



Caring for Equality Baseline Report

Data collection: July-September, 2016

Date of the report: 1 March, 2017

World Vision Armenia

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i. Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to World Vision staff who supported the baseline activities. In particular we would like to thank Zaruhi Ohanjanyan, Sevan Petrosyan and Kristine Ter-Abrahamyan from the World Vision Armenia Office. We would also like to thank Yeva Avakyan, and Johanna Trainer from the US Support Office for their help and support throughout the process. We also acknowledge the good work of Institute of Political and Sociological Consulting (IPCS) and Hasmik Arakelyan and her team in the data collection, quality control and data entry process. Thanks also goes to Gary Yu from the Columbia Group for Children in Adversity for his help with the statistical analysis.

We are also grateful for the time and participation of the children, adolescents, families, community members and key stakeholders in Armenia who shared their experiences and opinions in this learning process.

ii. Affirmation

Except as acknowledged by the references in this paper to other authors and publications, the evaluation described herein consists of our own work, undertaken to secure funding, implement the activities, describe and advance learning, as part of the requirements of World Vision's Design, Monitoring and Evaluation Learning System.

Primary quantitative and qualitative data collected throughout the evaluation process remain the property of the communities and families described in this document. Information and data must be used only with their consent.

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iii. Glossary/Acronyms and Abbreviations

AP	Area Program
ADP	Area Development Program
C4E	Caring For Equality
DME	Design, Monitoring, and Evaluation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEM	Gender Equitable Men
IMAGES	International Men And Gender Equality Survey
ISPC	Institute for Political and Sociological Consulting
KII	Key Informant Interview
LEAP	Learning through Evaluation with Accountability and Planning
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NO	National Office
PSS	Prenatal Sex Selection
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WVI	World Vision International

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Prenatal sex selection is a pressing form of gender-based violence in Armenia. It is estimated that approximately 1,400 girls are aborted each year because of the very strong preference for sons in Armenian society. The inherent patriarchal structure in Armenia, which strongly favors sons over daughters, along with modern technology that allows the sex of the child to be identified prenatally, are powerful factors contributing to this trend.

The baseline was conducted July-August, 2016 at the start of the Caring For Equality Project in Armenia which will strive to reduce prenatal sex selection and other forms of gender inequality. The research sites included Aragatston, Gegharkunik, Yerevan, Shirak, and Tavush project areas in Armenia (as well as one comparison group).

It used a quasi-experimental design with communities participating in quantitative data collection for both as both project and control group within the same marzes. A total of 2053 married adults (aged 18-59 years old), and 637 unmarried youth (aged 18-28 years old) participated in the surveys. The survey looked at reported attitudes and behaviors and included questions about:

- Attitudes about gender equality (gender relationships at home;
- Attitudes about son preference;
- Abortion
- Parenting and men's relationships with their children;
- Childhood experiences
- Domestic violence
- Access to information

Qualitative data was also collected via 20 focus group discussions with these groups only in intervention communities. The survey sampling has marz-level representativeness. The FGDs were conducted with married men and women separately and single boys and girls aged 18-19. In addition, there were 6 key informant interviews with experts in child welfare and children's rights representing RA Ministry of Territorial Administration, as well as relevant department in Marzpetarans.

Findings

Attitudes about gender equality

Results from both quantitative and qualitative data show that discrimination against women persists in Armenia through defined attitudes and expected roles for women that undermine them and contribute to their lower status in society. Overall, men showed the most inequitable attitudes - especially married men - and women were more likely to adhere to statements in favor of equity (especially young women). They were more likely to agree with statements/support inequitable gender norms than females within the married group (with 48% of men vs 32% women supporting gender inequitable views) at a statistically significant level ($\chi^2= 38,589$ $p=0.000$ $df 1$).

One important finding is that discriminatory attitudes were held by both married and youth males at almost the same level (48% and 47% respectively) but the gap widened when it came to female support of discriminatory attitudes with a greater difference between male and female youth ($\chi^2= 56,151$ $p=0.000$ $df 1$) than among male and female married participants.

Decision making behavior

The survey found a gap between attitudes and actual behaviors when it comes to decision- making, with men and women overall reporting that decisions were a mutual responsibility (shared within the couple), therefore showing more equitable practices than intentions (most decisions were shared according to 65-77% respondents). However, one exception to that was the decision for the woman to work, which was the least shared decision (according to 52% of men and 38% women) ($\chi^2= 434,790$ $p=0.000$ $df 2$).

Violence in relationships

Regarding domestic violence, attitudes showed quite high levels of accepted violence among both sexes: 66% of men and 63% women reported that “if a woman betrays her husband, he can hit her” while lower levels of violence were reportedly practiced.

Overall, emotional violence was reportedly practiced by more than half men (towards their partner); use of physical violence was reported by 20% of men “more than once” and 35% “in the last 12 months” whereas economical violence was reported by 25% of men “more than once” and 53% “in the last 12 Months”.

Emotional abuse was reported more than physical abuse, which was quite low. Results showed that almost one in four women reported their partner tried to offend them or do something on purpose to make them feel bad one or more times, and one in six women reported that their partner has forbidden them to work. Use of violence tended to be reported more by men than women with one in ten men (10%) admitting slapping or throwing something at his wife/partner more than once, as opposed to only 4% of women reporting being a victim of this. To a lesser extent, the proportions for

youth are the same: the use of psychological violence and control over women's work were the most often reported types of violence across gender and age groups.

Furthermore, 11.3% of men and 17.7% of women reported having a friend or neighbor who is violent towards his wife/partner. Data gathered in this survey also included a range of controlling behaviors by a woman's intimate partner including physical and social mobility (e.g., spending time with others, whereabouts of partner). Overall the two areas that men want to have more control of are "decisions related to us" and being informed about the woman's whereabouts. Surprisingly, men and women from the youth sample showed equal to more controlling needs than married men.

Attitudes about son preference

Across all gender and age groups, the importance of having a son remained high, with over 60% of participants reporting that "it is important to have a son". Overall, the sex ratio at birth in selected Area Programs was 1.14 (114 male births per 100 female births), which is similar to national estimates. The highest sex ratio was observed in Vardenis, Aparan (1.37 each) followed by Gavar and Ijevan communities (1.27 each).

An analysis on selected variables related to discriminatory attitudes found that there was a significant relationship between adherence to negative gender stereotypes and son preference (question: "do you think it is important to have a son?"). Regions with the highest score of discrimination towards women were the same regions where high son preference was found, with Aragatsotn and Gegharkunik showing higher proportions of individuals reporting a son preference.

The main reason highlighted for preferring sons (Question: Why do you think it is important to have a son?) was by far related to family name and lineage perpetuation (according to 77% and 63% of men and women respectively).

More than half of all women (58%) reported having had an abortion in the past, and almost all women (99%) reported that they were over 18 years of age when they had the abortion.

The reason for an abortion that was most adhered to by both men and women was related to women's health, with 92% of men and 88% of women agreeing that abortion was justified if the pregnancy posed a health risk to women. The reason that "the child is a female" was the least agreed to, with only 8% of men and 12% of women agreeing that was a valid justification for an abortion.

Childhood experiences

Comparing experiences of violence among male and female married adults in their childhood and in the past year, there was a statistically significant correlation with reported violence as adults (reported male to female violence and reported experienced violence of females). The Spearman correlation coefficients were found to be positive, significant with a magnitude of at least 0.2.

Fathers' participation in child rearing activities

While mothers are more often cited when it comes to activities relating to child rearing and child development, fathers also contributed to a lesser extent, most notably when it related to playing (30%); taking the children outdoors (29%) and teaching words, counting numbers, and drawing (26%). About 1 in 4 caregivers reported that one adult engaged in 4 or more activities with their child in the last 3 days and 25% of fathers reported engaging in “at least one activity” with their child in the last 3 days.

Recommendations

- Create safe dialogue spaces for men and women to interact about existing gender norms.
- Involve young people in programming and advocacy as agents of change.
- Sensitization and dialogue activities should include and discuss the role of women in the labor market in program activities.
- Sensitization and dialogue activities should include and discuss gender-based violence in programming targeted at both adults and young people.
- Emphasis on establishing positive gender norms towards women is key: specific attention should be provided to record/monitor progress in regions showing specifically discriminatory attitudes and son preference.
- Build an advocacy plan aiming at reducing negative gender norms and prenatal sex selection.
- Address factors underlying son preference and sex selective abortion by addressing cultural norms that are detrimental to women and girls.
- Engage caregivers in child development activities that promote structured play as well as support to learning and development of the child.

1. Introduction

Evaluation background

Prenatal sex selection is a pressing form of gender-based violence in Armenia. It is estimated that approximately 1,400 girls are aborted each year because of the very strong preference for sons in Armenian society.¹ Though daughters are also valued, the social norm of having a son as first born has accounted for at least one in ten abortions.

The inherent patriarchal structure in Armenia, which strongly favors sons over daughters, along with modern technology that allows the sex of the child to be identified prenatally, are powerful factors contributing to this trend. Research has found that the adherence to social norms that favor male authority, female obedience, and gender inequality in male-female relationships also correlates to higher rates of gender-based violence in a variety of forms.²

These issues of gender based violence and gender inequality will be addressed in the Caring For Equality (C4E) project. The project's goal is to insure an environment where girls and boys are born and valued equally.

The expected outcomes of the project are to:

- ❖ Enable a legal and institutional environment for the promotion of policies combatting gender based violence and prenatal sex selection
- ❖ Transform communities by promoting change in social norms

The C4E intervention will work with married men and women (aged 18-59), and with single male and female youth (aged 18-28) to promote gender equality and to prevent prenatal sex-selection. The project aims to engage men and boys in promoting gender equality through exploring and challenging the traditional gender norms in Armenia. The project will strive to promote new social norms within relationships which value females on a par with males. The project envisions that with these transformed social norms, prenatal sex selection in Armenia will be significantly reduced.

Intervention activities include capacity building for staff and social workers, activities with youth and families, awareness raising events for communities, gender sensitization events on gender based violence and prenatal sex selection, training of community level service providers including medical personnel and religious leaders, training of teachers, and reflection and learning events with a range of service providers and partners.

¹ Prevalence and Reasons of Sex Selective Abortions in Armenia report, 2012 http://unfpa.am/sites/default/files/Sex-selective_abortions_report_Eng.pdf

² Heise, Lori L., 2011. What Works to Prevent Partner Violence: An evidence overview

Evaluation Purpose and Objectives

Purpose: The purpose of the baseline evaluation is to describe the situation prior to commencing implementation of the C4E project in target communities and revise the target areas and strategy if necessary. In addition, based on the baseline findings, the initial value of the project indicators will be set to allow the assessment of project impact through monitoring and mid-term and end-of-project evaluation.

Objectives:

- ❖ To establish baseline values for indicators of project objectives against which future measurements will be made to see the change over time.
- ❖ To gather and analyze information that will assist project staff in designing or modifying appropriate interventions.

Married men and women participated in the baseline study as well as unmarried male and female youth from five of the marz where the project will be implemented. In addition, stakeholders from child welfare and children's rights groups served as key informants during the qualitative data collection.

The report will first present the methodology used, followed by key findings. The report ends with conclusions, recommendations, and lessons learned.

2. Methodology

The evaluation has been conducted using a quasi-experimental design. Mixed methods were used to collect data July-September, 2016 in five marz and 1 comparison group. Quantitative data were collected using population based surveys applied with married men and women aged 18-59 years and with non-married male and female youth aged 18-28 years. It is important to note that the survey sampling has marz-level representativeness.

The FGDs were conducted with married men and women separately and unmarried male and female youth aged 18-28. In addition, 6 key informant interviews with experts in child welfare and children's rights representing the RA Ministry of Territorial Administration, as well as relevant departments in Marzpetarans were conducted.

Sampling Strategy

A quota sampling design was utilized to insure an adequate size of married men and unmarried male youth, as a large proportion of this population were away from their homes at the time of the survey, working in Russia or other areas of Armenia. As the project was mainly targeted on men and it was very important to have a representative number of interviewed men, it was agreed to apply quota sampling. As a result, in order to minimize potential loss of sampling efficiency, Design Effect (2.0) was applied which allowed us to increase the sample size.

The sampling frame includes Aragatsotn, Gegharqunik, Shirak, Tavush Marzes and Shengavit and Kanaker-Zeytun communities in Yerevan. The sample comprises of 2,653 cases proportionally distributed among the selected Marzes and Yerevan according to their population.

The sample size is **n=2,653**, plus 1.5% for possible invalid questionnaires and missing values. Thus, the final sample size is **n=2,687**.

The sample was designed according to the following steps:

Step 1. Sample size calculation in Yerevan and regions

Step 2. Selection of the streets in Yerevan

Step 3. Selection of the respondent

STEP 1. Sample size calculation in Yerevan and regions

Table 1. Distribution of the sample in RA among Yerevan

Nº		Sample size	Number of questionnaires received from field
1	Shengavit	91	91
2	Kanaker-Zeytun	386	390
Total		477	481

Table 2. Distribution of the sample in RA among Marzes

	Marz	Sample size	Number of questionnaires received from field
1	Aragatsotn	511	513
2	Gegharqunik	549	547
3	Shirak	495	497
4	Tavush	655	661
Total		2,210	2,218

STEP 2. Selection of the sample points in Yerevan

City streets are divided into 3 types – long, middle-size and short. Depending on the size of the community and the sample, 3-6 streets were selected from each type of street in each community, based on their geographical distribution. Totally 32 streets were selected in Yerevan.

STEP 3. Selection of the respondent

The selection of the respondent in the family is done by following criteria.

1. The interview is conducted with the family member based on gender, age and marital status distribution quotas,
2. The respondents were proportionally distributed in age groups and marital status:
 - 18-28 married, never married
 - 29-44 married
 - 45-59 married



IPSC_CFE_1_16_Sample (planned&done)

Research Team and Organization

The research team was comprised of national and international researchers and the WV SC DME team. The national team was led by the Institute for Political and Sociological Consulting (IPSC), and were responsible for training a team of national researchers who collected all the surveys and qualitative data, ensured quality control, and were responsible for data cleaning and data entry. The international team was comprised of the Columbia Group for Children in Adversity and was responsible for data analysis and report writing as well as advising on tools and sampling frames. In addition, the WV SC DME team developed the survey and qualitative tools, as well as the sampling framework.

Data collection tools

The quantitative tools included a survey for married men and women, and a survey for unmarried male and female youth. The surveys were based on the IMAGES tool developed by Promundo, with questions which were not culturally sensitive eliminated and additional questions specific to the Armenian context added. The survey questions focused on a) attitudes between men and women; b) gender relations at home; c) attitudes about son preference; 4) parenting and men's relationships with

their children; and d) violence within the relationship. The qualitative tools included focus group discussions with married men, married women, male youth and female youth in each marz, as well as 6 key informant interviews with experts in children’s welfare, child rights, and child protection.

Data Analysis

The survey data was analyzed using SPSS and included descriptive analysis and significance testing across marz, gender, and age groups. The qualitative data analysis was conducted using a grounded methodology³ by researchers from the Columbia Group. Since qualitative data frequently provides insight into processes of social change and the mechanisms through which changes occur, the qualitative data were triangulated with the quantitative data, boosting analytic power through convergent findings whenever possible.

Quality control

Interviewers were trained on the data collection procedure and selection of eligible study participants. Field work was coordinated and monitored by field supervisors. Different types of quality control mechanisms were used by ISPC:

1. Accompanied visits by field supervisors
2. Interviewers monitored via GPS recorders
3. Filled in questionnaire monitoring
4. Field phone calls

Limitations

One limitation of the study was that the gender of the interviewer was not always able to be matched with the gender of the respondent for the survey data. For sensitive questions about gender based violence, abortion, and son preference, significant differences were found with respect to the gender of the interviewer (e.g., women reported lower frequencies of having had an abortion with male interviewers than with female interviewers). The retrospective method of asking about past experiences and the challenge of recalling accurately within a specified time frame was a further limitation. Finally, the issue of bias and social desirability must also be taken into account when asking personal questions about abortion and domestic violence, with under-reporting likely.

³ Charmez- it is not clear

3. Findings

3.1 Characteristics of study population

Across the 5 marz and the comparison group, 2,690 people participated in the survey data collection: 2053 married adults aged 18-59 and 637 unmarried youth aged 18-29. (Tables 1 and 2). In addition, 20 focus groups discussions (FGDs) with 153 participants and 6 key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted. The demographic composition of the survey participants are shown in Tables 3 and 4 below.

Table 3. Sample planned and actual (intervention group)

Marzes	Both groups	
	Planned	Actual
Aragatsotn	377	386
Gegharkunik	390	385
Yerevan	377	386
Shirak	390	384
Tavush	390	388
Total	1924	1929

Table 4. Sample planned and actual (control group)

Marzes	Both groups	
	Planned	Actual
comparison group		761
	390	
Total both intervention & comparison group	2314	2690

The gender of the respondents was equally distributed within the married group with approximately 47% male and 53% female respondents (table 5) for both intervention and comparison groups. However, there is a higher proportion of males within the youth group (for both intervention and comparison groups) with 62% male and 37% female respondents participating in the survey (table 6).

When analyzing distribution by location site (rural, urban and capital city) (table 5), Aragatsotn, Gegharkunik and Tavush have predominantly rural participants, while Shirak is mostly urban, and Yerevan is the capital city. Analysis showed that there is a statistically significant difference between the intervention and comparison group with more respondents from rural areas within the

comparison group (chi square $p < ,000$). Respectively 57% and 74% of intervention and comparison group respondents being from rural areas; 20% and 11% of intervention and control group being from the capital city and 23% and 14% of respondents being from urban areas. Similar trends are found within the youth group (table 8).

In both groups, the education level among participants is higher than primary education (table 7), with almost no participants having only primary school level. Intervention and control groups show a similar pattern although more married participants have completed university (24%) than participants from the comparison group (17%) ($\chi^2 p=0.000$).

Among the married group, 45% in the intervention and 49% in the comparison group have completed secondary school while 63% of youth in the intervention and 63% in the comparison group have completed secondary school. Moreover, 11.0% youth and 26% adults have gone through specialized secondary school such as vocational training (see tables 9 and 10).

Table 5. Characteristics of survey participants by marz and gender (married group)

	Gender					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Aragatsotn	137	47,4%	152	52,6%	289	100,0%
Gegharkunik	138	46,8%	157	53,2%	295	100,0%
Yerevan	133	46,5%	153	53,5%	286	100,0%
Shirak	136	47,1%	153	52,9%	289	100,0%
Tavush	148	47,9%	161	52,1%	309	100,0%
Sub-total	692	47,1%	776	52,9%	1468	100,0%
Control group	273	46,7%	312	53,3%	585	100,0%
Total	965	46,9%	1088	53,1%	2053	100,0%

Table 6. Characteristics of survey participants by Marz and Gender (youth)

	Gender					
	Male		Female		Total	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Aragatsotn	62	63,9%	35	36,1%	97	100,0%
Gegharkunik	63	70,0%	27	30,0%	90	100,0%
Yerevan	54	54,0%	46	46,0%	100	100,0%
Shirak	57	60,0%	38	40,0%	95	100,0%
Tavush	52	65,8%	27	34,2%	79	100,0%
Sub Total	288	62,7%	173	37,3%	461	100,0%
Control	110	62,5%	66	37,5%	176	100,0%
Total	398	62,6%	239	37,4%	637	100,0%

Table 7. Characteristics of survey participants per location (married)

	Location type							
	Capital		Urban		Rural		Total	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Aragatsotn	0	0,0%	36	12,5%	253	87,5%	289	100,0%
Gegharkunik	0	0,0%	31	10,5%	264	89,5%	295	100,0%
Yerevan	286	100,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	286	100,0%
Shirak	0	0,0%	189	65,4%	100	34,6%	289	100,0%
Tavush	0	0,0%	78	25,2%	231	74,8%	309	100,0%
Sub-total	286	20%	334	23%	848	57%	1468	100%
Control group	67	11,5%	83	14,2%	435	74,4%	585	100,0%
Total	353	17,2%	417	20,3%	1283	62,5%	2053	100,0%

Table 8. Characteristics of survey participants per location (youth)

	Location type							
	Capital		Urban		Rural		Total	
	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %	Count	Row N %
Aragatsotn	0	0,0%	17	17,5%	80	82,5%	97	100,0%
Gegharkunik	0	0,0%	13	14,4%	77	85,6%	90	100,0%
Yerevan	100	100,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	100	100,0%
Shirak	0	0,0%	57	60,0%	38	40,0%	95	100,0%
Tavush	0	0,0%	20	25,3%	59	74,7%	79	100,0%
Sub total	100	20,0%	107	23,5%	254	56,5%	461	100,0%
Control group	24	13,6%	21	11,9%	131	74,4%	176	100,0%
Total	124	19,5%	128	20,1%	385	60,4%	637	100,0%

Table 9. Characteristics of survey participants per education level (married)

	Q3. Education											
	Elementary		Incomplete secondary		Secondary		Specialized secondary (college, vocational)		Higher /university diploma, bachelor degree/		Total	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Aragatsotn	3	1,0%	8	2,8%	165	57,1%	70	24,2%	43	14,9%	289	100,0%
Gegharkunik	1	0,3%	16	5,4%	143	48,5%	75	25,4%	60	20,3%	295	100,0%
Yerevan	0	0,0%	5	1,7%	94	32,9%	72	25,2%	115	40,2%	286	100,0%
Shirak	0	0,0%	11	3,8%	120	41,7%	84	29,2%	73	25,3%	288	100,0%
Tavush	0	0,0%	19	6,1%	140	45,3%	91	29,4%	59	19,1%	309	100,0%
Subtotal	4	0,3%	59	4,0%	662	45,1%	392	26,7%	350	23,9%	1467	100,0%
Control group	2	0,3%	57	9,7%	288	49,2%	147	25,1%	91	15,6%	585	100,0%
Total	6	0,3%	116	5,7%	950	46,3%	539	26,3%	441	21,5%	2052	100,0%

Table 10. Characteristics of survey participants per education level (youth)

	Q3. Education											
	Elementary		Incomplete secondary		Secondary		Specialized secondary (college, vocational)		Higher /university diploma, bachelor degree/		Total	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Aragatsotn	0	0,0%	3	3,1%	62	63,9%	10	10,3%	22	22,7%	97	100,0%
Gegharkunik	0	0,0%	6	6,7%	63	70,0%	11	12,2%	10	11,1%	90	100,0%
Yerevan	0	0,0%	1	1,0%	50	50,0%	15	15,0%	34	34,0%	100	100,0%
Shirak	0	0,0%	1	1,1%	55	57,9%	15	15,8%	24	25,3%	95	100,0%
Tavush	0	0,0%	3	3,8%	62	78,5%	2	2,5%	12	15,2%	79	100,0%
Subtotal	0	0,0%	14	3,0%	292	63,3%	53	11,5%	102	22,1%	461	100,0%
Control	0	0,0%	8	4,5%	115	65,3%	17	9,7%	36	20,5%	176	100,0%
Total	0	0,0%	22	3,5%	407	63,9%	70	11,0%	138	21,7%	637	100,0%

3.2 Indicators related to outcome “transformed communities promoting change in social norms”

Attitudes toward gender equality

Outcome **Transformed communities promoting change in social norms**

WV strategy indicator % of population with positive changes in attitudes towards gender norms (disaggregated by age, sex, regions – correlating with regions with highest son preference)

Indicator description and measurement: This indicator was measured through twenty-one questions relating to “attitudes about relations between men and women” (Cronbach’s alpha test .749, considered acceptable) administered through the two surveys (married adults and unmarried youth). These aimed at assessing the extent to which individuals agreed with a specific belief statement about gender roles, masculinity, and violence. Responses were recorded on a scale of 1 “strongly disagree” to 4 “strongly agree”⁴. For instance, items included “a man should have the final word about decisions in his home” or “there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten”.

A gender attitudes scale composite was created by summing attitudes for the statements, with low scores reflecting attitudes supporting more gender equity and high scores reflecting attitudes supporting less gender equity. Then a second variable was created to establish the mean score for these attitudes and a third variable (AvisF) was created which coded as ‘1’ mean scores ≤ 1.5 , and ‘0’ scores > 2 . Frequencies were calculated on the basis of this. Each participant received a code that was based on the mean score for all attitudes statements (0 for discriminatory attitudes and 1 for non-discriminatory attitudes). Overall 51% of men and 66% of women showed positive views about gender (see table below) with 52% and 68% of men and women from the intervention group.

⁴ During data analysis, strongly agree/agree were combined and strongly disagree/disagree were combined

Table 11. Percentage of men and women reporting discriminatory/non-discriminatory attitudes towards gender (per gender and intervention groups) within the married group

AvisF 0 = discriminatory attitudes towards women 1= non-discriminatory attitudes towards women			Q2. Gender					
			Male		Female		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
women	Intervention group	AvisF 0	331	47,8%	248	32,0%	579	39,4%
		AvisF 1	361	52,2%	528	68,0%	889	60,6%
Comparison group	Intervention group	AvisF 0	145	53,1%	119	38,1%	264	45,1%
		AvisF 1	128	46,9%	193	61,9%	321	54,9%
Both groups	Intervention group	AvisF 0	476	49,3%	367	33,7%	843	41,1%
		AvisF 1	489	50,7%	721	66,3%	1210	58,9%
		Total	965	100,0%	1088	100,0%	2053	100,0%

AvisF = 0 for discriminatory attitudes and 1 for non-discriminatory attitudes.

Participants from the intervention group were more likely to hold discriminatory attitudes (61% reporting positive attitudes) than participants from the control group (55% reporting positive attitudes) at a statistically significant level ($\chi^2 = 51,392$, $p = 0.018$ df 1).

Overall, age, gender and location were found to be significant predictors of attitudes about relationships between men and women.

Table 12. Percentage of men and women reporting discriminatory/non-discriminatory attitudes towards gender (per gender and intervention groups) within the youth group

AvisF 0 = discriminatory attitudes towards women 1= non-discriminatory attitudes towards women			Q2. Gender					
			Male		Female		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
Intervention group	Avis_F	0	135	46,9%	22	12,7%	157	34,1%
		1	153	53,1%	151	87,3%	304	65,9%
		Total	288	100,0%	173	100,0%	461	100,0%
Comparison group	Avis_F	0	58	52,7%	14	21,2%	72	40,9%
		1	52	47,3%	52	78,8%	104	59,1%
		Total	110	100,0%	66	100,0%	176	100,0%
Both groups	Avis_F	0	193	48,5%	36	15,1%	229	35,9%
		1	205	51,5%	203	84,9%	408	64,1%
		Total	398	100,0%	239	100,0%	637	100,0%

With regard to gender, married males were more likely to agree with statements that support inequitable gender norms than married females (48% of men vs 32% of women) at a statistically significant level ($\chi^2= 38,589$, $p =0.000$ df 1).

One important finding is that discriminatory attitudes were held by both married adults and male youth at almost the same level (48% and 47% respectively) but the gap widened when it came to female support of discriminatory attitudes with a greater difference between male and female youth ($\chi^2= 56,151$, $p =0.000$ df 1) than among male and female married participants: only 13% of female youth supported discriminatory views (vs. 47% male youth and 32% married women). This trend was also discussed during focus group discussions:

I think our generation will solve the problem... as our generation of girls have more will and can speak up and insist on their opinion, and not only insist, but also find ways for cooperation. In the past the girls were thinking to keep silent and listen to their husbands, but not now (Group discussion, 18-28 year old non-married women, Amasia)

With regards to location (rural, urban), more people were found to hold discriminatory attitudes in rural areas and less in urban, with more progressive attitudes shown by individuals residing in the capital city as shown in table 12 (differences were statistically significant $\chi^2= 52,698$ $p =0.000$ df 2). From the intervention group, 75% of people from Yerevan hold positive attitudes towards gender versus 68% and 53% in urban and rural areas (other marzes).

Findings from key informant interviews overall highlighted the differences in understanding and interest of gender equality and sometimes the perception that this concept comes from outside and maybe is not relevant to Armenian society. There is still some reluctance from authorities to see the importance of gender equality.

To be honest I do not understand the phenomenon of gender equality till today, I do not realize what gender is since it is differently interpreted. (...) I have personally participated in such discussions for some time and I think it is not such a good thing. That is to say, every nation has its peculiarities, its traditions, its specificities, and for Armenia it is a bit unclear (key informant, Kanaker-Zeytun administrative district)

I do not take such things related to gender seriously... To be honest, because I do not know, maybe it is not needed. Maybe today it is still early, we do not understand.... (key informant, Kanaker-Zeytun administrative district)

Gender equality is a very complicated issue...Till today the wished result has not been reached yet, because the foreign best practices is being introduced in the Republic of Armenia ... but in all cases I do agree that men and women should be equally presented, both rights and responsibilities should be equal (key informant, Yerevan)

Below are the results derived from answers to individual attitudes questions disaggregated by gender and age. These answers will then be put into perspective with men and women's practices (relationships at home, violence in the relationship, parenting and men's relationships with their children and son preference).

Table 13. Percentage of married men and women reporting discriminatory/non-discriminatory attitudes towards gender within the married group (with chi square test results)

(Intervention group)		Male		Female		Total		Chi2 results*	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	χ ² value	P value (when <0.05)
Q12. When women work they are taking jobs away from men	Disagree	613	89%	721	94%	1334	91%	10,110	0.001
	Agree	76	11%	49	6%	125	9%		
Q13. When women get rights they are taking rights away from men	Disagree	558	82%	695	90%	1253	86%	20,686	0.000
	Agree	122	18%	75	10%	197	14%		
Q14. Rights for women mean that men lose out	Disagree	557	82%	701	91%	1258	87%	27,912	0.000
	Agree	122	18%	66	9%	188	13%		
Q15. A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.	Disagree	169	24%	357	46%	526	36%	75,158	0.000
	Agree	522	76%	415	54%	937	64%		
Q16. A real man has a son	Disagree	317	46%	401	52%	718	49%	4,900	0.027
	Agree	371	54%	372	48%	743	51%		
Q17. A man who doesn't have an income doesn't have value to his family	Disagree	371	54%	588	77%	959	67%	85,134	0.000
	Agree	311	46%	172	23%	483	33%		
Q18. Changing diapers, giving kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibility.	Disagree	178	26%	189	24%	367	25%		Non sig
	Agree	511	74%	584	76%	1095	75%		
Q19. A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.	Disagree	32	5%	47	6%	79	5%		Non sig
	Agree	659	95%	726	94%	1385	95%		
Q20. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.	Disagree	353	52%	488	64%	841	58%	21,733	0.000
	Agree	329	48%	276	36%	605	42%		
Q21. A good women never doubts about her husband's decision, even if she doesn't agree	Disagree	145	21%	297	39%	442	31%	53,435	0.000
	Agree	536	79%	463	61%	999	69%		

Q22. Woman can be considered a real woman, when she has a child	Disagree	458	67%	511	67%	969	67%		Non sig
	Agree	221	33%	252	33%	473	33%		
Q23. There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.	Disagree	444	65%	559	73%	1003	69%	11,006	0.001
	Agree	243	35%	210	27%	453	31%		
Q24. If a women betrays a man, man can hit her	Disagree	225	34%	282	37%	507	35%		Non sig
	Agree	443	66%	479	63%	922	65%		
Q25. A couple should make a mutual decision about having a child	Disagree	23	3%	11	1%	34	2%	5,925	0.015
	Agree	664	97%	762	99%	1426	98%		
Q26. Woman has a right to avoid pregnancy	Disagree	351	55%	465	62%	816	59%	5,994	0.014
	Agree	286	45%	290	38%	576	41%		
Q27. Men should share daily house work with their wives, e.g. washing dishes, cleaning the house or cooking	Disagree	396	58%	468	61%	864	59%		Non sig
	Agree	290	42%	303	39%	593	41%		
Q28. A divorced woman doesn't have a value	Disagree	533	80%	619	82%	1152	81%		Non sig
	Agree	136	20%	135	18%	271	19%		
Q29. There are times when children deserve to be beaten.	Disagree	363	53%	358	47%	721	50%	5,869	0.015
	Agree	323	47%	411	53%	734	50%		
Q30. If there are children at home, woman should not work out of house	Disagree	431	63%	602	78%	1033	71%	42,141	0.000
	Agree	254	37%	166	22%	420	29%		
Q31. Man don't know how to take care of small children	Disagree	387	57%	384	50%	771	53%	5,563	0.018
	Agree	296	43%	377	50%	673	47%		
Q32. Daily care of children is as important as financial care	Disagree	35	5%	34	4%	69	5%		Non sig
	Agree	655	95%	735	96%	1390	95%		

Figure 1. Attitudes questions with highest difference between men and women (p = 0.000)

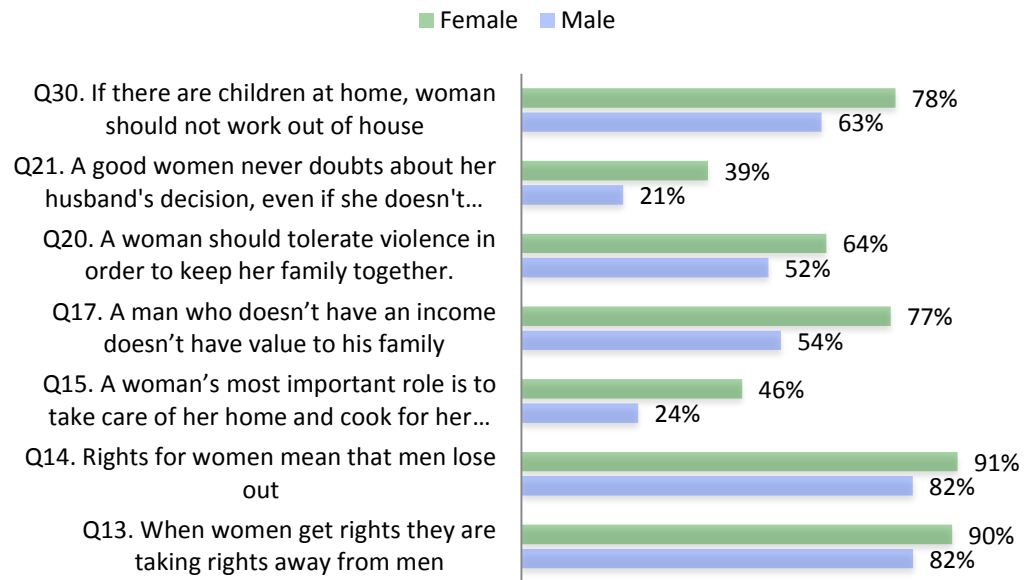


Table 14. Attitudes Between Men and Women disaggregated by location (married group) who report positive gender attitudes

			Capital		Urban		Rural		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Intervention Group	AvisF	0	73	26%	106	32%	400	47%	579	39%
		1	213	75%	228	68%	448	53%	889	61%
Comparison Group	AvisF	0	12	18%	36	43%	216	50%	264	45%
		1	55	82%	47	57%	219	50%	321	55%
Total	AvisF	0	85	24%	142	34%	616	48%	843	41%
		1	268	76%	275	66%	667	52%	1210	59%

Table 15. Attitudes Between Men and Women: Percentage of married men and women who report positive gender attitudes (intervention group) per marz

Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
153	52,90%	156	52,90%	213	74,50%	190	65,70%	177	57,30	889	60,60%

General benefits for women

Respondents to the quantitative survey were presented with a list of statements, starting by three “zero-sum” propositions⁵ about the negative consequences for men about women in the job market and women’s rights promotion.

Overall, the majority of men and women hold the view that benefits for women (rights, jobs) do not necessarily disadvantage men or constitute a loss for them as such, though men express higher inequitable views: 18% of men compared to 10% women agree with the view that “when women work they are taking jobs away from men”, while 18% of men and 9% of women agree that “rights for women mean that men lose out”. Similar proportions are found among youth respondents, with men expressing higher inequitable views overall.⁶

From the discussions with Armenian married adults, it was clear that the Armenian way of life is shifting to have more women in the job market, and some regret its consequences on family/work balance:

⁵ The degree to which a person believes that, in general, one person’s good outcomes comes at the expense of another person.

⁶ This finding is consistent with the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) conducted in 6 countries (in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico and Rwanda) in 2009-10, which found that men were supportive of gender equality on the same scale, with 87% to 90% saying that “men do not lose out when women’s rights are promoted”.

In our family both me and my husband are working. We have equal rights; we both finish work pretty late. (Group discussion, 18-59-year-old married women, Yerevan)

Nowadays, I think, we go back. We think that by working we get more rights, but it is conversely, to the detriment of children's education – women start to pay less attention to kids and to herself. It seems to her that she is equal to men, which is very bad. I think that there will never be equality at all, as women and men are totally different creatures. (Group discussion, 18-59-year-old married women, Yerevan)

Decision-power at home

In Armenian society, women seem to play a limited role in terms of decision making in the household, which is perceived to be the prerogative of men. Survey data shows that overall, 94% believe “a man should have the final word about decisions in the home” with no significant differences between males and females or between married adults and youth. The qualitative data also confirm this finding as illustrated in the quote below:

In our community ... 90% of people keep the old traditions, and in their families, the word of the father is right and must be as he said. They take into consideration mother's word too, but nearly 90% do like that. (Group discussion, 18-28 non-married men, Amasia)

I think that you should listen to the father of the family in order to have a normal Armenian family. (Group discussion, 18-28-year-old non-married women, Amasia)

Moreover, a high proportion of men (79%) agreed that “a good woman never doubts her husband's decision, even if she doesn't agree”, with a lower proportion of women holding similar views (61%).

Sharing domestic tasks

The majority of participants (intervention group) abide by traditional conceptions about the gender repartition of tasks at home, with 58% of married men and 61% of married women, and 59% of male youth and 55% of female youth disagreeing with the statement that “men should share daily house work with their wives (e.g. washing dishes, cleaning the house or cooking). Domestic chores are seen as feminine and it doesn't appear that women are challenging this norm.

(women should) ... take care of those chores. She should bring her children up, keep them, and take care of their hygiene, in general, household chores, cooking, and the rest. (group discussion, 18-59 married men, Gegharkunik)

Women's involvement in the labor market

Parenthood and work were subjects that raised more clear-cut differences in beliefs among men and women.

Overall men reported contradictory views about women's engagement in the workplace: a small majority of married and young men stated it is fine for women to work out of the house, even if there are children at home (63% of married men and 58% young men). However, they still perceive women's role as strongly associated with the domestic area whereas women do not.

Approximately three quarters (76%) of men consider that "a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family" as opposed to one in two women (54%), and to a higher extent younger women (88%). Only 39% of women from Yerevan supported this view⁷. Among young people consulted, the gap is even wider, with 70% of young men agreeing with the statement as opposed to 40% of young women.

Gender and parenthood

Some functions within the home, in particular cooking, cleaning and looking after small children remain very much associated with women as opposed to men. Women showed they had mixed views about men's ability to look after toddlers (50% agreed that "men don't know how to take care of small children" while 43% of men shared this view) and the majority of participants believed that daily care of children (such as changing diapers and giving children a bath) is the mother's responsibility (74% of men and 76% of women).

Woman should do housework, kids' upbringing. (group discussion, 18-28 years unmarried men, Amasia)

However, women do not see themselves confined within the domestic realm and aspire to have other roles and responsibilities within society. This is consistent with the belief, expressed by a majority of young women, that a woman's role is not limited to having children: 67% of married women and 80% of young women disagree with the statement that "a woman can be considered a real woman when she has a child".

Violence

Survey data revealed high tolerance rates (attitudes) of violence from women participants with seemingly contradictory responses to some items. For instance while 27% of married women agreed that "there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten", 63% affirmed the belief that "if a woman betrays a man, he can hit her" (Figure 2). Although this trend decreased for young women, 2 out of 5 (40%) held similar views agreeing that a woman deserved to be hit if she betrayed a man. This finding is also consistent with attitudes reported by men, though at a slightly higher proportion.

⁷ Aragatsotn and Gegharkunik are predominantly rural provinces whereas Shirak and Tavush are mixed rural/urban. Yerevan is the Capital city of Armenia.

This result was confirmed by Key Informant Interviews:

I can say that physical violence, we see its tendency during evaluation of our work. That especially in rural communities it is a norm when the mother-in-law, or brother-in-law can hit their daughter-in-law, and it is not considered as an act of violence even by the daughter-in-law, it is considered a norm. (key informant interview, Shirak).

Figure 2. Percentage of Married Men and Women agreeing with attitudes items related to violence (intervention group) - by gender

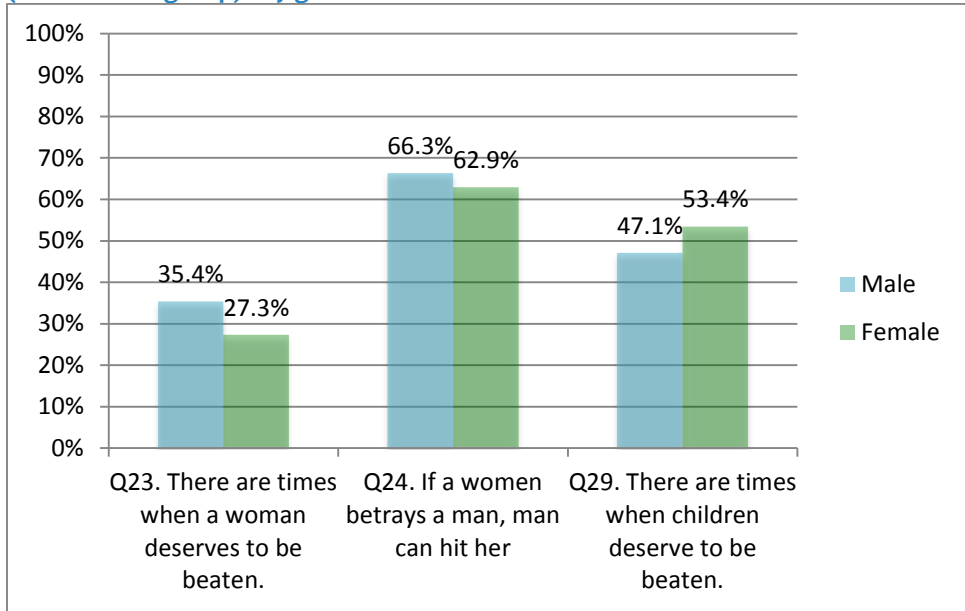
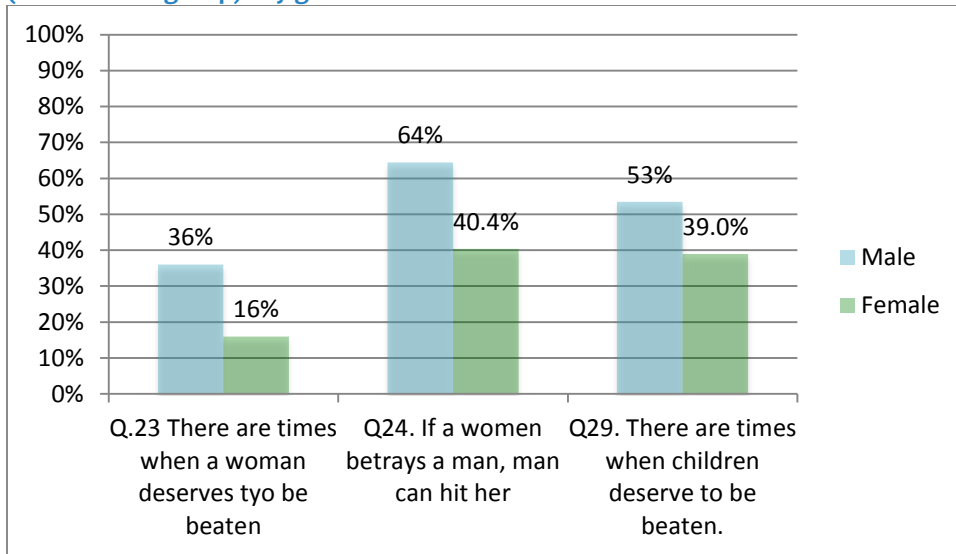


Figure 3. Percentage of male and female youth agreeing with attitudes items related to violence (intervention group) - by gender



Family was perceived and reported to be a justifiable reason for tolerating violence for approximately half of the married men and a third of married women respondents. This proportion decreased according to location (18% married women from Yerevan) and age (only 11% of young women).

Results disaggregated by marzes showed important variations with regards to intimate partner violence with Aragatsotn and Gegharkunik showing the most tolerance to violence (three quarters of individuals responding that “if a woman betrays a man, he can hit her) as opposed to 52% in Yerevan ($\chi^2= 40,097$ $p =0.000$ $df 4$). Overall, young women and women living in Yerevan showed the least tolerance to domestic violence.

Furthermore, with regards to physical punishment of children, around half of married men and women agreed that “there are times when children deserve to be beaten”. Interestingly, while this view was equally shared among young men, young women were less prone to agree (only 39% agreed as opposed to 53% of married women).

Table 16. Percentage of Married participants agreeing with attitudes items related to violence (intervention group) - by marz

Intervention group		Marz											
		Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Q23. There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.	Disagre	188	66%	185	63%	212	74%	205	72%	213	70%	1003	6
	Agree	99	34%	107	37%	73	26%	81	28%	93	30%	453	3
Q24. If a women betrays a man, man can hit her	Disagre	72	25%	85	30%	133	48%	95	34%	122	41%	507	3
	Agree	213	75%	199	70%	143	52%	188	66%	179	59%	922	6
Q29. There are times when children deserve to be beaten.	Disagre	117	41%	148	50%	146	52%	153	53%	157	51%	721	5
	Agree	170	59%	146	50%	136	48%	133	47%	149	49%	734	5

Table 17. Percentage of youth agreeing with attitudes items related to violence (intervention group) - by marz

		Marz											
		Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Q23. There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	Disagree	67	70%	54	61%	82	83%	70	75%	53	67%	236	72%
	Agree	29	30%	34	39%	17	17%	23	25%	26	33%	129	28%
Q24. If a women betrays a man, man can hit her	Disagree	35	37%	31	35%	58	60%	45	49%	33	42%	202	45%
	Agree	60	63%	58	65%	39	40%	47	51%	46	58%	250	55%
Q29. There are times when children deserve to be beaten.	Disagree	40	42%	36	40%	62	62%	59	63%	41	52%	238	52%
	Agree	56	58%	53	60%	38	38%	35	37%	38	48%	220	48%

Gender relationships at home

This section examines the decision power process at home, as well as the repartition of domestic tasks among married women and men, and among youth who have/had a relationship.

Decision power at home

From the survey data, there appears to be a gap between what people think is acceptable and how decisions are *actually* made in the private sphere of the household (i.e., the difference between

attitudes and practices). Men and women report a more equitable decision making process at home in comparison with the opinions they hold (see attitudes above).

Indeed, more than two-thirds of men and women report that decision-making is shared with regard to spending money on food or large investments, spending time with family, the use of contraceptives, and how to spend free time (see table 16).

Less than 5% of decisions are made by or with another person, with the mother-in-law being cited most often as the person involved in decisions.

Table 18. Percentage of Married Men and Women Reporting on Who is Responsible for Decision Making in the Relationship (intervention group)

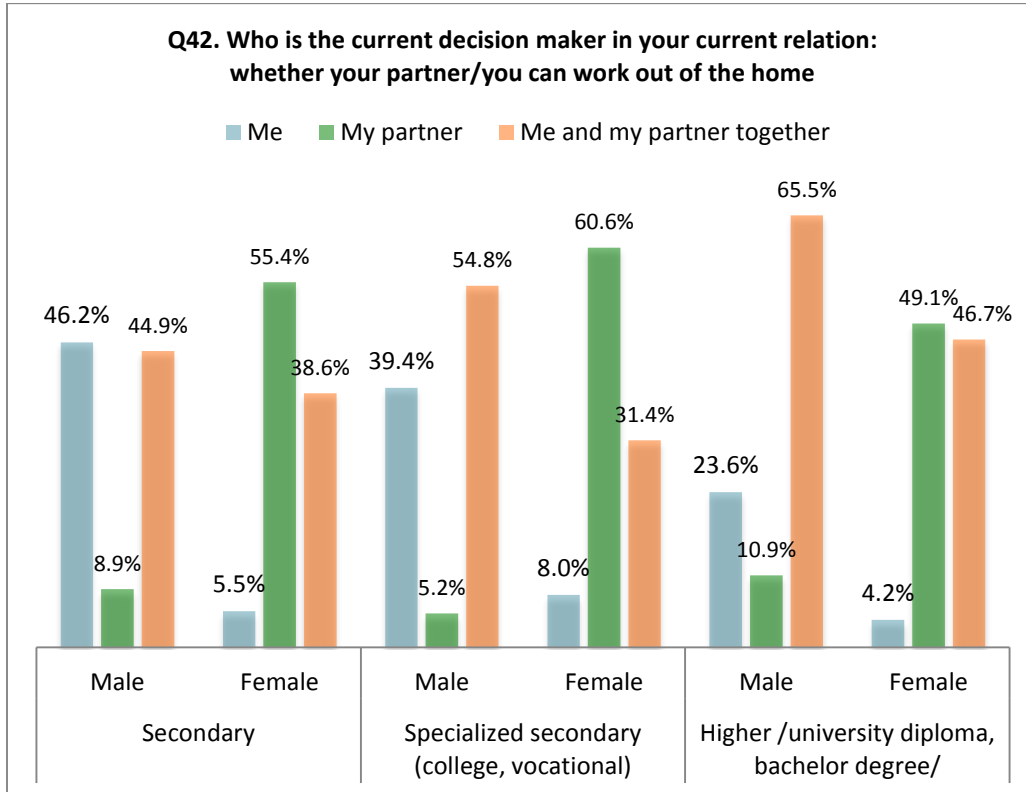
Questions	Me		My partner		Me and partner together	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
How to spend money on food and clothing	14.8	15.2	14.0	9.4	66.6	70.6
How to spend large investments such as buying a car, house, or household appliance	24.2	4.8	3.6	22.9	67.1	69.4
Regarding spending time with family friends or relatives	23.3	5.5	2.0	15.7	72.5	76.9
Whether your partner can work out of home	39.1	6.1	8.4	55.4	52.1	38.2
Whether to use contraceptives	18.6	15.0	6.1	8.9	75.3	75.6
How to spend your free time	30.7	20.9	1.5	8.1	67.0	70.1

Women’s involvement in the labor market

Across all decision making areas, the involvement of women in the labor market is the one that is the least shared across gender: 39% of men say that they decide about their partner working outside the home while 55% of women report that their partner makes the decision. Moreover, only 6% of women and 8% of men say women make decisions about working outside the home, while 52% of men and 38% of women report it is a shared decision ($\chi^2= 434,790$ $p=0.000$ $df 2$). (Table 17).

Men and women from a higher educational background tend to hold more progressive views (i.e., think that tasks are shared). Indeed, 45% of men who have attained secondary school consider working outside of the home for women as a shared decision as opposed to 66% of men who have gone to university. Furthermore, 39% of women who achieved secondary school and 47% of women who have gone through higher education believe it is a shared decision (see figure 4).

Figure 4. Percentage of married men and women answering on decision making in the house (work out of the home) – per education level*



* Individuals who had less than secondary schooling attainment were under-represented within the sample so they were not considered in that analysis.

Although reasons for this cannot be analyzed in detail in this study, from the attitudes question about women and work, it appears men do not see women in the job market as threatening for themselves, but rather as a matter of controlling women’s lives.

This last result was found across all marzes, to a larger extent in Shirak and Tavush where more women respondents reported the decision to work outside the house was not theirs but their husband’s (68% as opposed to 55% across all marz). Interestingly in Yerevan, more men (69% as opposed to 49% across all marz) thought that the decision was shared (in comparison with other marz), however results for women in Yerevan is more similar to other marz (39% vs 38% across all marz) than to their male peers, showing a significant discrepancy between men and women.

Survey data from unmarried youth (young men and women who were/are in a relationship) also showed similar results regarding women’s work. In comparison with other items, this was the least “shared decision” across all decisions. However, more young women (49%) tended to think this was a shared decision (in comparison with married women (38%).

Discussions with female youth in all areas, and with married women from Yerevan, revealed that women from the younger generation tended to think that their involvement in work paved the way for greater equality, as suggested by the following extracts:

It is connected to working. Maybe women started to work more – I don't know if it is right or wrong, but together with working people (we) start to see them equal, to take their opinion into consideration. My grandmother used to say (she is dead) –women have to work, because when they are working out of home, they are appreciated (important). (Group discussion, 18-59-year-old married women, Yerevan)

Today that stereotype has been broken a bit due to the youth, of course. As the youth and especially girls strive to work and have their own input in the family, although there is still the stereotype that the man should say his final word in the family. I think so, but today the situation is being changed. (Group discussion, 18-28 year old unmarried women, Amasia)

In general, young women reported that decisions were made together with their partner more frequently than their male peers. For instance, 77% reported making decisions equally on large investments whereas only 47% young men declared this was the case.

Sharing domestic tasks

When looking further at the reported repartition of tasks at home, more than 90% of married men and women agree that women are overwhelmingly responsible for washing clothes, cleaning the house, cleaning the bathroom/toilet, and preparing food. (Table 18). This was also highlighted during focus group discussions:

(A woman should) take care of those chores. She should bring her children up, keep them, and take care of their hygiene, in general, household chores, cooking, and the rest. (Group discussion, 18-59 year old married men, Vardenis)

Furthermore, more than 80% of both men and women also agree that men are responsible for making repairs to the house. Greater gender equity was reported with regard to buying food and paying bills, with 47% of men and 43% of women reporting that buying food was a shared task, and 28% of men and 23% of women reporting that paying bills was a shared task.

Table 19. Percentage of Married Men and Women Reporting on Division of Household Tasks (Intervention group)

		Male		Female		Total	
		N=692	%	N=776	%	N=1468	%
Q45. Washing clothes	Usually me	23	3%	762	99%	785	54%
	Shared equally or done together	16	2%	4	1%	20	1%
	Usually partner	650	94%	5	1%	655	45%
Q46. Repairing house	Usually me	577	86%	39	5%	616	43%
	Shared equally or done together	69	10%	109	15%	178	13%
	Usually partner	27	4%	602	80%	629	44%
Q47. Buying food	Usually me	142	21%	296	39%	438	30%
	Shared equally or done together	323	47%	329	43%	652	45%
	Usually partner	219	32%	134	18%	353	25%
Q48. Cleaning the house	Usually me	26	4%	755	98%	781	53%
	Shared equally or done together	17	3%	9	1%	26	2%
	Usually partner	648	94%	7	1%	655	45%
Q49. Cleaning the bathroom/toilet	Usually me	23	3%	751	99%	774	53%
	Shared equally or done together	9	1%	4	1%	13	1%
	Usually partner	657	95%	7	1%	664	46%
Q50. Preparing food	Usually me	25	4%	741	96%	766	53%
	Shared equally or done together	36	5%	23	3%	59	4%
	Usually partner	628	91%	7	1%	635	44%
Q51. Paying bills	Usually me	337	51%	225	30%	562	40%
	Shared equally or done together	187	28%	178	24%	365	26%
	Usually partner	141	21%	348	46%	489	35%

Attitudes about son preference

a. Findings for married adults and youth

Across all gender and age groups, the importance of having a son remained high, with over 60% of participants reporting that “it is important to have a son” (Table 20). This was also confirmed through qualitative findings:

In Armenian families, it is common that all want a boy first. (Group discussion, 18-28-year-old non-married women, Amasia)

There has recently been a case. The first boy grandchild was born. What a fantastic celebration. The second one was a girl. No one paid attention to her, as if no one was born. (Group discussion, 18-28-year-old non-married women, Amasia)

When looking into it in more detail, the preference for sons was most pronounced among males and among married adults: males (both married and youth) tended to grant importance to having a son (88.8% of married men and 78.8% of male youth, compared to 77.3% of married women and 60.7% of female youth within the intervention group (married group: $\chi^2= 6,851$ $p=0.009$ df 1; youth group: $\chi^2= 19,502$ $p=0.000$ df 1).

Table 18. Percentage of married & youth men and women reporting on the importance of having a son (intervention group)

Q65.		Married adults			Youth		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Do you think that it is important to have a son?	No	17.2%	22.7%	20.1%	21.2%	39.3%	28.0%
	Yes	88.8%	77.3%	79.9%	78.8%	60.7%	72.0%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In line with the findings above, survey data showed that when asked for the number of sons they would prefer to have, men desired more sons than their female peers: The mean number of sons that married men preferred was 2.8 compared to 1.9 for married women. For male youth the number was 2.3 compared to 1.7 for female youth.

On the other hand, the mean number of daughters that married men preferred was 1.9 compared to 1.6 for married women. For male youth, the number of preferred daughters was 1.4 compared to 1.5 for female youth. In general, male and female youth preferred less children, though female youth showed a slight preference to have more daughters than male youth did. (Figure 5).

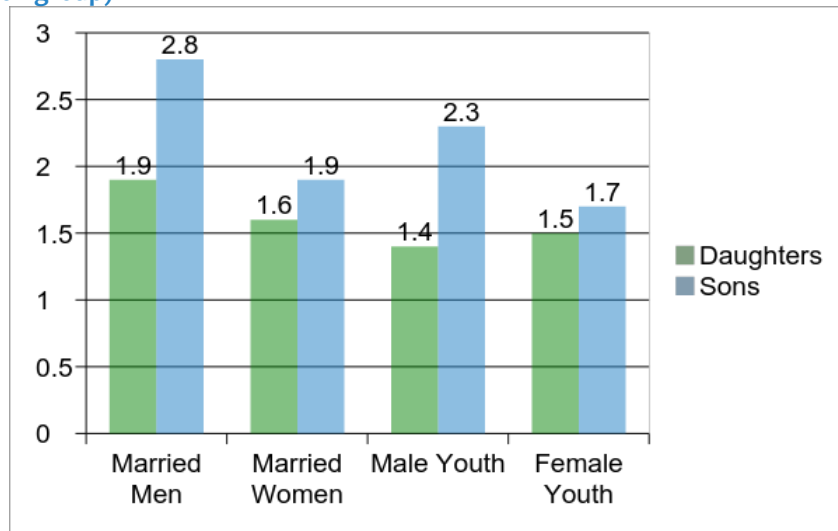
In focus group discussions, women pointed out that men valued boys more than girls:

Our Armenian men want to have a boy as firstborn. (Group discussion, 18-59 year old married women, Ijevan)

One key informant interviewee reported that even when parents are unable to have a child and seek to adopt, the preference is to have a son:

...Even in that case when the family does not have a chance to have a child and applies for adoption, very often there is a place there where parents should fill in the details about a wanted child, and mainly the sex indicated is a boy. And though they cannot have their own child, still they prefer having a baby boy. They give preference to a boy. key informant interview, Shiraz.

Figure 5. Mean number of daughters and sons preferred by married men and women, and male and female youth (intervention group)



Disaggregation by marz show that there were more respondents from Aragatsotn (90%) and Gegharkunik (88%) who agreed on the importance of having a son, as opposed to Yerevan (71%), Shirak (76%) and Tavush (75%. Results from the comparison group also show high agreement with the importance of having a son (84%).

Table 20. Percentage of married men and women agreeing on the importance of having a son (by marz)

			Marz						
			Aragatsotn	Gegharkunik	Yerevan	Shirak	Tavush	Control group	Total
Q65. Do you think that it is important to have a son?	Yes	N	259	259	204	219	232	492	1665
		%	89,6%	87,8%	71,3%	75,8%	75,1%	84,1%	81,1%

Disaggregation per marz showed that regions with the highest score of discriminatory attitudes towards women were the same regions where high son preference was found, with Aragatsotn and Gegharkunik showing higher proportions of individuals reporting a son preference.

A more thorough analysis on selected variables related to discriminatory attitudes (cf. figure 1) showed that there is significant correlation between adherence to negative gender stereotypes and son preference ($\chi^2= 48,680$ $p=0.000$ $df 1$) with 89% of men holding discriminatory attitudes asserting that it is important to have a son as opposed to 74% of women holding discriminatory attitudes within the intervention group (this difference being even more pronounced within the comparison group).

Table 21. Percentage of married men and women agreeing on the importance of having a son (by positive/negative gender attitudes)

		AvisF		AvisF			
		0 = discriminatory attitudes towards gender		1 = non-discriminatory attitudes towards gender			
				0		1	
				N=579	%	N=889	%
Intervention	Q65. Do you think that it is important to have a son?	No	64	11%	231	26%	
		Yes	515	89%	658	74%	
			N=264	%	N=321	%	
Comparison	Q65. Do you think that it is important to have a son?	No	20	8%	73	23%	
		Yes	244	92%	248	77%	
			N=843	%	N=1210	%	
Total	Q65. Do you think that it is important to have a son?	No	84	10%	304	25%	
		Yes	759	90%	906	75%	

For instance, men and women expressed the following discriminatory attitudes were more likely to show son preference (χ^2 tests: $p=0.001$):

- A women’s role is to take care of her home and cook for her family
- A good woman never doubts about her husband’s decision
- There are times where a woman deserves to be beaten

- If a woman betrays a man, the man can hit her
- Men should share their daily housework with their wives (washing dishes, etc.)

b. Reasons behind son preference

Survey data showed mixed results when looking at masculinity and son preference with approximately one in two participants agreeing to the statement that “a real man has a son” (52% and 46% of married men and women respectively). This proportion was the same for young men respondents (52%) but not for young women, where only 24% agreed with the statement.

The main reason highlighted for promoting sons was by far related to family name and lineage perpetuation (according to 77% and 63% of men and women respectively). Among other justifications argued was the role of sons in old age support (which was supported by twice as many women as men), prevalent social norms (Armenian mentality) and to be a future soldier (Figure 6).

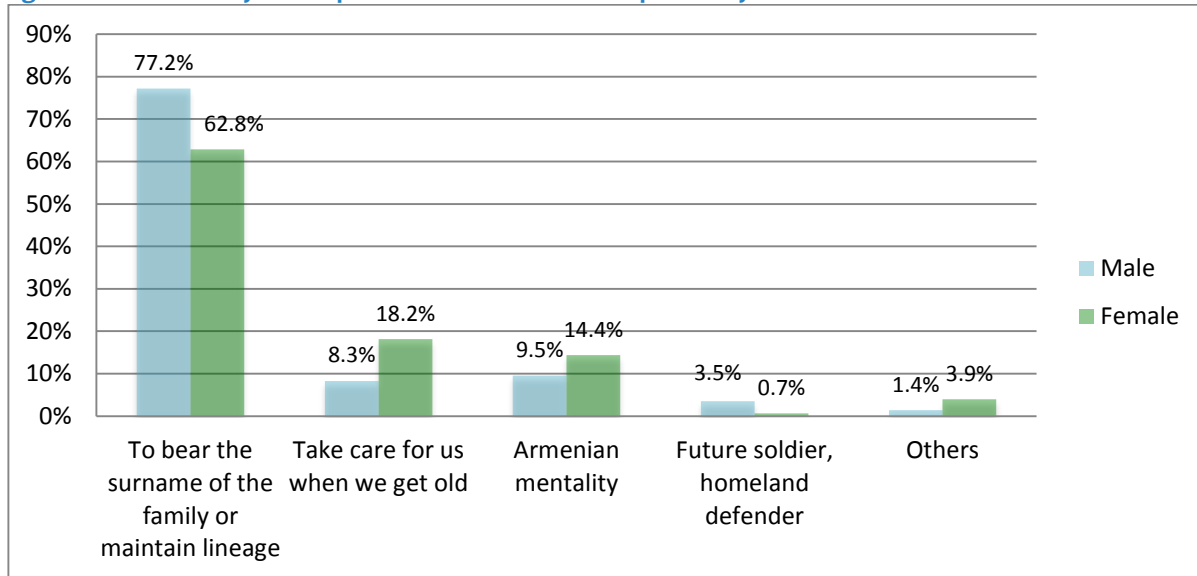
I will be repeated but having a son means that your generation, your family name continues, he will live with you, which cannot be the same with a daughter.

Your daughter will be taken to another family.

The destiny will show whether she will live with you or not.

She will marry and leave you (group discussion extract, 18-59 year old married men, Ijevan)

Figure 6. Reasons why it is important to have a son as reported by married men and women



Abortion

More than half of all women (58%) reported having had an abortion in the past (table 20), and almost all women (99%) reported that they were over 18 years of age when they had the abortion. Of note was that a significantly higher percentage ($\chi^2= 13,55$ $p=0.000$ $df = 2$) of women (more than 30%) reported that they had an abortion when the interviewer was female (62.9%), while only 48.1% reported having an abortion when the interviewer was male (Table 21). It is hypothesized that women felt more comfortable with women interviewers, were more forthcoming, and that the actual percentage of women having had an abortion is likely higher than the 63% reported. Data doesn't show significant difference when disaggregated by marz. though it shows that people with higher education levels tended to report less abortion ($\chi^2= 7,15$ $p=0.28$ $Df=2$) as shown in table 22.

Table 22. Percentage of married women reporting having an abortion in the past

		N=741		%
Intervention	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	310	41%
		Yes	431	58%
Comparison	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	146	48%
		Yes	156	51%

Table 23. Percentage of married women reporting having an abortion - by gender of interviewer

		Interviewer Gender				
		Male		Female		
		N	%	N	%	
Intervention	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	124	52%	186	37%
		Yes	115	48%	316	63%
Comparison	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	50	52%	96	47%
		Yes	46	48%	110	53%

Table 24. Percentage of married women reporting having an abortion - by education

			Secondary		Specialized secondary (college, vocational)		Higher /university diploma, bachelor degree/	
			N=776	%	N=776	%	N=776	%
Intervention	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	132	17%	90	12%	84	11%
		Yes	203	26%	137	18%	80	10%

Factors related to abortion decision

Most women who have had an abortion said their partner participated in the decision to have an abortion, and that 92.8% of partners provided financial support for the abortion. Additionally, 69.7% said their husband/partner accompanied them for the abortion. 72.4% said it was a joint decision, 23.0% said it was mostly their decision, and 2.6% said it was their husband/partner’s decision.

The reason for an abortion that was most adhered to by both men and women was related to women’s health, with 92% of men and 88% of women agreeing that abortion was justified if the pregnancy posed a health risk to women. The reason that “the child is a female” was the least agreed to, with only 8% of men and 12% of women agreeing that was a valid justification for an abortion. Overall men tended to agree more than their female partners in most examples justifying abortion with some important variation in responses (see table 25 below).

Table 25. Percentage of Married Men and Women’s Agreement on Reasons for Abortion (intervention group)

Question: To what extent do you agree that it is normal for women to make an abortion under the following circumstances?	Q2. Gender			
	Male		Female	
Statements:	N=692	%	N=776	%
There is already enough number of children in the family.	260	39%	464	60%
There is already enough number of sons in the family	223	33%	373	49%
The pregnancy is not planned or wanted	233	35%	403	53%

There is already enough number of daughters in the family	217	32%	375	49%
It would be financially difficult to bring up one more child	216	32%	363	48%
The child is a female	57	8%	92	12%
The pregnancy can be harmful for woman's health	617	92%	680	88%

However, qualitative data contrasts with the survey data, showing that selective abortion is an ongoing practice. When asked about other people they know who had an abortion at the initiative of the husband with an aim to prevent the birth of a daughter (Do you have a friend/neighbor who made his wife/partner to do abortion after learning that the baby is a girl?), the proportion of positive answers was higher with 17% and 28% of married men and women reporting they did (Table 26).

I was imposed. I wanted to have the third girl baby but I was made to get rid of it. I did not want to kill my child. The period of pregnancy was short, my son was 9 months and I got pregnant. It was said to me that I had a girl and boy and there was no need to bear another girl. I might have another boy if I wanted. And so, I terminated several times but at the end again... girl. (Group discussion, 18-59 year old married women, Talin)

During our discussions we had a case, I cannot say the names as we keep it confidential, but I can tell the case. In Ijevan a family had 2 girls, and they wanted a boy so much that did lots of abortions, and at the end they had a boy but mother died after giving a birth. (group discussion, 18-59 year old married women, Ijevan)

Results from key informant interviews showed that Armenian authorities are becoming increasingly aware of the problem of sex selective abortion in their specific contexts:

Sex-selective... recently seminars and similar events were organized on sex- selective abortions and we participated. You know in this respect we should again educate the society. It comes from the family, there are families who think that if the child is female then she does not have a right to live in this reality. (Key informant, Gegharkunik)

I know that our indicators are vulnerable in especially two fields: sex-selective abortions are troublesome, it is the second after China., Our marz is at least the second with Gegharkunik, Our Republic is in the last lines. It is really troublesome in relation to abortions. It is bothering that few future mothers are born today, baby girls are very few today. (Key informant, Aragatsotn)

Key informants interviews respondents highlighted the need for policy makers and higher authorities to start looking at the issue of sex selective abortion and collect data:

People turn to us for advice regarding sex-selective abortions? No, I would say that these cases are also very few ... We do not have precise statistics and we do not carry out anything like that. This authorization is not granted to us. (Key informant, Shirak)

When asked if they knew about a friend or neighbor's husband who made their wife have an abortion after knowing the baby was a girl, 28% of women and 17% of men answered positively.

Table 26. Percentage of married women and men who know about a friend/neighbour who had an abortion

		Q2. Gender						
		Male		Female		Total		
		N=692	%	N=776	%	N=1468	%	
Intervention group	Q85. Do you have a friend/neighbor who made his wife/partner to do abortion after learning that the baby is a girl?	No	571	83%	554	72%	1125	77%
		Yes	116	17%	220	28%	336	23%
Comparison group		N=273		N=312		N=585		
	Q85. Do you have a friend/neighbor who made his wife/partner to do abortion after learning that the baby is a girl?	No	237	88%	246	79%	483	83%
		Yes	34	13%	65	21%	99	17%
Total		N=965		N=1088		N=2053		
	Q85. Do you have a friend/neighbor who made his wife/partner to do abortion after learning that the baby is a girl?	No	808	84%	800	74%	1608	79%
		Yes	150	16%	285	26%	435	21%

Table 27. Opinion of married men and women about their friend/neighbor having an abortion after learning that the baby is a girl (percentage)

		Q2. Gender						
		Male		Female		Total		
		N=692	%	N=776	%	N=1468	%	
Intervention	Q86. What is your position/opinion about your friend's/neighbor's behavior?	It is a personal issue, it is not my problem	50	44%	102	47%	152	46%
		Maybe he has sound reasons to do so	16	14%	25	12%	41	12%
		It bothers me	49	43%	90	42%	139	42%
Comparison	Q86. What is your position/opinion about your friend's/neighbor's behavior?	It is a personal issue, it is not my problem	12	35%	34	53%	46	47%
		Maybe he has sound reasons to do so	4	12%	6	9%	10	10%
		It bothers me	18	53%	24	38%	42	43%
Total	Q86. What is your position/opinion about your friend's/neighbor's behavior?	It is a personal issue, it is not my problem	62	42%	136	48%	198	46%
		Maybe he has sound reasons to do so	20	13%	31	11%	51	12%
		It bothers me	67	45%	114	41%	181	42%

Finally, survey data showed that among women who reported that “it is important to have a son”, there was a higher distribution of women who reported having had an abortion in the past (62%) than women who reported they did not have an abortion in the past (38%) as shown in table 28.

Table 28. Percentage of women who think it is Important to have a son and who have reported having had an abortion

		Q65. Do you think that it is important to have a son?						
		No		Yes		Total		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Intervention	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	88	54%	222	38%	310	42%
		Yes	74	46%	357	62%	431	58%
		Total	162	100%	579	100%	741	100%
Comparison	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	26	45%	120	49%	146	48%
		Yes	32	55%	124	51%	156	52%
		Total	58	100%	244	100%	302	100%
Total	Q68. Have you ever made an abortion?	No	114	52%	342	42%	456	44%
		Yes	106	48%	481	58%	587	56%
		Total	220	100%	823	100%	1043	100%

Also interestingly, there was no significant difference in terms of number of sons and the reports of involvement in abortion, except for the second child, i.e. men who said they contributed to an abortion decision also had more sons as a second child than men who didn’t report helping a partner with an abortion decision.

Parenting and men’s relationships with their children

This section examines the level of involvement of married men during their partner’s pregnancy and caring for children after their birth. Among the sample population, 12% of respondents had one child, 45% had two children, and 33% had three children. On average, people had 2.4 children per family.

Men’s involvement in partner’s pregnancy

A third of married men reported accompanying their wife to their first antenatal visit although most men waited outside or in the waiting hall during the visit (70% of men respondents). The decision to have a baby was shared between partners according to 86% of men and 79% of women (intervention group).

Men’s involvement in child care and distribution of roles within the household

When it comes to looking after children, a high proportion of men consider that their role is “mostly as a helper” (91% of married men). Approximately 60% of men also agreed that their work/family

balance needs improving: 63% of men agreed they spent too little time with their children on account of their job and 58% reported they would work less if that meant they could spend more time with their children.

Survey participants (married adults) were presented with a number of questions related to the daily care of children and were asked to report whose responsibility these mainly were within the couple.

The majority of men and women agreed that the daily care of children (such as bathing, changing clothes and pillows, etc.) was mainly women’s responsibility. In comparison with these, some tasks were reported to be more equally shared overall such as leisure time, talking to children about their personal matters, or disciplining them. However, men and women showed tremendous variances in their attribution of the main task holder. For instance, 80% of married women think physical punishment of a child is up to them, although only 44% of men think it is up to their partner, and 14% of women as opposed to 38% of men report this is a shared responsibility (Table 27).

Table 27. Distribution of Daily Care of Children as Reported by Married Men and Women

		Q2. Gender					
		Male		Female		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Q173. Staying at home with a child when he/she is sick	Usually me	15	4%	344	77%	359	43%
	Equally or done together	139	37%	86	19%	225	27%
	Usually partner	226	60%	18	4%	244	30%
Q172. Daily care of child	Usually me	15	4%	365	83%	380	47%
	Equally or done together	72	19%	60	14%	132	16%
	Usually partner	288	77%	17	4%	305	37%
Q174. Collecting child from school/day care center	Usually me	36	18%	155	64%	191	43%
	Equally or done together	71	35%	54	22%	125	28%
	Usually partner	97	48%	34	14%	131	29%
Q175. Playing or taking the child to leisure-time activities	Usually me	31	9%	177	42%	208	28%
	Equally or done together	231	69%	221	53%	452	60%
	Usually partner	74	22%	19	5%	93	12%
Q176. Reproving child	Usually me	61	20%	209	55%	270	39%
	Equally or done together	161	52%	144	38%	305	44%
	Usually partner	90	29%	26	7%	116	17%
Q177. Hitting or beating child	Usually me	20	21%	136	80%	156	59%
	Equally or done together	33	35%	24	14%	57	21%
	Usually partner	42	44%	11	6%	53	20%

Q178. Changing pillows and clothes	Usually me	8	3%	318	91%	326	52%
	Equally or done together	34	12%	17	5%	51	8%
	Usually partner	232	85%	16	5%	248	40%
Q179. Bathing child	Usually me	13	4%	326	87%	339	50%
	Equally or done together	19	6%	33	9%	52	8%
	Usually partner	265	89%	17	5%	282	42%
Q180. Talking with child about her/his personal matters	Usually me	30	12%	132	47%	162	31%
	Equally or done together	141	58%	133	47%	274	52%
	Usually partner	71	29%	16	6%	87	17%
Q181. Helping child to do homework	Usually me	23	10%	191	70%	214	42%
	Equally or done together	90	38%	62	23%	152	30%
	Usually partner	127	53%	20	7%	147	29%

Childhood experiences

Men and women respondents from the intervention groups have mainly lived with both their mothers and fathers as a child (93% both sexes). Decisions concerning the marriage of respondents' brothers were reported to have been mainly taken by brothers themselves (45% of respondents) as well as fathers (25%) and both parents (25%). However, only 33% of male respondents reported that the decisions related to the marriage of their sisters was the decision of the sisters themselves (in comparison with 43% of women which seem to indicate that women view this decision as personal (more than men do when it comes to their sisters). ($\chi^2= 10,65$ $p=0.31$ $df=4$).

Comparing experiences of violence among male and female married adults in their childhood and in the past year, there was a statistically significant correlation with reported violence as adults (reported male to female violence and reported experienced violence of females). Two composite scores were created for violence experienced while young/ in the past year and violence experienced in adult life. The positive correlation shows a positive association between childhood violence and adult domestic violence, which is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

The Spearman correlation coefficients were found to be positive, and significant with a magnitude of at least 0.2.

Table 30. Correlation between experiences of violence while young and reported practices of violence –by gender

Nonparametric Correlations Spearman's rho						
		violence__ young	violence _male adult_	violence_ male_ adult_last year	violence female adult last year	violence _female _adult
violence_exp_young	Correlation	1	.297**	0,11	.187*	.298**
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0	0,174	0,022	0
	N	524	249	154	149	275
violence_male_adult	Correlation	.297**	1	.572**		
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0		0		
	N	249	249	154	0	0
violence_male_adult_last_yr	Correlation	0,11	.572**	1		
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,174	0			
	N	154	154	154	0	0
violence_female_adult_last_yr	Correlation	.187*			1	.416**
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,022				0
	N	149	0	0	149	149
violence_female_adult	Correlation	.298**			.416**	1
	Coefficient					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0			0	
	N	275	0	0	149	275
** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).						
* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).						

Outcome 2 Transformed communities promoting change in social norms

WV strategy indicators:

- Proportion of children under 5 with whom an adult has **engaged in four or more activities** to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days

- **For fathers:** Proportion of children under 5 with whom a father has **engaged in one or more activities** to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days

Indicator description and measurement:

To get a sense of the engagement of parents in activities with and for their children that promoted their development, parent participants of the survey were provided with a set of questions related to the type of activity that was done with their children in the last three days. Respondents then designated who in the household had done the activity with the child (mothers, fathers and another family member).

Question addressed to caregivers was: “during the last three days, have you or another family member spent time with the child by a. reading books; b. telling a story; c. singing songs; d. taking the child outdoors; e. playing; f. teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing. This indicator reflects caregivers’ self-reported behavior.

The first indicator was calculated by using the following procedure: a variable was created summing up the responses related to caregivers involvement in any activities with children, then a second variable was created to generate frequencies (a minimum of 4 activities out of 6 was coded 1 and less than 4 activities was coded 0).

The second indicator was calculated using the same procedure: a variable was created summing up the responses related to fathers’ involvement in any activities with children, then a second variable was created based on the number of activities (a minimum of 1 activity out of 6 was coded 1 and less than 1 activity was coded 0).

A third indicator was added about the proportion of caregivers who have been engaged in one or more activities with their children (using the same methods as the first indicator).

Results show that 30% caregivers report that one adult engaged in one or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days with their children and 23% of caregivers in four or more activities; and 25% of fathers are engaging in at least one of these activities with their child(ren) as shown in table 29.

Overall, activities most frequently done with children were playing; taking the children outdoors; and teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing (irrespective of the task holder) and the activities. Less practiced were looking through book illustrations, storytelling and singing songs (table 34).

Table 31. Proportion of caregivers/fathers reporting engaging in learning and readiness activities with their children

Indicator	Intervention group		Comparison group	
	N=1468	%	N=585	%
1. Proportion of caregivers who report that one adult has been engaging in four or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days with their child(ren)	343	23%		22%
	N=692	%	N=273	%
2. Proportion of fathers who report engaging in one or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days with their child(ren)	175	25%	72	26%
	N=1468	%	N=585	%
3. Proportion of caregivers who report engaging in one or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days with their child(ren)	445	30%	173	30%

Table 32. Proportion of caregivers who report that one adult has been engaging in four or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days with their child(ren) – per marz (intervention group)

Caregivers engaging in one or more activities										
Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush		
N=289	%	N=295	%	N=286	%	N=289	%	N=309	%	
84	29%	93	32%	78	27%	99	34%	91	29%	
Caregivers engaging in four or more activities										
Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush		
N=289	%	N=295	%	N=286	%	N=289	%	N=309	%	
60	21%	74	25%	61	21%	75	26%	73	24%	

Table 33. Proportion of fathers who report engaging in one or more activities to promote learning and school readiness in the last 3 days with their child(ren)– per marz

Q2. Gender									
Male									
Marz									
Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush	
N=137	%	N=138	%	N=133	%	N=138	%	N=148	%
36	26%	33	24%	32	24%	44	32%	41	28%

When analyzing results from all individual respondents (mothers and fathers), mothers’ participation in all activities was higher than other adults i.e. the most frequently cited individual members regarding child development activities in the household. Fathers were also contributing to a lesser extent, most notably when it related to playing (30%); taking the children outdoors (29%) and teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing (26%).

These results show that creative activities are less prioritized and that parents invest more time in playing outside as well as activities that will have a direct impact on how their children fare at school (literacy and numeracy) with only 6% of fathers (but 16% of mothers) reporting they are reading books to their children. Disaggregation per marz doesn’t show a significant difference (table 32 and 33).

Table 34. Percentage of male respondents reporting they (as fathers) have spent time with the child(ren) in the listed activities:

Intervention group	N=692	%
Reading books or looking through the book illustrations	43	6%
Telling a story/a fairy tale	53	8%
Singing songs including lullaby	54	8%
Taking the child/ren outdoor/to the yard	165	24%
spent time with the child/ren by playing	175	25%
Teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing	136	20%
Control group	N=273	%
Reading books or looking through the book illustrations	18	7%
Telling a story/a fairy tale	29	11%
Singing songs including lullaby	12	4%
Taking the child/ren outdoor/to the yard	59	22%
spent time with the child/ren by playing	72	26%
Teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing	55	20%

Table 35. Percentage of female respondents reporting they (as mothers) have spent time with the child(ren) in the listed activities:

Intervention group	N=776	%
Reading books or looking through the book illustrations	128	16%
Telling a story/a fairy tale	157	20%
Singing songs including lullaby	180	23%
Taking the child/ren outdoor/to the yard	223	29%
spent time with the child/ren by playing	231	30%
Teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing	203	26%
Control group	N=312	%
Reading books or looking through the book illustrations	46	15%
Telling a story/a fairy tale	59	19%
Singing songs including lullaby	56	18%
Taking the child/ren outdoor/to the yard	82	26%
spent time with the child/ren by playing	86	28%
Teaching words, counting the numbers, drawing	75	24%

3.3 Indicator related to “environment where girls and boys are born and valued equally” (goal)

Project goal Environment where girls and boys are born and valued equally

WV strategy indicator Harmful traditional or customary practices as they relate to GBV are no longer the norm in the community

Indicator description and measurement: The indicator is measured as male to female domestic violence (emotional, physical and economical violence). Other contributing indicators are: witnessing violence, and relationship controlling scale (the degree to which men want to exert control over their partner’s life).

To measure emotional violence, an aggregate score was created by summing the answers to questions related to emotional violence (Q105, Q106 and Q107), then another variable was created which coded 1 scores ≥ 2 . This allowed us to get the frequency of men who reported using at least one of the three types of emotional violence (see table 30 below). The same procedure was used to get the frequency for emotional violence used in the last 12 months (scores coded 1 if ≥ 1).

To measure physical violence, an aggregate score was created by summing the answers to questions related to physical violence (Q114, Q115 and Q116), then another variable was created which coded 1 scores ≥ 2 . This allowed us to get the frequency of men who reported using at least one of the three types of physical violence (see table 30 below). The same procedure was used to get the frequency for physical violence used in the last 12 months (scores coded 1 if ≥ 1).

To measure economical violence, an aggregate score was created by summing the answers to questions related to economical violence (Q110, Q111, Q112 and Q113), then another variable was created which coded 1 scores ≥ 2 . This allowed us to get the frequency of men who reported using at least one of the three types of economical violence (see table 30 below). The same procedure was used to get the frequency for economical violence used in the last 12 months (scores coded 1 if ≥ 1).

Emotional, physical and economical violence

The survey asked a series of questions related to male to female partner emotional, physical and economical violence (see table 30 for men reported use of violence and table 31 for women’s reported experiences of violence). The same questions were also addressed to youth, although the response rate was lower as only those in a relationship were able to answer (thus caution should be used in interpretation).

Furthermore, results from questions asking directly about the incidence of violence in respondent’s own lives should always be interpreted with caution, as social desirability bias of under-reporting (non-disclosure) has been well documented.

About half of the men (48%) reported using emotional violence towards their partners “more than one time” and 32% in the last 12 months; use of physical violence was reported by 12% of men “more than once” and 0% “in the last 12 months” whereas economical violence was reported by 9% “more than once” of men and 13% “in the last 12 months”.

Disaggregation by marz and control group (tables 38 - 41) has shown no statistical relevance.

Table 36. Percentage of Men Reporting Violence in the Relationship (married men/ intervention group)

	More than once		In the last 12 months	
	N = 692	%	N = 692	%
Emotional violence	338	48%	221	32%
Q105. How many times have you offended your partner or did something on purpose to make her feel bad?	315	46%	202	29%
Q106. How many times have you humiliated or demeaned your partner in front of others?	37	5%	20	3%
Q107. How many times have you done something on purpose to frighten or terrorize your partner?	78	11%	56	8%
Physical violence	81	12%	0	0%
Q108. How many times have you threatened to use violence toward your partner?	33	5%	18	3%
Q109. How many times have you used violence towards people valuable for your partner?	14	2%	9	1%
Q114. How many times have you slapped a partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her?	70	10%	28	4%
Q115. How many times have you pushed, shoved or hit your partner with a fist, had kicked, dragged, beaten or choked?	29	4%	14	2%
Q116. How many times have you threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against a partner?	0	0%	1	0%
Economical violence	129	9%	91	13%
Q110. How many times have you forbidden your wife to find a job, to work, trade or earn money?	111	16%	79	11%
Q111. How many times have you taken the money earned by your partner without her permission?	11	2%	9	1%
Q112. How many times have you made your partner to go out of house?	8	1%	4	0%
Q113. How many times have you kept money from her earnings to buy alcohol, cigarettes and other things for you?	7	1%	4	0%

In our sample, emotional violence tended to be reported more by women (33% more than once) than physical violence (6% more than once) and economical violence (16% more than once). Physical violence reported by women was quite low as usually expected.

Results showed that about one third of women (30%) reported their partner has either once or more than once tried to offend them or do something on purpose to make them feel bad (emotional abuse) and 15% of women reported that their partner has forbidden them to work.

Use of violence tended to be reported more by men than women with one in ten men (10%) admitting slapping or throwing something at his wife more than once, as opposed to only 4% of women reporting being a victim of this. To a lesser extent, the proportion for youth are the same: the use of psychological violence and control over women’s work were the most often reported types of violence under across gender and age groups.

Table 37. Percentage of Women Reporting Violence in the Relationship (married women/ intervention group)

	More than once		In the last 12 months	
	N=776	%	N=776	%
Emotional violence	254	33%	177	23%
Q87. How many times has your partner offended you or did something on purpose to make you feel bad?	231	30%	167	22%
Q88. How many times has your partner humiliated or demeaned you in front of others?	56	7%	50	6%
Q89. How many times has your partner done something on purpose to frighten or terrorize you?	41	5%	27	3%
Physical violence	43	6%	23	3%
Q90. How many times has your partner threatened to use violence towards you?	23	3%	11	1%
Q91. How many times has your partner used violence towards people valuable for you?	7	1%	4	1%
Q96. How many times has your partner slapped you or thrown something at you that could hurt you?	33	4%	18	2%
Q97. How many times has your partner pushed, shoved or hit you with a fist, had kicked, dragged, beaten or choked you?	21	3%	12	2%
Q98. How many times has your partner threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against you?	1	0%	1	0%
Economical violence	127	16%	90	12%
Q92. How many times has your partner forbidden you to find a job, to work, trade or earn money?	114	15%	82	11%
Q93. How many times have you taken the money earned by your partner without her permission?	5	1%	3	0%
Q94. How many times has your partner made you to go out of house?	6	1%	2	0%
Q95. How many times has your partner kept money from your earnings to buy alcohol, cigarettes and other things for him?	12	2%	7	1%

Interestingly, survey data showed some discrepancies between married men and women’s attitudes related to domestic violence and actual incidence rates (as reported by couples). For instance, more than a third of men reported “there are times a woman deserves to be beaten” as opposed to 12% and 0% men reporting they have used physical violence respectively “more than once” and “in the last 12 months”. This could show the gap between social norms among men and actual behaviors. One also cannot ignore that there is a social desirability bias not to disclose such incidents.

Findings from qualitative data showed that caregivers were much more comfortable in speaking about domestic violence issues that some informants from authorities who were less at ease:

Participants of focus groups discussion highlighted that violence perpetrated by men was seen as a “man thing”:

You may be angry in the family for some reason, and you hit the woman on that basis. But then I am more than sure that you will regret that, but will never show that you have regretted. It is kind of a male step, you know” (Group discussion, 18-59 year old married men, Vernadis)

You know but let me say again that there is of course violence in Armenia, we cannot deny it, but it is not so much. Because in here family is a good, stable cell, when a person has a child, s/he forgets about himself/herself, and starts living for the sake of that child and if he loves the child he should love his mother as well. (key informant, Kanaker-Zeytun administrative district)

In terms of men and women’s reported use of violence, survey data showed discrepancy between men and women (see fig. 7): men tended to report more about emotional violence than women (48% of men and 33% of women “more than once”); physical abuse was also reported more by men (12% of men and 6% of women). However use of physical violence in the last 12 months was reported by 0% of men as opposed to 3% of women. On the other hand, economic violence was reported more by women (16%) than men (9%), which would indicate that women tend to grant more importance to their economic freedom than men.

Figure 7. Reported forms of violence disaggregated by gender (intervention group)

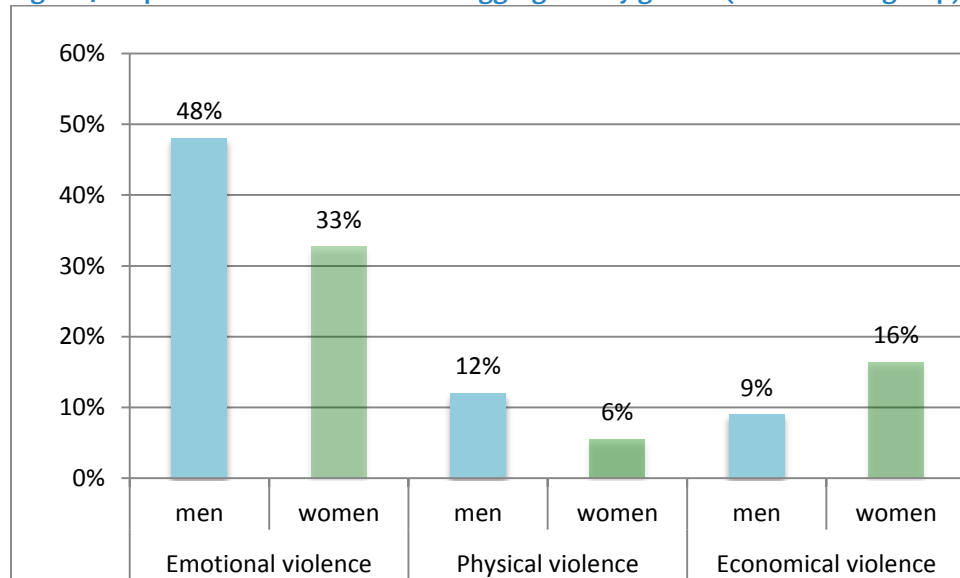


Table 38. Reported violence reported by women disaggregated by intervention and comparison group

	Intervention group		Comparison Group	
	N=776	%	N=312	%
Emotional violence	254	33%	114	37%
Physical violence	43	6%	25	8%
Economical violence	127	16%	46	15%

Table 39. Reported use of violence reported by men disaggregated per intervention and comparison group

	Intervention group		Comparison Group	
	N=692	%	N=273	%
Emotional violence	338	48,80%	127	46,50%
Physical violence	81	11,70%	32	11,70%
Economical violence	129	18,60%	53	19,40%

Table 40. Reported violence reported by women disaggregated per marz (intervention group) “more than once”

	Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush	
	N=152	%	N=157	%	N=153	%	N=153	%	N=161	%
Emotional violence	43	28%	53	34%	56	37%	44	29%	58	36%
Physical violence	5	3%	10	6%	7	5%	14	9%	7	4%
Economical violence	22	15%	33	21%	19	12%	27	18%	26	16%

Table 41. Reported use of violence reported by men disaggregated by marz (intervention group) “more than once”

	Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush	
	N=137	%	N=138	%	N=133	%	N=136	%	N=148	%
Emotional violence	61	45%	59	43%	67	50%	74	54%	77	52%
Physical violence	17	12%	17	12%	16	12%	16	12%	15	10%
Economical violence	21	15%	31	23%	25	19%	31	23%	21	14%

Witnessing violence in other couples

This survey found that 11.3% of men and 17.7% of women reported having a friend or neighbor who is violent towards his wife/partner. For these participants, more women than men are bothered by this – 62.0% of women vs. 45.5% of men. Questions about justifications of violence received a noticeable low response rate (less than 5% of total sample), but among those who did answer, more men believed it was a personal issue and not their problem – 44.2% of men vs. 35.0% of women. Furthermore, 10.4% men vs. 2.9% women believed the man must have had a sound reason for using violence. Based on the

same low response rate, men and women mostly answered that they would either intervene during the episode (about a third of responses) or speak to the man directly after the episode (40% of men vs 17% of women). Surprisingly, almost no one mentioned that reporting to the police could be one of the options (0% men and 3% women). Cross tabulations of answers to the two variables above show that individuals have reported contradictory beliefs with one out of three people answering that “it was not their problem” but still would intervene directly after witnessing an episode” although one would expect them not to.

It is also not a norm to talk to sons about violence against women (according to 65.9% of women and 71.6% of men). According to participants in focus group discussions, there may be a repetition phenomenon across generations in families where violence against women is perpetrated:

There are families in our community that the husband beats his wife. They have sons and their sons beat their wives too. It passes genetically (Group discussion, 18-28 year old unmarried women, Amasia)

I have a very close person to me, and her husband was always beating her starting from the beginning of the marriage. Her husband was making pressure on her saying that she has no voice, and cannot say her opinion, that she has no right to speak and till now she has no right to say her opinion... (group discussion, 18-59 years married women, Ijevan)

Controlling relationships

Data gathered in this survey also included a range of controlling behaviors by a woman’s intimate partner including physical and social mobility (e.g., spending time with others, whereabouts of partner). Overall the two areas that men want to have more control of are “decisions related to us” and “being informed about the woman’s whereabouts”. Surprisingly, men and women from the youth sample showed equal to more controlling needs than their older peers (married men).

Based on all 6 statements (listed in table 41), a new variable based on the mean score for the 6 statements was created. Another variable was then added (control proportion) which was coded 1 for scores < 2.5 that is providing a proportion for women who mainly responded that their partner did not have a controlling behavior. Overall 66% reported a controlling partner within the intervention group

Table 42. Percentage of Married Women reporting Control in the relationship by intervention/control group

Q2. Gender			Female		
			N	%	
Intervention	No	Control proportion	0	972	66%
			1	436	34%
Comparison	Yes	Control proportion	0	399	68%
			1	186	32%

Comparing the level of education of survey respondents indicated that there was no statistically significant difference among groups which had finished secondary school and those who had a university degree, except for the following items: ‘His word has more value in important decisions relating to us, than yours’ and ‘He dictates to you with whom you can spend time’.

Table 43. Percentage of Married Women reporting control in relationship - by Education Level

Statements Relating to Control:		Education							
		Secondary		Specialized secondary (college. vocational)		Higher /university diploma. bachelor degree/		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Q99. Your partner doesn't allow you to wear several types of clothes	Disagree	335	65.0%	225	71.2%	160	72.7%	720	68,5%
	Agree	180	35,0%	91	28,8%	60	27,3%	331	31,5%
Q100. His word has more value in important decisions relating to us, than yours	Disagree	107	21,0%	100	32,1%	121	57,1%	328	31,7%
	Agree	403	79,0%	212	67,9%	91	42.9%	706	68.3%
Q101. He dictates you with whom you can spend time	Disagree	368	71.5%	243	77.4%	189	86.7%	800	76.4%
	Agree	147	28.5%	71	22.6%	29	13.3%	247	23.6%
Q104. He likes let me know that you are not the only partner that he can have.	Disagree	475	93.9%	294	93.9%	203	92.3%	972	93.6%
	Agree	31	6.1%	19	6.1%	17	7.7%	67	6.4%
Q102. When you wear clothes. that make you look beautiful. your partners thinks that you try to seduce other men	Disagree	461	90.6%	291	92.4%	206	94.1%	958	91.9%
	Agree	48	9.4%	24	7.6%	13	5.9%	85	8.1%
Q103. He wants to be always informed where you are	Disagree	91	17,7%	49	15.6%	36	16,4%	176	16.8%
	Agree	424	82,3%	266	84.4%	184	83,6%	874	83.2%

Project goal

Environment where girls and boys are born and valued equally

WV strategy indicator

Male to female ratio per AP for children under 1 year old (WV Armenia Strategy indicator) **Indicator description and measurement:** The indicator is measured via the sex ratio at birth in the project ADP

Data on the number and sex of children were obtained from the community based health facility: all health care providers were requested to provide the number of children born between 01 January and 31 December 2015 by sex.

In total, 4,017 children born between January 31 and December 31 were reported to be living in all ADP communities enrolled into the survey. Overall, the ratio of boys to girls was 1.14. The highest level of sex ratio was observed in Vardenis, Aparan (1.37 each) followed by Gavar and Ijevan communities (1.27 each).

Table 44. Number of boys and Girls born in 2015, WV Armenia C4E project intervention communities, 2015

	Number of boys	Number of girls	sex ratio boys to girls
Amasia	58	73	0.79
Aparan	171	125	1.37
Chambarak	137	131	1.05
Gavar	409	323	1.27
Gyumri	387	358	1.08
Ijevan	403	318	1.27
Noyemberyan	139	150	0.93
Talin	161	167	0.96
Vardenis	293	214	1.37
Total	2158	1859	1.22

3.4 Indicator related to outcome “Enabling legal and institutional environment for promotion of policies combatting GBV and PSS”

Outcome	Enabling legal and institutional environment for promotion of policies combatting GBV and PSS
WV strategy indicator	*National/Marz/Community Strategies/Plans reflect GBV and PSS themes

Indicator description and measurement: This indicator was measured through secondary data collection, in particular desk research/document review. The 4-year Marz development Plans have been reviewed to find out whether those reflect the following issues: 1) Gender equality, 2) Gender-biased violence, 3) Domestic violence and 4) prenatal sex selection.

The 4-year Marz Development plans have been reviewed in Aragatsotn, Shirak, Gegharkunik and Tavush marzes. As data showed, mentioned marz development plans had focus on gender equality to different extents. It is interesting that Gender-biased violence has been reflected in almost all plans except for Tavush marz. Domestic violence is discussed only in Aragatsotn and Gegharkunik MDPs. None of selected marz development plans covered the issue of prenatal sex selection.

The reflection of all 4 issues is the total 100%, and with this logic the percentage and score have been calculated based for this indicator.

Table 45. Percentage and score of the level of reflection of GE, GBV, DV and PSS in 4-year marz development plans

Marz	Score	1. Gender Equality 2. Gender-biased 3. Domestic violence 4. PSS	Percentage
Aragatsotn	3	4	75
Shirak	3	4	75
Gegharkunik	2	4	50
Tavush	1	4	25
Total	2.25	4	56.25



Document
review.xlsx

3.5. Access to information

This section briefly looks at ways of getting information in Armenia. The survey had a series of final questions related to the previous participation of respondents to GBV programs, whether or not they would go to faith leaders to talk about GBV, and about access and use of media including social media.

GBV activities

In all marzes, three quarters of respondents have reported they have never heard of any GBV related activities conducted in their community. Among those who have heard of such ongoing activity, 16% said they have participated.

GBV and faith leaders

Respondents almost unanimously said that faith leaders have never talked to them or their families about GBV issues. Furthermore, 87% reported they would never go to a faith leader for counselling in case they have a problem related to GBV.

Media use

In most marzes, television was the prominent media, used by 92% married respondents and 76% youth. The second most used media was internet (55% of married respondents and 68% for youth), to a bigger extent in Yerevan. Social networks were ranked third by both groups but interestingly was used more by older respondents (85% for married and 64% of youth).

Among the TV channels most popular across all age groups was Shant, Armenia and H1 (by order of preference). Armenia was the favorite channel in Yerevan. More than 1 out of 2 people declared watching YTV at night (after 21 pm) and about a third of people in the early evening (18pm-21pm).

Website most seen was www.news.am.

There were more differences between marzes about radio channels preferences (see table below).

Social networks

Odnoklassniki, a Russian social network service for classmates and old friends was used by about a third of respondents (and 40% in Shirak. Facebook was used by over a third of respondents in all marzes (but more than half in Yerevan). A large majority of respondents (three quarters) use these networks to follow the news and keep in touch with friends and relatives. Young people on the other hand used Facebook (88%), followed by Odnoklassniki (48%) and Vkontakte (23%).

Table 46. Percentage of respondents listening to particular radio channels

Q191_1. Please mention 3 radio channels that you listen to several times a week.	*Marz*													
	Aragatsotn		Gegharkunik		Yerevan		Shirak		Tavush		Control group		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Azatutyun	17	40%	2	6%	9	10%	10	20%	10	31%	14	18%	62	19%
Radio Hay FM 104.1	3	7%	3	9%	3	3%	30	59%	1	3%	14	18%	54	17%
Im Radio FM 103.8	1	2%	3	9%	4	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	8	3%
Radio Avrora 100.7	1	2%	1	3%	17	19%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	20	6%
Lav Radio 106.9	0	0%	0	0%	3	3%	0	0%	0	0%	2	3%	5	2%
Radio Jan FM 90.7	9	21%	4	13%	14	15%	1	2%	3	9%	7	9%	38	12%
Autoradio	0	0%	0	0%	14	15%	1	2%	1	3%	4	5%	20	6%
Radio Van 103.0	3	7%	1	3%	12	13%	0	0%	1	3%	8	11%	25	8%
Radio Chanson Yerevan FM 90.1	0	0%	1	3%	4	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	2%
Radio FM/ Radio Hay 105.5	4	9%	6	19%	4	4%	1	2%	6	19%	11	15%	32	10%
Public Radio of Armenia 107.7	4	9%	10	31%	5	6%	0	0%	9	28%	11	15%	39	12%
Radio Yerevan	1	2%	1	3%	2	2%	1	2%	1	3%	1	1%	7	2%
The voice of Shirak	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	7	14%	0	0%	3	4%	10	3%

4. Main conclusions and recommendations

In this final section, we provide a conclusion and identify a number of recommendations, some of which no doubt the team has already addressed since the start of this program.

❖ *Gender discrimination*

Results from both quantitative and qualitative data show that discrimination against women persists in Armenia through defined attitudes and expected roles for women that undermine them and contribute to their lower status in society.

Overall, men showed the most inequitable attitudes - especially married men - and women were more likely to adhere to statements in favor of equity (especially young women).

With regard to age, married adults adhere to attitudes of lower support for gender equity (mean=52.6; N=2,054) than do youth (mean=50.9; N=647) ($p < .001$). With regard to gender, males (with mean score of 54 and 53.2 for married and youth men) were more likely to agree with these statements/support inequitable gender norms than females (with a mean score of 51.4 and 46.9 for married and youth women respectively).

Recommendation 1. Create safe dialogue spaces for men and women to interact about existing gender norms (cf. outcome 2 of the logical framework)

One possible approach to this is to move beyond the “sensitization” approach in order to use strategies that use community participation and harness positive and local cultural values that are protective of and raise the profile of women and girls. This could be done through ethnographic or action research and/or take place within a “dialogue approach” in a coordinated endeavor to create new positive values about women and girls at community level.

Recommendation 2. Involve young people in programming and advocacy as agents of change (cf. outcome 2).

Young men and women showed consistently more progressive attitudes and behaviors than their older peers, especially young women. As such, they will be instrumental in bringing about change among the current generation of parents-to-be. Working with young people (as well as teenagers) to discuss and challenge topics related to gender equality and violence for conveying messages will be key.

❖ *Gender relationships at home*

The survey found a gap between attitudes and actual behaviors when it comes to decision-making, with men and women overall reporting that decisions were a mutual responsibility (shared within the couple), therefore showing more equitable practices than intentions (most decisions were shared according to 65-7% respondents). However, one exception to that was the decision for the woman to work, which was the least shared decision (according to 52% of men and 38% women). This last result was found across all marzes, to a bigger extent in Shirak and Tavush where more women respondents reported the decision to work outside the house was not theirs but their husband's (68% as opposed to 55% mean across all marz). Interestingly in Yerevan, more men (69% as opposed to 49% across all marzes) thought that the decision was shared (in comparison with other marzes). However results for women in Yerevan is more similar to other marz (39% vs 38% across all marz) than to their male peers, showing a significant discrepancy between both sexes.

Recommendation 3. Sensitization and dialogue activities should include and discuss the role of women in the labor market in programming

Recommendation 4. Consider providing or linking women with work opportunities/increased access to the job market

Women as contributors to the labor market has been highlighted as an important issue from this survey. One way of tackling this would be through inclusion of this topic among training and dialogue opportunities created by the program. Another way could be to facilitate enhanced access to education and employment opportunities for women, thus allowing them to increase their status. Indeed, qualitative focus groups brought some women's accounts of how work can lead to better bargaining power within the household. World Vision could either provide or link women and girls with programs that can support their emancipation through education and integration into the labor market.

❖ *Male domination and violence against women*

Baseline results showed that men want to have the last word on decisions related to the couple as well as women's whereabouts: 87% of men (married and youth) reported that "their words had more value than their partners in "decisions related to us" and 86% of married men and 95% of young men reported they want to be always informed of "where their partner is". Surprisingly, young men tend to have more controlling behaviors on this last item. Regarding domestic violence, reported incidence rates of violent behaviors towards women were quite low, though attitudes showed quite high levels of accepted violence among both sexes: 67% and 64% women reported that "if a woman betrays her husband, he can hit her".

In addition, results showed that exposure of participants to GBV programs was quite low: in all marzes, three quarters of respondents have reported they have never heard of any GBV related activities

conducted in their community. Among those who have heard of such ongoing activity, only 16% said they have participated.

Interestingly, survey data also showed that 1. It is also not a norm to talk to sons about violence against women (according to 65.9% of women and 71.6% of men) 2. Religious leaders are not thought to be a “go to point” for men and women to discuss GBV.

Recommendation 5. Sensitization and dialogue activities should include and discuss gender-based violence in programming targeted at both adults and young people.

❖ *Son preference*

Across all gender and age groups, the importance of having a son remained high, with over 60% of participants reporting that “it is important to have a son”.

A more thorough analysis on selected variables related to discriminatory attitudes (cf. figure 1) showed that there is a significant contribution between adherence to negative gender stereotypes and son preference. Disaggregation by marz showed that regions with the highest score of discrimination towards women were the same regions where high son preference was found, with Aragatsotn and Gegharkunik showing higher proportions of individuals reporting a son preference.

Recommendation 6. Emphasis on establishing positive gender norms towards women is key: specific attention should be provided to record/monitor progress in regions showing specifically discriminatory attitudes and son preference.

Tackling gender inequality is a long-term endeavor that is more likely to succeed when it is the result of a collective action/effort. World Vision could work with an advocacy/social norms resource person to support the development of a common advocacy strategy, together with other partners working in gender programming in Armenia. This should include the identification of advocacy “targets” and “allies” and a step by step (realistic) change approach. This should be done collectively as different partners will have different entry points for influencing and leveraging legal and institutional change.

Recommendation 7. Build an advocacy plan aiming at reducing negative gender norms and prenatal sex selection (cf. outcome 2)

Recommendation 8. Address factors underlying son preference and sex selective abortion (cf. outcome 1)

One possible approach is to identify role models who are able to influence and shift the discourse around women and girls. These should be personalities who have local legitimacy and are able to convey powerful messages across age and gender groups, and who will have credibility among Armenian people to speak up about gender equality and women’s rights.

Involving individuals from all age ranges (inter-generational) is key. As previous research has shown that son preference was higher among multi-generational families (Guilmoto 2013), it will be important to involve older family members whose influence on younger family members (and their reproductive choices) may be significant.

More research is needed about what it means to be a girl within a patrilineal kinship system and its implications for women's outcomes. According to the majority of men and women consulted in this survey, son preference was mostly associated with the perpetuation of the family name. Women also cited the importance of being "looked after" in their old age. These are linked to the strict patrilineal family system in which a daughter in Armenia is effectively incorporated into the lineage of her husband whereas a son will carry his father's surname and continue the family surname.

The survey didn't cover information related to the types of technologies available in each marz (rural or urban).

Recommendation 9. More research is needed on the types of determination technologies available in WV operational areas and the conditions of access (financial) as these also determine fertility behaviors.

❖ *Abortion*

More than half of all women (62%) reported having had an abortion in the past. The reason for an abortion that was most adhered to by both men and women was related to women's health. Of note was that a significantly higher percentage ($p > .001$) of women (more than 30%) reported that they had an abortion when the interviewer was female (62.9%), while only 48.1% reported having an abortion when the interviewer was male (Table 25).

Recommendation 10. In future surveys and sensitization work with women, involving women as main interviewers (of women) is likely to lead to better disclosure rates (related to sensitive issues such as abortions). Additionally, involving women within program activities destined at women may also lead to building trust and hopefully to better outcomes in terms of women's improved attitudes and practices.

❖ *Media preferences*

See media section.

5. Appendices

- ✓ Questionnaire for married couples of 18-59 years old (English and Armenian versions are attached)



IPSC_CFE_1-16_Qu
stionnaire_Final_Ma



IPSC_CFE_1-16_Qu
stionnaire_Final_Ma

- ✓ Questionnaire for single youth of 18-28 years old (English and Armenian versions are attached)



IPSC_CFE_1-16_Qu
stionnaire_Final_Yo



IPSC_CFE_1-16_Qu
stionnaire_Final_Yo

- ✓ Guides for Focus group discussions for married couples of 18-59 years old (English and Armenian versions are attached)



Focus Group
Discussion with Mar



FGD guide for
married couples.arr

- ✓ Guides for Focus group discussions for single youth of 18-28 years old (English and Armenian versions are attached)



Focus Group
Discussion with Sing



FGD guide for
youth.arm.docx

- ✓ Guide for expert interviews (English and Armenian versions are attached)



Expert interview
guide.arm.docx



Expert interview
guide_eng.docx