Armenian National Study

December 1 – 9, 2007

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 on December 1 – December 9, 2007, by the Armenian Sociological Association (ASA) for Baltic Surveys/Gallup on behalf of the International Republican Institute.
- The sample consisted of 1,200 Armenian residents over the age of 18 and eligible to vote and is representative of the general population by age, gender, education and religion.
- The sample design was a multi-stage random sample.
  - Stage One: Break country into official administrative regions.
  - Stage Two: Select clusters of sampling points based on settlement population (large, medium, small towns and villages). One sample point = approximately one percent of survey population (10-12 surveys). Sampling points in each region were selected based on the percentage of population living in the various levels of settlement in that same region.
- Respondents were selected by the random route method, using the next birthday rule to select a respondent from within a household.
- Data is collected through face-to-face interviews with the respondents.
- Poll was conducted nationwide, including the capital and all major regional centers.
- The margin of error does not exceed three percent.
- The rate of response was 69 percent.
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS
Gender

- Male: 47%
- Female: 53%

Age Groups

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

- Armenian Apostolic: 97%
- Other: 2%

Attendance of Religious Service

- Never: 8%
- Every day: 1%
- A few times a week: 2%
- Once a week: 8%
- A few times a year: 58%
- Once a month: 23%
- Every day: 1%
- Never: 8%
Sector of Employment

- Don't work: 59%
- Private: 25%
- State: 15%
- Nongovernmental: 1%

Membership in Organizations

- None: 89%
- Member of a party: 10%
- Member of nongovernmental organization: 1%
**Type of Settlement**

- Capital: 36%
- Rural: 34%
- Towns: 30%

**Regions**

- Yerevan: 36%
- West-Center: 30%
- South: 6%
- North: 21%
- East: 7%

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARmenian National Voters Study, December 2007*
MOOD OF THE COUNTRY
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Armenia are going in the right direction or the wrong direction?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Right direction</th>
<th>Wrong direction</th>
<th>Don’t know, no answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2007</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2007</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2007</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2007</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2006</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 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>
Over the last three months, the economic situation in Armenia has...?

- Improved a lot
- Improved somewhat
- Stayed the same
- Worsened somewhat
- Worsened a lot
- Don't know, no answer

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
Over the last three months, the financial situation of your household has...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Improved a lot</th>
<th>Improved somewhat</th>
<th>Stayed the same</th>
<th>Worsened somewhat</th>
<th>Worsened a lot</th>
<th>Don't know, no answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2007</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2007</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2007</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2007</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2006</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2006</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
How satisfied are you with the way democracy is developing in Armenia?

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

Very satisfied | Somewhat satisfied | Somewhat dissatisfied | Very dissatisfied | DK/NA

Dec 2007

Oct 2007

Jul 2007

Mar 2007

Nov 2006

Aug 2006

May 2006

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

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
ISSUES
What are the main problems Armenia is facing at the moment?

Unemployment
Overall socio-economic situation
Nagorno Karabakh*
Stagnation in pensions/salaries
Corruption
Slow economic/industrial development
Migration
Recognition of genocide
Poor implementation of laws
Educational issues, culture
Poorly conceived domestic policies
Blockade from Turkey
Poorly conceived foreign policies
Inability to change government
Instability
Other
DK/NA

First mention
All mentions

What are the main problems that your town/village is facing at the moment?

- Unemployment: 25 (First mention), 29 (All mentions)
- Transport, road conditions: 19 (First mention), 28 (All mentions)
- Sanitation: 12 (First mention), 21 (All mentions)
- Housing, communal services: 8 (First mention), 14 (All mentions)
- Development of economy /industry/agriculture: 7 (First mention), 14 (All mentions)
- Low salaries, pensions, high prices: 3 (First mention), 7 (All mentions)
- Creation of places for entertainment, leisure: 2 (First mention), 6 (All mentions)
- Ecology: 2 (First mention), 5 (All mentions)
- Migration: 2 (First mention), 5 (All mentions)
- Maintenance of apartments: 2 (First mention), 4 (All mentions)
- Illegal construction: 1 (First mention), 3 (All mentions)
- Corruption: 1 (First mention), 3 (All mentions)
- Implementing the laws, protection of human rights: 1 (First mention), 2 (All mentions)
- Problem of education: 0.3 (First mention), 1 (All mentions)
- Other: 2 (First mention), 6 (All mentions)
- DK/NA: 13 (All mentions)

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
What are the most important problems facing you and your household members?

- **Social-economic situation**: 35 first mentions, 38 all mentions
- **Unemployment**: 15 first mentions, 22 all mentions
- **Low salary**: 15 first mentions, 21 all mentions
- **Maintenance of apartments**: 7 first mentions, 12 all mentions
- **Education, health**: 3 first mentions, 9 all mentions
- **Housing, communal services**: 3 first mentions, 6 all mentions
- **No problems**: 3 first mentions, 3 all mentions
- **Solution of communal problems**: 1 first mention, 3 all mentions
- **Labor migration**: 1 first mention, 2 all mentions
- **Unsatisfactory communal services**: 1 first mention, 2 all mentions
- **Other**: 2 first mentions, 6 all mentions
- **DK/NA**: 14 first mentions

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA  ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007*
Thinking about the current and future situation of your country, what are the things you are most afraid of?

- War: 37 (first mention), 41 (all mentions)
- Problems of Nagorno Karabakh: 10 (first mention), 12 (all mentions)
- Migration: 7 (first mention), 12 (all mentions)
- Socio-economic situation: 5 (first mention), 10 (all mentions)
- Other: 4 (first mention), 12 (all mentions)
- Unemployment: 4 (first mention), 5 (all mentions)
- Lack of recognition of the genocide: 2 (first mention), 5 (all mentions)
- Corruption: 2 (first mention), 3 (all mentions)
- National calamities, epidemic: 2 (first mention), 3 (all mentions)
- Bad relations with other countries: 1 (first mention), 2 (all mentions)
- Elections: 1 (first mention), 2 (all mentions)
- Poor ecological situation: 1 (first mention), 1 (all mentions)
- DK/NA: 25 (all mentions)
What should the Armenian government accomplish first in order to attract the support of the majority of the population?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>First mention</th>
<th>All mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Create jobs</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve living conditions</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve socio-economic situation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfill promises</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase salaries, pensions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fight corruption</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase democratic reforms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implement laws</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solve the problem of Nagorno Karabakh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop economy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve policy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow migration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabilize prices</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return Soviet-era deposits</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve the educational system</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut taxes</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
How much interest do you have in politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Low interest</th>
<th>Medium interest</th>
<th>High interest</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2007</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2007</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2007</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2007</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2006</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2006</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
Do you plan on voting in the next presidential election?

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

Dec 2007:
- Definitely yes: 53
- Probably yes: 31
- Probably no: 4
- Definitely no: 4
- Have not decided yet: 6
- DK/NA: 2

Jul 2007:
- Definitely yes: 42
- Probably yes: 32
- Probably no: 8
- Definitely no: 3
- Have not decided yet: 13
- DK/NA: 2

Oct 2007:
- Definitely yes: 47
- Probably yes: 32
- Probably no: 6
- Definitely no: 3
- Have not decided yet: 11
- DK/NA: 1

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
How would you evaluate the current state of relations between Armenia and…?

- **Russia**: 94% Good, 4% Bad, 5% Neither, 1% DK/NA
- **European Union**: 83% Good, 11% Neither, 5% Bad, 2% DK/NA
- **Iran**: 79% Good, 14% Neither, 5% Bad, 2% DK/NA
- **USA**: 67% Good, 13% Neither, 18% Bad, 2% DK/NA
- **Georgia**: 52% Good, 26% Neither, 19% Bad, 3% DK/NA
- **Turkey**: 8% Good, 86% Neither, 4% Bad, 2% DK/NA
- **Azerbaijan**: 2% Good, 94% Neither, 3% Bad, 1% DK/NA

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA  ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007*
Which countries do you consider to be the most important partners for Armenia? Which of these countries constitutes the greatest political and economic threat?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Partners</th>
<th>Threats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
In your opinion, should Armenia in the future…?

Join NATO

- Definitely yes: 13
- Probably yes: 35
- Probably no: 23
- Definitely no: 16
- DK/NA: 13

Join European Union

- Definitely yes: 34
- Probably yes: 49
- Probably no: 6
- Definitely no: 4
- DK/NA: 8

Remain a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States

- Definitely yes: 43
- Probably yes: 39
- Probably no: 6
- Definitely no: 3
- DK/NA: 9
Do you think Russia is a trustworthy ally of Armenia?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Definitely yes</th>
<th>Probably yes</th>
<th>Probably no</th>
<th>Definitely no</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2007</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2007</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2007</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2007</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2006</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2006</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
What is your opinion about the work of each of these institutions?

- European Union: 84 Favorable, 12 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- Church: 81 Favorable, 17 Unfavorable, 2 No opinion
- Army: 81 Favorable, 18 Unfavorable, 1 No opinion
- Commonwealth of Independent States: 80 Favorable, 16 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- United Nations: 75 Favorable, 21 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe: 73 Favorable, 19 Unfavorable, 8 No opinion
- Armenian media: 66 Favorable, 32 Unfavorable, 2 No opinion
- Educational system: 63 Favorable, 35 Unfavorable, 2 No opinion
- NATO: 55 Favorable, 38 Unfavorable, 7 No opinion
- President’s office: 53 Favorable, 42 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- Government (Cabinet of Ministers): 52 Favorable, 45 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- Central bank: 49 Favorable, 46 Unfavorable, 5 No opinion
- Police: 43 Favorable, 54 Unfavorable, 3 No opinion
- Political parties: 42 Favorable, 54 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- Armenian Parliament: 42 Favorable, 54 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
Which of these sources do you use to obtain political information?

- TV news and programs: 99%
- Relatives, friends: 40%
- Newspaper articles: 41%
- Radio news and programs: 36%
- Colleagues: 10%
- Meetings with politicians: 11%
- Billboards, street placards: 13%
- Internet: 7%
- Magazine articles: 6%
- Leaflets and direct mail: 4%


IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA
ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
How much influence do each of these forms of election campaigning have on you during a political campaign?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Great influence</th>
<th>Some influence</th>
<th>Not much influence</th>
<th>No influence at all</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetings with politicians</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings with/opinions of respected people</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV ads</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper articles about candidates</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid media for the candidate or party</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home visits from the candidate or party</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal letters from the candidate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone calls from the candidate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio ads</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaflets</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slogans, signs on public transport</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billboards</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA  ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007
In your opinion, are people in Armenia afraid to openly express their political views?

![Bar chart showing the percentage of people who feel afraid to express their political views over time.]

**Majority are afraid**
- Dec 2007: 25%
- Oct 2007: 31%
- Jul 2007: 34%
- Mar 2007: 23%
- Nov 2006: 28%
- Aug 2006: 26%
- May 2006: 25%

**Many are afraid**
- Dec 2007: 30%
- Oct 2007: 28%
- Jul 2007: 31%
- Mar 2007: 28%
- Nov 2006: 33%
- Aug 2006: 32%
- May 2006: 34%

**Some are afraid**
- Dec 2007: 25%
- Oct 2007: 23%
- Jul 2007: 20%
- Mar 2007: 32%
- Nov 2006: 23%
- Aug 2006: 23%
- May 2006: 20%

**Nobody is afraid**
- Dec 2007: 20%
- Oct 2007: 16%
- Jul 2007: 15%
- Mar 2007: 17%
- Nov 2006: 15%
- Aug 2006: 17%
- May 2006: 13%

**DK/NA**
- Dec 2007: 1%
- Oct 2007: 1%
- Jul 2007: 0%
- Mar 2007: 0%
- Nov 2006: 0%
- Aug 2006: 2%
- May 2006: 8%

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA  ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007*
Do you believe that the 2007 parliamentary elections were free and fair?

- **Dec 2007**: 21% Free and fair, 67% Not free and fair, 12% No opinion
- **Oct 2007**: 23% Free and fair, 63% Not free and fair, 14% No opinion
- **Jul 2007**: 19% Free and fair, 68% Not free and fair, 13% No opinion

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization, ASA ARMENIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, December 2007*
Do you think that the Armenian government is implementing anti-fraud measures for the presidential election and that they will indeed be free and fair?

- Yes, it is implementing measures of this kind and there will be improvement
- No, it is not sincere and there will not be improvement
- DK/NA

**Survey Results:**

- **Dec 2007**
  - Yes: 27
  - No: 58
  - DK/NA: 15

- **Oct 2007**
  - Yes: 31
  - No: 53
  - DK/NA: 16

- **Jul 2007**
  - Yes: 26
  - No: 60
  - DK/NA: 14