

## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Domestic violence remains a widespread problem in Armenia. The 2019 report of the Office of Human Rights Defenders of Armenia revealed that 707 cases of domestic violence were recorded by Armenian law enforcement in 2018, 441 of which were cases of violence inflicted by a husband against his wife.<sup>1</sup> Between 2010 and 2017, at least 62 women were killed by a current or former intimate partner or spouse, or other family member.<sup>2</sup> Further, within the previous two months of the submission of this report, there have been six reported cases of femicide.<sup>3</sup> However, a majority of femicide perpetrators had not been charged or sentenced for the killings.<sup>4</sup>
2. In 2017, Armenia passed its first law on domestic violence, the *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family*. However, the law does not criminalize domestic violence, and places too great an emphasis on reconciliation and traditional values rather than individual rights of victims.
3. Armenia continues to lack comprehensive protections for victims of domestic violence and trainings for law enforcement and judges. Further, women's human rights defenders in Armenia are subjected to personal attacks, infringing on their ability to assist women throughout the country.

## II. BACKGROUND AND FRAMEWORK

4. Armenia has ratified several human rights treaties, including the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and its optional protocol, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights and its optional protocol, and the Convention against Torture. Further, in 2002, Armenia ratified the European Convention on Human Rights, which placed it under the jurisdiction of the European Courts of Human Rights.
5. Armenia signed the Istanbul Convention in January 2018, but has not yet ratified the treaty. Upon signing the Istanbul Convention, Armenia reserved the right to now apply several provisions. These include Article 30(2) on state compensation,<sup>5</sup> Article 55(1) referring to Article 35 on not depending entirely on a victim's complaint and continuing without the victim if she withdraws her complaint in cases of physical violence,<sup>6</sup> Article 58 referring to Article 37 on statutes of limitations for forced marriage,<sup>7</sup> and Article 59 on residence status.<sup>8</sup>

### A. 2014 Universal Periodic Review

6. During the 2014 Universal Periodic Review, Armenia accepted multiple recommendations related to gender equality and domestic violence. Armenia's acceptance of certain recommendations demonstrated an increased commitment to eliminating domestic violence. Armenia noted recommendations to address gender discrimination and multiple discrimination faced by women from minority groups. The country's noting of other recommendations underscores Armenia's reluctance to address general trends of discrimination against women. Armenia still lacks stand-alone legislation prohibiting discrimination. Armenia's resistance towards promoting universal gender equality is further reflected in the language of its 2017 family violence law, which

shifts the focus away from women’s rights and towards preserving the traditional family unit.

1. *Ratification or Accession to the Istanbul Convention*

**Status of Implementation: Accepted, Not Implemented**

7. During the 2014 UPR, Armenia accepted three recommendations to either ratify or accede to the Istanbul Convention.<sup>9</sup> While Armenia signed the Istanbul Convention in 2018, it has neither ratified nor acceded to the treaty. Furthermore, Armenia reserved the right not to apply the provisions laid down in the following articles of the Istanbul Convention: Article 30, para. 2; Article 55, para. 1 in respect of Article 35 regarding minor offences; Article 58 in respect of Article 37; and Article 59.

2. *Domestic Violence Legislation*

**Status of Implementation: Accepted, Partially Implemented**

8. During the 2014 UPR, Armenia accepted a number of recommendations that the State adopt comprehensive, stand-alone legislation criminalizing domestic violence and protecting victims and their families.<sup>10</sup> While Armenia passed the *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family* law in 2017, the law is not comprehensive. The law failed to meet the standards established by international law, did not criminalize domestic violence, and placed inappropriate emphasis on traditional values and reconciliation.

3. *Assistance for and Protection of Victims of Domestic Violence*

**Status of Implementation: Accepted, Partially Implemented**

9. During the 2014 UPR, Armenia accepted several recommendations regarding assistance for and protection of victims of domestic violence, including recommendations that Armenia “enhance the fight against domestic and gender-based violence [and] strengthen protection mechanisms for victims of domestic violence.”<sup>11</sup> While measures have been outlined by the *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family* law and some—such as compensation for victims—have been instituted,<sup>12</sup> a number of problems still persist, including the lack of shelters, ineffective trainings for law enforcement and judges, and lack of victim-centered systems. Domestic violence is not criminalized under Armenia’s Criminal Code, which is also a requirement of the Istanbul Convention.

**B. Domestic Legal Framework**

10. Armenia’s Constitution provides for general equality under the law<sup>13</sup> as well as the equal rights of men and women.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, among other protected categories.<sup>15</sup> However, despite these overarching provisions, Armenia continues to lack comprehensive prohibitions of gender-based discrimination.<sup>16</sup>

11. Before the 2017 *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family* law, Armenia did not have any laws specifically addressing domestic violence. However, despite the

implementation of the new law, domestic violence cases continue to be investigated and prosecuted under general provisions in the Armenia Criminal Procedural Code. Provisions of the Criminal Code that are applied some cases of domestic violence included murder<sup>17</sup> and infliction of willful heavy damage to health.<sup>18</sup> While these provisions are pertinent to severe cases of physical and sexual abuse, they do little for other cases of domestic violence.

12. Currently, there are no state-run shelters available for the victims of domestic violence. Under the requirements of the 2017 *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family* law, six state-funded support centers have recently opened: three in Yerevan, and three in other regions of Armenia—one in the Lori region, one in the Shirak region, and one in the Syunik region.<sup>19</sup>

### **III. IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS**

#### **The New Legal Framework Established under the 2017 Law is Inadequate**

13. The law on *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family* is the first law on domestic violence in Armenia and does notable work of defining domestic violence and outlining protective measures, ex officio measures, and state obligations including the establishment of shelters and support centers.
14. Although the existence of the law is notable first step, representing the culmination of several years of work, the law itself is inadequate. The new law does not criminalize domestic violence. Further overarching problems within the law include its emphasis on reconciliation and traditional values.

#### **A. Emphasis on Reconciliation**

15. Article 10 of the Law which outlines the process of state-facilitated mediation between the victim and the abuser, is especially problematic. The emphasis on reconciliation is troubling as the language is being used to “keep families together” rather than allowing women who may want to separate from or divorce their husbands to do so. This focus represents a shift from the original intent of NGOs in creating a domestic violence law, as well as contradicts the overall purpose of the law. Rather than focusing on the individual rights of victims and their children, the Ministry of Justice “changed the framework to base it more on reconciliation of the family.”<sup>20</sup>
16. Advocates and human rights practitioners in Armenia object to Article 10 on the basis that comprehensive domestic violence legislation should be victim-centered and focused on providing support and resources to the victim; placing pressure on the victim to reconcile with their abuser directly contradicts this goal.<sup>21</sup>
17. The 2017 Law refers to “support centers” that, among other functions, are responsible for mediation between the abuser and the victim.<sup>22</sup> Domestic violence experts and advocates have expressed deep concerns with this section of the law as it has the potential to condone the abuser’s actions and solidify the power imbalance between the perpetrator and the victim.<sup>23</sup>

## **B. Emphasis on Traditional Values**

18. The focus on traditional values is similarly troubling due to the predominantly patriarchal society within Armenia, where wife beating may be identified as a “traditional value.”<sup>24</sup> Within Armenia, strong traditional gender roles often relegate women to the private sphere and limit their involvement in public life.<sup>25</sup>
19. One report on domestic violence in Armenia found that “the cultural legitimization of domestic violence is reinforced by media and education system which replicate and foster sexist and patriarchal norms,” further noting that “the state continuously fails to ensure adequate gender-sensitive education.”<sup>26</sup>

## **C. Use of “Violence within the Family” and the Definition of “Family”**

20. Armenia’s wording of the 2017 Law does not use the term “domestic violence,” the most accepted term internationally. Instead, it uses “violence within the family.” Adoption of such wording was dictated by the strong propaganda by some nationalist groups stating that the term “domestic violence” contradicts Armenian mentality. Furthermore, the definition of domestic violence and the forms of domestic violence included in the Law do not comply with the international best practice, the requirements of CEDAW Committee and the Istanbul Convention. The 2017 Law does not adequately cover all who may be perpetrators or victims of domestic violence. While the 2017 Law applies to both current and former spouses, it does not apply to current or former partners.<sup>27</sup> Such forms of domestic violence as controlling behavior/coercive control, sexual harassment, forced abortion, which are widespread forms of violence against women in Armenia, are not included in Article 3 of the Law.

## **D. Principles of “Victim-Centeredness” and “Gender Sensitivity”**

21. In line with the international best practice it is important that Article 2 of the 2017 Law would mention the principles of “victim-centeredness” and “gender sensitivity” in all the support and prevention measures, envisioned by the Law.

### **Resources for Victims of Domestic Violence are Insufficient**

#### **A. Safe Houses**

22. Victims face problems when trying to obtain short-term housing, as the number of beds in safe houses is insufficient. Council of Europe standards requires at least one specialized shelter in every region, and one shelter space per 10,000 people.<sup>28</sup> Article 14 and Article 20 of the 2017 Law require the state to undertake necessary measures to guarantee the existence and operation of shelters.<sup>29</sup> However, the Armenian state has failed to do so. In 2016, there were only two NGO-run shelters which together only had enough space for 15 women and their children.<sup>30</sup> At the moment, there is only one NGO-run shelter, operated by Women’s Support Center.
23. Shelters are inaccessible to women and children with disabilities.<sup>31</sup> State programs and policies also exclude women facing higher rates of violence, including LGBTI women, women belonging to ethnic minorities, women living in rural areas, and elderly women.<sup>32</sup>
24. Shelter guidelines as proposed by The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs are highly generalized for different kinds of shelters meant for trafficking victims, the homeless and domestic violence survivors. Hence, guidelines fail to take into account the special needs

of domestic violence survivors such as the need for a confidential location and targeted counseling.<sup>33</sup>

25. Police are not adequately trained to assist women with accessing safe houses.<sup>34</sup> Police have failed to provide information and increase awareness about shelters. Further, police have even leaked information about the women's location in the event that the offender is their friend.<sup>35</sup>
26. The only operating shelter in Armenia accepts LBT persons and has accepted them upon request.<sup>36</sup> However, the shelter is a closed shelter, which may deter LBT individuals who would prefer an open shelter for security reasons.<sup>37</sup> Thus, these services may exclude other gender-based minorities who fall outside of the gender binary. PINK Armenia has scrambled to provide temporary shelter services to members of the LBT community due to the absence of institutional support for gender-based minorities.<sup>38</sup>
27. Further, the shelter is not able to meet needs of women with disabilities, minority women, and women with children with disabilities.

### **B. Compensation**

28. In 2019, the Armenia government began providing victims of domestic violence with financial assistance as outlined in the 2017 Law.<sup>39</sup> Women who are registered at state crisis centers are eligible for a payment of up to 150,000 dram. However, women who are registered at NGO shelters, rather than state crisis centers may be ineligible to receive the government provided payment.<sup>40</sup> Women may be able to find some financial support elsewhere.<sup>41</sup>

### **C. Risk Assessments and Protection Orders**

29. Armenian police are required to conduct a risk assessment when responding to a domestic violence case.<sup>42</sup> However, while law enforcement has begun to implement risk assessments, police are failing to conduct the full assessments and therefore not identifying the true risk within families.<sup>43</sup>
30. Additionally, judges may use risk assessments to determine whether to issue a protective order, and if issued, how restrictive that protective order will be. Without the completed risk assessment, judges have failed to make decisions on protective orders.<sup>44</sup> This leaves a large gap in protections from victims and their children.<sup>45</sup> However, this is not always the case, as NGO representatives have been able to secure protective orders without a police risk assessment.<sup>46</sup>
31. Without comprehensive intervention and safety planning protocol, abusers are often not held accountable until one or multiple victims are killed. Even once a domestic homicide occurs, abusers frequently face minimal to no punishment for their crimes. A 2016 report on domestic violence in Armenia revealed that since 2010, the majority of perpetrators had not been charged or sentenced to prison.<sup>47</sup> Abusers convicted of committing homicide are, on average, sentenced to less than 10 years in prison.<sup>48</sup>

## **State Actors are not Properly Trained to Address Domestic Violence**

### **A. Law Enforcement**

32. NGOs note that the state does not properly monitor and ineffectively trains police officers to handle situations of domestic violence, and that this lack of preparation and oversight is worse in remote and rural areas. NGOs further note that many police officers lack knowledge about the realities of domestic violence and are thus more likely to believe the myths surrounding domestic violence.<sup>49</sup>
33. Domestic violence is still stigmatized by police officers. Currently, police, other law enforcement bodies, and the judiciary do not undergo gender sensitively training.
34. Police officers often issue a warning after first hearing of domestic violence within a family, regardless of how long domestic violence has taken place prior to the issuance of the warning. This can result in the victim remaining with the perpetrator without any protection. Women’s Support Center found that the practice of issuing warnings occurs in around 75% of cases, as police prefer to issue a warning rather than an emergency restraining order which would remove the perpetrator from the home.<sup>50</sup>
35. In some police departments, the head of the department has taken charge of the issue of domestic violence and made improvements, such as instituting trainings. However, these trainings are not systematic, and NGOs continue to receive complaints about police officers’ behavior when responding to domestic violence. Particularly, complaints have indicated that when victims of domestic violence are not assisted or supported by NGOs when going to the police, those victims encounter problems with law enforcement.
36. Some NGOs have found that, due to pressure from civil society, police officers are more cautious and avoid directly pressuring women to not bring cases of domestic violence. Rather, NGOs have identified the police practice of officers telling victims to write a statement rather than reporting the incident of domestic violence.
37. Further, rather than providing victim-centered care, police often prioritize the rights of the perpetrator.<sup>51</sup>
38. Women are underrepresented in Armenia’s police force, which can negatively impact the willingness of victims of domestic violence to report. Male police officers may be friends with the perpetrator, particularly in more rural areas, and are more likely to engage in victim-blaming behavior.<sup>52</sup> Subsequently, victims have indicated a preference to speak with female investigators about domestic violence. In 2018, Armenia did not hire sufficient numbers of female police officers and investigators to adequately and sensitively investigate domestic violence.<sup>53</sup>

## **B. Judges**

39. As with police officers, there have been reports of judges engaging in victim blaming, with some judges asking whether women “provoked or stimulated” domestic violence.<sup>54</sup> Judicial bias has not been addressed in a systematic manner. Advocates report that despite trainings, many in the judiciary are biased against women.<sup>55</sup>

## **Armenia has not Sufficiently Addressed Domestic Violence against Marginalized Individuals**

40. Services and resources for marginalized groups—including racial minorities, women with disabilities, members of the LBT community, and women living with HIV/AIDS—are greatly limited. Advocates in Armenia have revealed that the identities and unique

challenges such groups face are often not included in the conversation.<sup>56</sup> This is partly due to the taboo and social stigma associated with many of these groups, especially LBT women.

41. Victims of domestic violence who are members of marginalized groups may encounter greater obstacles than other victims when seeking culturally competent resources. Populations particularly impacted by this in Armenia are women living with disabilities, national minority women, and LBT individuals.
42. For women with physical or mental disabilities, obtaining accessible and competent resources can be difficult. Most domestic violence services are not accessible for women living with disabilities or women whose children are living with disabilities, including shelter spaces.<sup>57</sup>
43. The Armenian government systematically excludes marginalized groups from policies and programs aimed to help victims of domestic violence.<sup>58</sup> This leaves women with disabilities, elderly women, rural women, and ethnic/sexual minorities vulnerable. Since these groups already experience a greater risk of sexual violence, the lack of institutional support is particularly detrimental.
44. Although the overall rate of early marriage has declined in Armenia, the practice continues to be widespread in certain minority groups.<sup>59</sup> High rates of early marriage among the Yezidi population of Armenia put young women at an increased risk of experiencing domestic violence. Because such marriages are considered customary, the state frequently fails to acknowledge or prevent them.

#### **Women’s Human Rights Defenders Face Significant Threats to their Safety and Ability to Carry Out their Work**

45. On May 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019, the Sexual Assault Crisis Center, Armenia (SACC) organized launch event for the book *My Body is Personal*, designed to prevent child sexual assault. The book contains age-appropriate material for children ages 3–6 and their parents. During the event, 25 people broke into the café where the presentation was being held, disrupted the presentation, and threw eggs at event organizers as they left the café. Since then, the advocates at SACC have been the subjects of organized attacks from an extremist nationalist group of violent men.<sup>60</sup>
46. All members of SACC have received numerous rape and death threats—including threats to burn members alive—and degrading insults both online and offline. The sexual violence hotline run by SACC has also been under constant attack. All this has caused great apprehension among their family members, friends and especially the organization's beneficiaries and stakeholders.<sup>61</sup> These attacks have prevented SACC from carrying out their previous work, including advocacy and the provision of psychological and legal support for victims of sexual assault.<sup>62</sup>
47. In response to the attacks, SACC has urged law enforcement agencies “to put an end to these organized violent acts against women human rights defenders and their families, as well as ensure the safety of the organizations and individuals so that they can continue to support women and minors who are subjected to sexual violence.”<sup>63</sup>
48. These attacks exist within a context in which women’s human rights defenders already faced a good deal of mistrust and scorn. Fueled in part by the lack of accurate

information regarding their work, human rights defenders working on issues of domestic violence and other forms of violence against women have been labeled as “destroyers of families.”<sup>64</sup>

#### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

49. This stakeholder report suggests the following recommendations for the Government of Armenia:

- Ratify the Istanbul Convention without reservations and adopt a framework for implementing the convention.
- Increase awareness of domestic violence through national campaigns. Armenian society and government officials are often unaware of the prevalence of domestic violence and the ways in which domestic violence impacts its victims. Nationwide awareness-building campaigns will help educate people in all levels of society and build support for anti-violence initiatives, from regular citizens to high-ranking government officials.
- Amend the Armenian Criminal Code to ensure that domestic violence is classified as an aggravated crime. Establish procedures that are specific to criminal proceedings.
- Under a separate chapter of the Criminal Code, define forms of domestic violence including marital rape, sexual harassment, psychological violence, coercive control, and economic violence as criminal offenses.
- Recognize intimate partner violence as a form of domestic violence and increase legislative efforts addressing intimate partner violence.
- Adopt comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation, recognize gender-based violence as a form of discrimination, and prohibit discrimination against women, including through the use of sanctions as required under the Istanbul Convention.
- Amend the 2017 *Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace in the Family* to remove references to traditional values and emphasis on reconciliation and to bring the Law in line with all of the requirements of the Istanbul Convention.
- Make stalking a criminal offense.
- Criminalize domestic violence between non-marital partners not currently addressed by the law.
- Open shelters in Armenia. Increasing shelter capacity in Armenia is long overdue. Ensure that the shelters are accustomed to the needs of all groups of women, including women with disabilities, LBT women, minority women, and women living with HIV/AIDS. These new shelters should also be a location for training staff.
- Ensure cooperation with women’s rights organization in training the shelter and support service staff run by the State. Shelter and support center staff should be trained according to international best practices and should be guided by the principles of “victim-centeredness” and “gender-sensitivity” in their work.



- Reform training of police and investigative bodies to be victim-centered, gender-sensitive, and trauma-informed. Police officers in charge of handling domestic violence need to be trained according to international best practices.
- Ensure gender-sensitivity of the judiciary through the revision of the curriculum of the Academy of Justice.
- Police officers, investigative bodies, and the judiciary should be trained rigorously and continuously. Accountability measures should be put in place to ensure that all law enforcement officials and the judiciary adhere to best practices and protocol.
- Ensure a safe environment of the work of women activists and non-governmental organizations, especially those who combat gender-based violence.
- Conduct an effective and objective investigation of the case on the basis of hooliganism and hindering of non-governmental organization's legal activities and punish all responsible persons;
- Take appropriate steps in order to prevent and punish attacks and hate speech against women human rights defenders and individuals and to ensure their protection while doing their work in defending human rights.

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<sup>1</sup> The Annual Report of the Office of Human Rights Defender of Armenia, (2019).

<sup>2</sup> Human Rights Watch, “Armenia: Little Protection, Aid for Domestic Violence Survivors,” accessed May 16, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/12/armenia-little-protection-aid-domestic-violence-survivors>; Coalition to Stop Violence against Women & Open Society Foundations Armenia, *Silenced Voices: Femicide in Armenia*, by Anna Hovhannisyanyan & Stella Chandiryan (2018), 38.

<sup>3</sup> Communication on file with the authors. *See also* Coalition to Stop Violence against Women

<sup>4</sup> Coalition to Stop Violence against Women & Open Society Foundations Armenia, *Femicide in Armenia: A Silent Epidemic*, by Ani Jilozian (2016), 27. *See also* Coalition to Stop Violence against Women & Open Society Foundations Armenia, *Silenced Voices: Femicide in Armenia*, by Anna Hovhannisyanyan & Stella Chandiryan (2018).

<sup>5</sup> Council of Europe, “Reservations and Declarations for Treaty No. 210 – Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence,” accessed June 12, 2019, [https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/conventions/treaty/210/declarations?p\\_auth=N9eJLhtt](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/conventions/treaty/210/declarations?p_auth=N9eJLhtt); Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, 2011, Art. 30(2).

<sup>6</sup> Council of Europe, “Reservations and Declarations for Treaty No. 210 – Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence,” accessed June 12, 2019, [https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/conventions/treaty/210/declarations?p\\_auth=N9eJLhtt](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/conventions/treaty/210/declarations?p_auth=N9eJLhtt); Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, 2011, Art. 35, 55(1).

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<sup>7</sup> Council of Europe, “Reservations and Declarations for Treaty No. 210 – Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence,” accessed June 12, 2019, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/>

[/conventions/treaty/210/declarations?p\\_auth=N9eJLhtt](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/); Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, 2011, Art. 37, 58.

<sup>8</sup> Council of Europe, “Reservations and Declarations for Treaty No. 210 – Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence,” accessed June 12, 2019, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/>

[/conventions/treaty/210/declarations?p\\_auth=N9eJLhtt](https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/); Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, 2011, Art. 59.

<sup>9</sup> *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Armenia: Addendum*, (June 5, 2015), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/29/11/Add.1, ¶¶ 120.24, 120.25, 120.26.

<sup>10</sup> *See, e.g., Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Armenia: Addendum*, (June 5, 2015), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/29/11/Add.1, ¶¶ 120.100, 120.105, 120.106, 120.107, 120.108, 120.109, 120.111, 120.112, 120.113.

<sup>11</sup> *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Armenia: Addendum*, (June 5, 2015), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/29/11/Add.1, ¶ 120.113

<sup>12</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, art. 28.

<sup>14</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, art. 30.

<sup>15</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, art. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *Concluding Observations on the Combined Fifth and Sixth Periodic Reports of Armenia*, (Nov. 25, 2016), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/CO/5-6, ¶ 8.

<sup>17</sup> Criminal Code of Armenia, art. 104.

<sup>18</sup> Criminal Code of Armenia, art. 112.

<sup>19</sup> Communication on file with the authors.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Anahit Simonyan, Human Rights Research Center, April 17, 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace within the Family, art. 10 (2017).

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Anahit Simonyan, Human Rights Research Center, April 17, 2019; Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> Asian Development Bank, *Armenia: Country Assessment*, by Elisabeth Duban (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2015), 12–13.

<sup>26</sup> Open Society Foundations Armenia, *Domestic Violence in Armenia* (2017), 2.

<sup>27</sup> Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace within the Family, art. 4(1) (2017).

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<sup>28</sup> Human Rights Watch, “Armenia: Little Protection, Aid for Domestic Violence Survivors,” accessed May 16, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/12/armenia-little-protection-aid-domestic-violence-survivors>.

<sup>29</sup> Prevention of Violence within the Family, Protection of Victims of Violence within the Family and Restoration of Peace within the Family, art. 20 (2017).

<sup>30</sup> The Danish Immigration Service, *Armenia: State Actors, Political Situation, Vulnerable Groups and Citizenship: Report from a Fact Finding Mission to Yerevan, Armenia* (Copenhagen: Danish Immigration Service, 2016), 43.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Anahit Simonyan, Human Rights Research Center, April 17, 2019.

<sup>32</sup> EVN Report, Ani Jilozian, “Impunity for Domestic Violence in Armenia’s Criminal Justice System,” accessed May 29, 2019, <https://www.evnreport.com/raw-unfiltered/impunity-for-domestic-violence-in-armenia-s-criminal-justice-system>.

<sup>33</sup> CEDAW Task Force Armenia, *Armenia Non Government Organizations’ Shadow Report to CEDAW* (Yerevan, 2016), 25.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.

<sup>35</sup> The Danish Immigration Service, *Armenia: State Actors, Political Situation, Vulnerable Groups and Citizenship: Report from a Fact Finding Mission to Yerevan, Armenia* (Copenhagen: Danish Immigration Service, 2016), 43.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Anahit Simonyan, Human Rights Research Center, April 17, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Armenian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, “Պետությունն առաջին անգամ ֆինանսական աջակցություն կտրամադրի ընտանիքում բռնության ենթարկված անձանց,” last accessed May 16, 2019, <http://www.mlsa.am/?p=21457&fbclid=IwAR0Np8Ht9aSvKvY7m8IRczsZZ1nNKZVRSR3q2Unj59goZRMQymIIsR5tLUg>.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.

<sup>42</sup> *Police Response to Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Armenia: A Practical Handbook for the Armenian Police*, by Anthony Wills, Arshak Gasparian, & Maro Matosian (Yerevan, 2018), 26.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Resource Center, April 22, 2019.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.

<sup>47</sup> Coalition to Stop Violence against Women & Open Society Foundations Armenia, *Femicide in Armenia: A Silent Epidemic*, by Ani Jilozian (2016), 27.

<sup>48</sup> Coalition to Stop Violence against Women & Open Society Foundations Armenia, *Femicide in Armenia: A Silent Epidemic*, by Ani Jilozian (2016), 32.

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- <sup>49</sup> Personal communication on file with the authors.
- <sup>50</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.
- <sup>51</sup> Interview with NGO Representative, Women’s Support Center.
- <sup>52</sup> The Danish Immigration Service, *Armenia: State Actors, Political Situation, Vulnerable Groups and Citizenship: Report from a Fact Finding Mission to Yerevan, Armenia* (Copenhagen: Danish Immigration Service, 2016), 42.
- <sup>53</sup> United States Department of State, *Armenia 2018 Rights Report*, (2019), 30.
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- <sup>62</sup> Personal communication on file with the authors.
- <sup>63</sup> Personal communication on file with the authors.
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