and Accountable Governance

A governance lens offers a powerful momentum for promoting reforms in policies and programs especially in the areas of transparency, civil liberties and inclusion of minority and disadvantaged groups. In other words, good governance is not simply effective governance. It drives legitimacy not only from its performance but also from citizens confidence in its intentions. Former global director of the World Resources Institute’s Governance Center Mark Robinson succinctly describes what good governance looks like: “Governments that are accountable and responsive to their citizens, transparent in their reporting on the use of public resources and in decision making, and that create opportunities for participation in policy and service delivery. Good governance stems from a set of favorable political conditions in which people have the right to vote, exercise oversight and seek redress from politicians and officials. **The real test of good governance is when citizens feel secure and trust governments to conduct public affairs in the best interests of society as a whole rather than for the privileged few.**”

Therefore, it is important to measure not only the effectiveness of government functions, but also the confidence in institutions and the government itself. Only then can we piece together a more holistic picture for tailored policy and programming towards good governance. The Figure 5 presents the SCORE findings across all three of these indicators, namely effective governance<sup>8</sup>, trust in institutions<sup>9</sup> and confidence in current government<sup>10</sup>. Where 0 means that government does not perform any of its key functions and 10 means it performs very efficiently, the country average is a middling 6.3. There is no variance between different regions, as differences less than 0.5 point are not considered statistically significant. However, when it comes to confidence in the current government, we can observe significantly lower scores and more regional variance. Where 0 indicates no confidence and 10 indicates absolute unwavering confidence, the country average is 5.8. In other words, government’s performance is assessed significantly more positively compared to citizens’ emotive response to institutions and government itself.

Figure 5. Performance vs. confidence in government



The gap between perceived effectiveness of the government institutions and confidence in current government’s intentions and ideas is especially disconcerting in Yerevan, Lake Sevan and the South. Given that these regions neither score lowest in service provision nor in economic indicators (see section above), **the gap between assessment of performance and confidence points to a breakdown in the dialogue between citizens and decision makers and highlights the need to invest in citizens’**

<sup>8</sup> Effective governance measures the perceived effectiveness of the state in executing their functions and responsibilities towards society (e.g. passing laws, fighting crime, stabilizing economy etc.).

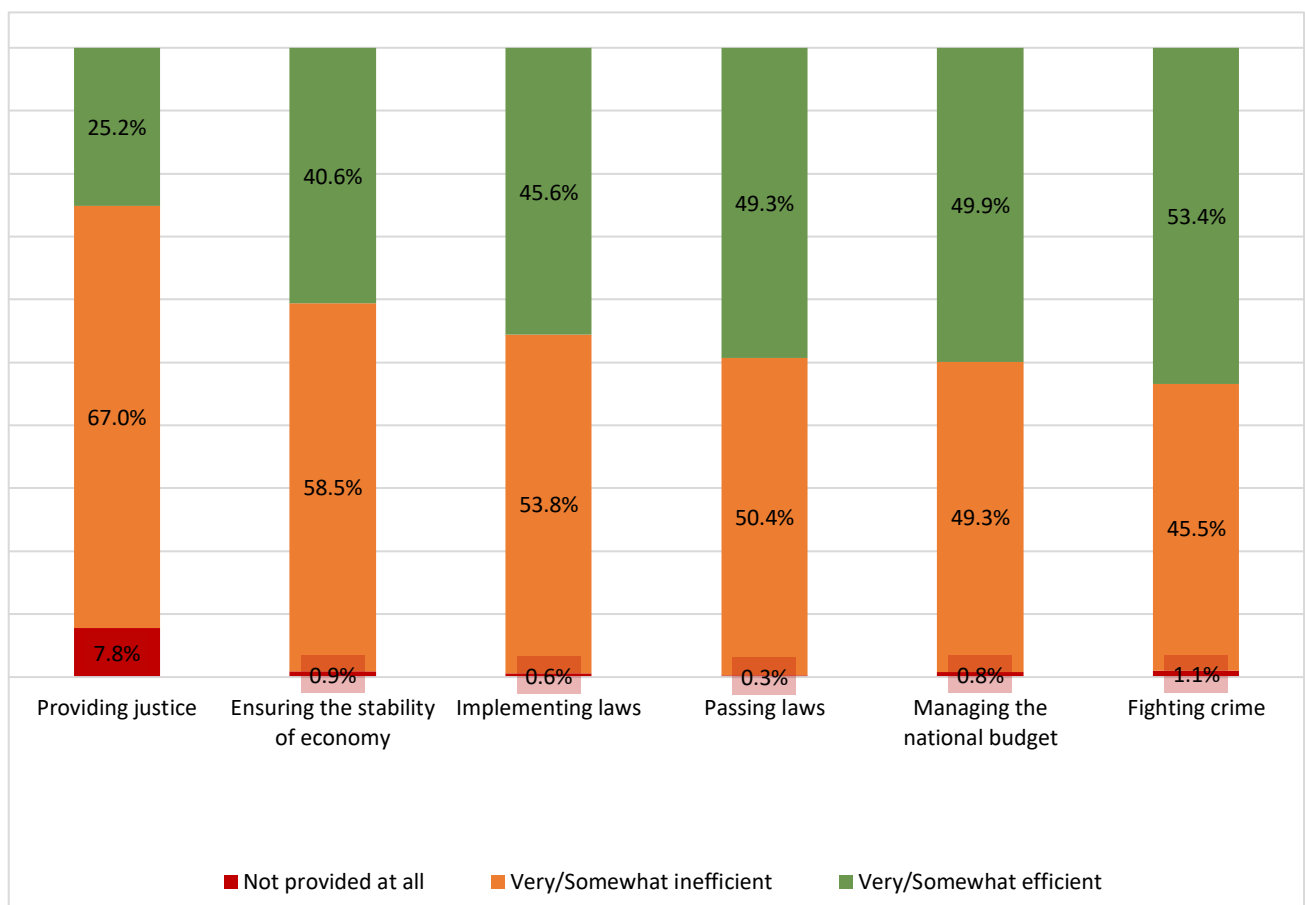
<sup>9</sup> Trust in government institutions measures the level of trust in key state institutions such as the President, Prime Minister, the Parliament, courts and army.

<sup>10</sup> Confidence in current government measures citizens trust towards the ministers and the prime minister combined with the extent to which one is confident that the ideas, intentions and competencies of the current government under Pashinyan will bring the country forward.

**engagement to foster confidence. Dialogue efforts should prioritize Yerevan, Lake Sevan and the South to understand and acknowledge citizens’ needs and grievances.** The South could serve as a strong pilot case because it is geographically the most remote but scores higher in openness to dialogue with different groups (See Chapter 3).

When we look at different state functions that make up the effective governance indicator, we observe that provision of justice and law enforcement performs at the bottom followed by economic functions (See Figure 6). Less than 3 in 10 Armenians think justice is provided effectively, and less than 4 in 10 think that government can keep the economy stable. Armenians are more divided when it comes to the assessment of other state functions, where approximately 50% think legislative, executive and law policing functions as effective while the other 50% think they are ineffective.

Figure 6. Effectiveness of Government Functions



SCORE also asked Armenians to assess their confidence regional foreign policy. 0 means that the current government policies are doing a great job in balancing Armenia’s foreign relations towards greater regional security and stability, and 10 means that the current foreign policy is damaging the historic alliances and resulting in insecurity and instability in the region. We can observe moderate levels of anxiety about regional foreign policy. Interestingly, expectations of instability due to the government’s foreign policy is not strongly correlated to positive views of the regional actors (i.e. Russia, EU and EEU). Instead, anxieties about regional instability is higher among people who have low confidence in the government.

The army is the most trusted institution, with almost 90% expressing strong confidence the army, followed by the President and the Prime Minister at 86% and 76% respectively. Only 34% of Armenians trust the members of parliament, while over 50% of Armenians do not trust the ministers and local authorities. In line with the explicit discontent with the provision of justice, the judiciary is the least trusted institution among Armenians, with nearly 80% expressing mistrust towards courts and judges (See Figure 8). Armenians also perceive the judicial system as the most corrupt with 58% believing that judges and prosecutors can be bribed. While 69% trust the police, 4 in 10 believe that police officers often cover up organized crime or let criminals go in exchange for informal payments. **Overall, we can observe an unambiguous crisis with the justice and law enforcement in the country. This calls for prioritization of reforms as well as citizens dialogue in these sectors to better understand the needs and concerns.**

Figure 7. Expectations of regional instability

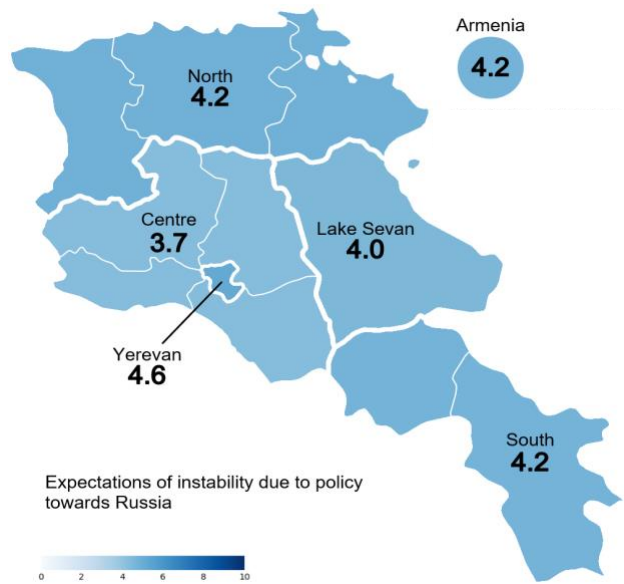
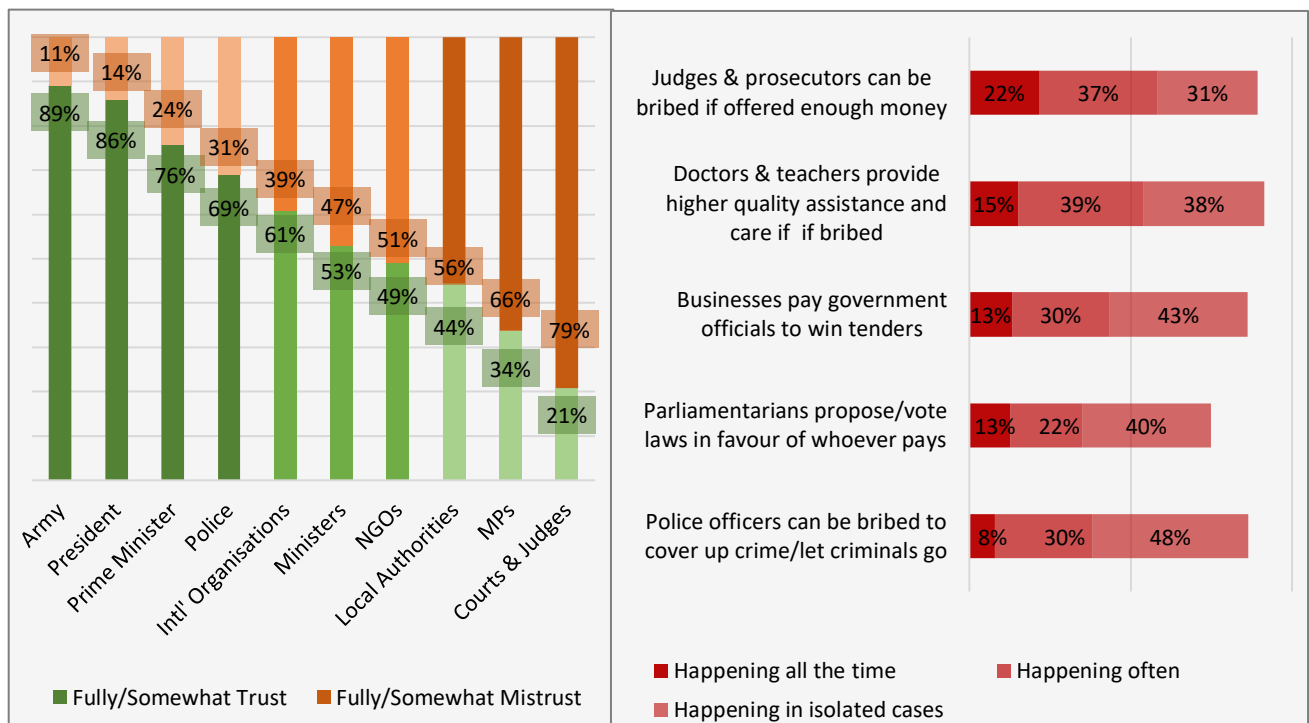


Figure 8. Trust in institutions and perception of corruption

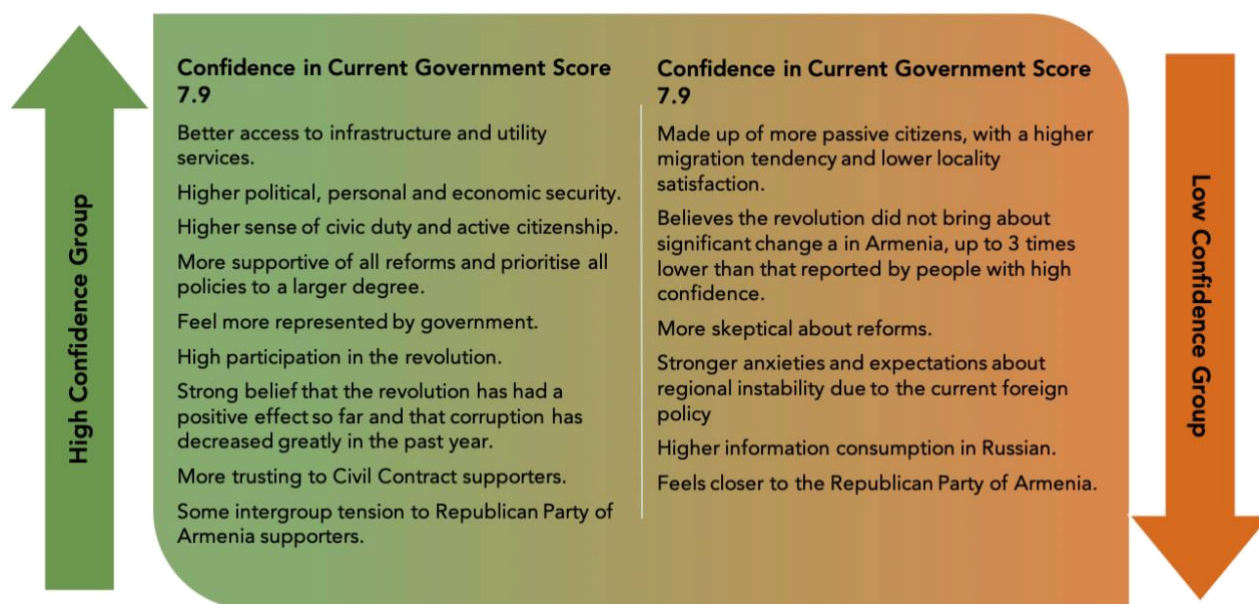


Further analysis based on population segmentation (i.e. cluster analysis) has revealed two distinct groups with regard to confidence in current government. The high confidence group seems to be those citizens who are experiencing the benefits of the Velvet revolution, with higher political, personal and economic security. They



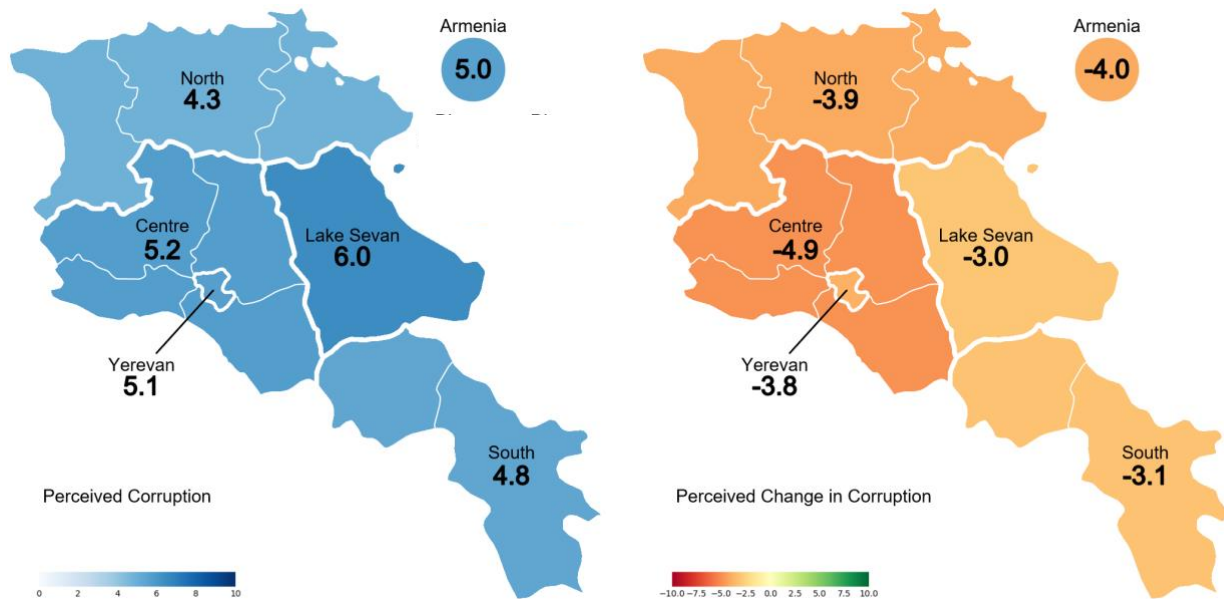
also have better access to services and share significantly stronger positive civic attitudes. This **analysis illustrates the relationship between good governance and constructive citizenship, as those who feel more included and represented by the current government also demonstrate positive civic attitudes.** Thus, it is important to promote citizens dialogue towards building confidence between the citizens and decision makers and making sure that the democratic transition and reforms process can address the challenges and needs of different groups, especially those who were not active participants of the Velvet Revolution. **Building a constructive dialogue and space for public deliberation between My Step Supporters and other groups in society would mitigate the risk of societal polarization and contribute to cohesion.**

Figure 9. High vs. Low Confidence Groups



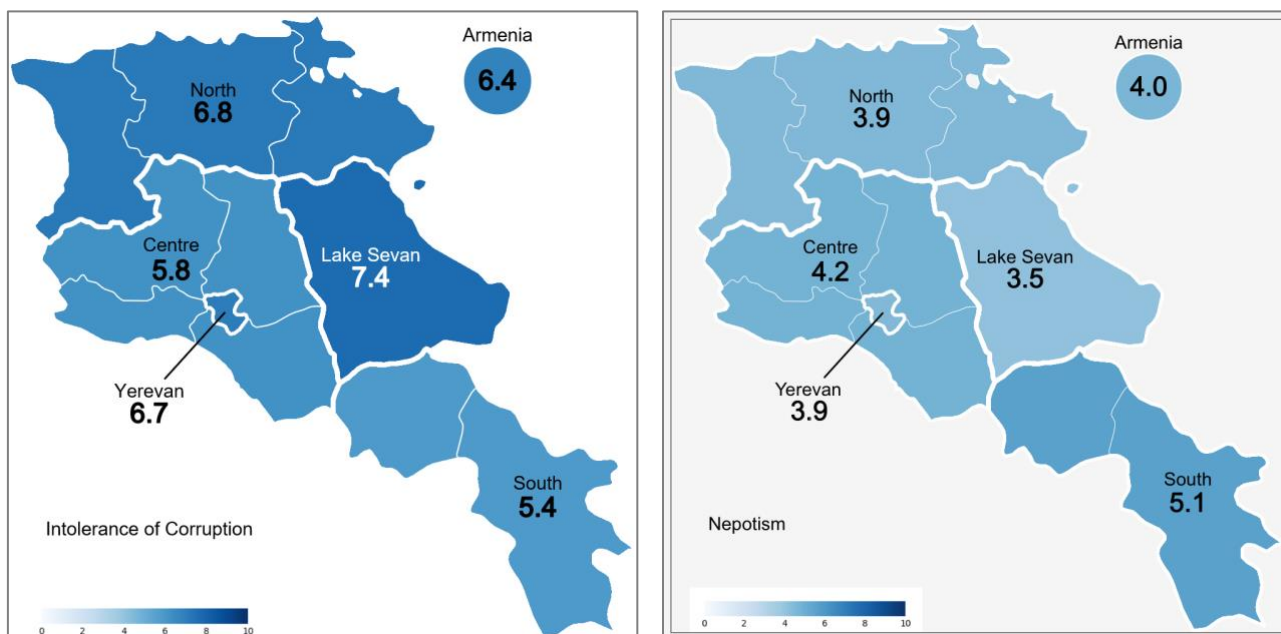
Transparency International’s Corruption Perception Index (CPI), which measures levels of public sector corruption according to experts and businesspeople, positions Armenia ahead of Azerbaijan and Iran, but behind Georgia and Turkey. Where 0 is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean, Armenia ranks at 105<sup>th</sup> out of 180 countries with 35 points. SCORE Armenia adds the public perception to the experts’ and businesspeople’s assessments. The country average for perceived level of corruption overall is 5.0, where 0 means there is no corruption and bribery and 10 means corruption and bribery are very prevalent on multiple levels across multiple institutions. Citizens in Lake Sevan region perceiving level of corruption significantly higher compared to other regions. However, Armenians recognize there has been some progress in fighting against corruption. Many, including those who are not strong supports of the My Step movement, believe that prevalence of corruption has decreased in the past year. Change in corruption scale is from minus 10 to plus 10. Minus 10 means corruption has greatly decreased, 0 means no change, and 10 means corruption has greatly increased. People in the Centre region have the biggest perceived decrease in corruption.

Figure 10. Level of corruption and Perceived change in corruption



Anti-corruption measures on the institutional level should be complimented with policies and programs on the citizens level. Effective anti-corruption measures should include awareness raising campaigns about identifying and reporting daily corruption. Where 0 means absolute intolerance to bribery and corruption, and 10 means very strong normalization of corrupt practices, intolerance to corruption among Armenians is 6.4 (tolerance to corruption 3.6). In other words, many Armenians justify bribery if this means quicker access to services. While 4 in 10 Armenians believe that accepting small amounts of money, gifts or favors for performing official functions does not represent corruption, and 3 in 10 do not care if public officials make money through informal payments so long as the government is providing good services. When it comes to normalization of nepotism many Armenians admit that they would use personal connections and networks to receive favorable treatment such as getting out of a traffic fine. Yet, 79% of Armenians believe that informal payments are holding the country back.

Figure 11. Intolerance to corruption and nepotism

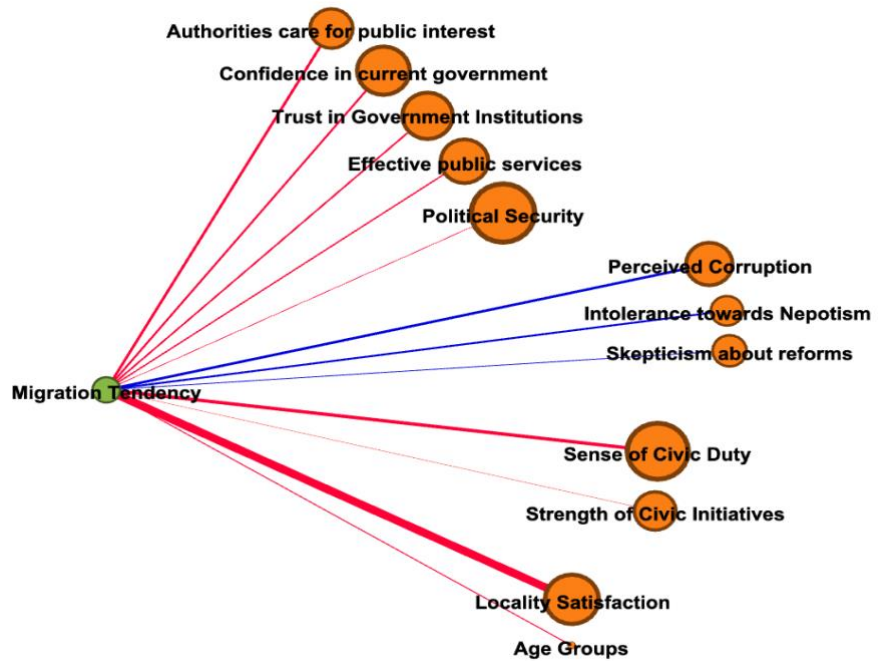


## Migration Tendencies

Mitigating brain drain and negative population trends is a crucial step towards nurturing a stable environment where economic development and social cohesion can flourish. According to the UN population report, Armenia's has been experiencing a downward trend since the 1990s, with its population projected to decrease to 2.7 million by 2050.<sup>11</sup> Recognizing the challenge, the Armenian Government's National Security Strategy (NSS) highlights brain drain of working-age skilled Armenians as an issue of national security concern.<sup>12</sup> The government's long-term strategy aims to increase the country's population to 5 million by 2050. Thus, mitigating brain drain and creating an Armenia that can attract its diaspora back to the country is a national priority.

The figure below presents the complex network analysis of migration tendencies, which measures the extent to which one is thinking about leaving Armenia in to start a life elsewhere. The color of the connecting lines represents the nature of the relationship - blue symbolizes a positive, and red symbolizes a negative. The thickness of the lines represents the strength of the relationship – the thicker the line, the stronger the association. The size of the bubbles represents the scores for that indicator – bigger the bubble higher the score.

Figure 12. Migration tendency network analysis



**Contrary to popular belief, SCORE Armenia reveals that corruption, lack of confidence in government and low locality satisfaction are the stronger push factors for migration and brain drain than income and employment status.** On the other hand, **locality satisfaction and civic duty are the strongest mitigating factors against brain drain.** In other words, many Armenian's make the decision to migrate not purely based on economic challenges but mostly because of dissatisfaction with the governance and their locality. It seems like economic opportunities may be playing a role on the decision about destination of migration rather than the decision to leave. This finding explicitly links good governance to positive population trends essential for economic growth, and it is crucial for designing effective mitigation programmes. As such, delivering on socio-economic reforms effectively and investing in local civic initiatives is of utmost importance for preventing destructive demographic patterns that can undermine national security, economic development, and community and social cohesion.

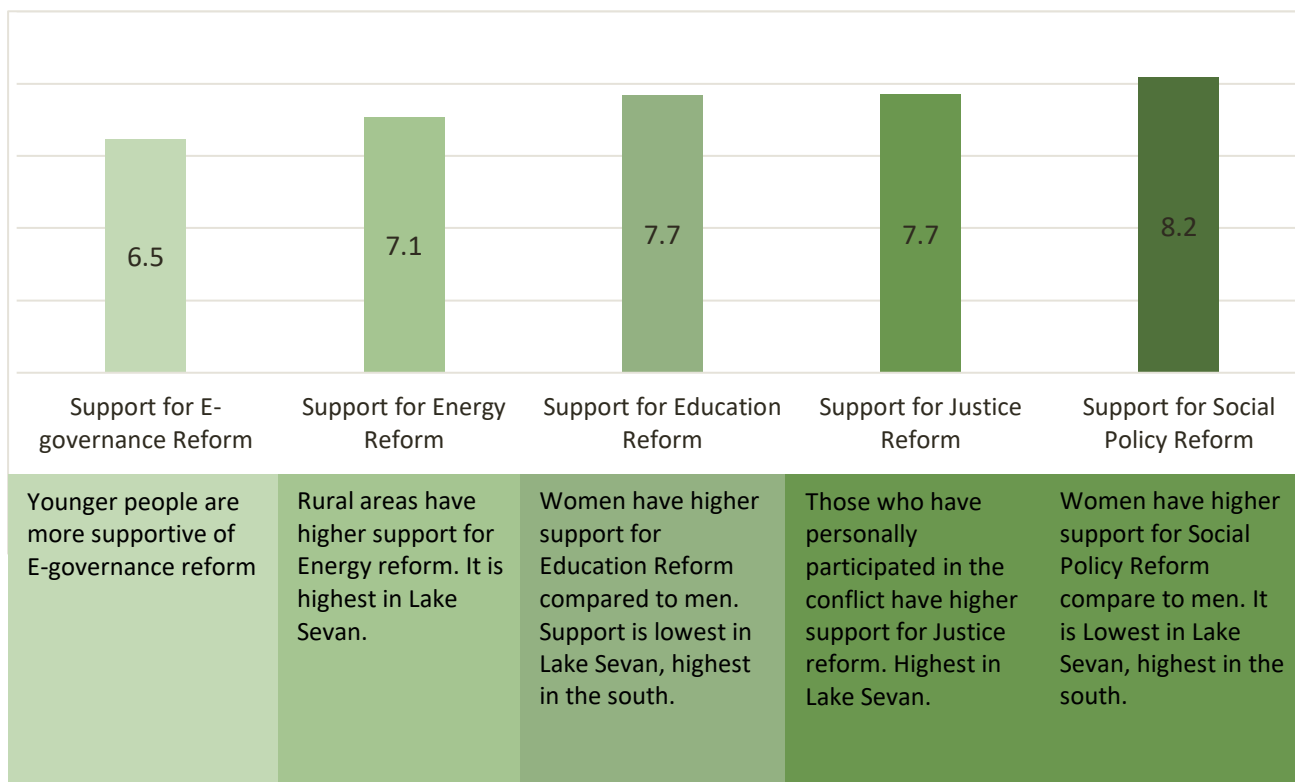
<sup>11</sup> <https://population.un.org/wpp/>

<sup>12</sup> [www.files.ethz.ch/isn/155589/Armenia%20National%20Security%20Strategy%202007\\_eng.pdf#xd\\_co\\_f=YmQwMGQxMTQtOGQ1OS00ZjI2LW11NmEtNDk1MDC3ZmUzOGU1~](http://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/155589/Armenia%20National%20Security%20Strategy%202007_eng.pdf#xd_co_f=YmQwMGQxMTQtOGQ1OS00ZjI2LW11NmEtNDk1MDC3ZmUzOGU1~)

## Support and Skepticism towards Reforms

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) notes that “The Armenian authorities are acutely aware of the extremely high expectations of the population for change. It is therefore important that the reforms now being formulated lead to concrete and tangible results”.<sup>13</sup> SCORE Armenia findings assert that **there is strong public support across all reform packages**, with social policy reform focusing on “fighting against domestic violence and provide protections for vulnerable groups” receiving the strongest support at score of 8.2 out of 10. Judicial reform focusing on “enhancing disciplinary accountability of judges, harmonization with the Council of Europe standards and capacity building on rule of ethics, professional standards” is also a top priority for Armenians.

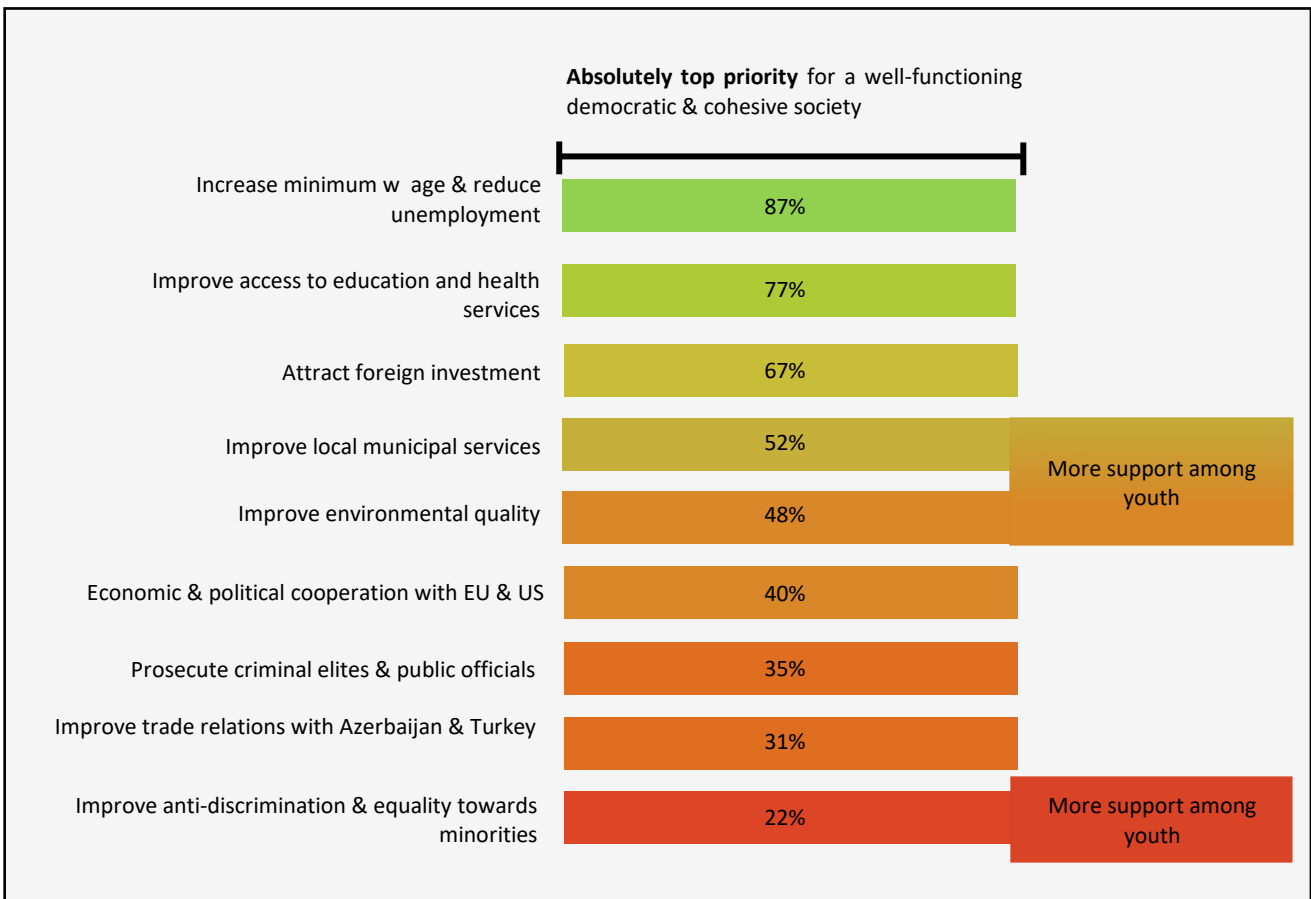
Figure 13. Support for reforms



In addition to reforms, respondents, especially women, rank socio-economic policies as the top priority for a well-functioning democratic and cohesive society. Figure 13 illustrates the strong public demand to increase minimum wage and implement robust policies to reduce unemployment, to improve accessibility to health and education, and to attract foreign investment. Policies that relate to improving local municipal services and environmental quality receive significantly more emphasis from young people. While socio-economic policies would help alleviate the negative daily challenges faced by nearly 30% of Armenians living under the national poverty line, investment in locality satisfaction would support youth engagement and mitigate brain drain (See Figure).

<sup>13</sup> <https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/News/News-View-FN.asp?newsid=7419&lang=2&cat=3>

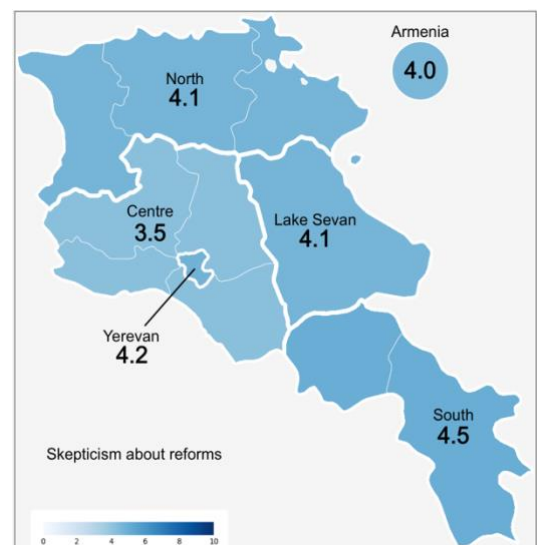
Figure 14. Policy priorities for democratic transition



However, there is undeniable skepticism towards reforms. Where 10 means very strong and prevalent skepticism towards the reform process, the country average is 4.0. Perceived level of corruption is positively associated with skepticism about the reforms and undermines citizens faith in the process. In fact, over 20% of Armenians do not support the reforms because they believe that the reforms are mere publicity stunts, neither will they will not be implemented effectively, nor will they benefit the ordinary people. Men and people with higher SDS risk (worse-off people) especially in the southern region are more skeptical. Further analysis using structural equation modeling reveals predictive relationships and assert that improving economic and political security would help curb skepticism.

Once again, **findings clearly illustrate the importance of prioritizing justice reforms to improve people’s confidence in effective implementation of other reform packages, promoting citizens dialogue to alleviate sense of neglect by addressing citizens concerns, and delivering on the socio-economic reforms to concretely demonstrate that the reforms will benefit the ordinary people.**

Figure 15. Skepticism towards reforms



## Chapter 2. Constructive Citizenship

Active citizenship is a broad concept underpinned by political philosophy and a body of international law, established over several decades. The right to be an active citizen able to shape society is enshrined in the UN’s 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1976 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The 2000 UNDP

Human Development Report avowed the role of citizens to engage with leaders and decision-makers in policymaking.<sup>14</sup> Although not legally binding, the SDGs serve as a moral instrument for holding governments publicly accountable for their actions and policies designed to improve the well-being of all citizens. SDG target 16.6 to “develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels” and 16.7 to “ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels” specifies government responsibilities in shaping the development space where citizens can act and influence socio-political outcomes, while holding public officials accountable for development results. These instruments recognise and promote active citizenship as an end in itself and protect the right to political participation, which “refers to citizens’ right to seek to influence public affairs”.<sup>15</sup> This departure from past development paradigms that treated citizens as a beneficiary in the process of change, and instead offers a political space for an “accountability revolution” centred on active citizenship and participation.

Active citizenship and participation requires a system of inclusive and democratic institutions, and there is a culture of information exchange and cooperation between the general public and the government. As such, **taking active citizenship a step forward, constructive citizenship relies on respect for human rights, gender equality and a commitment to democracy.** University of California Prof. Joan Williams presents economic deprivation, the class culture gap, and the racial and gender equality as different sides of the same coin. Looking at the rising right-wing populism from a ‘social dignity’ perspective and how the working class has lost its ‘social dignity’ as the propellers of economic growth, Joan Williams explore why citizens are growingly “voting with their middle fingers”.<sup>16</sup> Correspondingly, emerging literature increasingly link global rise of populism and far-right extremism to youth unemployment, as for the first time in decades, young people across the world report lower economic security and house ownership, and higher individual debt compared to their parents. Facing such dynamics and pessimism about the future of ‘their children’, protectionist, ethno-nationalist and populist narrative become more appealing to voters. This leads to a sense of disenfranchisement, apathy, exclusion as well as loss of civic optimism.

In the context of Armenia and as part of the broader concept of constructive citizenship, SCORE investigated civic engagement, civic duty, active citizenship, democratic pluralism, gender equality and social tolerance. Recognising that the National Security Strategy (NSS) announced in August 2019 has underlined brain drain as a national security concern, and set an ambitious goal that aims to reverse the negative migration trends and increase the population to 5 million by 2050. To ensure its relevance and utility for national processes and strategies, SCORE Armenia also investigated brain drain and migration tendencies in more detail, and unpacked policy preferences and attitudes of young people. This chapter is driven by the normative goal empowering Armenian civil society and young people to drive the revolution forward, and aims to identify precise policy entry points that can support successful democratic transition and would help drive inclusive economic development. The evidence and analysis presented in this chapter can: (a) contribute to the translation of NSS operational roadmaps and action plans; (b) inform organisations working on population trends and migration such as IOM and UNFPA; and (c) given that the timeline of data collection, serve as a valuable baseline that can guide the country’s civic transformation. To that end, the chapter makes the following arguments and recommendations:

- **Momentum of the evolution is dissipating, and measures to sustain civic engagement and mobilization is vital to keep institutions and process accountable and on track.** We observe that perceived strength of civic initiatives is an important driver of constructive citizenship. As such, local authorities and international donors should focus on building a creative, open and vibrant space for civic initiatives to take root and mature especially in rural areas. Empowering young people and women to lead the way and become change makers in their societies would create exponential

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<sup>14</sup> UNDP. 2000, Human Development Report. New York: United Nations Publications, [http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR\\_2000\\_EN.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2000_EN.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> Klein, H. 2005, ‘The Right to Political Participation and the Information Society’, paper presented at the Global Democracy Conference, Montreal, 29 May to 1 June: [http://www.ip3.gatech.edu/research/Right\\_to\\_Political\\_Participation.pdf](http://www.ip3.gatech.edu/research/Right_to_Political_Participation.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.npr.org/2018/10/15/657547685/voting-with-a-middle-finger-two-views-on-the-white-working-class?t=1568633188360>

multiplier effects from improving inter-generational relations to mitigating brain drain, from building confidence in government institutions to contributing a more conducive environment for peacebuilding.

- **Although civic engagement and sense of civic duty needs to be underpinned by positive civic attitudes and skills to become more constructive and substantive.** Particularly human rights, gender equality, civic education and social tolerance should be prioritized along with leadership and negotiation skills targeting young people and women.
- **Fostering gender equality would help drive the reform process forward as women are more supportive of justice and socio-economic reforms. It would also facilitate the peace process as gender equality is linked to peace outcomes** and SCORE Armenia shows that improving gender equality would decrease perceived intergroup tension towards Azeris and Turks. **Gender mainstreaming is crucial to tackle occupational and sectoral segregation, and ensure women's meaningful participation in socio-political and economic life through programs that support women political candidates and entrepreneurs, and empower rural women to become change makers in their localities**
- **Contrary to popular belief brain drain is more closely associated with satisfaction with governance and locality rather than economic indicators.** Investing in civic engagement on the local level and improving locality satisfaction through service delivery and environmental quality would enhance people's sense of inclusion and belonging, which would mitigate migration tendencies.
- Young Armenians are more active with stronger sense of civic duty and civic assets such as democratic pluralism, leadership and gender equality compared to older groups. **Despite young Armenians demonstrate healthy civic characteristics that can drive the revolution forward, they need competencies and skills (human rights ethos, negotiation skills) and incentives to stay (locality satisfaction, sense of belonging) in order to capitalize on their motivation and empower them become change makers in their communities.** The brain drain tendencies need to be mitigated by investments in locality satisfaction and effective civic engagement mechanisms, and young people need support in enhancing their multicultural and human rights ethos via, trainings and exchange programs.

## Civic Engagement & Civic Duty

Public participation and civic engagement in decision making processes is crucial nurture a vibrant civil society and civic responsibility and to enhance legitimacy and accountability. Civic engagement commonly takes place in the context of civil society, and should be continuous and inclusive interaction with state institutions, where citizens seek to influence the conduct of public authorities. It can also be more community-oriented to address gaps in service delivery or mobilize to change cultural norms. As such, in addition to effective mechanisms that allow for and promote civic engagement, citizens need to feel a sense of civic duty, which drives their motivation to engage. SCORE Armenia's sense of civic duty indicator is composed of civic responsibility and sense of agency that measures the degree to which citizens believe they can contribute change in their community and feel responsible for shaping the future of their country. Figure 14 below illustrates heatmaps for the three indicators that relate to constructive citizenship, namely, participation in the Velvet Revolution<sup>17</sup>, active civic engagement<sup>18</sup> and sense of civic duty<sup>19</sup>. We can observe that participation in the Velvet Revolution, which represented the apex of public mobilisation is significantly higher compared to citizens' active engagement. Where 0 means no one ever participates in activities public hearings, economic driven initiatives, petitions, NGO events and charity activities and 10 means everyone frequently participates in different civic

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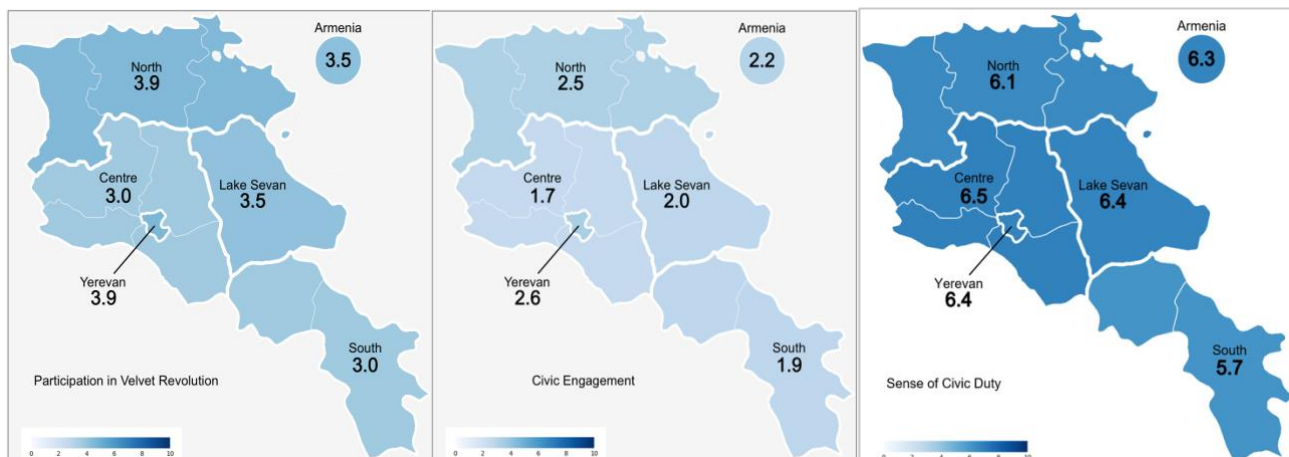
<sup>17</sup> The extent to which one was physically or digitally active during the Velvet Revolution (e.g. street protests, support through social media).

<sup>18</sup> The frequency with which citizens actively engage in civic, social and political matters using non-violent means (e.g. participation in public hearings, economic driven initiatives, petitions, demonstrations, volunteering and activities aimed at improving your surroundings).

<sup>19</sup> The degree to which one believes that every citizens can contribute to positive change in their communities and feel responsible for shaping the future of their society and country.

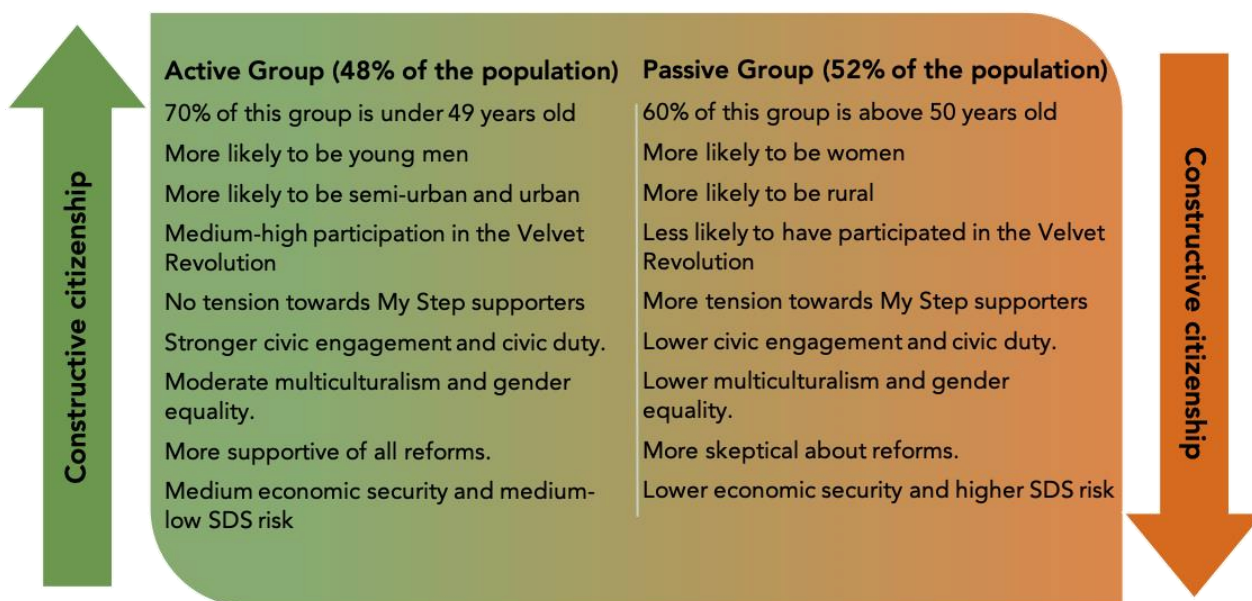
initiatives, the country average is 2.2. **This indicates that the momentum of the revolution may be dissipating and active civic engagement needs to be sustained, especially outside of Yerevan where it is significantly lower.** On the other hand, sense of civic duty is significantly higher but yet, not very strong across the country. Active and engaged citizens are vital for healthy democracies depend and sustaining peace. It is imperative to improve public participation mechanisms especially in the southern region and promote national campaigns on democratic citizenship and civic education.

Figure 16. Participation in the revolution, civic engagement & civic duty



SCORE Armenia also conducted population segmentation (cluster analysis) to identify and compares the active and passive citizens to help identify target groups for tailored policies and programs towards cultivating constructive citizenship. The figure below reveals young semi-urban and urban people need effective public participation mechanisms and positive citizenship skills to engage as active change-makers in society. For example, young My Step supporters from their local regions could as ambassadors to lead citizens dialogue on reforms and policy priorities. On the other hand, programmes should also target rural women to increase their civic engagement and meaningful participation in socio-political and economic life.

Figure 17. Active vs Passive Groups





## Democratic Values & Pluralism

The concept of constructive citizenship goes beyond simply being an engaged citizen and needs to be underpinned by respect for human rights, gender equality and a commitment to democracy. The analysis presented below explicitly highlights the importance of complimenting good governance efforts with policies and programs aimed at cultivating constructive citizenship by enhancing democratic values, social tolerance and a human rights ethos. **An approach that focuses on enhancing civic skills would undeniably contribute to the sustainability of democratic transition efforts.**

SCORE Armenia's Democratic pluralism indicator measures the extent to which one believes in the essentiality of civil liberties and democratic values, and that diverse cultural and historic elements enrich the Armenia. 0 means that no one shares democratic values and believes that civic liberties unnecessary, and 10 means that everyone shares strong democratic values and a human rights ethos. The heatmap in Figure 15 highlights the need for programs in enhancing democratic values across Armenia with a particular focus on the Centre region.

Although Armenia experienced strong civic mobilization that led to a significant change in leadership and progress in its democratic transition since 2018, it remains a conservative country challenged by its Soviet heritage and regional isolation linked to tensions with two of its closest neighbors. We can clearly observe that Armenians struggle to break the comfort of homogeneity and express a level of aversion to diversity. This is evident from the middling social tolerance score, which measures the degree to which one is tolerant towards different groups (e.g. socio-economic, ethnic, religious, gender, disability) in terms of personal interaction and/or acceptance in the community. 0 means everyone wish to expel all outgroups (those who are different from one's own) from their community, and 10 means everyone is very tolerant and open to personal interaction with all outgroups. The country average for social tolerance is 5.0, which is significantly lower in the South. In other words, most Armenians accept different groups in their community but would avoid contact.

Figure 19. Social tolerance

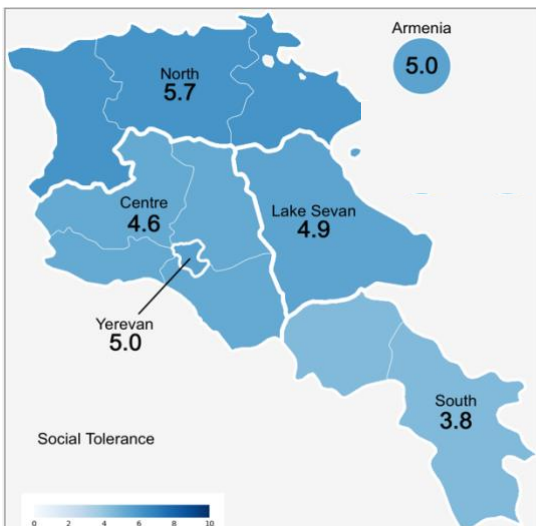


Figure below shows that over 6 in 10 think only ethnic Armenians can call Armenia home and do not think that cultural and historical heritage of other groups is enriching the country. Coupled with very low recognition of religious freedoms, SCORE findings highlight the need to enhance multiculturalism and social tolerance across Armenia. Social theory literature asserts that tolerance is strongly associated with multicultural exposure and contact. In other words, efforts such as twinning programs, youth camps, multicultural activities at schools (e.g. learning about different cuisines, dances) or even cultural tourism can have a significant impact on enhancing social tolerance. Furthermore, despite large majority of Armenians recognizing the importance of having an opposition to keep power holders accountable, many have a yielding attitude towards leadership and authority. This could hinder meaningful public participation; thus, policies and programs should emphasize the crucial role of the citizen in upholding democratic processes and ensuring that decision makers serve the public interest.

Figure 18. Democratic pluralism

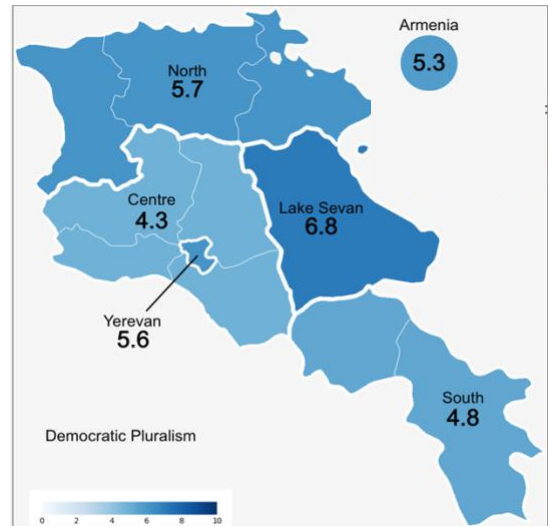
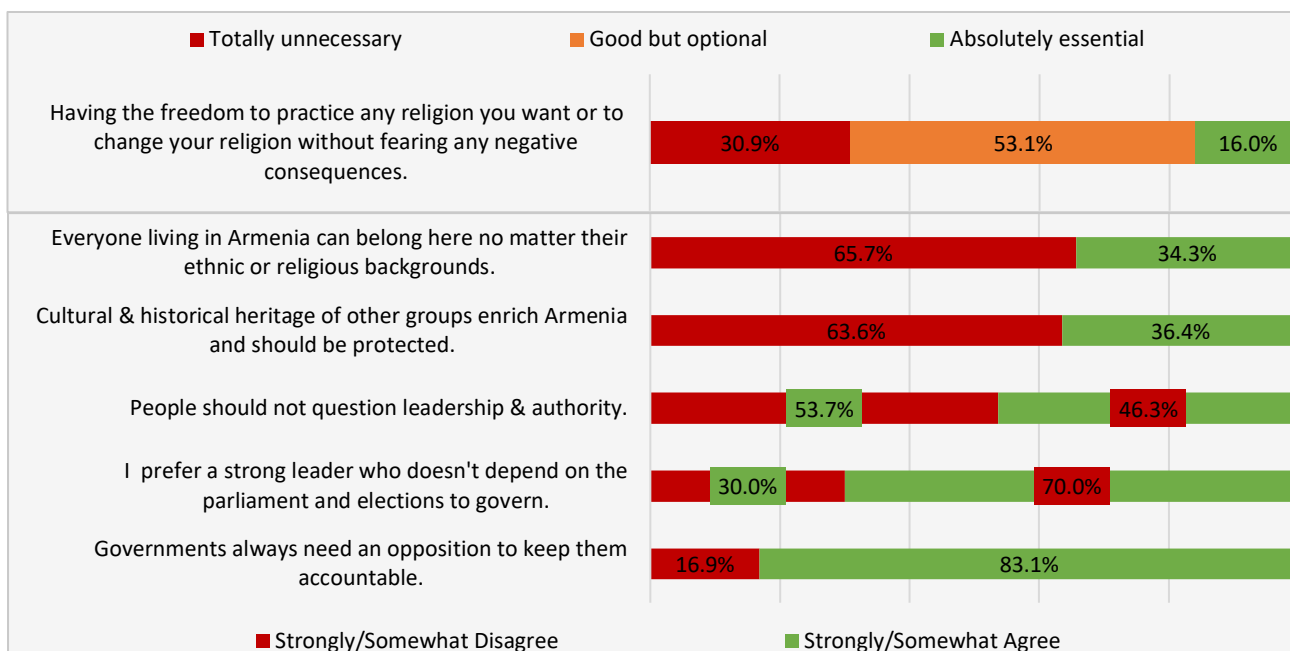


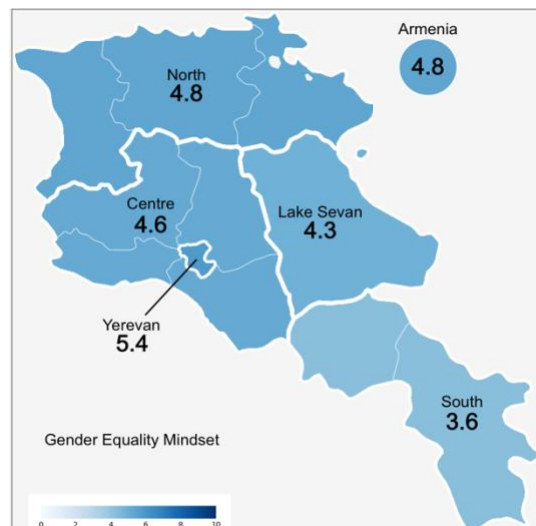
Figure 20. Democratic values and pluralism



Gender equality and women’s rights are prerequisites for sustainable development and peace, and should be central to any democratic transition process. In Armenia, although women’s participation in the National Assembly saw a 4% increase following the December 2018 elections, women MPs still make up only 24% of the parliament. Established literature closely links gender equality with good governance, stability and economic growth, and establishes a positive association between ratio of women in politics and lower levels of corruption.<sup>20</sup> As SCORE Armenia also confirms, women are more supportive of policies and reforms related to anti-corruption, provision of justice and socio-economic welfare (See Chapter 2).

Reducing these gender inequalities has the potential to contribute to the process of inclusive growth and development and to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 5) regarding inequality reduction and poverty. Numerous qualitative and quantitative cross-country findings suggest that gender disparity and deterioration in the physical security of women are among the earliest signs of crisis and violence, and gender inequality indicates broader norms of discrimination that contribute to corruption and exclusion.<sup>21</sup> Investing in women and girls increases productivity and reduces poverty, and women’s economic empowerment is fundamental for a more inclusive, equitable and prosperous society. SCORE Armenia’s gender equality mindset indicator measures the extent to which an individual believes that men and women share equal responsibilities, rights and capabilities to contribute to society and does not support traditional gender stereotypes. The country average for gender equality mindset is 4.8, which points to repressive attitudes towards women that would undermine their meaningful participation in socio-economic and political life in Armenia.

Figure 21. Gender equality mindset



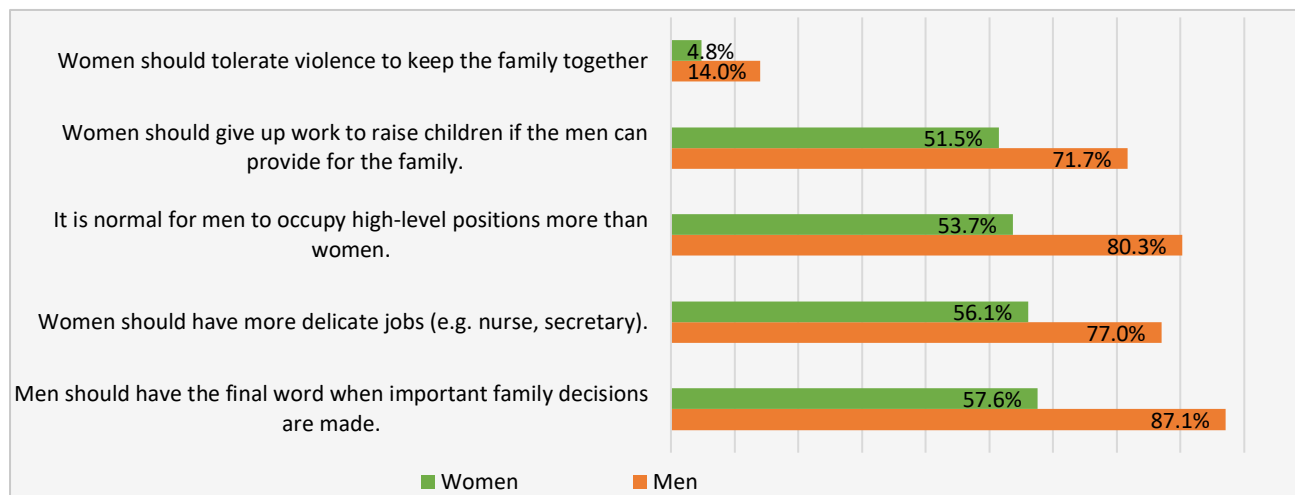
Traditional gender norms refer to the socially constructed roles and responsibilities assigned to women and men, girls and boys. In Armenia, the strongest gender norm supported by both men and women relates to

<sup>20</sup> Anderlini, N. Sanam (2011). World development report gender background paper. Washington DC: World Bank

<sup>21</sup> UN Economic & Social Council: Women in Conflict and Post Conflict Situations. [www.un.org/en/ecosoc/substantive2013/](http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/substantive2013/)

women’s decision-making capacity in the household, which also spills over to women’s participation in the labour market and their decision-making capacity at the work place. Figure below illustrates very strong endorsement to traditional gender norms among Armenian men but also reveals the self-oppression of Armenian women. For example, 6 in 10 women agree that women should have more delicate jobs, which inherently undermines women’s equal participation in political and economic life.

Figure 22. Support for traditional gender norms and stereotypes



The glass ceiling is a deep-rooted challenge in South Caucasus, where women account only for 9% of members of the boards of central banks, 15% of members of the governing boards of trade unions, and less than 15% of board members of companies on the stock market. OECD reports that women’s employment in South Caucasus is still very concentrated in a few primarily public sectors, such as social services, education and health, rather than STEM subjects.<sup>22</sup> According to the World Economic Forum, women earn as little as 67% in Armenia compared to men due to gender discrimination, industrial and occupational segregation, or the result of women working fewer hours than men.<sup>23</sup> Thus, **ensuring gender equality is part of the democratic transition process and promoting women’s meaningful participation in the socio-economic and political life calls for a mind-shift to address traditional gender norms and overcome the challenges of industrial and occupational segregation.**

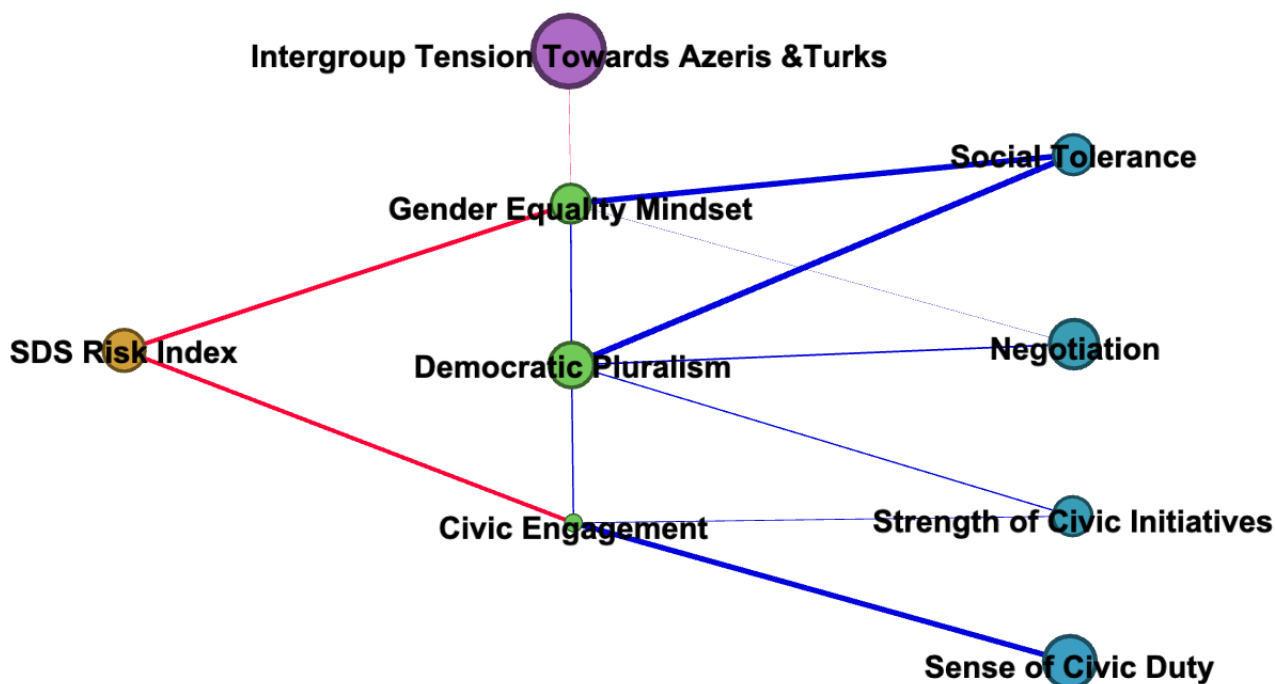
<sup>22</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/eurasia-week/Promoting-Gender-Equality-Eurasia-Feb2019.pdf>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2017>

## Cultivating Constructive Citizenship & Youth Inclusion

In order to identify key entry points to enhance constructive citizenship, the SCORE Armenia conducted advanced statistical analysis such as population segmentation to discover the profiles of active and passive citizens, and complex network analysis (See Chapter 1 for an explanation on analysis products). The figure below illustrates the strong correlations to identify the relationships between the three key components of constructive citizenship, namely civic engagement, democratic pluralism and gender equality coloured in green. The color of the connecting lines represent the nature of the relationship - blue symbolizes a positive, and red symbolizes a negative. The thickness of the lines represents the strength of the relationship – the thicker the line, the stronger the association. The size of the bubbles represent the scores for that indicator – bigger the bubble higher the score. The network analysis provides a road map for cultivating constructive citizenship. Social tolerance and sense of civic duty has the strongest associations, followed by negotiation skills. Thus, **policies and programmes should promote multicultural civic initiatives focusing on building negotiation skills and human rights and targeting isolated and disadvantaged groups such as rural women and those with high SDS risk. Further, investments should focus developing a Government – Civil Society policy framework for engagement aimed at designing a roadmap to strengthen the role of Armenia’s civil society in promoting civic duty, human rights and democracy nationwide, and on supporting the visibility of local initiatives and success stories to foster sense of agency.**

Figure 23. Constructive citizenship network analysis



Young people’s voices, choices and participation, in other words, youth inclusion are critical for achieving progress in Sustainable Development Goals. UN Youth 2030 Agenda sets an ambitious goal to achieve “a world in which the human rights of every young person are realized; that ensures every young person is empowered to achieve their full potential; and that recognizes young people’s agency, resilience and their positive

contributions as agents of change.”<sup>24</sup> Young people under the age of 24 account for more than one quarter of the world's population, and those under the age of 30 are more than 30% of the population in some countries.<sup>25</sup> In Armenia, the average age of the population is 33.9 but increasing due to brain drain and negative population trends, and is expected to reach 45 in the next two decades.<sup>26</sup> Limited access to decent employment, education, health services and civic participation are all factors that prevent young people from playing a full role in their societies and push them to seek better life opportunities outside of Armenia. Given that youth mobilization was an important element that contributed to the success of the Velvet Revolution and youth inclusion is not only a global policy priority but a vital goal for ensuring sustainability of transition as well as the sustainability of development goals.

**Youth inclusion in civic, political and economic life and effective educational reform is necessary to equip young people with knowledge, skills and competencies necessary and valuable to drive their countries forward to achieve peace and development outcomes, and to face the challenges of what the World Economic Forum calls the “4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution”.** It calls for policy and programming education system that is holistic in its approach to cultivating individuals with life skills and assets that foster resilience, constructive citizenship and strong psychosocial adaptation. Especially life skills (aka soft skills) education is increasingly gaining attention among educators, researchers and the private sector as a key framework to cultivate meaningful youth inclusion and employability in the age of 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution. Many researchers argue that soft skills such as creativity, critical thinking, leadership and negotiation are critical skills essential for employability and economic growth.<sup>27</sup> For example, extensive research shows that 85% of job success comes from well-developed soft skills and only 15% from technical skills and knowledge”.<sup>28</sup>

To better understand the needs and demands of young people, SCORE Armenia disaggregated civic attitude and skills as well as policy preferences based on age. The table below presents the ANOVA analysis (see Chapter 1 for a more detailed explanation of analysis products) that unpacks the differences in scores based on three age groups. The differences between age groups is categorized according to low, medium and high effect size comparing 18-29 year old group to 50+ year old group. As such we can observe that active citizenship and participation in Velvet revolution are the two indicators with the biggest effect size. This confirms the bottom-up mobilization and support for the revolution among young people and underlines their motivation to become change makers in their communities. However, we first need to ensure that young people do not grow disappointed, apathetic and frustrated with the process and leave Armenia in search for better opportunities. As the table below clearly demonstrates, migration tendency among young is even higher among young people under 29 compared to older age groups, and especially higher among those with strong leadership skills, which highlights the risk that skilled young change makers are more likely to emigrate.

Table 3. Indicator comparison based on age groups

Indicator Name	Age Group 1: 18-29	Age Group 2: 30-49	Age Group 3: 50+	Cohen's d Effect size (age group 1 vs 3)
Active citizenship orientation	5.0	4.4	3.5	large
Participation in Velvet Revolution	4.8	3.8	2.8	large
Migration Tendency	4.4	4.0	2.9	medium
Gender Equality Mindset	5.4	4.9	4.2	medium
Nepotism	4.3	4.5	3.4	medium

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.un.org/youthenvoy/youth-un/>

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.oecd.org/dev/inclusivesocietiesanddevelopment/youth-inclusion.htm>

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/440071/average-age-of-the-population-in-armenia/>

<sup>27</sup> Ibarra, P. et. al (2012) Life Skills, Employability and Training for Disadvantaged Youth. Institute for the Study of Labor, IZA DP No. 6617; [//www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_Future\\_of\\_Jobs\\_2018.pdf](https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Future_of_Jobs_2018.pdf)

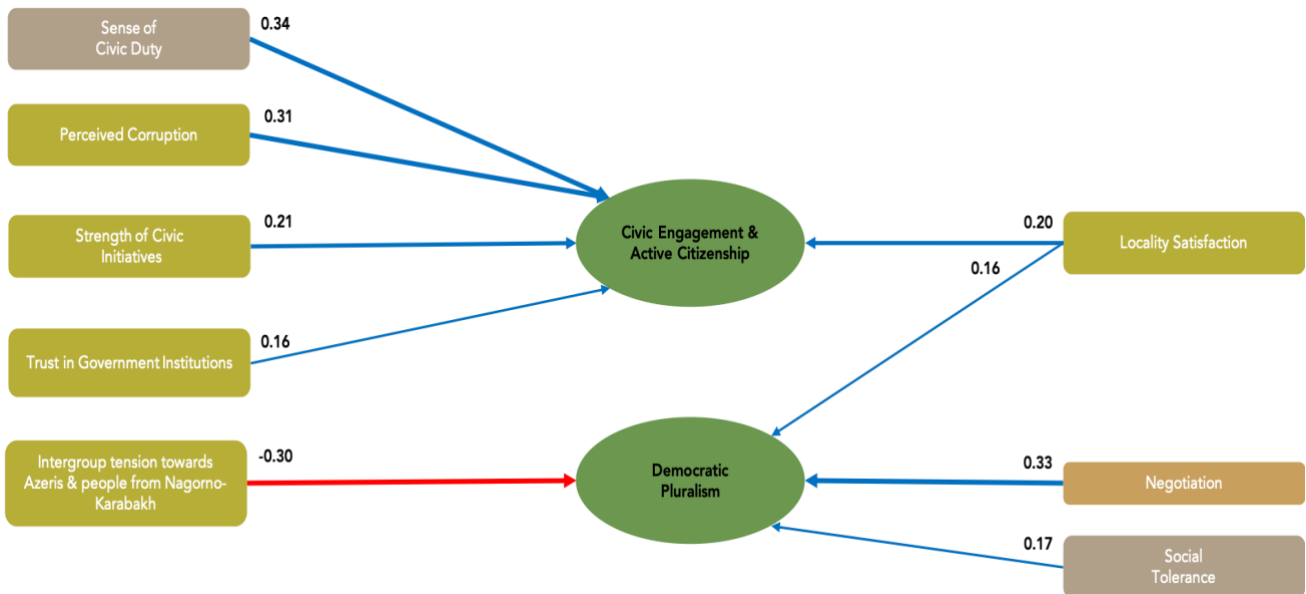
<sup>28</sup> The Real Skills Gap (2016). Harvard Uni, Stanford Research Centre and Carnegie Foundation, 2016 <https://www.nationalskills.org/the-real-skills-gap/>.

Social Tolerance	5.5	4.8	4.6	medium
Sense of Civic Duty	6.8	6.3	5.9	medium
Policy Priorities: Anti-discrimination and equality	6.3	5.2	5.4	medium
Democratic Pluralism	5.9	5.5	5.2	medium
Leadership	4.9	4.6	4.0	medium
Support for: E-governance reform	7.1	6.6	6.3	medium
Locality Satisfaction	5.3	5.6	6.0	small
Civic Engagement	2.4	2.4	2.0	small
Scepticism about reforms	3.8	4.2	4.4	small

Although the table above confirms that young Armenians are more active with stronger sense of civic duty and civic assets such as democratic pluralism, leadership and gender equality, they still support in enhancing their multicultural and human rights ethos via effective civic engagement mechanisms, trainings and exchange programs. 3 in 10 young people do not agree that cultural and historical heritage of other religions and groups enrich Armenia and should be protected, and 6 in 10 young people think that women should have more delicate jobs (e.g. nurse, teacher) and that men should have the final word when important decisions are made. While 51% of young people do not recognize religious freedom as a fundamental human right, 41% think freedom from inhuman punishment and torture irrespective of alleged or proven is good but optional. Additionally, we can observe that nepotism is high among young people. **It is likely that young people are normalizing nepotism to be able to navigate through prevalent corruption on the institutional level and to carve a space for themselves in the socio-political and economic life of Armenia. Thus, supporting their inclusion and ensuring anti-corruption efforts include capacity building on identifying and reporting daily corruption would help reduce nepotism.**

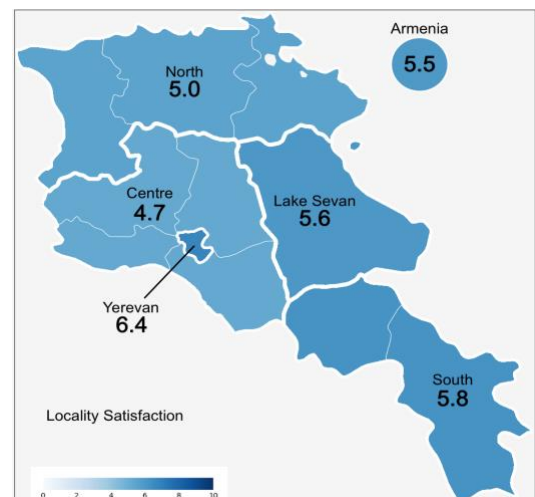
The predictive analysis based on structural equation modelling focused on young Armenians under 30 years old is presented in the figure below. Predictive models reveal directional relationships (predictors/drivers) beyond correlations, and reveal those indicators that may have a reinforcing (e.g. resilience factors or drivers) or mitigating (e.g. risk or protective factors) impact on the outcome. The colour of the arrows represent the nature of the relationship - blue symbolizes a positive, and red symbolizes a negative. The thickness of the lines represents the strength of the predictive power – the thicker the line, the stronger the influence. The model reveals that the strongest drivers of civic engagement and active citizenship among young people are strong sense of civic duty coupled with their desire to fight against corruption. It also highlights the crucial role of strong civic initiatives and locality satisfaction play on civic engagement and active citizenship. Interestingly, the model highlights intricate relationship between democratic pluralism and peacebuilding as intergroup tension is a strong undermining factor, while negotiation and social tolerance are strong drivers.

Figure 24. Youth inclusion and constructive citizenship predictive model



**Despite young Armenians demonstrate healthy civic characteristics that can drive the revolution forward, they need competencies and skills and incentives to stay in order to capitalize on their motivation and empower them become change makers in their communities.** Young people report lower levels of locality satisfaction. While 3 in 10 believe that their locality is not a good place to raise a family, almost half believe that their locality is not a good place to live and work. The brain drain tendencies need to be mitigated by investments in locality satisfaction and effective civic engagement mechanisms, and young people need support in enhancing their multicultural and human rights ethos via trainings and exchange programs. Locality satisfaction investments and trainings on leadership and negotiation skills should prioritize the Centre and the northern regions where these indicators are weaker.

Figure 25. Locality satisfaction



### Chapter 3: Peace Process & Inter-group Relations

The final chapter of this analysis report focuses on the peace process between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the disputed territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh and the internationally unrecognised administration of the area. Undoubtedly, Armenia-Azerbaijan relationship and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict have been occupying the foreign policy agenda of the new government. Since the change in government in 2018, the relationship between the two countries has experienced some promising dynamism. Although many international actors (i.e. EU, OSCE) have been highly cautious, expectations for progress toward a peace deal between Armenia and Azerbaijan are higher than they have been in years. Despite the lack of a breakthrough, the meetings between Mr Pashinyan and Mr Aliyev met the modest expectations, with both sides assessing the negotiations positively and pledging their commitment to continue talks and to “prepare the populations for peace”.<sup>29</sup>

Ensuring positive momentum and progress for the peace process calls for a nuanced understanding of public narratives, fears and socio-political attitudes. Leaders need to understand, shape and serve what is desirable and palatable by their constituencies. Highly fossilised and polarised narratives rooted in insecurity, enmity,

<sup>29</sup> [https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/60418/statement-spokesperson-first-meeting-leaders-armenia-and-azerbaijan-under-auspices-co-chairs\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/60418/statement-spokesperson-first-meeting-leaders-armenia-and-azerbaijan-under-auspices-co-chairs_en)

historical resistance and national dignity are hard to shift. Such narratives, if not understood, investigated and reconfigured carefully can provide a fertile ground for protracted frozen conflicts, where the conflict becomes comfortable, normalised and absorbed into the modus operandi of international affairs politically, while it continues to violate individual rights and claims (e.g. Cyprus, Taiwan). Inevitably, progress towards peacebuilding needs to create room in the public consciousness to accept concessions for a real and sustainable peace agreement.

SCORE Armenia investigated two key components of the peace process: (1) Support for the peace negotiations and its parameters; (2) support for confidence building measures (CBMs) and intergroup relations. Driven by the research question on how we can improve the room for compromise, this chapter makes the following key arguments and recommendations towards contributing to the peace process on Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

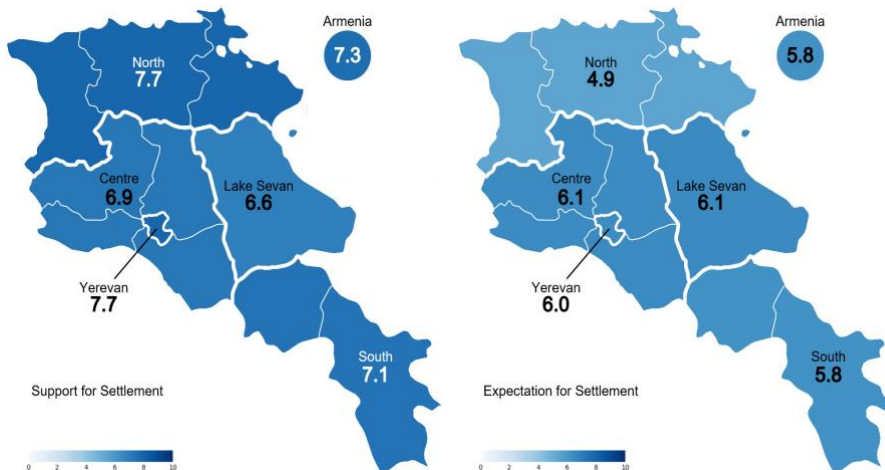
- **Armenians express strong support the peace negotiations and its parameters (e.g. the Madrid Proposals) but show little willingness to compromise especially when it comes to territorial adjustments.** People who have relationship with Nagorno-Karabakh (e.g. friends and family who live there, or personal or family participation in the conflict as a direct victim or combatant), are significantly less open to compromise and support peace processes less.
- **Armenians demonstrate strong readiness and a positive attitude towards multiple CBMs, especially those that relate to high-level CBMs (Track 1).** However, Armenians do not seem ready for reconciliation programs based on social contact. Prioritizing the CBMs that enjoy prevalent support among citizens such as demining and reducing the number of snipers also can pave the way for other broader CBMs on other tracks.
- **Intergroup tension towards Azeris is disconcertingly high. Thus, investing in intergroup relations and dialogue is important to ensure that any agreed settlement can be politically and socially accepted by the citizens, especially those who have been personally affected by the conflict.** This undermines the openness to compromise as negotiations are perceived with a win-lose attitude and hinders the peace process. Southern region is more open to dialogue, and could be targeted as a pilot location.
- Good governance and constructive citizenship analyses presented in Chapter 1 and 2 are closely interlinked with peacebuilding. While perceived corruption is a negative driver that undermines openness to compromise, as it decreases people's confidence in a negotiated solution; democratic pluralism is a positive driver. As such, justice reform and anti-corruption efforts along with promoting participation of civil society in peacebuilding and cultivating democratic pluralism among young people would invigorate the peace process and widen the room for dialogue and compromise.



## Support for the peace negotiations

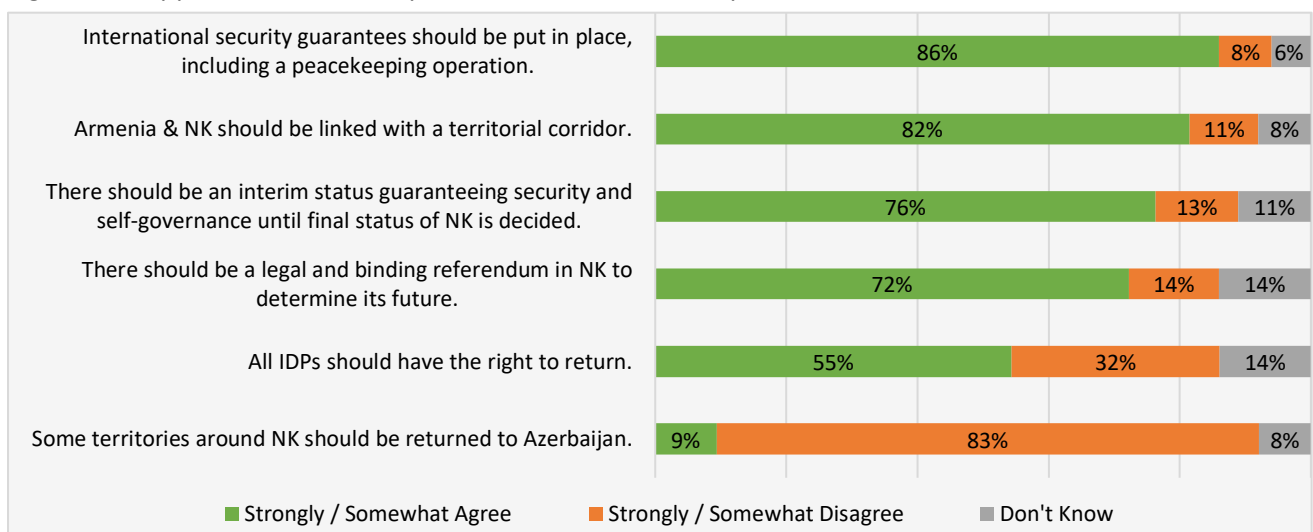
At a score of 7.3 out of 10, the level of support for a negotiated settlement is promisingly high across the all regions of Armenia but hopes and expectations are significantly lower. Where 0 means no one has any hope and 10 means everyone is very hopeful that the conflict will be resolved in the near future, the country average is 5.8. In fact, while 82% agree that Armenia must immediately start negotiations with Azerbaijan to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and 69% Armenians strongly wish the negotiations lead to a mutually acceptable settlement, only 45% are hopeful that this will happen in the near future.

Figure 26. Peace process indicators: Support vs. Hope



Unpacking support for the peace process in greater detail, SCORE asked about the Madrid Proposals, which were devised and updated by the OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs, namely, France, United States and Russia in 2009, but no significant progress was achieved on their implementation. Despite that Armenians are divided on the issue of right to return for internally displaced persons (IDPs), and strongly reject the proposal about territorial adjustments that require any concessions, there is still strong support for some of the Madrid Proposals. More than 8 in 10 Armenians support peacekeeping operations, initiation of negotiations and territorially linking Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. However, only 55% support the right to return for IDPs, and only 9% agree to the proposal about returning some of the territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) to Azerbaijan.

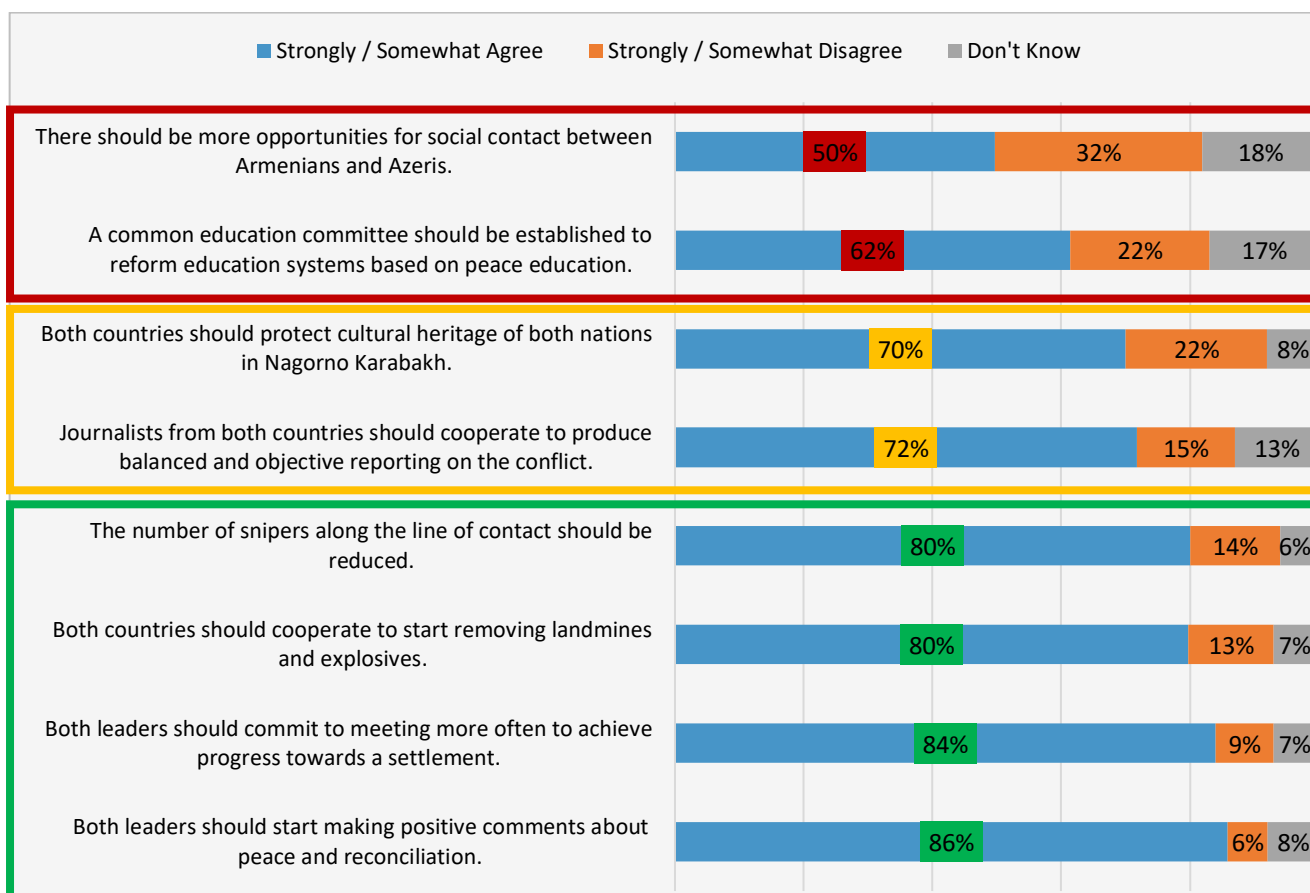
Figure 27. Support for Madrid Proposals and Co-Chairs Principles



## Support for CBMs & Intergroup Relations

Overall, Armenians have a positive attitude towards CBMs but do not seem ready for reconciliation programs based on people to people contact. There is greater support towards CBMs related to Track 1 level leader led CBMs and demilitarization, especially among women. More frequent meetings between the leaders of the two countries, reduction in snipers and removal of landmines are most strongly supported CBMs receiving the support of more than 8 in 10 Armenians. While CBMs relating to peace journalism and protection of cultural heritage receive significant support as well, Armenians are divided about a common education committee for peace education, and programs that promote social contact between the two communities. In fact, both of these CBM options not only receive the least amount of support but also the highest number of “Don’t know” responses that indicate ambivalence and unreadiness. As such, there is room for the leaders and the international actors to push for progress on the implementation of Track 1 level CBMs, which would pave the way for other tracks.

Figure 28. Support for confidence building measures



When we look at intergroup relations and level of tension between Armenians and Azeris, the lack of support for social-contact CBMs becomes clearer. SCORE Armenia’s Intergroup Tension indicator is a composite metric that measures intergroup mistrust<sup>30</sup>, intergroup stereotypes<sup>31</sup> and social distance<sup>32</sup>. We observe disconcertingly high intergroup tension towards Azeris, but tension towards people living in Nagorno-Karabakh is also noteworthy. Interestingly, Lake Sevan expresses significantly stronger stereotypes, social

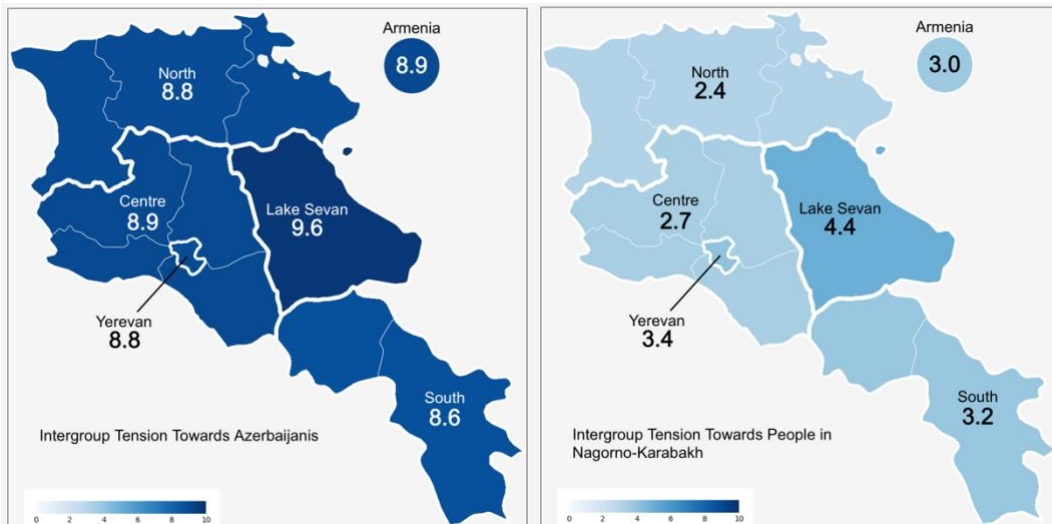
<sup>30</sup> The level of trust towards various groups in society (e.g. people in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azeris, Turks, My Step supporters, Russians etc.).

<sup>31</sup> The degree to which one has negative stereotypes towards different groups in society (e.g. people in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azeris, Turks, My Step supporters, Russians etc.).

<sup>32</sup> The degree to which one accepts members of various groups in society as neighbours or family in law (e.g. people in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azeris, Turks, My Step supporters, Russians etc.).

distance and mistrust across the board, which calls for further investigation. **Investing in intergroup relations and dialogue is important to ensure that any agreed settlement can be politically and socially accepted by the citizens, especially those who have been personally affected by the conflict. The figure below highlights the need for reconciliation between the communities to compliment peacemaking processes with peacebuilding efforts to ensure an agreed settlement can be sustained.**

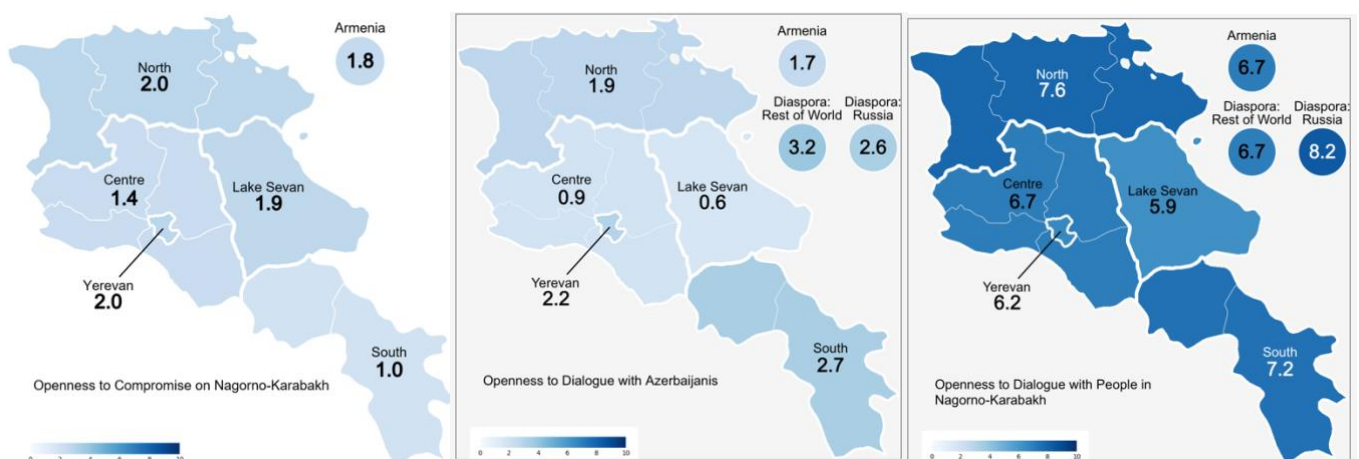
Figure 29. Intergroup tension



## Enhancing the Room for Compromise

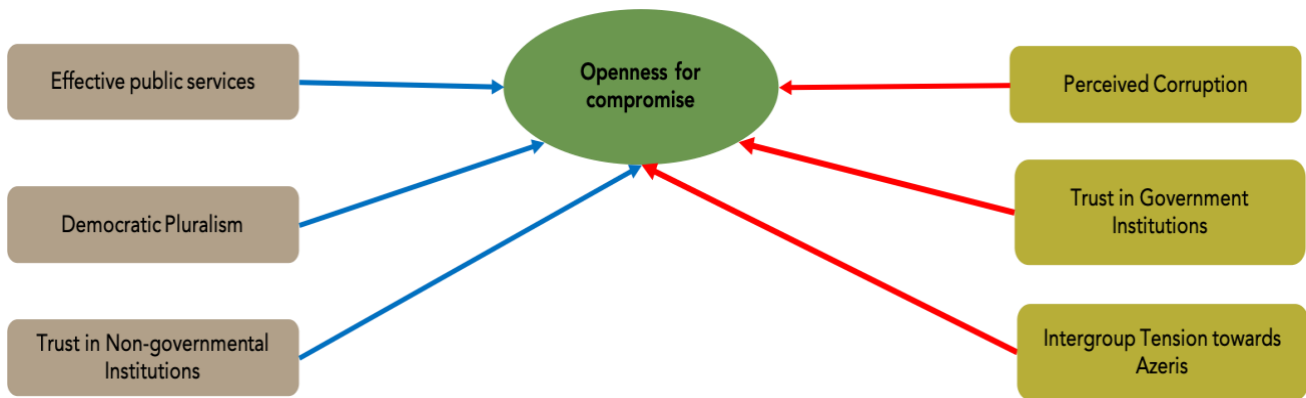
Despite the strong support for a settlement, openness to compromise is very low across the country. In fact, only 17% of think that Armenia should be prepared to make some concessions to achieve a solution to conflict. Where 0 means that no one is prepared to make any concessions at all towards a compromise and 10 means that people are very open to make concessions including territorial readjustments, the country average for openness to compromise is a mere 1.8. However, People with a relationship to Nagorno-Karabakh (e.g. friends and family who live there, or personal or family participation in the conflict as a direct victim or combatant) are also less supportive of a settlement and even less open to compromise. When it comes to openness to dialogue, the need for reconciliation becomes even more apparent (See figure below). 0 means no one believes that engaging in dialogue would be mutually beneficial, and 10 means that everyone strongly believes that is the case. Reflecting their discomfort regarding CBMS about social contact, Armenians openness to dialogue towards Azeris is mere 1.7. However, there is room for dialogue and social contact with people from Nagorno-Karabakh to reduce the intergroup tensions. In fact, indirect social contact and reconciliation efforts could be instrumental in widening the room for dialogue, especially if people in Nagorno-Karabakh express stronger willingness to engage with Azeris. SCORE Armenia, if scaled up, could expand its assessment to Nagorno-Karabakh to validate the effectiveness of such efforts. More notably, the southern region is significantly more open to dialogue with both groups and could present an opportunity to pilot early reconciliation and dialogue efforts.

Figure 30. Openness to compromise and dialogue



The predictive model below illustrates pathways towards enhancing the room for compromise to facilitate reaching a mutually agreed solution on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The colour of the arrows represent the nature of the relationship - **blue** symbolizes a positive, and **red** symbolizes a negative. The **thickness** of the lines represents the strength of the predictive power – the thicker the line, the stronger the influence. On the right-hand side, we can see three indicators that have an inverse effect on openness to compromise. Intergroup tension is a big obstacle against widening the room for compromise calling for reconciliation efforts to create a more fertile ground for negotiations. Interestingly, perceived level of corruption and trust in government has a strong negative influence on citizen’s openness to compromise. While the latter indicates that the official narratives and policies of the government institutions might be at odds with the negotiation parameters and needs to take on a more positive tone, the former decreases people’s confidence in a negotiated solution. On the left-hand side, we can see three indicators that reinforce citizens’ openness for compromise, such as democratic values, which inherently include multiculturalism and pluralism, thus has a fundamental positive impact. Effective public services could be improving citizens’ confidence that the country is going in the right direction and thus, making concessions at the negotiation table is not perceived from a mutually exclusive win-lose attitude. Lastly, trust in non-government organisations would reinforce the confidence in international actors and acknowledge the role of civil society in peacebuilding.

Figure 31. Predictive model for enhancing the room for compromise



Overall, SCORE Armenia findings present the interlinkages between good governance, constructive citizenship and peacebuilding. **Enhancing good governance and cultivating constructive citizenship would create multiplier effects on the peace process.** The analysis also presents a roadmap for facilitating the peace process by pinpointing to the CBMs that enjoy prevalent support and thus should be prioritised, as well as identifying geographic and demographic groups and actors that can play a leading role in reconciliation efforts. In terms of geographic focus, we observe that the southern region is more open to dialogue towards both Azeris and people in Nagorno-Karabakh. Demographically, young people who have higher scores in democratic pluralism and women who are more supportive of CBMs in general can play a leading role in peacebuilding efforts. Lastly, the findings assert the vital role civil society and international organisations can play given that Armenians express high levels of trust in these actors.

## Annex 1. Research Design & Methodology

### What is SCORE?

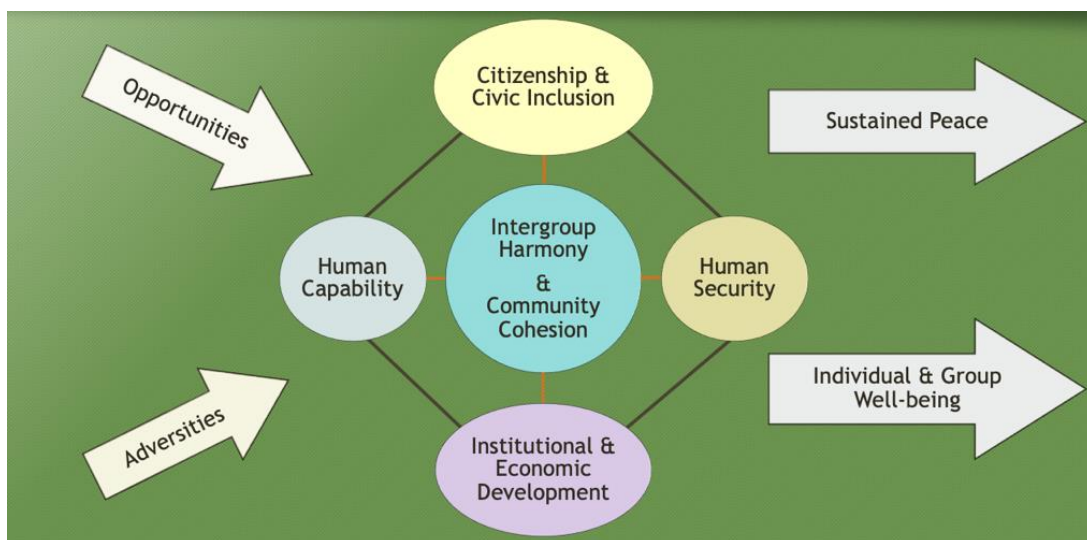
The Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) is a not for profit research driven innovation hub, who developed the Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index in 2009 in partnership with USAID and UNDP<sup>33</sup>. SCORE is a versatile, context specific and evidence-based assessment instrument that combines participatory research principles with advanced data analysis tools to identify the drivers of resilience capacities, healthy constructive citizenship and harmonious coexistence towards a shared vision for a common future as well as the root causes of grievances and conflict dynamics. It draws inspiration from multiple scientific disciplines such as sociology, psychology, international relations and security studies; and is flexible enough to incorporate new research findings, global policy guidelines and the realities of each local and regional context. SeeD calibrates SCORE to different contexts with national and international partners and so far, has implemented the methodology in contexts from Cyprus to Ukraine, Moldova to Malaysia, Nepal to Liberia, and Iraq to Bosnia.

Drawing on advanced analytical instruments to bridge the evidence gap, SCORE can:

- improve the empirical understanding of the behaviors of individuals, groups and communities;
- strengthen the nexus between peace and development;
- help partners validate their theories of change before sponsoring and endorsing new programs and investments;
- investigate optimal pathways for the greatest likelihood of impact;
- provide evidence-based social transformation policy recommendations that are rooted in citizen engagement strategies.

The methodology evolved and learned from each and every context and now, draws from a library of indicators arranged into five thematic groups called dimensions (See figure 1). Each dimension contain indicators that measure specific personal, intergroup, institutional and civic phenomena, which can either contribute to stable, prosperous and resilient societies, or negative indicators which undermine social cohesion.

Figure 1. SCORE Content Framework



<sup>33</sup> For more on SeeD and SCORE visit: [www.seedforpeace.eu](http://www.seedforpeace.eu) and [www.scoreforpeace.org](http://www.scoreforpeace.org)

## SCORE Armenia Methodology

The SCORE in Armenia pilot study was implemented between May – August 2019 by SeeD in close partnership with USAID/OTI. The SCORE Armenia adopts a mixed-method approach with three main research components: (1) desk research and literature review; (2) a household survey in Armenia; and (3) an online survey targeting Armenian diaspora in Russia, France, USA and Cyprus. The qualitative component guided the adaptation and design SCORE indicators for the context of Armenia, which led to the development of the questionnaire for the household survey. The data collection for the household survey was conducted in collaboration with the Armenian Sociological Association (ASA). The sampling strategy was based on stratified representative sampling of 700 citizens covering all geographic regions of the country, and hence provides a solid dataset for scientific and robust analysis. The online survey was disseminated via social media Facebook advertising reaching approximately 400 respondents overall with 20% valid completion rate and thus, cannot claim to be representative of Armenian diaspora in general. As such, the analyses and recommendations presented in this report primarily draws from the SCORE household survey, and provides a reliable baseline for designing and tracking progress for future long-term interventions.

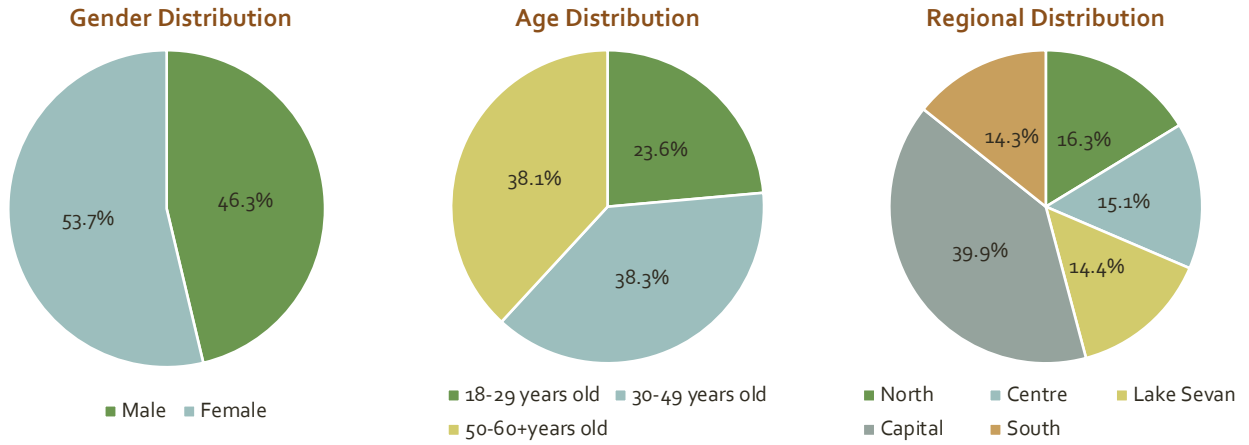
The areas of investigation and the research questions that guided the design of the SCORE Armenia indicators and analysis plan are illustrated in the table below. The definition of all selected indicators can be found in the Glossary included in the annexes.

Table 2. Research framework

Area of investigation	Research Questions	List of All Indicators
What are the entry points for an effective anti-corruption strategy and to foster confidence in institutions?	How do Armenians assess the current government and government institutions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Authorities Care for Public Interest</li> <li>Citizenship Orientation</li> <li>Confidence in Current Government</li> <li>Civic Engagement &amp; Civic Duty</li> <li>Democratic Pluralism &amp; Tolerance</li> <li>Effect of the Revolution</li> <li>Effective Governance</li> <li>Effective Provision of Services</li> <li>Expectations of instability</li> <li>Forgiveness &amp; Aggression</li> <li>Gender Equality Mindset</li> <li>Intergroup Tension</li> <li>Leadership &amp; Negotiation Skills</li> <li>Locality Satisfaction</li> <li>Migration Tendency</li> <li>Neptism &amp; Tolerance of Corruption</li> <li>Openness to Compromise &amp; Dialogue</li> <li>Participation in Revolution</li> <li>Perceived Corruption</li> <li>Personal, Political, Economic Security</li> <li>Positive View Regional Actors</li> <li>Prioritization of Different Policies</li> <li>Relationship to Conflict</li> <li>Relationship to Nagorno-Karabakh</li> <li>Skepticism about Reforms</li> <li>Strength of Civic Initiatives</li> <li>Support for CBMs</li> <li>Support for Co-Chairs Principles</li> <li>Support for Madrid Proposals</li> <li>Support for Negotiations&amp;Settlement</li> <li>Support for Reforms</li> <li>Trust in Institutions</li> </ul>
	Which institutions are most and least trusted?	
	How do Armenians assess the effectiveness of service delivery?	
	How do Armenians assess different institutions on corruption?	
	What is the level of nepotism and tolerance to corruption?	
What can be done to enhance support and facilitate the implementation of reform agenda?	What is the level of support for different reform packages and policy priorities?	
	Which groups express less support or more skepticism towards the reform process?	
Can good governance mitigate brain drain tendencies?	What are the key drivers of migration tendencies? How can we mitigate brain drain among young people?	
Constructive citizenship indicators that relate to youth engagement and democratic values	What is the level of civic engagement and active citizenship?	
	Can Armenian youth drive the democratization and reform process forward, and play a key role in building the country's future?	
	What are the civic attitudes of young people in terms of democratic values and gender equality?	
Citizen's perceptions towards the peace-process and inter-group relations	How do Armenians feel about the peace process and the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh?	
	Which Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are most viable and preferable?	

The household survey was conducted by Armenia Sociological Association (ASA) via face to face interviews between June and July 2019. The Figure below summarizes the demographic distribution of the household survey data set.

Figure 2. Demographic distribution of the quantitative data





## SCORE Vocabulary of Statistical Analysis Products

In addition to the basic analysis methods such as disaggregated frequencies, the advanced statistical methods included the following:

- **Scale construction & scores:** Following the factor analysis and reliability tests, the questionnaire items are constructed into scales that measure the prevalence and strength of the same phenomena (indicator) from different angles. Scores are calculated for each indicator and they should not be read as frequencies (percentages). The scores range from 0 to 10, where 0 means that the phenomenon the indicator is measuring is not observed in the context at all, and 10 means that it is observed strongly and prevalently. Heatmaps demonstrate the regional differences of these scores in order to identify areas of concern and tailor interventions more precisely. Differences less than 0.5 on the scale are considered statistically insignificant.
- **ANOVA analysis** compares different indicators between groups to investigate significant variance. These groups can be based on demographics as well as attitudes, such as “civically engaged vs. civically disconnected”, “tolerant to corruption vs. intolerant to corruption”.
- **Cluster analysis** segments the population based on certain attitudes to investigate their profiles. Cluster analysis is used when we believe that the sample units come from an unknown number of distinct populations or sub-populations such as support for certain reforms or political processes.
- **Network analysis** is built based on strong correlations between different indicators and their networks. Although the correlations are not directional, when contextualized and triangulated with other analysis outputs, it is very valuable for validating theories of change and revealing underlying dynamics. The color of the connecting lines represent the nature of the relationship - **blue** symbolizes a positive, and **red** symbolizes a negative. The thickness of the lines represents the strength of the relationship – the **thicker** the line, the stronger the association.
- **Path analysis (predictive models):** Based on advanced statistical analysis including regression and structural equation modelling, predictive models investigate the relationship between different indicators and the outcomes of interest. Predictive models reveal directional relationships (predictors/drivers) beyond correlations, and reveal those indicators that may have a reinforcing (e.g. resilience factors or drivers) or mitigating (e.g. risk or protective factors) impact on the outcome. While the first wave of the SCORE can be used for identifying directional and predictive relationships to identify pathways of change, second and third waves, where temporal comparisons are possible, can help identify causal relationships. The color of the arrows represent the nature of the relationship - **blue** symbolizes a positive, and **red** symbolizes a negative. The thickness of the lines represents the strength of the relationship – the **thicker** the line, the stronger the association.