Armenia National Voter Study

November 2006

International Republican Institute,
Baltic Surveys Ltd. / The Gallup Organization,
Armenian Sociological Association
with funding from the
United States Agency for International Development
INFORMATION ABOUT THE SURVEY

- This national representative survey was conducted from November 10-19, 2006.
- 1,200 Armenian residents (voters) aged 18 years and over were interviewed face-to-face. The margin of error does not exceed 3 percent.
- The survey was carried out on behalf of IRI.
- It was funded by the United States Agency for International Development. The study was designed, coordinated and analyzed by Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization (Dr. R. Alisauskiene).
- The fieldwork was carried out by the Armenian Sociological Association (ASA).
MOOD OF THE COUNTRY
Mood of the country: 58 percent of Armenians think that the country is on the wrong track, while 32 percent think that the country is going in the right direction.

Do you think that things in Armenia are going in the....

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Right direction</th>
<th>Wrong direction</th>
<th>Don't know, no answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2006</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2006</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mood of the country: 34 percent of Armenians see improvement in the country’s economy, while 23 percent think it is declining.

Over the last three months, the economic situation in Armenia has...

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Mood of the country: 24 percent of Armenians say their household’s financial situation has improved, while 27 percent say it has declined.

Over the last three months, the financial situation of your household has...

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Mood of the country: 39 percent of Armenians are satisfied with the development of democracy, while 58 percent are not.

How satisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in Armenia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very dissatisfied</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2006</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2006</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Mood of the country: An overall majority of Armenians think that it will take a long time to improve things in their country

Do you believe that things will get better in a short time, or will it take a long time for things to get better in the country?

- Short time
- Long time
- Not sure/refused

**November 2006**
- Short time: 18
- Long time: 72
- Not sure/refused: 10

**August 2006**
- Short time: 11
- Long time: 82
- Not sure/refused: 7

**May 2006**
- Short time: 13
- Long time: 79
- Not sure/refused: 8

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Mood of the Nation: Expectations

No expectation for the future
Total disbelief in any improvement
Insecurity, fear for future
Apathy
Not much hope for the future
Hope that the future will be somewhat better
Belief that the future will be definitely better
Mood of the Nation

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Over the last year attitudes towards the way things are developing in Armenia has become:

May 2006:
- More pessimistic: 17%
- Stayed the same: 57%
- More optimistic: 24%

August 2006:
- More pessimistic: 23%
- Stayed the same: 58%
- More optimistic: 18%

November 2006:
- More pessimistic: 25%
- Stayed the same: 49%
- More optimistic: 22%
Most important issues facing Armenia
November 2006 (%)

- Unemployment: 29% (37% first mention)
- Social-economic situation: 22% (38% first mention)
- Problem of Nagorno Karabakh: 14% (24% first mention)
- Corruption: 7% (14% first mention)
- Development of the economy, industry: 7% (13% first mention)
- Migration: 5% (12% first mention)
- Democracy, respect of human rights: 3% (8% first mention)
- Foreign policy: 3% (6% first mention)
- Implementation of laws: 2% (6% first mention)
- Recognition of genocide: 1% (5% first mention)
- Other: 3% (11% first mention)
- DK/NA: 5% (5% first mention)

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ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Most important issue facing towns/villages in Armenia
November 2006 (%)

- Unemployment: 29% (24 first mentions, 14 all mentions)
- Housing, communal services: 21% (14 first mentions, 14 all mentions)
- Sanitation: 21% (13 first mentions, 12 all mentions)
- Transport, road conditions: 26% (22 first mentions, 22 all mentions)
- Development of economy/industry/agriculture: 14% (8 first mentions, 12 all mentions)
- Ecology: 6% (4 first mentions, 2 all mentions)
- Creation of places for entertainment, sport, etc.: 10% (4 first mentions, 6 all mentions)
- Illegal construction: 4% (2 first mentions, 2 all mentions)
- Low salaries, pensions: 4% (2 first mentions, 2 all mentions)
- Corruption: 3% (2 first mentions, 1 all mention)
- Implementation of laws, respect for human rights: 5% (2 first mentions, 3 all mentions)
- Other: 9% (4 first mentions, 5 all mentions)
- DK/NA: 10% (4 first mentions, 5 all mentions)
Most important issue facing households in Armenia November 2006 (%)

- Social-economic situation: 56% first mention, 41% all mentions
- Unemployment: 18% first mention, 24% all mentions
- Housing, communal services: 15% first mention, 22% all mentions
- Education, health: 7% first mention, 14% all mentions
- Unsatisfactory communal services: 2% first mention, 3% all mentions
- Labor migration/migration: 2% first mention, 4% all mentions
- Other: 2% first mention, 4% all mentions
- DK/NA: 14% first mention, 14% all mentions

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006*
Issues

- At the personal/household level, social issues are most pressing.
- At community level, the most important problem is unemployment.
- At the national level, social problems and territorial integrity/security issues are most important.
People’s Fears
November 2006 (%)

Problems of Nagorno Karabakh
Social-economic situation
War
Migration
Unemployment
Lack of recognition of the genocide
Uncertainty regarding the future
Corruption
Slow development of economy
Not implementation of laws
Blockade
Wrong policy
Other
DK/NA

First mention
All mentions

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ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
People’s Fears

- The biggest fears are related to instability/security: territorial integrity of the country, war, social instability (social-economic problems, unemployment) and migration.
POLITICS
What should the Armenian government accomplish first to attract the support of the majority of the Armenian population?

November 2006 (%)
Interest in Politics (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low interest</th>
<th>Medium interest</th>
<th>High interest</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2006</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2006</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Do you plan to vote in the next parliamentary elections or not?

- Definitely yes
- Probably yes
- Probably no
- Definitely no
- Have not decided yet
- DK/NA

**November 2006**
- Definitely yes: 42
- Probably yes: 32
- Probably no: 10
- Definitely no: 5
- Have not decided yet: 9
- DK/NA: 2

**August 2006**
- Definitely yes: 44
- Probably yes: 27
- Probably no: 14
- Definitely no: 7
- Have not decided yet: 6
- DK/NA: 2

**May 2006**
- Definitely yes: 45
- Probably yes: 27
- Probably no: 9
- Definitely no: 10
- Have not decided yet: 8
- DK/NA: 1
When considering which party to vote for, what is more important?

- Leader is more important
- Party is more important
- None
- No answer

November 2006:
- Leader: 64%
- Party: 28%
- None: 5%
- No answer: 2%

August 2006:
- Leader: 61%
- Party: 33%
- None: 4%
- No answer: 2%

May 2006:
- Leader: 59%
- Party: 32%
- None: 5%
- No answer: 4%

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ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
All other things equal, would vote for:

- More active, younger candidate
- More experienced, older
- Does not matter
- No answer

**November 2006**
- More active, younger candidate: 35
- More experienced, older: 48
- Does not matter: 15
- No answer: 2

**August 2006**
- More active, younger candidate: 33
- More experienced, older: 51
- Does not matter: 15
- No answer: 1

**May 2006**
- More active, younger candidate: 32
- More experienced, older: 55
- Does not matter: 10
- No answer: 3
All other things equal, would vote for:

- Male
- Female
- Does not matter
- No answer

November 2006:
- 61 Male
- 7 Female
- 31 Does not matter
- 1 No answer

August 2006:
- 64 Male
- 6 Female
- 28 Does not matter
- 1 No answer

May 2006:
- 61 Male
- 7 Female
- 29 Does not matter
- 3 No answer
Major mistakes and failures of Armenian authorities over the last year: November 2006 (%)
The wrongdoing and corruption of political leaders and authorities is…(%)
Evaluation of relations with…
November 2006 (%)
Which countries are the most important partners for Armenia? And which comprise the greatest political and economic threat?
How important is it for Armenia to solve the problems related to Nagorno Karabakh in the near future? Is it... (%)

November 2006
- Very important: 72%
- Rather important: 24%
- Not very important: 3%
- Not at all important: 1%
- DK / NA: 0.3%

August 2006
- Very important: 75%
- Rather important: 21%
- Not very important: 2%
- Not at all important: 1%
- DK / NA: 0.3%

May 2006
- Very important: 77%
- Rather important: 20%
- Not very important: 2%
- Not at all important: 1%
- DK / NA: 0.3%
Thinking about the future of Nagorno Karabakh, do you think it should… (%)

- Be an ordinary region of Armenia, without any autonomy
  - May 2005: 41%
  - August 2006: 39%
  - November 2006: 35%

- Be an autonomous region of the Armenian state
  - May 2005: 31%
  - August 2006: 27%
  - November 2006: 31%

- Be an independent country
  - May 2005: 27%
  - August 2006: 33%
  - November 2006: 32%

- Be a part of Azerbaijan
  - May 2005: 0%
  - August 2006: 0%
  - November 2006: 0%

- DK/NA
  - May 2005: 1%
  - August 2006: 1%
  - November 2006: 2%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Do you think that the current situation in regard to the status of Nagorno Karabakh should be resolved through negotiations and peaceful means, or should some force be used if necessary? (%)

November 2006:
- 86% for negotiations and peaceful means
- 13% for using force if necessary
- 1% for DK/NA

August 2006:
- 82% for negotiations and peaceful means
- 17% for using force if necessary
- 1% for DK/NA

May 2006:
- 85% for negotiations and peaceful means
- 13% for using force if necessary
- 2% for DK/NA

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARmenian national voters study, November 2006
Do you think that a peaceful settlement on Nagorno Karabakh can be reached with Azerbaijan without military force being used?

- Definitely yes
- Probably yes
- Probably no
- Definitely no
- DK/NA

**November 2006**
- Definitely yes: 20
- Probably yes: 57
- Probably no: 13
- Definitely no: 5
- DK/NA: 5

**August 2006**
- Definitely yes: 23
- Probably yes: 52
- Probably no: 18
- Definitely no: 3
- DK/NA: 4

**May 2006**
- Definitely yes: 19
- Probably yes: 52
- Probably no: 21
- Definitely no: 3
- DK/NA: 5
In your opinion, does the presence of a Russian military base in Armenia have a positive or negative influence on Armenian independence and stability in the country?

- November 2006: Positive influence 62, Neither positive nor negative 15, Both positive and negative 20, Negative influence 1, DK/NA 2
- August 2006: Positive influence 67, Neither positive nor negative 15, Both positive and negative 12, Negative influence 2, DK/NA 3
- May 2006: Positive influence 66, Neither positive nor negative 16, Both positive and negative 11, Negative influence 2, DK/NA 6

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Should the government of Armenia agree to open the border for trade, etc., with Turkey even if the Turkish government does not recognize the genocide?

- **Should open the border regardless**: November 2006 - 43, August 2006 - 39, May 2006 - 42
- **Should not open the border**: November 2006 - 47, August 2006 - 57, May 2006 - 48
- **DK/NA**: November 2006 - 10, August 2006 - 4, May 2006 - 9
Do you have friends or relatives working abroad?

- November 2006: 66% Yes, 34% No
- August 2006: 65% Yes, 35% No
- May 2006: 61% Yes, 39% No

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Do you personally benefit from remittances being sent from friends or relatives working abroad? (Those who have friends or relatives abroad, %)

- November 2006: 56% Yes, 44% No
- August 2006: 45% Yes, 55% No
- May 2006: 45% Yes, 55% No

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Do you think Russia is a trustworthy ally of Armenia? (%)

November 2006:
- Definitely yes: 51%
- Probably yes: 38%
- Probably no: 6%
- Definitely no: 1%
- DK/NA: 14%

August 2006:
- Definitely yes: 43%
- Probably yes: 44%
- Probably no: 8%
- Definitely no: 41%
- DK/NA: 0%

May 2006:
- Definitely yes: 45%
- Probably yes: 42%
- Probably no: 7%
- Definitely no: 3%
- DK/NA: 33%
Should Armenia in the future…
November 2006 (%)

Join NATO
- Definitely yes: 9%
- Probably yes: 34%
- Probably no: 30%
- Definitely no: 14%
- DK/NA: 13%

Join European Union
- Definitely yes: 35%
- Probably yes: 47%
- Probably no: 10%
- Definitely no: 2%
- DK/NA: 6%

Remain a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States
- Definitely yes: 43%
- Probably yes: 38%
- Probably no: 11%
- Definitely no: 2%
- DK/NA: 6%
INSTITUTIONS
Heroes For Our Times

Of the prominent Armenian people and characters in Armenian history and folk culture, who is most suitable to be a national hero or leader in the present time? (Open-ended question, percent) May 2006

Andranik: 14%
Garegin Njdeh: 10%
Vazgen Sargsyan: 9%
Karen Demirchyan: 6%
Tigran Metz: 6%
Charles Aznavour: 5%
Dro: 4%
Monte Melkonyan: 4%
Mesrop Mashots: 2%
Other: 35%
None: 8%
DK/NA: 15%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Heroes For Our Times
Of the prominent Armenian people and characters in Armenian history and folk culture, who is most suitable to be a national hero or leader in the present?
(Open-ended question, percent) August 2006

Andranik: 12
Vazgen Sargsyan: 9
Garegin Njdeh: 8
Karen Demirchyan: 7
Tigran Metz: 6
Vardan Mamikonyan: 5
Gagik Tsarukyan: 4
Tigran Mets: 3
Mesrop Mashtots: 3
Charles Aznavour: 2
Dro: 2
Marshal Bagrmyan: 1
Other: 22
None: 10
DK/NA: 8

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Heroes For Our Times

Of the prominent Armenian people and characters in Armenian history and folk culture, who is most suitable to be a national hero or leader in the present?

(Open-ended question, percent) November 2006

- Vazgen Sargsyan: 15%
- Andranik: 9%
- Karen Demirchyan: 8%
- Garegin Njdeh: 8%
- Gagik Tsarukyan: 8%
- Charles Aznavour: 5%
- Monte Melkonyan: 5%
- Tigran Metz: 4%
- Vardan Mamikonyan: 4%
- Artashes Gegamyan: 3%
- Tigran Karapetyan: 2%
- Artur Baghdasaryan: 2%
- R.Kocharyan: 2%
- None: 11%
- Other: 23%
- DK/NA: 12%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
It is a good thing for any society to be made up of people from different religions

Armenia has always consisted of various cultural and religious groups

In order to be fully accepted members of Armenian society, people belonging to these minority groups must give up such parts of their religion or culture which may be in conflict with Armenian tradition

Armenia has reached its limits; if there were to be more people belonging to religious minorities we would have problems

Whether people belonging to religious minority groups can be fully accepted members of Armenian society depends on which group they belong to

Tend to agree  Tend to disagree  DK/NA
SOURCES OF INFORMATION

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Sources of Political Information (%)

- TV - news, programs: 97%, 97%, 97%
- Relatives, friends: 35, 37, 39
- Articles in newspapers: 32, 33, 38
- Radio - news, programs: 32, 33, 38
- Colleagues at work: 8, 8, 13
- Meetings with politicians: 5, 6, 10
- Internet: 8, 8, 6
- Billboards, stands in the streets: 4, 4, 7
- Articles in magazines: 6, 6, 5
- Leaflets, and other free information by post: 2, 3, 1

May 2006, August 2006, November 2006
In your opinion, are people in Armenia afraid to openly express their political views?

- **November 2006**
  - Majority are afraid: 28
  - Many are afraid: 33
  - Some are afraid: 23
  - Nobody is afraid: 15
  - DK/NA: 0

- **August 2006**
  - Majority are afraid: 26
  - Many are afraid: 32
  - Some are afraid: 23
  - Nobody is afraid: 17
  - DK/NA: 2

- **May 2006**
  - Majority are afraid: 25
  - Many are afraid: 34
  - Some are afraid: 20
  - Nobody is afraid: 13
  - DK/NA: 8

**Source:** IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

**Study:** ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Trust in Elections

How fraudulent was the referendum of 2005?
(10 - very fraudulent, 1 - not at all fraudulent)

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Trust in Elections

The next parliamentary elections will be (%)

- November 2006:
  - Free and fair: 20
  - Not free and fair: 69
  - No opinion: 11

- August 2006:
  - Free and fair: 14
  - Not free and fair: 78
  - No opinion: 9

- May 2006:
  - Free and fair: 17
  - Not free and fair: 70
  - No opinion: 13

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Trust in Elections

How fraudulent will the upcoming parliamentary elections be?
(10 - very fraudulent, 1 - not at all fraudulent)

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Do you think that the Armenian government is implementing anti-fraud measures for the parliamentary elections and that they will indeed be free and fair?

- May 2006: 61% No, 22% Yes, 17% DK/NA
- August 2006: 73% No, 17% Yes, 15% DK/NA
- November 2006: 62% No, 23% Yes, 15% DK/NA

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS
Gender

- Male 47%
- Female 53%

Age groups

- 18-29: 27%
- 30-49: 42%
- 50+: 31%
Education

- University, higher: 33%
- Secondary: 33%
- Vocational: 17%
- Unfinished secondary: 6%
- Unfinished higher: 11%
- Primary: 1%

Household size

- Four: 25%
- Five: 20%
- Six: 16%
- Seven and more: 9%
- Three: 11%
- Two: 11%
- One: 4%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, November 2006
Sector of Employment

- State: 21%
- Private: 26%
- Nongovernmental: 1%
- Don't work: 52%

Membership in Organizations

- Member of a party: 15%
- Member of a nongovernmental organization: 1%
- None: 84%