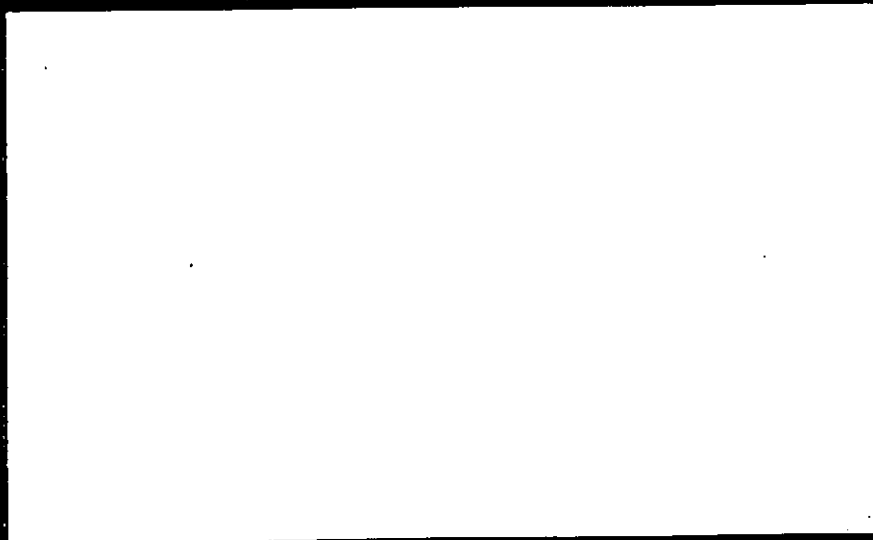


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International Foundation for Election Systems

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**INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION
FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**

**ARMENIA NATIONAL SURVEY
AUGUST 1996**

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

PREPARED BY

GARY FERGUSON

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The International Foundation for Election Systems commissioned this national survey of the Armenian electorate as part of its voter education survey. The project was a joint effort of researchers and policy experts in the United States and Armenia. The project director and analyst was Gary Ferguson of American Viewpoint, Inc. The project director in Armenia was Ludmila Haroutunian of Yerevan State University.

The survey instrument was based on the core IFES questionnaire, prepared by Elehie Skoczylas, Christopher Siddall, Gary Ferguson and Steven Wagner. The Armenia questionnaire was based on the core questionnaire with country-specific modifications made by Elehie Skoczylas, Jim Stover, Christopher Shields, and Gary Ferguson. Modifications to the questionnaire were made following a pre-test conducted in the field by Haroutunian.

Sampling

Personal interviews with 1,000 adults age 18 and older and living in Armenia were conducted between July 26 and August 8, 1996. The sample design is based on the results of the population census of 1989 ("Collection of Statistics," Yerevan, 1991) and estimates of the Armenian State Statistical Committee (1996).

The sample is representative by sex, age, education, and nationality, in both urban and rural population of all 11 regions of Armenia. The sample was drawn by a combination of random and non-random sampling methods. The multi-stage sampling method included four stages.

In the first stage, the 11 new administrative regions of Armenia were included in the sample:

Administrative Region Number of Interviews

1.Aragatsotn	43
2.Ararat	81
3.Armavir	84
4.Vaiots Dzor	18
5.Gedharkhunik	72
6.Kotaik	87
7.Lori	104
8.Siunik	43
9.Tavush	41
10.Shirak	95
11.Yerevan	332
	<hr/>
	1000

In the second-stage, all types of settlements -- villages, cities of 500,000 +, cities of 200,000 - 499,999, cities of 50,000 - 199,999, towns of less than 20,000, settlements of all altitudes, and settlements differing in degrees of remoteness from highways and borders -- were included into the sample. The cities were chosen by using quotas, the villages were randomly chosen from a list of all villages in Armenia.

The Armenian national sample consists of 61 sampling points across the country as follows. No fewer than six interviews were conducted in each sampling point.

The settlements	The number of respondents
1.Yerevan	332
2.Gumri	48
3.Vanadzor	42
4.Vagarshapat	15
5.Hrazdan	16
6.Abovian	16
7.Kapan	12
8 Alaverdi	10
9.Ararat	10
10.Armavir	14
11.Charentsavan	9
12.Gavar	10
14.Goris	10
15.Ashtarak	17
17.Dilijan	19
18.Artik	9
19.Vardenis	14
20 Tashir	8
21.Vedy	9
22.Egvard	10
23.Metsamor	8
24.Berd	9
25.Vaik	7
26.Talin	7
27.Megry	8
28.Amasia	8
29.Apnagyug	10
30.Hartavan	8
31.Verin Bazmaberd	10
32.Ajntap	11

33.Dalar	11
34.Atsanist	11
35.Nor Karin	12
36.Verin Dvin	10
37.Argavand	11
38.Doga	10
39.Hatsik	10
40.Shaumian	10
41.Karakert	10
42.Gedharkhunik	8
43.Tsak kar	13
44.Mets Masrik	10
45.Vardenik	13
46.Arevshog	9
47.Hartagyug	9
48.Novoseltsevo	9
49.Sverdlov	7
50.Arzakan	12
51.Kamaris	11
52.Jraber	12
53.Getap	11
54.Tufashen	11
55.Shirakavan	7
56.Arevis	6
57.Lichk	7
58.Areny	11
59.Aygehovit	8
60.Tegut	8
61.Voskepar	7

In the third-stage, addresses of respondents were randomly chosen. The routes were designed on the basis of streets, randomly chosen from a list of streets in the settlements. Within the routes, addresses were randomly selected on the basis of the starting point of the routes, the total number of buildings on this street, and the number of respondents needed.

In the fourth-stage respondents were randomly selected at each address according to the respondent selection methodology developed by Kish (1965).

Fieldwork

The fieldwork started 26 July and ended on 8 August, 1996. In regions where the Department of Sociology has local groups of interviewers, the fieldwork was provided by local brigade of interviewers under the management of a representative of the main research team from Yerevan. In the regions where the Department of Sociology does not have local groups of interviewers, fieldwork was realized by the groups of interviewers from Yerevan.

Selection and training of interviewers

A total of 60 interviewers were recruited. The training session for interviewers contained the following elements:

- training in the general rules of face-to-face interviewing techniques
- description of the purpose of the research
- complete review of the questionnaire
- Interviewer-Respondent role-playing
- explanation of all possible problems they might face in the field
- filling in one questionnaire, checking and analyzing the mistakes.

Quality Control

Quality control procedures included checking of:

- the accuracy of questionnaire completion
- the correctness of the designed routes, chosen addresses, and selection of respondents
- the degree to which the rules of face-to-face interviews were respected
- data entry

In cities, quality control was overseen by groups of control. In villages, quality control was overseen by brigadiers. In urban settlements and in Yerevan, every fifth address was checked and in rural settlements every sixth address was checked. The completion of all 1000 questionnaires was checked. Three incomplete questionnaires were replaced. In urban areas, there were 76, and in rural areas there were 22 cases of deviation from the route because of the following factors:

- there were no residents or the respondents were temporarily absent
- respondents refused to be interviewed

All surveys are subject to error caused by interviewing a sample of persons rather than the entire population. The margin of error for a simple random sample of 1,000 persons is \pm 3.2 percentage points at 95 percent confidence. The sample was weighted by region, sex and age and is representative of the population by those characteristics. Weighting was minimal.

The Population

According to Armenia's State Statistical Committee, the adult population of Armenia is comprised of approximately 2.5 million people with the following characteristics that are replicated in the sample:

Sex	Male	47%
	Female	53%
Settlement	Urban	69%
	Rural	31%
Age	Age 18-24	17%
	Age 25-29	11%
	Age 30-34	13%
	Age 35-39	13%
	Age 40-44	10%
	Age 45-49	7%
	Age 50-54	4%
	Age 55-59	7%
	Age 60-64	6%
	Age 65-69	6%
	Age 70+	6%
Region	Aragatz	4%
	Ararat	8%
	Armavir	8%
	Vaiots Dzor	2%
	Gedharkhunik	7%
	Kotaik	9%
	Lori	10%
	Siunik	4%
	Tavush	4%
	Shirak	10%
	Yerevan	33%

II. OVERVIEW OF ARMENIA

Before beginning a discussion of the survey's findings, some background information on Armenia may be helpful. The following description is provided by the U.S. Commerce Department's *Business Information Service for the Newly Independent States (BISNIS)*.¹ Armenia is a landlocked country in the Caucasus Mountain region. It's neighbors are Georgia to the North, Azerbaijan to the East and South, Iran to the South, and Turkey to the West. Armenia is the second most densely populated of the former Soviet republics. The ethnic makeup of the population is exceedingly homogeneous as 93% are ethnic Armenians.

In terms of political activity, Armenians voted overwhelmingly for independence in a September 1991 referendum, followed by a presidential vote which gave 83% of the vote to President Levon Ter-Petrossian, head of the government since 1990. The government is a coalition of all major political forces but is dominated by Ter-Petrossian's anti-Communist nationalist Armenian Pan-Nationalist Movement. Opposition parties exist but have little support at this time. Extremist nationalist groups have little support.

Involvement in the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian-populated autonomous enclave in neighboring Azerbaijan, has resulted in Azerbaijan and Turkey imposing embargoes on Armenia, affecting the entire economy. There is no indication that the embargoes will be lifted in the near future despite the continuation of a cease-fire.

Economic Overview: Armenia is politically the most stable among its neighbors and is also among the most market oriented, with liberal trade legislation. There is a need for investment in its idle research and manufacturing industries and in its agribusiness sector. Other advantages Armenia possesses include its large pool of underemployed and highly qualified specialists, an inexpensive labor force, its historically entrepreneurial spirit, and its close ties with the United States through its Diaspora and at the governmental level. Opportunities exist in such areas as power generation, aviation, construction, electronics, apparel, tourism, food-processing, industrial property acquisition, and banking.

The Armenian government, since its formation in 1991, has demonstrated a commitment to transforming Armenia from a centralized state with a planned economy into a democratic society based on free market economic principles. In order to stabilize Armenia's negative trade balance, the government is working to improve operating industries' export performance.

¹ Business Information Service for the Newly Independent States, "Armenia: Economic and Trade Overview," U.S. Commerce Department, June 1996.

Efforts are being made to develop the banking sector, to liberalize trade regulations and bring business legislation into conformance with internationally recognized norms, to upgrade the energy industry's infrastructure, to reopen the only nuclear power plant in Medzamor (reopened in June 1995) and to search for new sources/suppliers of energy and fuel. The government pays special attention to the re-establishment of economic ties with the NIS states, especially Russia. Iran is rapidly becoming the number one trade partner with Armenia.

The major privatization of national industries, which began in 1994, is considered to be one of the key steps in improving the economic situation and attracting foreign investment. At the same time, Armenia's strong determination to build a market oriented economy and democratic society has allowed it to engage in loan programs with the IMF, World Bank, EBRD, and other financial institutions and foreign countries. Total loans extended to Armenia in 1993-1995 exceeded \$500,000,000. These loans were targeted at eliminating the budget deficit; stabilizing the local currency; developing energy generation, agricultural, food processing, land and air transportation and social sectors; and continuing rehabilitation works in the zone damaged by the 1988 earthquake. At the same time, Armenia remains heavily dependent on humanitarian aid, mostly wheat, rice and fuel. The main suppliers are the United States, the EU, and the United Nations.

By mid-1995, due to economic efforts and a strict fiscal policy, Armenia's economy started to show slight indications of improvement. However, a resolution of the country's economic problems is primarily connected with the ending of the regional conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, reestablishing normal relations with neighboring countries and lifting the embargoes. It is expected that the end of the conflict will drastically change the economic picture in Armenia. The country's existing industrial potential and highly educated and skilled human resources will allow a rapid rehabilitation of its economy and the establishment of normal trade and supply links. At the same time, a liberal foreign trade policy and numerous peacetime business opportunities could catalyze foreign investment.

Agricultural Profile: Armenia has 1.2 million acres of arable land. The agricultural sector employs approximately 25% of the population. Some of Armenia's most important agricultural products include: cotton, dairy products, fruit, grapes, grains, sugar-beets and tobacco. Also, crops which cannot be grown outside the Caucasus, such as figs, pomegranates, apricots and peaches, are grown in the republic. Vineyards near Yerevan are famous for brandy and other liqueurs. Armenia's chief agricultural imports are: meat, milk and butter.

Industrial Profile: Key Armenian industries are metal-cutting machine tools, watches, instruments, forging-pressing machines, electric motors, knitted wear, machine-building, hosiery, shoes, silk fabrics, washing machines, chemicals, trucks, and micro-electronics.

Energy Profile: Energy supply is a central concern in Armenia. Much of Armenia's electricity needs were provided for by the "Medzamor" nuclear plant 20 miles from Yerevan. This plant was closed in 1988 in response to fears about the plant's safety. The result was a dramatic increase in Armenia's dependence on imported electricity. Armenia has reached agreement with Russia on joint exploitation of the plant which was reopened in 1995. In the meantime, Armenian and Russian specialists have continued the testing and modernization of the plant. Electricity outages can be commonplace, especially in major cities which may suffer blackouts ranging up to eight hours a day.

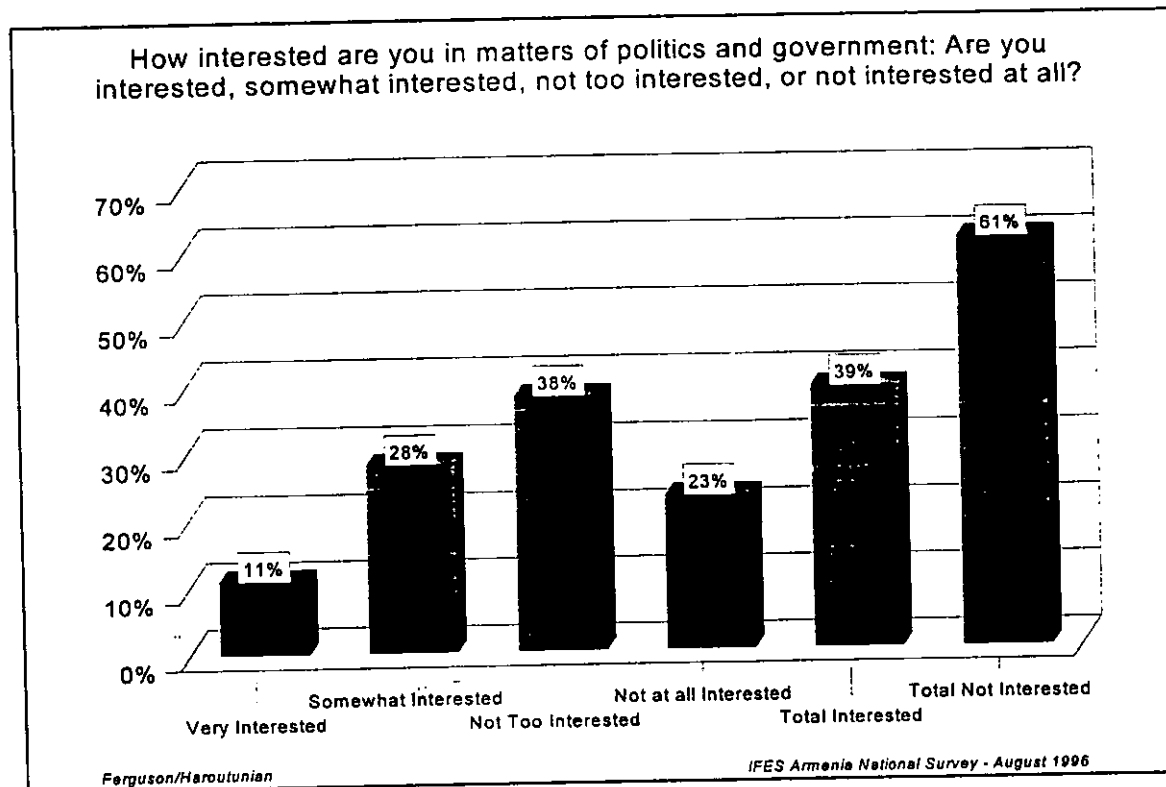
Economic Developments and Economic Reform Programs: Armenia's economic development has been severely hurt by the 1988 earthquake and the ethnic strife with Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Blockades by neighboring Azerbaijan and Turkey have resulted in shortages of electricity, fuel, and raw materials. Under the old centrally-planned Soviet system, Armenia had built up textile, machine-building, electronics, defense, and other industries and had become a key supplier to sister republics. In turn, Armenia depended on supplies of raw materials and energy from other republics. Most of these supplies (85 percent) previously entered the republic by rail through Azerbaijan. As a result largely of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, many of the country's factories are now at a virtual halt; eighty to ninety percent of the labor force remains either idle or unemployed.

Privatization: Armenia has adopted one of the most aggressive privatization campaigns of the NIS countries. By the end of 1992, agricultural privatization was completed. Nearly all of the 800 state and collective farms were dismantled, and over 300,000 private farms have been created. By February 1996 over 2,000 small enterprises had been privatized, with the remaining small enterprises to be privatized by year's end. Ambitious targets for medium and large-scale enterprises were not met during 1995, but progress has been made. By February 1996, 343 medium and large scale enterprises had been privatized while privatization of 44 others is planned. By year's-end, the final 650 enterprises are scheduled to be privatized.

Foreign Trade: The Armenian economy is in desperate need of Western development assistance, investment, technology, and management expertise. However, transportation problems, low local financing capabilities, the unwillingness of foreign lending institutions to take risks in Armenia, inhibit the scope of potential business opportunities. It is believed that almost 60 percent of all transactions in the private sector, including export/import are made in cash. Some experts indicate that up to 15 million dollars in cash enter Armenia every month (a significant part of it is assistance to local residents by their relatives living in the United States or Russia). The money is transferred through private hands (tourists) or illegal "money transfer companies" and never enters the banking system.

III. POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The vast majority of Armenians are dissatisfied with the current situation in the country. Only 21% are satisfied while 78% are dissatisfied. The intensity of this sentiment is profound: just 2% are very satisfied while 43% are very dissatisfied.



A majority in all regions are dissatisfied although dissatisfaction is significantly lower in Aragatz (62%) and Tavush (51%). Dissatisfaction is highest in Armavir where 95% express dissatisfaction with the current situation.

Dissatisfaction increases with age but Armenians are equally dissatisfied regardless of sex or whether they live in urban or rural setting. Higher satisfaction levels are noted among men 18-34 (31%-69%), as well as those working full-time (31% very or somewhat satisfied-68% very or somewhat dissatisfied), and satisfaction scores increase with improved socioeconomic status.

Those who believe that voting gives them a chance to influence events are much more satisfied (31%-68%) than those with low voter efficacy (12%-88%). Similarly, likely presidential election voters are more satisfied (23%-76%) than those who are not likely to vote (10%-90%). Ter-Petrosian voters (31%-68%) are far more satisfied than the rest of the nation (21%-78%).

Those who support the Armenian National Movement are more satisfied (32%-68%) than other party voting constituencies in the local self-governing body ballot test.

Dissatisfaction is greatest among National Democratic Union voters (12%-86%), those who support the Union for Self-Determination (9%-91%), and the Communist Party of Armenia (10%-89%).

Voters give many reasons for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Those who are satisfied with the current situation tend to cite economic improvements as the reason for that satisfaction. In fact, 62% mention various aspects of the economic climate. Another 16% mention the established peace in Nagorno-Karabakh and the border areas. The top reasons given in open-ended questioning are listed on the following page.

Reasons Satisfied with the Situation in Armenia

16%	Some level of well-being has been reached and life is bearable
16%	Established peace in Nagorno-Karabakh
11%	The economic crisis is in the past and the country is developing
7%	There is some political and economic stability
7%	Entrepreneurship is developing
7%	It is possible to use one's abilities to earn an income
5%	There are perspectives for development and prosperity of Armenia
5%	Armenia has reached Independence
5%	Political and economic courses of government are set right
4%	There are political freedoms and pluralism
4%	There is a privatization process/the land is privatized
3%	The state has taken action and achieved results
3%	The population is socially protected

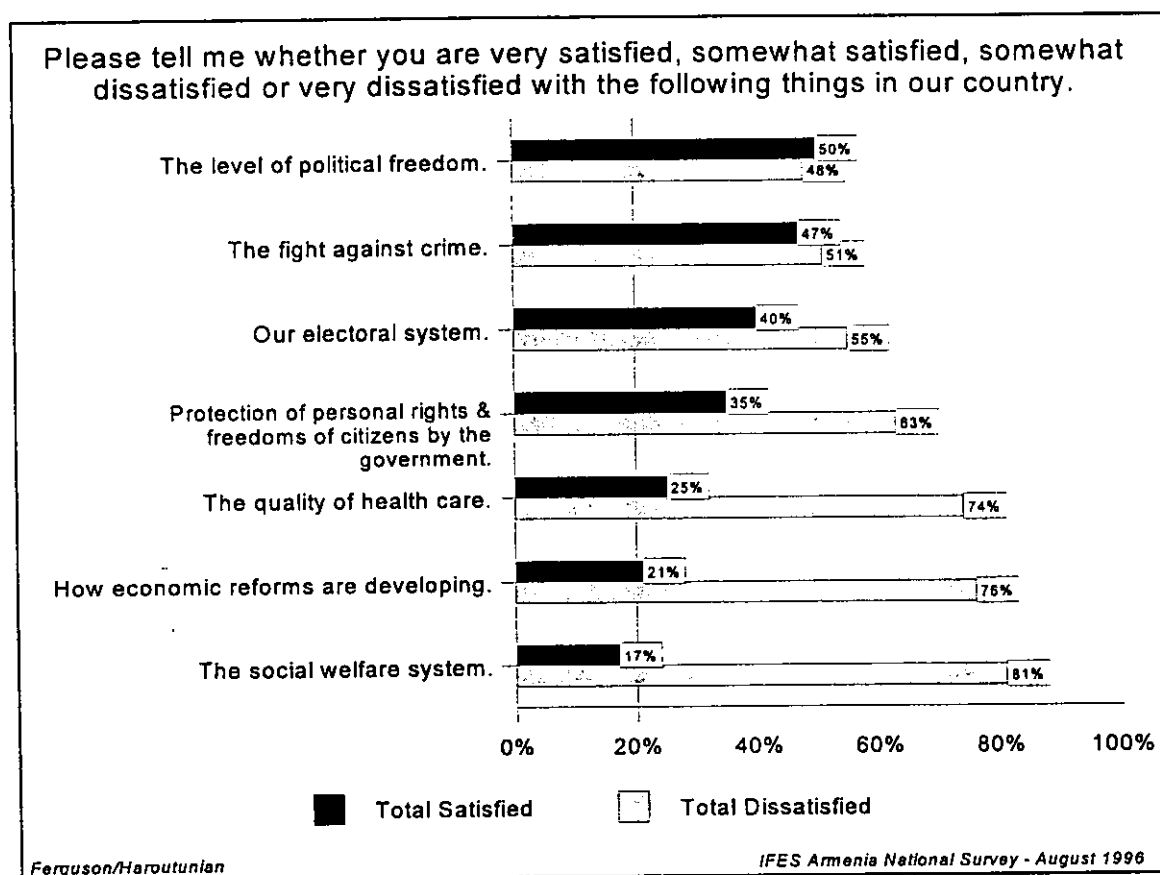
Reasons Dissatisfied with the Situation in Armenia

Unemployment, poverty and the impact of those conditions on the quality of life provide the basis for the discontentment of Armenians. The following table outlines their commentary.

29%	Unemployment
14%	Living and working conditions are bad and vulnerable
11%	Pensions and salaries are low or nonexistent
11%	Poverty
8%	The government doesn't take care of people
6%	There is anarchy/the state is weak/there is no law and order
6%	The economy is in crisis/there is no economic activity
5%	There is no access to public services/health care/education
4%	The state doesn't take care of villagers/agriculture
2%	Village conditions are bad and land division unfair
2%	There is no possibility for the development of private business
2%	There is no perspective/future for people and democracy
2%	It is difficult to adapt to a market economy
2%	There is widespread social injustice
2%	There is no political or economic stability
2%	The government can't manage or solve problems
1%	There is no hope for development or prosperity in Armenia
1%	Science, culture, and education are in crisis
1%	Government bureaucrats are corrupted
1%	Armenia has become an underdeveloped country
1%	Socialism is destroyed
1%	Emigration from Armenia
1%	There is no respect for human rights

Satisfaction with Specific Aspects of Armenian Life

Respondents were asked if they are satisfied or dissatisfied with a variety of aspects of Armenian life and government activity. Overall, Armenians are more satisfied with political matters and less satisfied with the economic reforms, health or welfare. They are relatively satisfied with the fight against crime. Responses are outlined in the following chart.



Economic Reforms

With the exception of those who are generally satisfied with the current situation in Armenia and those who have above average socioeconomic status, a majority of all subgroups are dissatisfied with how economic reforms are developing. The highest levels of satisfaction are expressed in the Aragatz (36% very or somewhat satisfied-65% very or somewhat dissatisfied) and Tavush (38%-60%) regions.

The Social Welfare System

Here too, the overwhelming majority of Armenians are dissatisfied. In particular, those who may need it the most, the poorest segment of society, are the least satisfied with the welfare system. Only 7% of the very poor and 13% of the poor Armenians interviewed are satisfied, while satisfaction climbs to 28% among those of modest means and 43% of those with above average circumstances. In addition, pensioners are dissatisfied (23% very or somewhat satisfied-87% very or somewhat dissatisfied).

Politically, dissatisfaction is highest among supporters of the Communist and Dashnak parties. Among those who support the Communist Party, 64% are very dissatisfied with the social welfare system.

The Level of Political Freedom

Although more Armenians are satisfied than are dissatisfied with the level of political freedom in the country, there are clear differences by region, status, political efficacy and political affiliation. A majority of those who reside in Aragatz, Ararat, Vayots Dzor, Lori, Siunik, Tavush, and Shirak are satisfied while residents of Armavir, Gedharkhunik, and Kotaik are dissatisfied. The citizens of Yerevan are split. Full-time workers are highly satisfied but the unemployed are significantly more dissatisfied. The very poor are dissatisfied while those with modest or above-average income are more satisfied than average.

The politically motivated – those who say that voting gives them influence – are far more satisfied (64%) than those with low efficacy (36%). Dashnak and Communist voters are significantly more dissatisfied. Supporters of President Ter-Petrossian are highly satisfied (64%) while supporters of other candidates have significantly higher dissatisfaction scores.

Satisfaction with Political Freedoms Among Presidential Voting Blocs

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Ter-Petrossian	64%	34%
Hairikian	41%	55%
Badalian	29%	68%
Manoukian	36%	61%
Other Candidates	31%	69%
None	35%	62%
Undecided	38%	57%

Protection of Rights and Freedoms

A little more than one-third are satisfied with the protection of the personal rights and freedoms of citizens by the government. Again, there are regional differences, with Aragatz, Tavush, and Shirak more satisfied and Gedharkhunik significantly less so. Further, younger respondents express higher satisfaction levels than older Armenians. Those with more comfortable incomes are more satisfied than those who have less. Men 55 and older are particularly dissatisfied (24%-74%). Here too, political efficacy is associated with a higher level of satisfaction (51%).

The supporters of presidential challengers are highly dissatisfied with the protection of rights and freedoms by the government.

Satisfaction with The Protection of Rights and Freedoms Among Presidential Voting Blocs

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Ter-Petrossian	50%	49%
Hairikian	19%	78%
Badalian	13%	86%
Manoukian	17%	82%
Other Candidates	20%	80%
None	25%	72%
Undecided	32%	64%

Dashnak (22%-77%) and Communist Party supporters (17%-81%) are the least satisfied with the government's protection of freedoms while supporters of the Armenian National Movement are highly satisfied (53%-47%).

The Fight Against Crime

Only two regions express low satisfaction with the fight against crime. These are Armavir (27%-71%) and Gedharkhunik (33%-67%). Older Armenians also are less than satisfied (30%-69%). This is particularly true of men age 50+ (33%-67%). On this issue, difference in opinion is again based on socioeconomic status as the very poor are less satisfied with the fight against crime than those who are better off. As with other questions, those with higher levels of information, those who feel their vote means something, and who participate in the political process are more satisfied than less informed or active citizens.

The Quality of Health Care

Quality health care is a concern in Armenia as only 25% are satisfied with the quality of health care. By comparison, in the United States more than 60% are satisfied with the health care they receive.

The Tavush region is a notable exception to this finding as 60% of those respondents are satisfied. The very young, who use the health care system the least, are the most satisfied (32%-67%). Several groups are significantly less satisfied, including: men 35-54 (18%-79%), the unemployed (18%-80%), the very poor (15%-84%), and the disaffected.

This tends to be a point of contention with supporters of presidential challengers as 85% of Badalian's voters, 81% of Hairikian's, 82% of Manoukian's, and 94% of those who support other challengers are dissatisfied. Ter-Petrossian's supporters are significantly more satisfied than the rest of the sample (34%-65%). The voters who support Dashnak (9%-89%) and the Communist Party (12%-87%) are less satisfied than other party blocs.

Our Electoral System

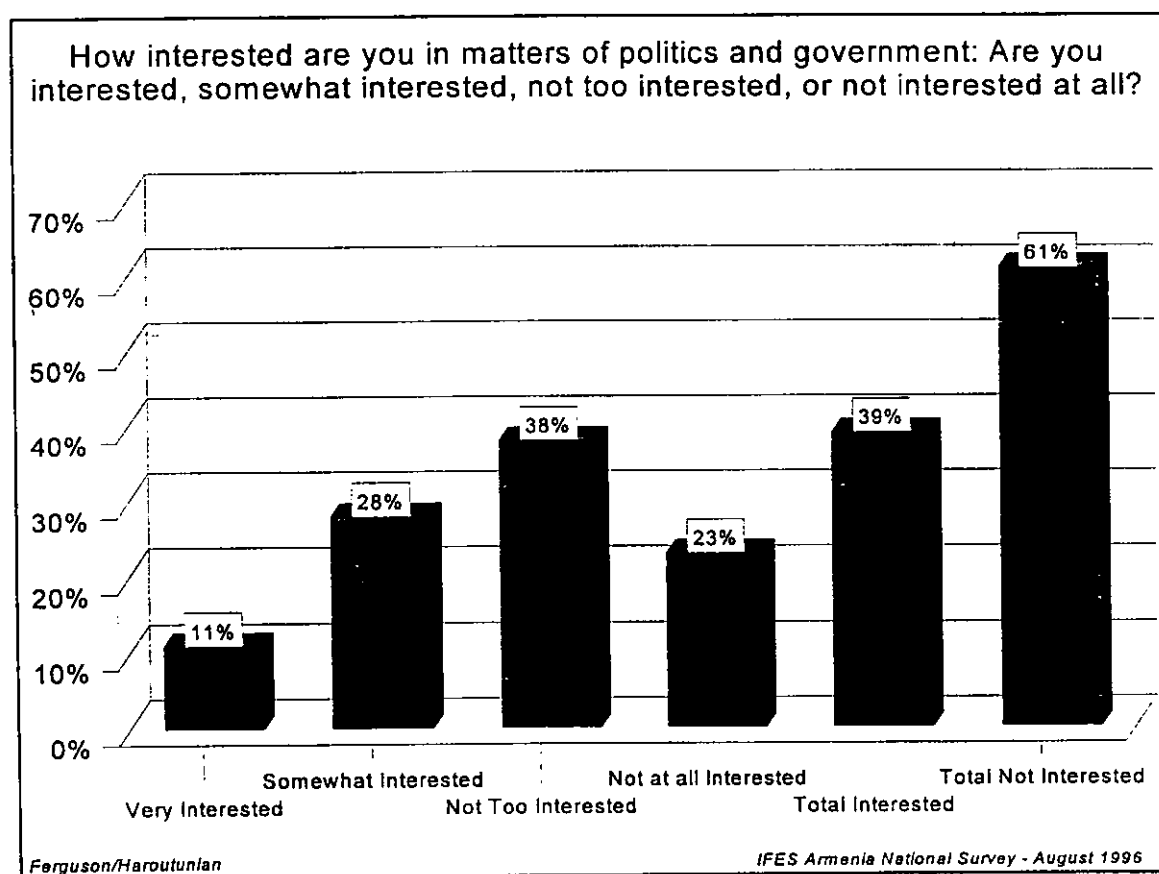
Although less satisfied with the electoral system than with the level of political freedom enjoyed by Armenians, a relatively high number (40%) are satisfied with the system while a 55% majority are dissatisfied. Again there are regional differences as Aragatz (58%), Kotaik (53%), Tavush (58%), and Shirak (52%) are more satisfied while Yerevan (32%) and Gedharkhunik (30%) are significantly less so.

At 47%, young Armenians are more satisfied than other age groups. As with other aspects of Armenian life, satisfaction with the electoral system increases with higher socioeconomic status (from 25% among the very poor to 60% among those with above average circumstances).

Again, those who are better informed and more active in the political process are more satisfied than those who are not. Further, of all presidential voting groups, only Ter-Petrosian's supporters are significantly more satisfied while all others are significantly less so. Supporters of the Union for National Self-Determination (22%-73%) and Communist voters (24%) are less satisfied than the norm.

Interest in Politics

Facing such economic and social challenges, Armenians express a surprisingly high interest in matters of politics and government. That is, 39% say they are interested in government and politics (11% very) while 61% are not particularly interested (23% not at all). It is not clear whether this level of interest reflects the proximity of this survey to the presidential elections in September or simply high interest on the part of the electorate.



Some comparative data from an IFES survey of the Russian electorate in July 1995 provide additional perspective. In that survey, five months before the Russian Duma elections and a year before the presidential elections, we found that only 32% of all Russians expressed an interest in government and politics.

Men (47% interested-53% not interested) are significantly more interested than women (33%-67%). Young people are significantly less interested, while middle-aged and older men are more interested, with a majority expressing interest. Interest is consistent across all regions with the exception of low interest in Gedharkhunik (8% interested-92% not interested).

Predictably, interest increases with education. However, on this question there is little difference by socioeconomic status (ranging from 37% of the very poor, to 44% among modest households, to 36% among those of above-average means). Still, there are major differences according to work status. A majority of those who are employed full-time (54%) are interested while 69% of those who are not employed are *not* interested.

As this is an important variable in predicting election outcomes, an examination of voting blocs is interesting. Only 39% of Ter-Petrossian's supporters are interested in politics and government while the blocs of challengers Badalian (50%) and Manoukian (53%) are highly interested. Contrary to our experience in the United States and Russia, undecided voters in Armenia are keenly interested in politics as 68% say they are interested in politics and government. Those with no candidate preference, however, are not interested on the whole (29%-71%).

None of the political parties' voting blocs are significantly higher than the sample in terms of interest. On the other hand, interest among those who voted in 1995 is far higher today (44%-56%) than among those who did not vote in 1995 (30%-70%). Armenians who are willing to volunteer for service at non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are significantly more interested in politics and government (48%) than the total population.

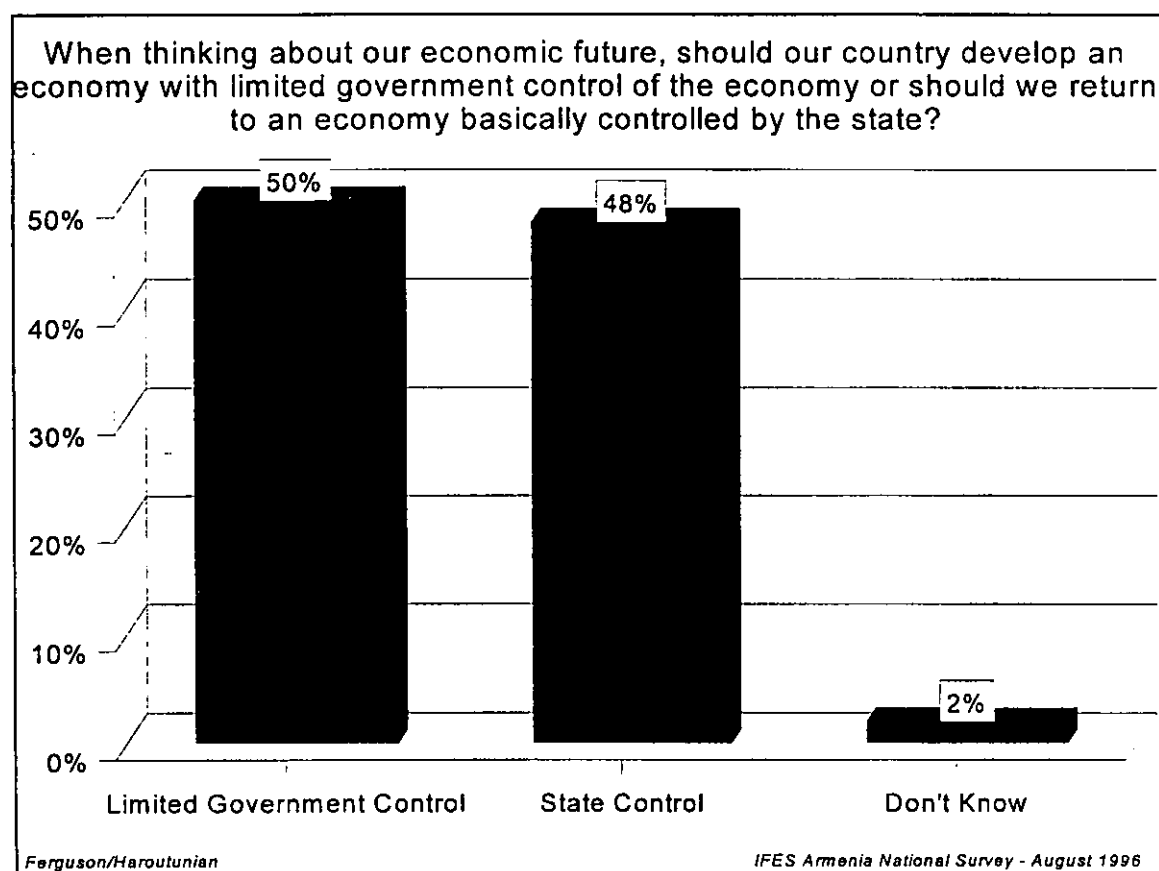
Models for Economic and Political Development

When voters were asked which foreign country, if any, could be a model for Armenia's economic and political development, the United States led the way on both questions. In terms of economic development, 31% named the USA while 11% mentioned Russia, 10% France, 8% Germany, 6% Soviet Armenia and 5% said there is no such country. This is far less inward-looking than the findings from the Russia survey, in which 30% of all Russians said only Russia herself could serve as a model.

Regarding the country's political development, the findings are very similar. Specifically, 31% name the USA, 11% Russia, 10% Germany, 10% France, 6% Switzerland, 6% Soviet Armenia, and 5% say there is no such country.

State Control of The Economy

Armenians are closely divided on whether the country should develop an economy in which the government exerts limited control (50%) or should return to an economy basically controlled by the state (48%).



This is clearly a question that divides the nation across the subgroups. In general, the more satisfied one is, the less likely the sentiment for a return to state control. Among those who are satisfied with the situation in Armenia, 71% prefer a system with limited government control. Although those who are dissatisfied are more inclined to want state control (53%) the question is nevertheless polarizing as fully 44% want limited control.

There are differences between regions, age groups, education groups, and SES classifications. Political efficacy, too, plays a role as those who are more involved are more likely to prefer limited control while the opposite view is more likely to be held by the politically disenchanted. There are clear differences between presidential voting groups and certain party blocs. The following table outlines key differences.

	Limited Control	State Control
Total	50%	48%
Ararat	31%	63%
Armavir	26%	70%
Gedharkhunik	93%	3%
Kotaik	40%	59%
Lori	35%	65%
Men 18-34	63%	35%
Men 55 +	39%	59%
18-29	61%	37%
55-64	40%	57%
< Secondary	41%	57%
Univ. 3yrs +	58%	40%
Very Poor	36%	59%
Modest	60%	39%
City 50K-500K	42%	58%
Voting gives influence	56%	42%
Voting does not	44%	53%
Party Competition Important	62%	36%
Parties Not Important	28%	70%
Hairikian Voters	62%	38%
Badalian Voters	25%	75%
Dashnak	67%	32%
Communist Party	35%	62%
No Party	59%	39%

Current Economic Outlook

At the present time, Armenians have negative view of the economic situation in the country. Only 22% would describe it as good, and less than one percent would say very good, while 77% say the economy is bad and 33% say it is very bad.

This view is consistent across the population. There are, however, exceptions as students (39%-58%), those with modest means (32%-68%) and above average incomes (52%-48%) are more positive about the economic situation.

Future Economic Outlook - Near Term

One-third of all respondents say the economy will improve during the next 12 months while 40% say it will stay the same, and 24% believe the economy will worsen. Several groups are more sanguine than others, including: Aragatz (50% better), Tavush (50%), Yerevan (39%), those with modest (43%) or above average means (62%), those who are well-informed (40%), who say Armenia is a Democracy (52%) or that voting gives them influence (45%). Ter-Petrossian voters (46% better) and Armenian National Movement voters (54%) also exhibit more optimism about the economy.

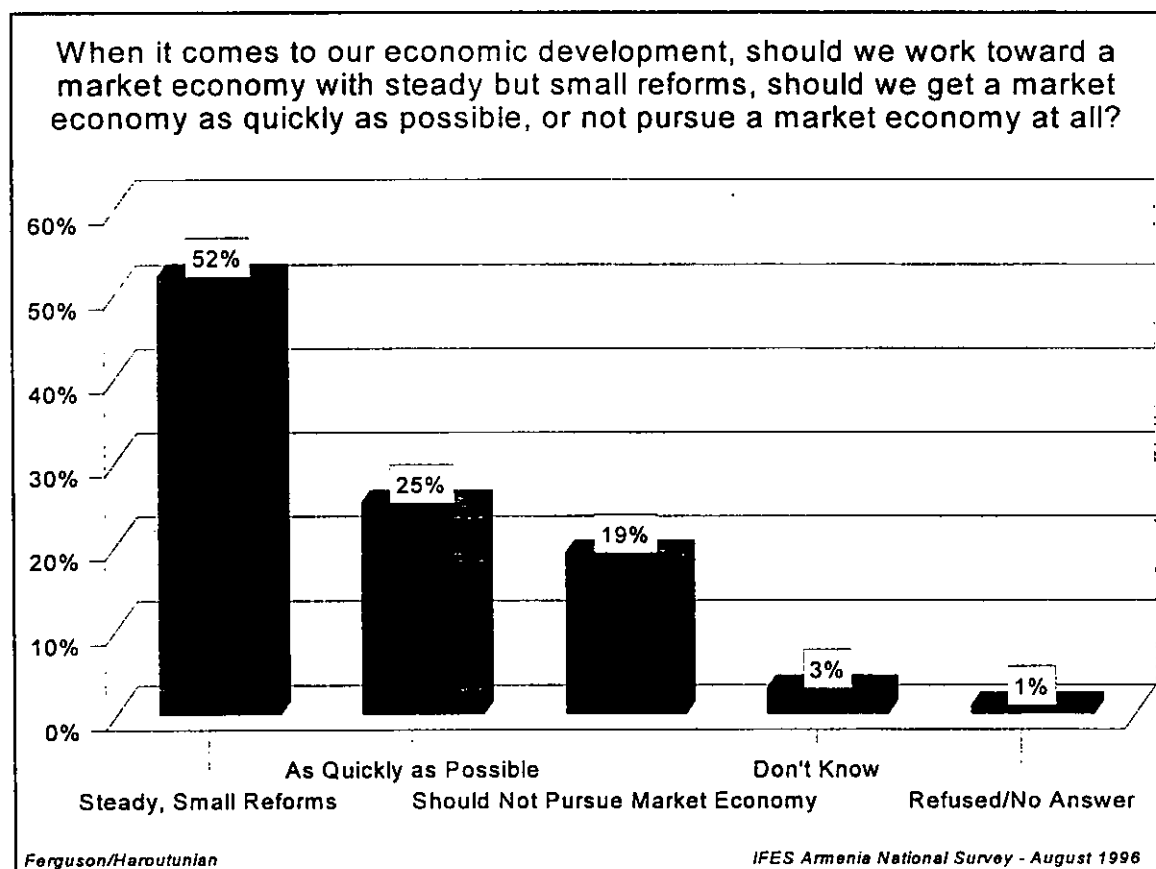
At the same time, certain groups are more pessimistic. These include: Gedharkhunik (37% worse), Siunik (40% worse), age 55-64 (35%), men 55+ (39%), the very poor (46% worse), small town residents (35%), those who want state control (30%), non-voters (36% presidential/33% Marzpets), and Communist voters (48% worse).

Future Economic Outlook - By the Year 2000

Armenians are far more optimistic about the medium-term economic prospects of their country. A 61% majority say that the economic situation will improve while only 13% say it will be the same and 16% worse. The greatest optimism is in Gedharkhunik where 75% say the economy will get better and optimism is also significantly higher in Yerevan (69%). A majority of most major subgroups are optimistic about the country's future prospects. Exceptions include the very poor (45% better) and Badalian voters (32% better and 40% worse). Communist Party voters are also more pessimistic than the norm as 46% say the economy will be better and 27% worse.

Speed of Reforms

A majority of Armenians (52%) say that we should work toward a market economy with steady but small reforms while 25% think we should work toward a market economy as quickly as possible, and 19% say we should not pursue a market economy. Voters in the Shirak region are less patient and 50% say we should move as quickly as possible. Aside from the impatient Shirak voters, a plurality of all subgroups support a steady pace – with only two exceptions, those with less than secondary education (34% should not pursue a market economy), and Badalian voters (49%).



Foreign Involvement in Armenia

As a series of questions indicate, the Armenian electorate is very open to both financial and technical assistance from abroad. The vast majority, 76%, say that **foreign investments** are important to the economic health of the nation and 36% say they are very important. In addition, 78% are in favor of having **foreign investments assist in the restructuring of the agricultural sector**.

Even more Armenians (89%) are in favor of **foreign technical assistance to the agricultural sector of Armenia**. Only 11% are opposed while 49% strongly favor this involvement.

However, voters draw a greater distinction regarding the **rights of foreign businesses in Armenia**. A substantial number, 45%, agree that foreign firms have a right to open businesses in Armenia while 54% disagree. Differences are apparent between regions with Aragatz (73%-27%), Shirak (59%-40%) and Yerevan (58%-41%) more likely to agree that foreign firms have such a right. Voters in urban areas are more likely to support this right for foreign firms (50%-49%) than those in rural (35%-64%) areas. Support for foreign firms' right to open businesses in Armenia is higher among young men (55% agree-44% disagree) and lower among men 55+ (32%-67%). Support also increases predictably with the socioeconomic and political efficacy level of the respondent. Badalian voters (26%-74%) and Communist voters (28%-71%) are highly unlikely to support the right of foreign firms to start businesses in Armenia.

Level of Information About Economic Reforms

On the whole, Armenians do not feel well informed about economic reforms in the country. Just 2% say they have a great deal of information, 23% have a fair amount, 57% not very much, and 18% have no information at all. Regionally, the information deficit is greatest in Gedharkhunik (95% not very much or none), Ararat (80%), and Armavir (85%). Men (33% some information) are better informed than women (18% some).

The politically interested and active tend to be better informed than the inactive.

Information levels are roughly twice as high among the top two economic cohorts as they are among the bottom two. Badalian voters are significantly more likely to say they have no information about economic reforms.

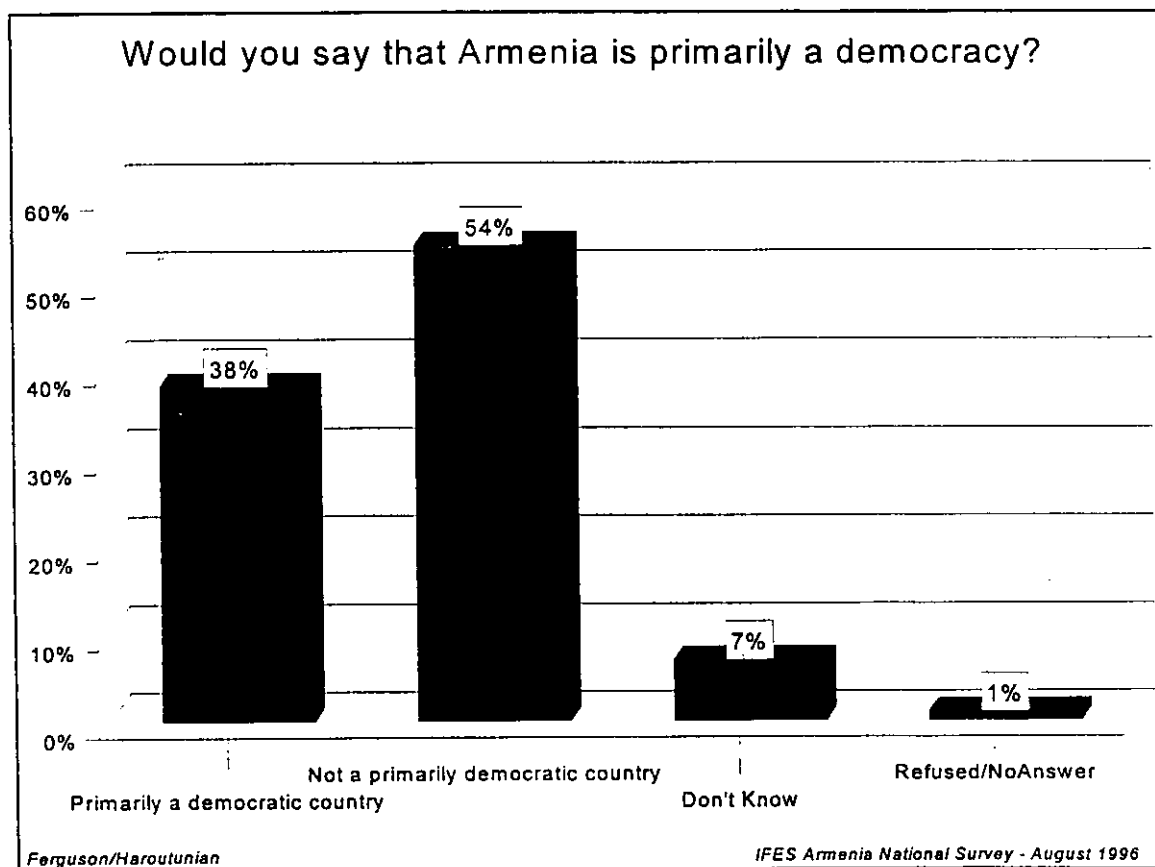
Level of Information About Political Developments

Essentially the same story can be told about the level of information Armenians have about political developments. Only 4% know a great deal, 32% have a fair amount of information, 54% don't have very much information, and 10% have none at all.

Armavir and Gedharkhunik are again particularly ill-informed as are women, homemakers, those who are not interested in politics, non-voters, and supporters of the Shamiram Party. At the same time, men, those in higher education or SES groups, those interested in politics, and National Democratic Union voters are better informed.

Is Armenia A Democracy?

On the whole, voters say that Armenia is not primarily a democracy. Just 38% say that the country is primarily a democracy and 54% say it is not.



There are some regional differences, mainly between the voters of Aragatz (55%-45%), Siunik (56%-41%), and Shirak (53%-36%) who say the country is a democracy, and those in Armavir (29%-67%) and Gedharkhunik (8%-92%) who say it is not primarily a democracy. The very poor (27%-65%) do not see Armenia as a democracy but those in higher SES groups are more likely to say it is. Those with more information and higher vote efficacy are more inclined to say that Armenia is a democracy. Non-voters (29%-65%) and challenger voting blocs say Armenia is not a democratic country. Other groups taking the negative view include Dashnak voters (25%-72%), Communist voters (22%-71%), and those who disapprove of the Central Electoral Commission's performance in 1995 (27%-68%).

The Meaning of Living in a Democratic Society

To Armenians, the word democracy evokes many meanings, but there is one central theme throughout – freedom and equality. A sample of the main responses follows:

- 15% Freedom of expression
- 13% Right to life in liberty and security
- 12% Guarantees of human rights and freedoms
- 10% Respect for law and order
- 10% A minimal living standard
- 9% Social Security
- 8% Equal access
- 8% Economic freedom
- 7% Political freedom
- 3% Freedom of conscience
- 5% Equal rights
- 4% Freedom of information
- 3% Free and Fair elections

Are Personal Rights and Freedoms Protected or Disregarded?

The response to this question provides a better idea as to why a majority says that Armenia is not a democracy. Just 28% say that personal rights and liberties are at least somewhat protected by the government of Armenia while 71% say rights and liberties are disregarded by the government. Only 2% say rights are completely protected and 24% say they are completely disregarded.

In fact, a majority of most major subgroups say that the government at least somewhat disregards such rights. Even 49% of those who say Armenia is a democracy acknowledge that the government disregards these rights. Further, 58% of Ter-Petrosian's voters and 59% of those who approve of his job performance say the government disregards rights and freedoms.

The Importance of Rights and Liberties

As the following table indicates, however, government protection of rights and liberties is important to Armenians.

	Very Impt.	Some- What Impt.	Not Very Impt.	Not At All Impt.	Total Important	Total Not Important
Honest Elections are held regularly	71%	27%	2%	15%	97%	2%
Political parties can freely express their viewpoints in the mass media	51%	39%	7%	2%	89%	10%
One can choose from several parties and candidates when voting	49%	38%	8%	4%	87%	12%
Citizens have the right to form political parties representing different viewpoints	39%	32%	17%	10%	72%	27%

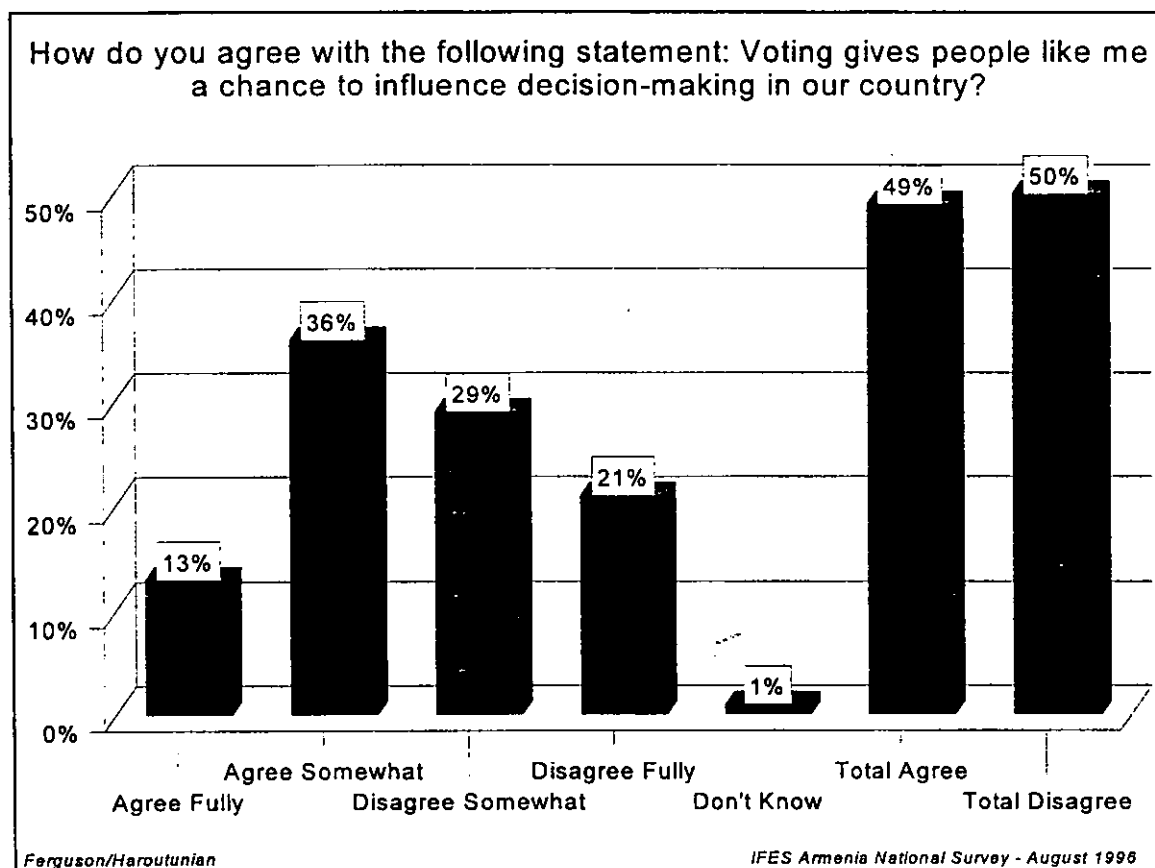
Ethnic Relations

The overwhelming majority (95%) say that relations between the various ethnic groups in Armenia are good and 32% say they are very good. Further, for the most part Armenians maintain that this situation can be prolonged for the foreseeable future. That is, 39% say that stable relations can be maintained for a very long time and 32% say relations will change for the better within three-five years. On the other hand, 8% say relations will change for the worse within three-five years and 19% say that relations among ethnic groups are too difficult to predict. These views are relatively stable across the subgroups.

The vast majority, 84% say that the rights of citizens should be the same regardless of their ethnic group.

The Importance of Voting

Throughout the survey, we have seen significant differences between the two sides of this question. As with the question of state control of the economy, Armenians are divided in their views on voting. Just under half, 49%, agree that voting gives people a chance to influence decision-making in the country while 50% disagree with the statement.



Agreement is higher among: Tavush voters (68%-32%), Shirak voters (64%-33%), those with modest income (63%-36%), those who are satisfied with the situation in Armenia (71%), those who are well-informed on political issues (56%-43%), and Ter-Petrosian supporters (62%-37%).

Disagreement is higher among: those in Gedharkhunik (28%-72%), the very poor (35%-62%), those who are dissatisfied with the situation in the country (43%-56%), those who say Armenia is not a democracy (34%-65%), non-voters (30%-68%), Badalian voters (31%-69%) Manoukian voters (26%-72%), and Communist voters (31%-68%).

IV. INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICIALS

Confidence in State Institutions

Voters tend to have little confidence in their institutions. Of four institutions tested, the National Assembly, the Presidency, Local Governments and Military Forces, only the military receives a great deal or fair amount of confidence of a majority of Armenians. The results are as follows:

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Very Much	None At All
Military Forces	26%	43%	16%	14%
The Presidency	9%	35%	31%	22%
National Assembly	5%	28%	41%	25%
Local Governments	6%	26%	35%	29%

Military Forces

High confidence in the military forces is exhibited by residents of Ararat (37%), Tavush (68%), the satisfied (34%), the well-informed (32%), those to whom voting is meaningful (34%), and Ter-Petrosian voters (34%),

Lower confidence is found among Armavir voters (26% none), women 35-54 (21%), the very poor (21%), the self-disenfranchised (those with low vote efficacy – 20%), and Badalian voters (27%).

The Presidency

Confidence in the Presidency is higher in Tavush (24% great deal) and Shirak (17% great deal), and also is higher in rural areas (55% overall) than in urban areas (40% overall). Also, those with higher income (25% great deal), those satisfied with the situation in Armenia (18% great deal), well-informed voters (15% great deal), and Ter-Petrosian voters (63% overall).

Confidence is low among those age 55-64 (43% none), the very poor (35% none), the dissatisfied (28% none), those who prefer state control (27% none), those who say Armenia is not a democracy (37% none), and the self-disenfranchised (32% none). Finally, non-voters (41% none), Badalian voters (62% none), disapprove of Ter-Petrosian (43% none), Communist voters (74% overall), and Union for Self-Determination voters (77% overall) express low confidence.

The National Assembly

Overall, 33% express confidence in the National Assembly while 66% lack confidence. High confidence in the National Assembly is shown by Shirak residents (15%) and Armenian National Movement voters (9%). No confidence scores are found to be greater among the voters of Armavir (44%), age 55-64 (39%), men 55+ (37%), the very poor (40%), the dissatisfied (30%), and the self-disenfranchised (34%). Others include Badalian voters (57%), those who disapprove of Ter-Petrossian (42%), Communist voters (37%), and those who disapprove of the CEC (36%).

Local Governments

A similar number, 32% express confidence in the local governments and 64% have little or no confidence. Confidence scores in local governments are consistent across the regions. Higher overall scores are found among the following groups: Aragatz (54%), Kotaik (49%), homemakers (47%), modest income households (43%), the well-informed (40%), those who consider Armenia a democracy (48%), high-efficacy voters (46%), Ter-Petrossian voters (43%), and Armenian National Movement voters (48%).

Scores are lower among the very poor (43%), the unemployed (36%), the dissatisfied (35%), those who favor state control (36%), and the self-disenfranchised (38%). Non-voters in the local elections (45%), Badalian voters (56%), Communist voters (38%), and those who support no party (38%) round out the list.

Confidence in Institutions of the Judicial System

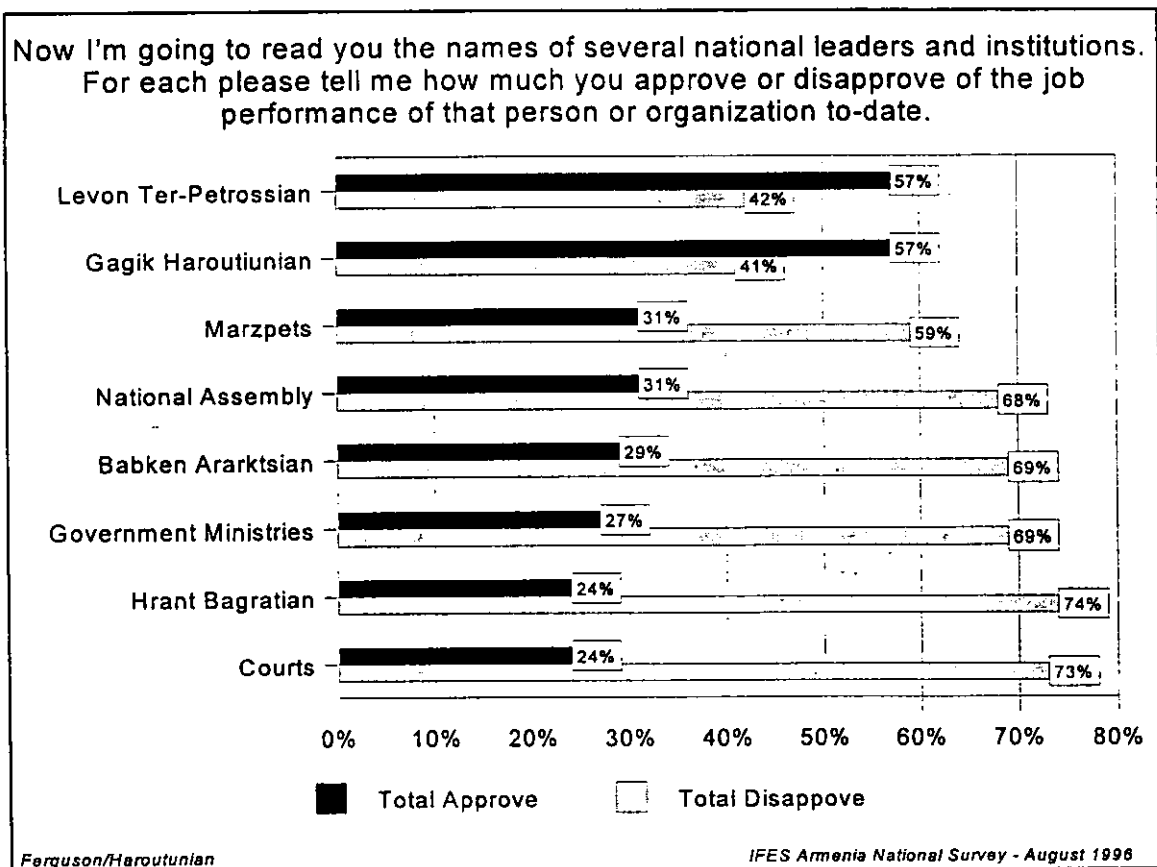
With one exception, groups of local defense, voters have even lower confidence in institutions of the judicial system than in the institutions described above.

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Very Much	None At All
Groups of Local Defense	25%	49%	13%	11%
The Militia	4%	26%	33%	36%
The Courts	2%	23%	37%	36%
Office of the Public Prosecutor	3%	23%	38%	35%

Scores are, in general, very consistent across the subgroups. Exceptions tend to be the same as listed above, with those who are satisfied, better off, prone to vote, and loyal to the Presidency tending to be more positive and the poor, the self-disenfranchised, and pro-Communists giving lower confidence scores in these institutions.

Job Approval Scores

A majority of Armenians approve of the job performance of the President and the Chairman of the Constitutional Court, but disapprove of the Prime Minister, the National Assembly, the Government Ministries, the Marzpets, and the Courts. The following table ranks these individuals and institutions according to their job approval rating.



President Ter-Petrossian

President Ter-Petrossian has consistently high scores across the regions outside of the capital as majorities approve in every area except in Yerevan (47%-53%). Rural areas are particularly likely to approve (66%-33%). When this question is examined by age and sex, the President receives majority approval with all except men 55+ (46%-54%). Of the SES groups, only the poorest Armenians offer less than majority approval (42%-58%). Approval scores and satisfaction with the situation in Armenia are highly related.

Likely voters approve of the President's performance (61%-39%) while non-voters do not (32%-67%). Supporters of the President's challengers consistently disapprove as do Communist Party voters (34%-66) and Union for Self Determination voters (36%-64%).

Hrant Bagratian

The Prime Minister appears to shoulder much of the blame for conditions in Armenia. Only 24% approve overall while 48% *strongly* disapprove. Tavush (44%-46%) is the only region that is close to parity. Scores are consistently low although 50% of those with the highest income approve of his job performance and Ter-Petrossian voters are somewhat more likely to approve (39%-59%).

Babken Ararktsian

A 69% majority disapprove of National Assembly Chairman Ararktsian's job performance and 39% highly disapprove. Of the regions, Tavush is again the exception (49% approve-42% disapprove). Other exceptions are with higher-income Armenians (58%-42%) and those who are generally satisfied with the current situation (59%), or support the government.

Gagik Haroutunian

Constitutional Court Chairman Haroutunian receives scores similar to the President's as 57% approve and 41% disapprove. He experiences greater regional variation, however. Scores are higher in Kotaik (66%-32%), Lori (66%-33%), Siunik (83%-17%), Tavush (73%-17%), and Shirak (61%-34%) but lower in Armavir (42%-53%), and Gedharkhunik (23%-76%). Approval scores increase with the material well-being and relative satisfaction of the respondent. Scores are lower with Communist voters (37%-61%).

Government Ministries

The collective government ministries receive scant approval (27% approve-69% disapprove). Tavush (52%-46%) is an exception.

The National Assembly

Majorities of most major subgroups of the population disapprove of the National Assembly's job performance. As usual, scores improve as well-being increases.

The Courts

As reflected in the confidence question outlined earlier, Armenians largely disapprove of the performance of the Courts. Just 24% approve overall while 73% disapprove and 39% highly disapprove. A majority of all major subgroups disapprove.

Marzpets

Marzpets receives a somewhat higher score as 31% approve and 59% disapprove. As one would expect, there is quite a lot of regional variation on this question but few areas are satisfied.

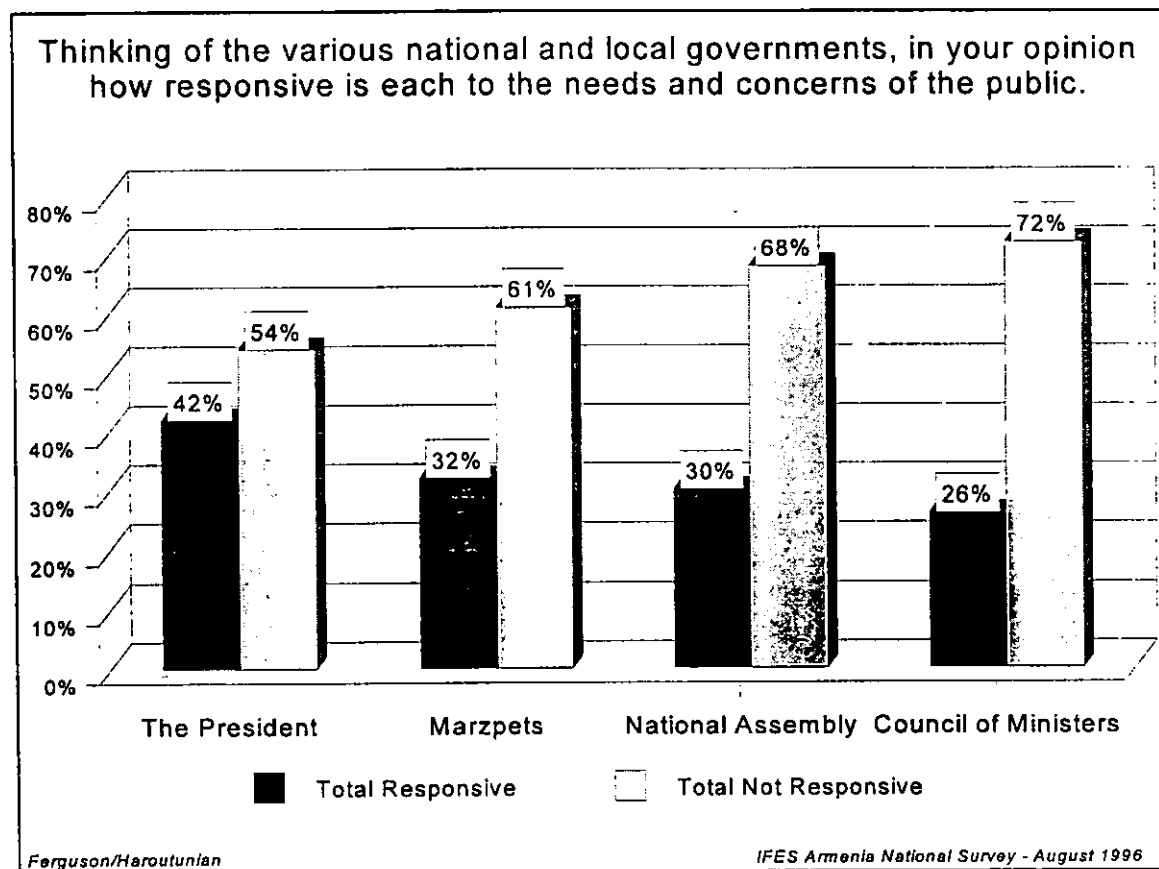
Marzpets Job Approval

	Approve	Disapprove
Total	31%	59%
Aragatz	47%	51%
Ararat	37%	45%
Armavir	24%	63%
Vaiots Dzor	51%	44%
Gedharkhunik	20%	80%
Kotaik	35%	31%
Lori	26%	72%
Siunik	40%	49%
Tavush	54%	44%
Shirak	41%	52%
Yerevan	24%	67%

Again, scores tend to rise with income. Communist voters are particularly scathing in their view of the Marzpets (20%-75%).

Responsiveness of Government Entities

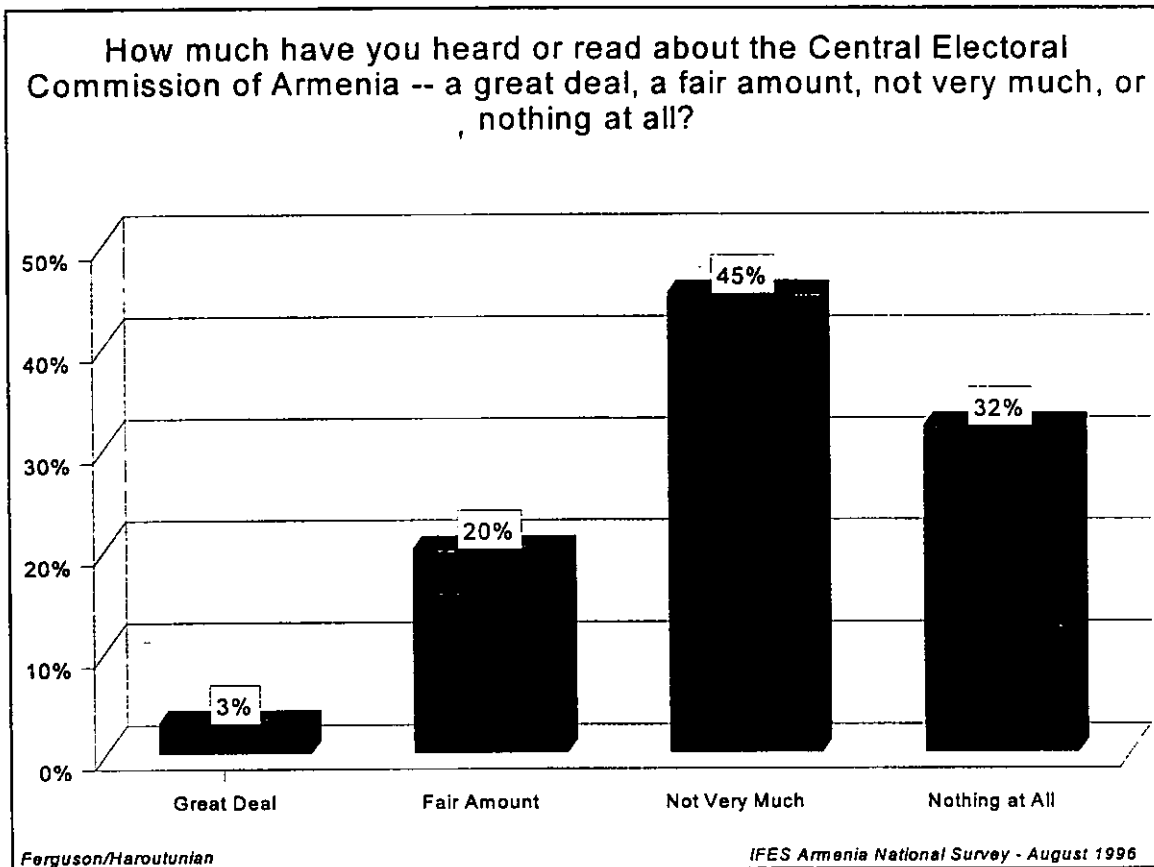
Confidence and job approval scores appear to be related to the perceived responsiveness of government to the needs and concerns of the public.



The pattern of subgroup responses follows the pattern outlined above. Essentially, perceived responsiveness improves as personal circumstances improve. There are no real differences by sex, age, urban or rural setting.

The Central Electoral Commission

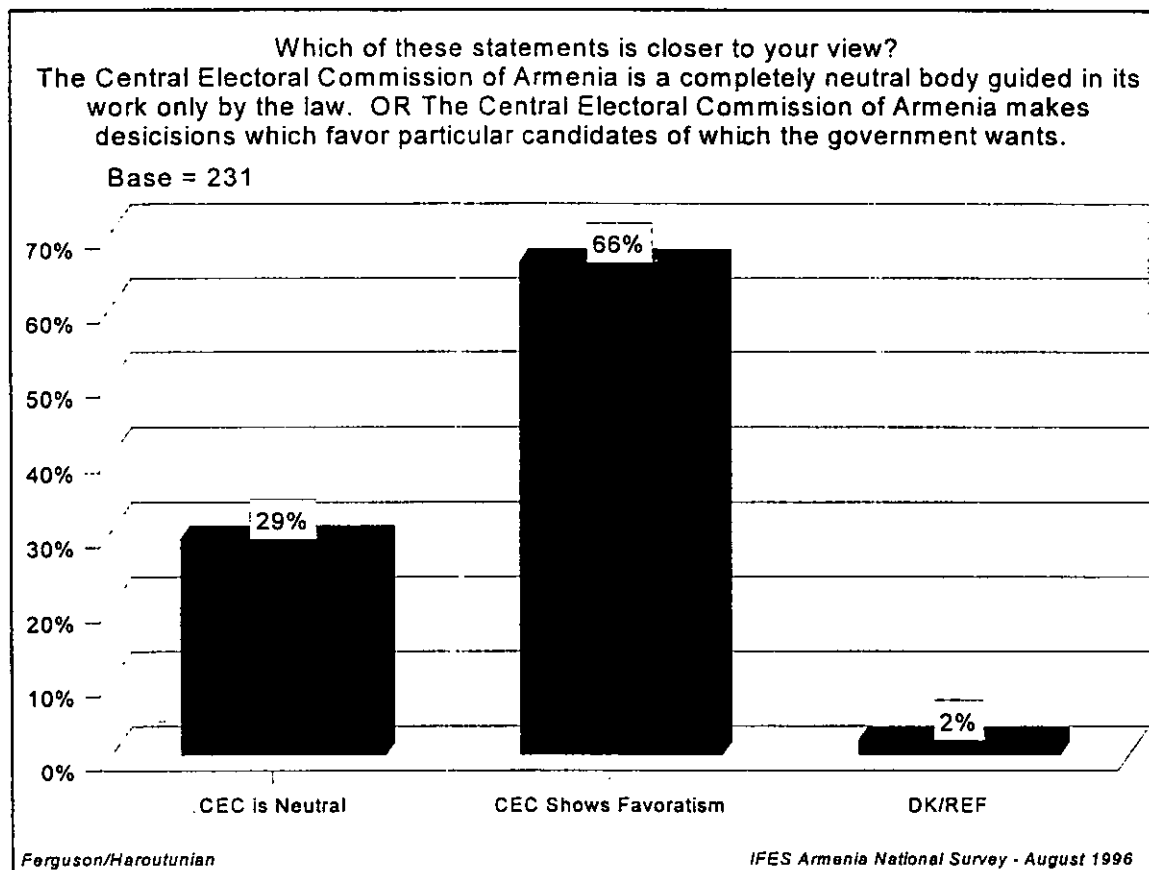
Few Armenians are knowledgeable about the CEC. Only 3% have a great deal of information, 20% a fair amount, 45% not very much, and 32% say they know nothing at all about the CEC.



Urban and rural voters are equally knowledgeable and men, despite their higher interest in government and politics, have only slightly more information (28%) than women (19%). There is little difference by age although young women have the least information. Levels do increase as education and income levels increase, and full-time workers have significantly more information than others. Those who are interested in politics have more information than the norm.

Perceptions of CEC Neutrality

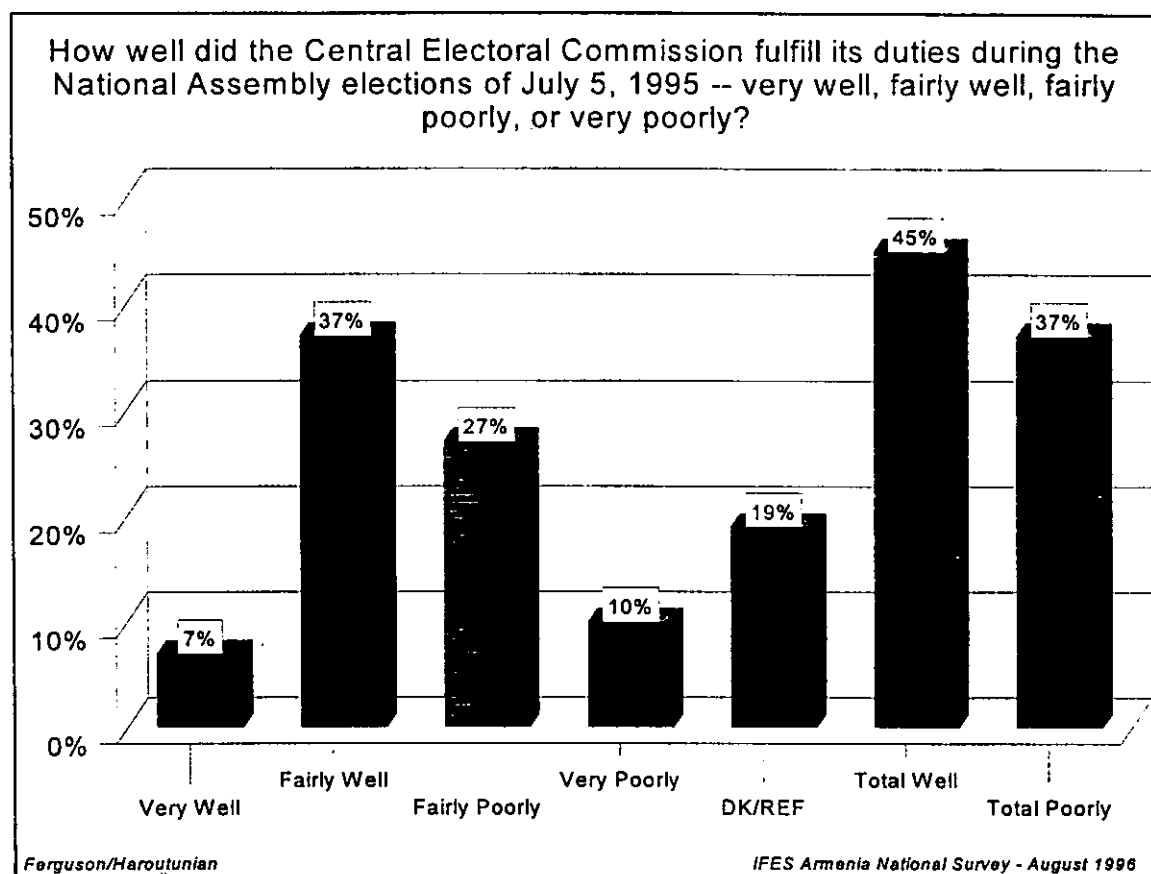
Those with a great deal or fair amount of information about the CEC were asked the following question:



These scores are consistent across population subgroups with the exception of those who consider Armenia to be a democracy (43% neutral-49% shows favoritism). A majority of all presidential voting blocs believe the CEC is not completely neutral in its actions.

Perceptions of the CEC's Job Performance in 1995

Nevertheless, a 45% plurality of all Armenians say the CEC did its job well during the 1995 National Assembly elections and 37% that the CEC did a poor job. Those who approve include a majority (54%) of those who have more extensive knowledge about the CEC. Further, nearly half (46%) of those who say the CEC is not neutral give the Commission a favorable rating for its activities during 1995.

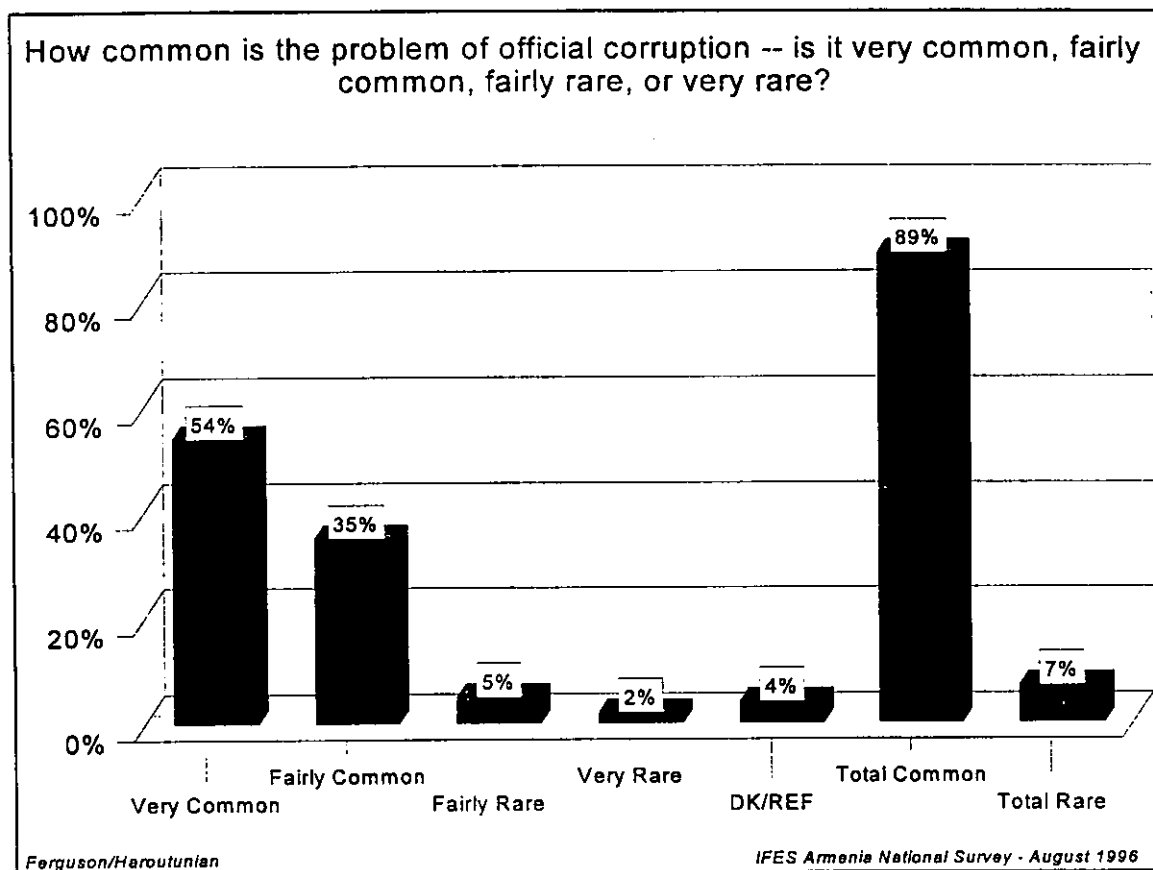


Scores generally are higher among those who are satisfied with the situation in Armenia (67%-17%), who favor limited government control of the economy (55%-31%), who value voting (56%-38%) and those who consider Armenia a democracy (55%-26%). Scores are correspondingly lower among those who are dissatisfied (38%-43%), who want state control (34%-44%), who disagree that voting gives people influence (33%-47%) or who say Armenia is not a democracy (38%-46%).

Ter-Petrosian voters tend to approve of the CEC's job performance (57%-25%) while other presidential voting blocs tend to give a poor rating. Armenian National Movement voters give a very favorable rating (62%-25%) while Communist voters are split (43%-42%) and National Democratic Union voters (30%-56%) and Union for Self Determination voters (27%-58%) are more negative in their assessment. Voters in 1995 rate the CEC's performance positively on the whole (50%-35%), particularly in comparison with non-voters (31%-41%).

Perceptions of Official Corruption

Armenians believe there is widespread official corruption. Overall, 89% say that corruption is common and 54% say it is very common.



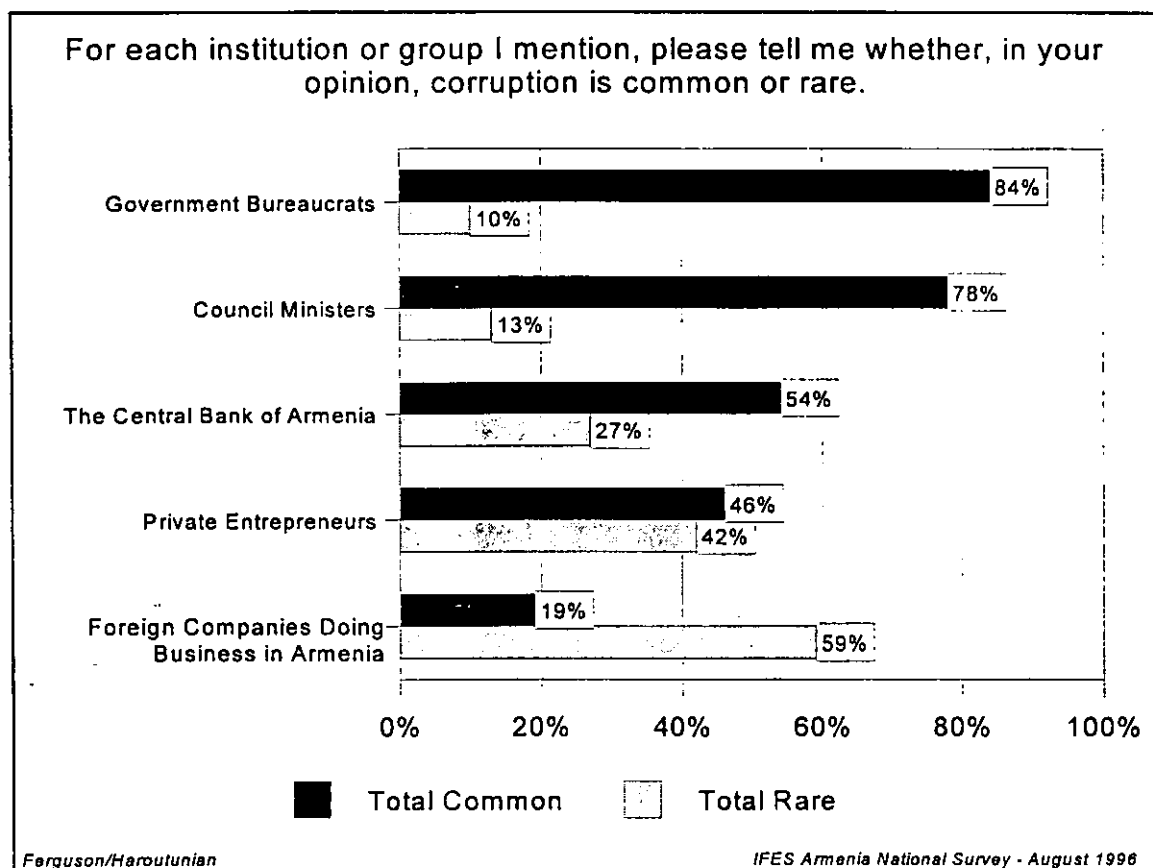
This is comparable to perceptions in the Russian electorate. In fact, the 54% intensity here exactly parallels the findings in Russia. Perceptions of fraud are uniformly high – reaching 100% among certain subgroups and more than 95% in many others.

Seriousness of Corruption

Armenians do not take this problem lightly, however. In all, 89% consider this a serious problem while 8% say it is not serious. High concern is registered in all subgroups with the exception of Aragatz (evenly divided at 51%-47%).

Corruption Among Specific Institutions and Groups

Further, there is no tacit assumption that all institutions and groups are corrupt. As the following chart indicates, the electorate discerns distinct differences and perceived corruption scores are noticeably lower for the central bank, and for entrepreneurial or foreign companies doing business in Armenia.



Foreign Businesses

Rural voters are somewhat more skeptical of foreign companies (25% common-45% rare) than urbanites (16%-65%). The same is true for pensioners (29%-48%), Badalian voters (33%-43%) and Communist voters (33%-46%). Otherwise, this response corresponds to support for foreign financial and technical assistance and further indicates a very open environment for foreign business in the country.

Private Entrepreneurs

Opinion on corruption among private entrepreneurs is far from uniform (46% common-42% rare). The assumption of corruption is higher among those with poorer circumstances (51%) and lower among those who are better off financially (37%). Regionally, scores are fairly uniform except in Armavir (27%-62%) and Gedharkhunik (71%-29%). Medium-sized cities are less likely to perceive corruption from this quarter (31%-56%). Manoukian voters (59%) are the most likely of the presidential voting blocs to presume entrepreneurial corruption.

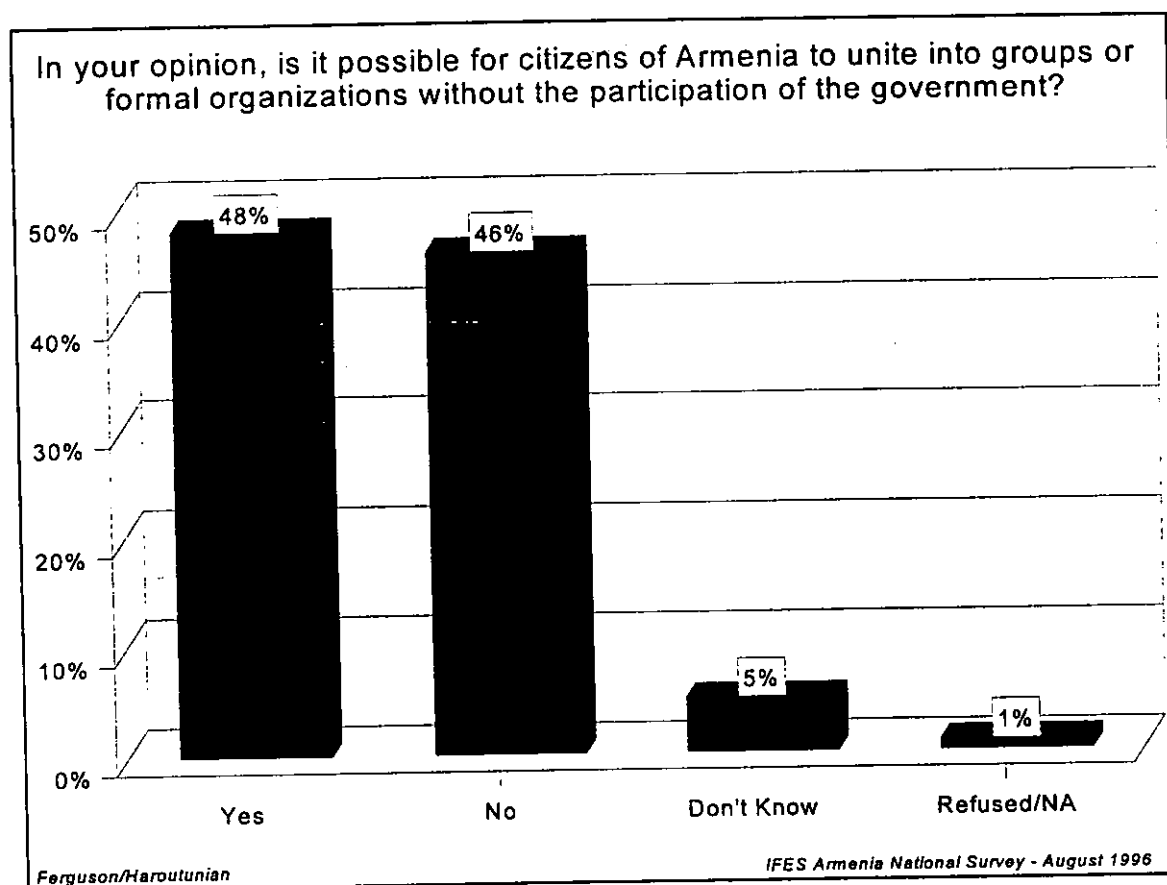
The Central Bank of Armenia

Armavir (67%) Gedharkhunik (71%) and Yerevan (63%) are the most likely to perceive corruption at the Central Bank. There is no difference in perception by economic circumstance.

V. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Is NGO Formation Possible?

Armenians are divided in their view of whether it is possible for citizens to unite into groups or formal organizations without the participation of the government. Although 48% say it is possible, 46% say it is not.

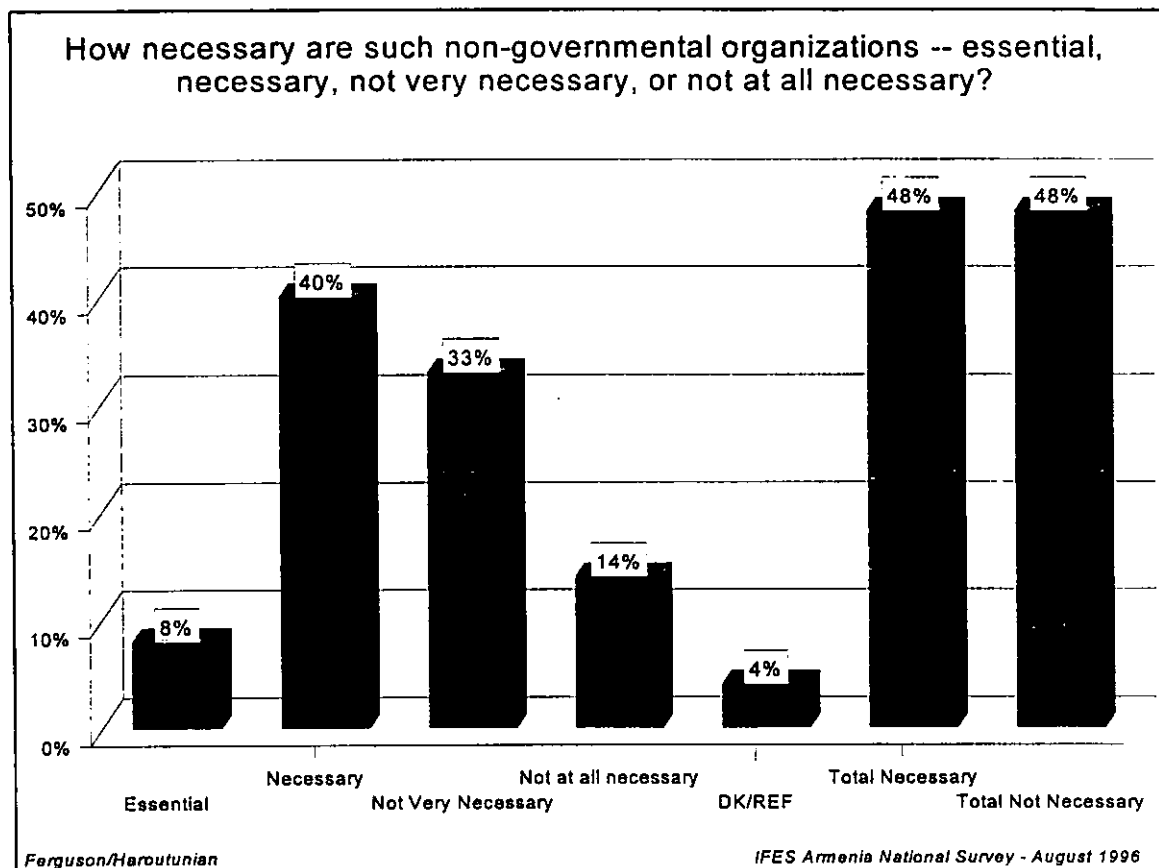


There are significant regional differences with Aragatz (79% yes formation is possible), Gedharkhunik (75% yes), Kotaik (53% yes) and Yerevan (58% yes) more likely to say such groups are possible and Ararat (79% no), Lori (51% no), Siunik (61% no), Tavush (65% no), and Shirak (60% no) on the negative side.

Men 18-34 (60%) are significantly more likely than other age/sex groups to say NGO formation is possible. The very poor are pessimistic (55% no). Those in medium-size cities are also pessimistic (34%-57%). Those who are willing to volunteer their time at an NGO (57%-39%) are more optimistic than those who are not willing (41%-51%).

Are NGOs Necessary?

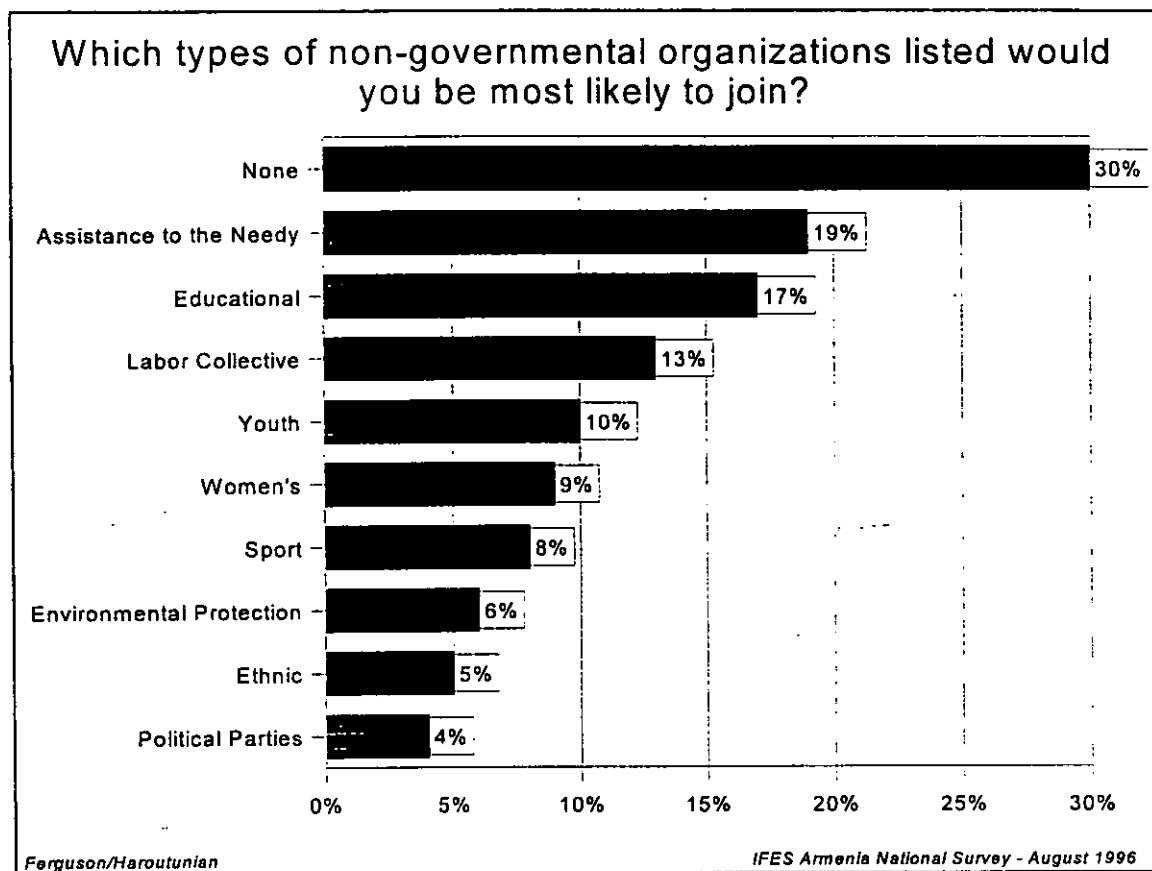
Armenians are also divided in their opinion as to whether such non-governmental organizations are necessary. In all 48% say they are necessary (8% essential/40% necessary) and 48% say they are not (33% not very/14% not at all).



The Ararat and Armavir regions are the least likely to see the value of NGOs. Men (53%-43%) are more likely than women (44%-52%) to perceive the value of NGOs. Older Armenians age 65+ are the cohort least likely to say NGOs are necessary (33%-63%). Young men (56%-41%) and middle-age men (60%-36%) are the most likely.

Necessary scores tend to rise with income and among other groups previously identified as being significantly more politically active: those who prefer limited government control of the economy, likely voters and those who say party competition is necessary. Hairikian and Manoukian voters tend to say NGOs are necessary, Ter-Petrossian voters are split, and a majority of Badalian voters say such groups are not necessary. A majority of Union for Self-Determination and Dashnak voters say NGOs are necessary. A majority of Armenian National Movement and Communist voters say they are not.

The following chart outlines the types of NGOs Armenians would be most likely to join.



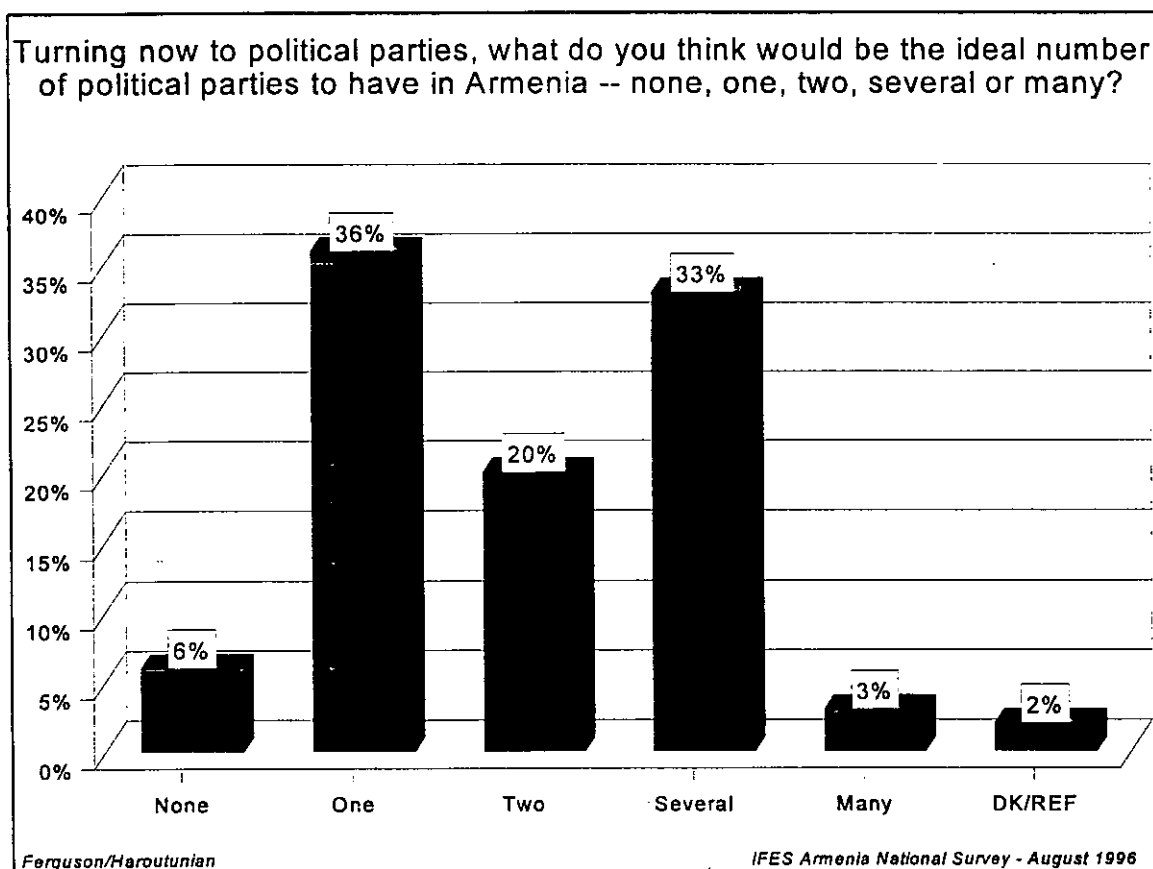
At this time, however, 82% are not members of any NGO. Another 7% are in labor collectives, 3% are in educational groups, and 1% are members of charitable groups, political parties, women's groups, religious groups, youth groups, and sports groups.

A substantial number of respondents (39%) say they would volunteer their time to work for a non-governmental organization without receiving any compensation while a 56% majority would not. Aragatz (53%), Lori (61%), Tavush (56%), and Yerevan (47%) are the regions where volunteerism is more likely to occur. Overall, urban areas (43%) are more likely than rural areas (30%). Levels are very consistent by age, but young men (43%) and middle-age men (46%) are most likely to volunteer. Volunteerism increases markedly with the education level of the respondent. The very poor are less likely to participate, but other SES groups show an equal willingness. Residents of large and medium cities show higher willingness than other settlements. Among voter groups, Manoukian voters are likely volunteers as compared with other blocs. In the party ballot, supporters of the Union for Self-Determination and Dashnak are more likely volunteers.

VI. POLITICAL PARTIES

Ideal Number of Parties

A 56% majority of all Armenians say that they would prefer at least two political parties. However, as the chart below indicates, a plurality say that one party would be the ideal.



Urban and rural voters differ in their views on this question as a plurality of urban residents (36%) – and 48% of those from Yerevan – prefer several parties, while 45% of all rural voters say that one party is ideal.

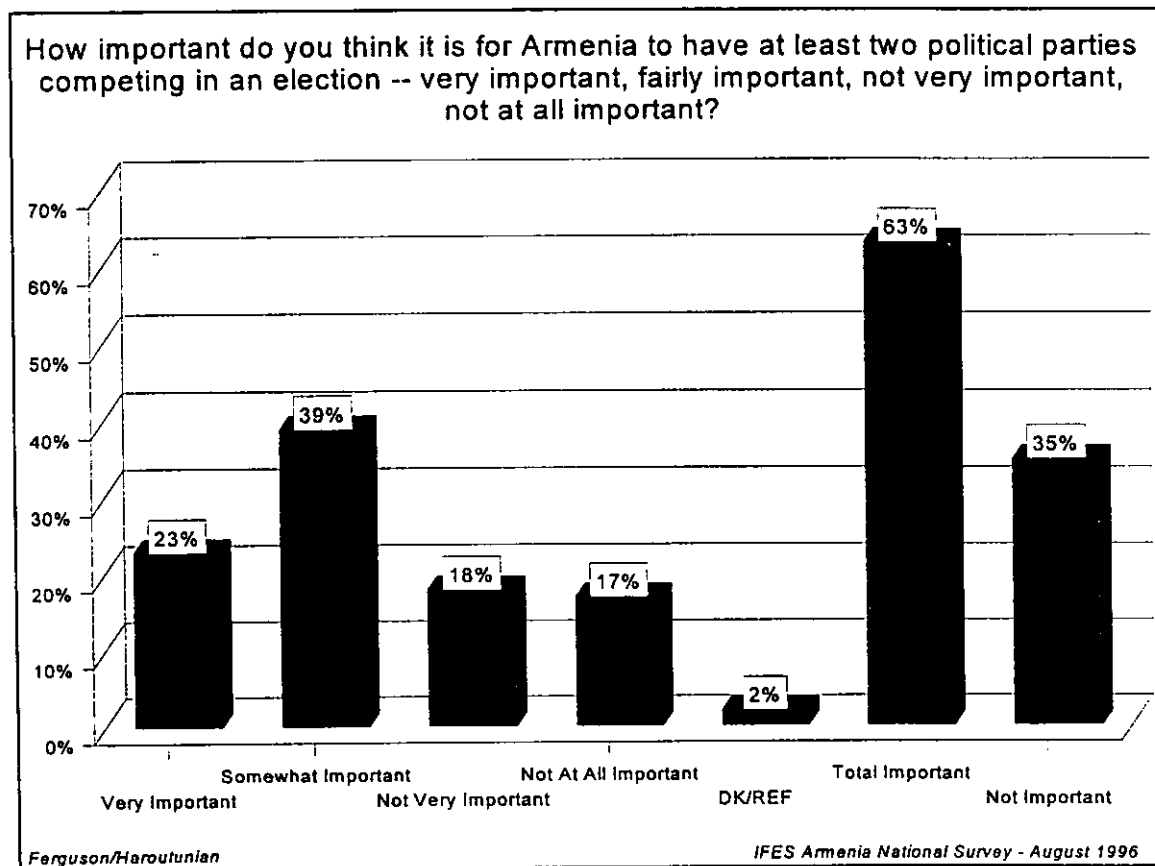
Men and women also differ on this issue with 43% of women preferring one party and a 37% plurality of men selecting several parties. Support for one party tends to increase with age (from 29% of those 18-29 to 58% of those age 65+). In all, 47% of the men age 55 and older and 50% of their female counterparts think one party would be ideal.

At the same time, support for several parties generally increases with the education and SES level of the respondent. Naturally, one party is sufficient for those who say party competition is not important (81%).

Among party blocs, those who support the Armenian National Movement (42%) and the Communist Party (52%) are the most likely to think one party is the ideal. Other party blocs are generally more likely to think it is important to have several parties.

Importance of Party Competition

Another question also demonstrates Armenian support for a multi-party system. In all, 63% think that it is important for Armenia to have at least two political parties competing in an election while 35% say that it is not important. There is only moderate intensity on this question as 23% say such competition is very important and 17% not at all important.



Regional differences are again apparent. Support for party competition is significantly higher in Yerevan (72%-27%) and Gedharkhunik (91%-9%), but lower in Ararat (46%-47%), Armavir (46%-53%), Kotaik (45%-53%), and Siunik (47%-53%).

Although a majority of men and women say that party competition is important, there are differences in degree as 72% of men say party competition is important as compared to 55% of women. This, of course, is reflective of the lower stated interest in politics and government of women.

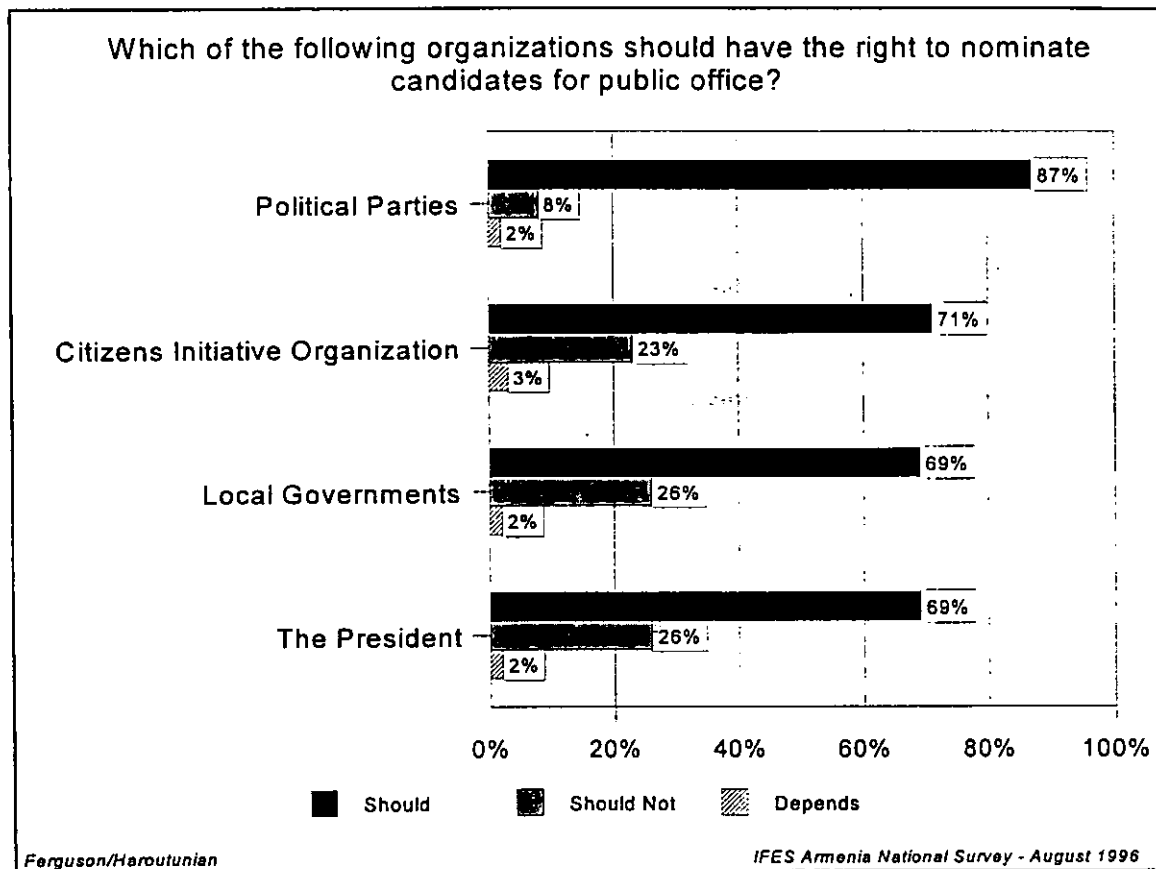
Again, older respondents are less likely to say that party competition is important with the lowest score given by women age 55 and older (45%-51%). Further, although a majority of the very poor (53%) believe competition is important, nearly as many say it is not.

Those who work full time say competition is important (71%-26%) while pensioners are significantly less likely (47%-51%).

Likely voters (65% in both elections) favor party competition while non-voters are more evenly divided. All presidential voting blocs, with the exception of Badalian voters (41%-59%), favor competition. Interestingly, even the Communist voting bloc shows majority support (53%-46%) for competition between at least two parties.

Candidate Nominating Procedures

Armenians favor a rather open nominating process for candidates for public office. As the following chart illustrates, it is acceptable for nominations to originate from a variety of sources.

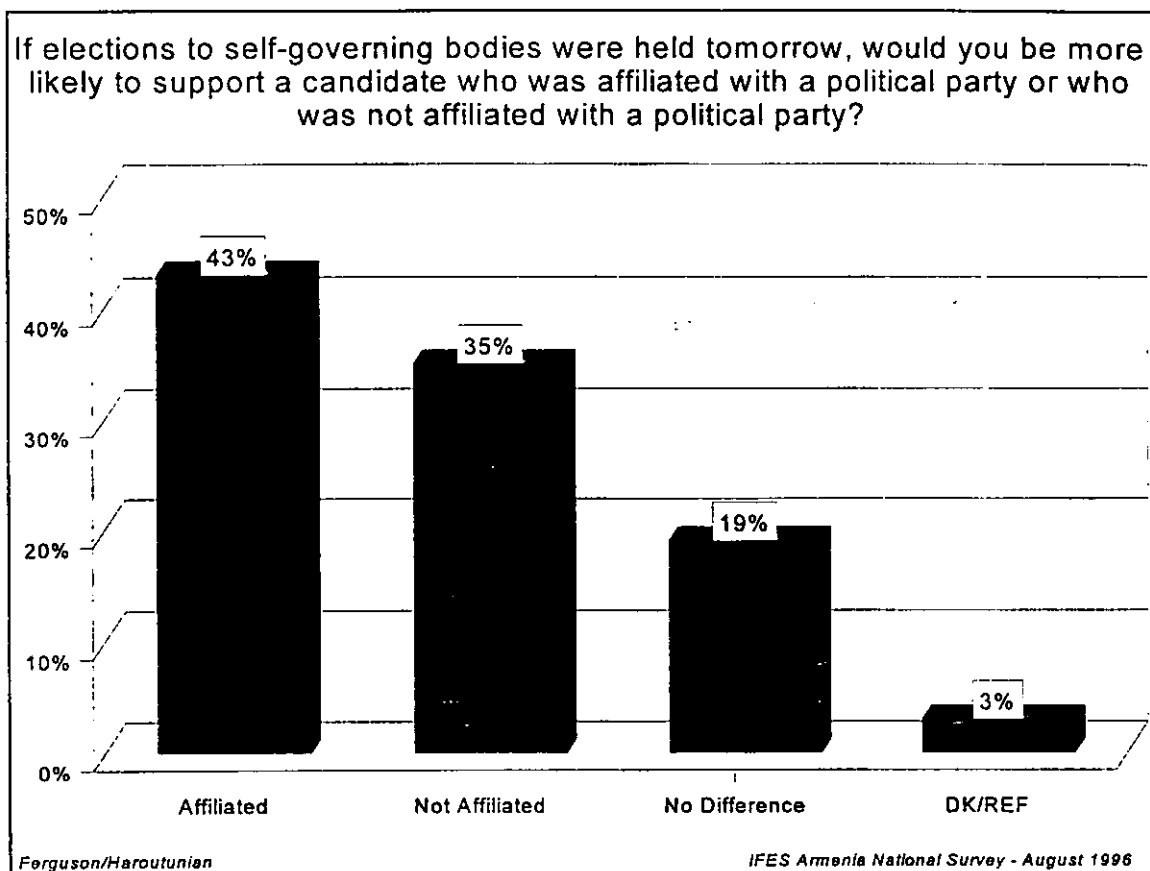


Observations

Nearly everyone supports the right of political parties to nominate candidates for office. In fact the residents of Gedharkhunik do so to the point of virtually excluding all other tested sources except the President from the nominating process. In that region, 100% say parties should have the right to nominate candidates as compared with 66% for the President, 17% for local governments, and 13% for Citizen's Initiative Organizations. Generally, however, majorities of all major subgroups accept the nominating rights of all four sources.

Support for Party-Affiliated Candidates

Unlike Russia where voters in 1995 were indifferent to candidates party affiliation, a plurality of Armenians (43%) are more likely to support a candidate who is affiliated with a political party, 35% are more likely to support an unaffiliated candidate, and 19% say affiliation makes no difference. In Russia one year ago, only 24% were more likely to vote for a party-affiliated candidate.



Gedharkhunik (81%-17%) Siunik (64%-27%), and Tavush (58%-28%) offer strong support to party candidates while Kotaik (18%-48%) and Aragatz (37%-24%) are less supportive. Support for affiliated candidates is consistent across all age groups. Likely voters are more supportive (44%-34%) than low-propensity voters (33%-42%). Those who approve of the CEC's performance in the 1995 election favor party candidates (49%-31%) while those who disapprove are more evenly divided (38%-42%).

Membership in Political Parties

The favorable view of parties presents an opportunity for party builders. At the same time, they face a major challenge in enlisting members. Only 8% currently consider themselves to be a member of a political party. Only a few subgroups are significantly more likely to be party members. These include: those satisfied with the situation in Armenia (13%), the politically well-informed (13%-87%), those interested in politics (12%), Badalian voters (22%), Communist voters (14%), those who are knowledgeable about the CEC (16%), and voters who are willing to volunteer at an NGO (12%).

Party Sympathizers

Many who are not members of a party nevertheless sympathize with a party. In fact, 43% of all non-members say they sympathize with a party and 47% do not. Support scores are particularly high in Gedharkhunik (77%) but low in Yerevan (34%).

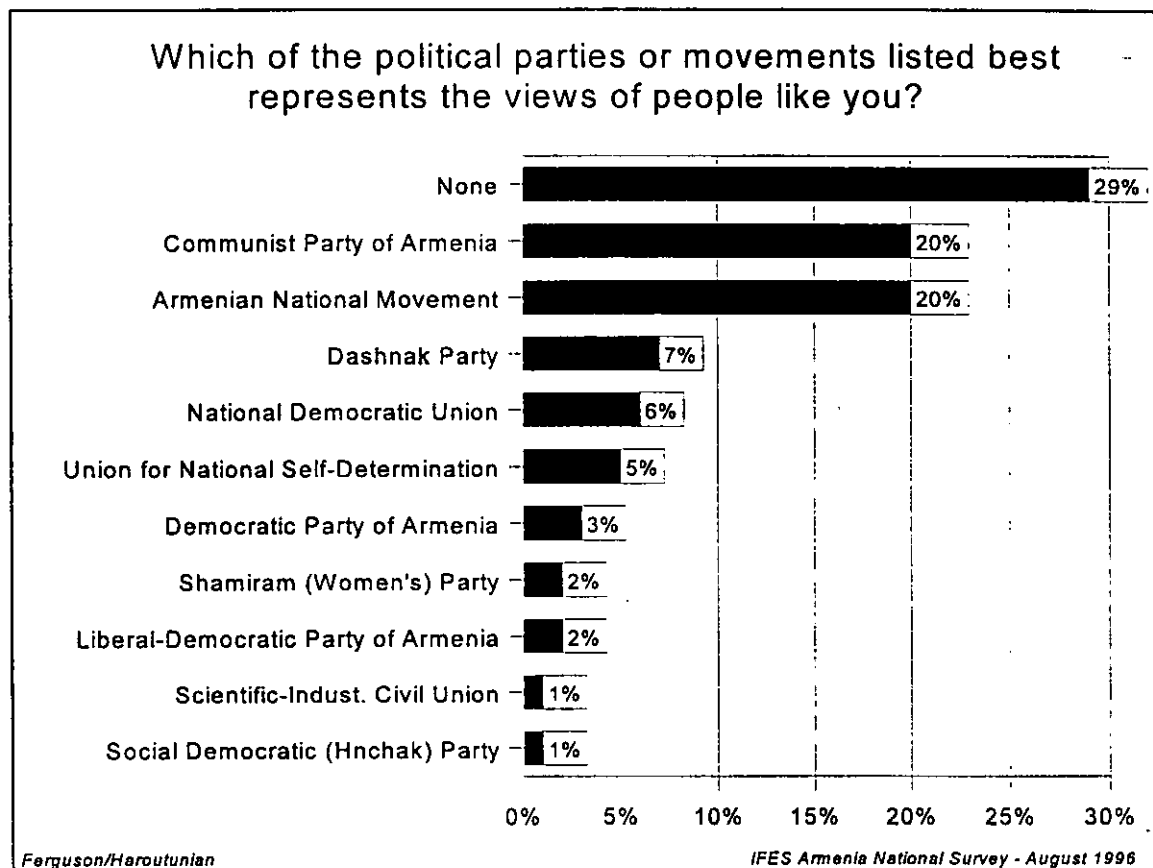
Support tends to rise with age (to 55% of those age 55-64 and 48% of the 65+ group). Women age 18-39 are the least likely to sympathize with a party (33%-59%) whereas older men and women are more likely.

Sympathize with a Political Party

	Yes	No
Men 18-34	39%	49%
Men 35-54	50%	41%
Men 55 +	52%	33%
Women 18-34	33%	59%
Women 35-54	42%	49%
Women 55 +	52%	41%

Others groups expressing higher tendencies to support parties include Badalian voters (63%-16%), those who are more likely to vote for a party-affiliated candidate (51%-37%), and all party voting blocs.

When asked which party or movement best represents the views and interests of people "like you," the Armenian National Movement (20%) and the Communist Party (20%) top the list of all parties. However, "none" receives the most mentions (29%). The following chart lists responses.



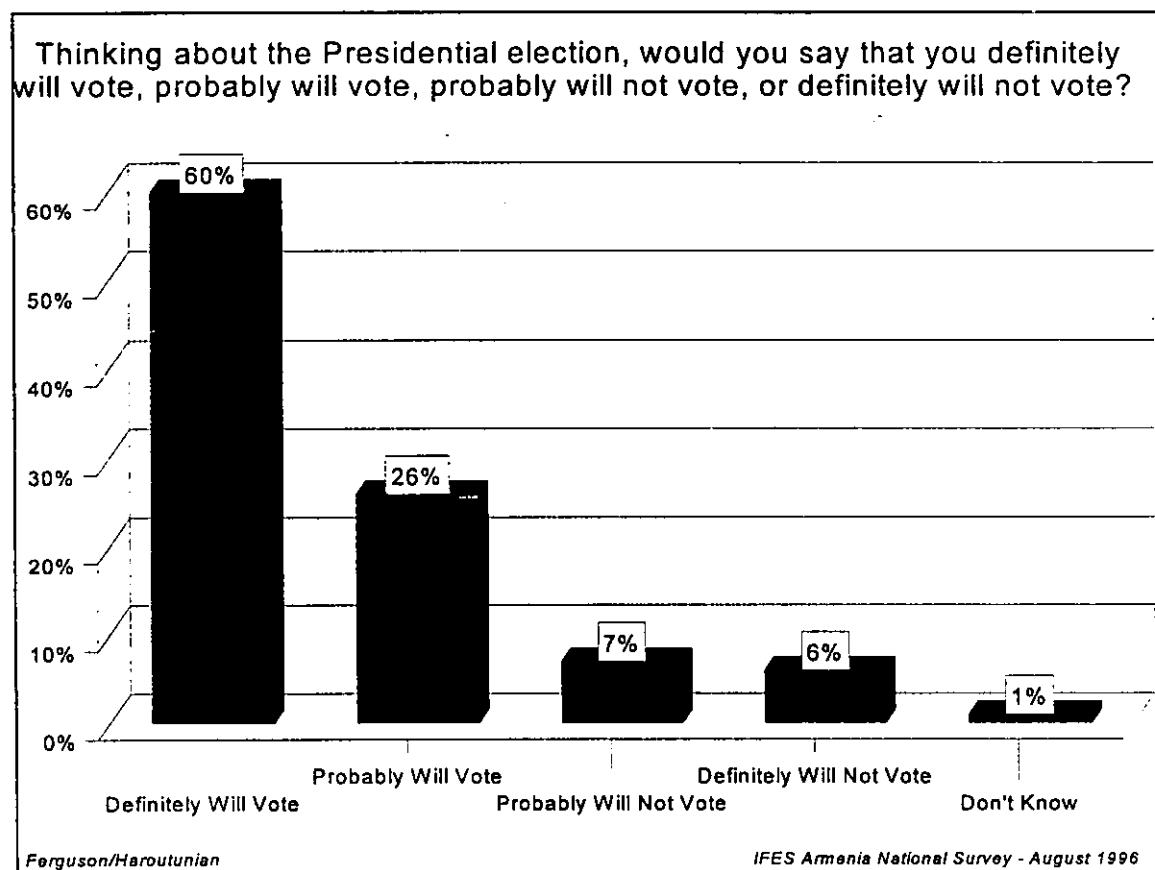
The Armenian National Movement has greater support in Armavir (33%), among those with above-average income (43%), those who are satisfied with the current situation in Armenia (34%), the politically well-informed (25%), those who say Armenia is a democracy (31%), and those who say voting gives them influence (28%). Also, Ter-Petrosian voters (37%), supporters of party candidates (26%), and those who approve of the CEC's job performance in 1995 (30%).

Communist Party support is greater in Gedharkhunik (53%), those age 55-64 (37%) and 65+ (32%), Pensioners (36%), the very poor (33%), in the small cities and towns (33%), and among those who prefer a state-controlled economy (26%) and who say the country is not a democracy (26%). Also, Badalian voters (85%) and those who say party competition is not important (28%) have a closer connection with the Communist Party.

VII. CURRENT VOTING INTENTIONS

Likelihood of Voting in the Presidential Election

Armenians are highly likely to vote in the presidential election. In all, 86% can be considered likely to vote and 60% say they definitely will vote.



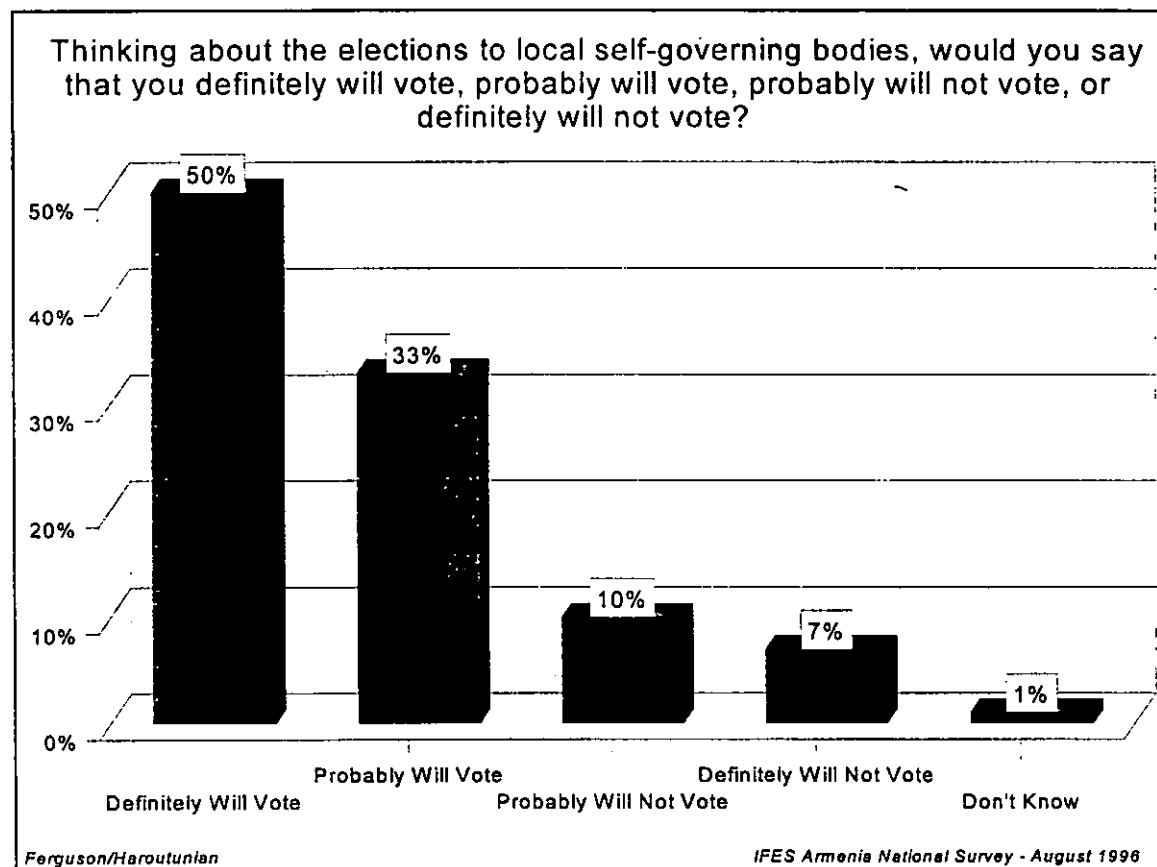
Only 13% are unlikely with 6% saying they definitely will not vote. These non-voters tend to be younger, poorer urbanites, dissatisfied with the situation in Armenia but lacking both political information and a belief that voting is a meaningful act.

Definite voting is significantly higher in Armavir (80%), and Lori (86%). It is also higher among full-time workers (69%), medium cities (69%), supporters of state control of the economy (68%), the politically well-informed (73%), those who say Armenia is a democracy (66%), those with high vote efficacy (68%), and those who support party candidates (68%).

Among the presidential voting blocs, Ter-Petrosian voters (70%), Badalian voters (69%), and Manoukian voters (71%) are the most likely to go to the polls.

Likelihood of Voting in the Elections to Local Self-Governing Bodies

Although the intensity is lower, similar numbers are likely to turn out for elections to local self-governing bodies. In all, 83% are likely to vote and 17% are not, with 50% saying they definitely will vote, 33% probably voting, 10% probably not voting, and 7% definitely not voting.

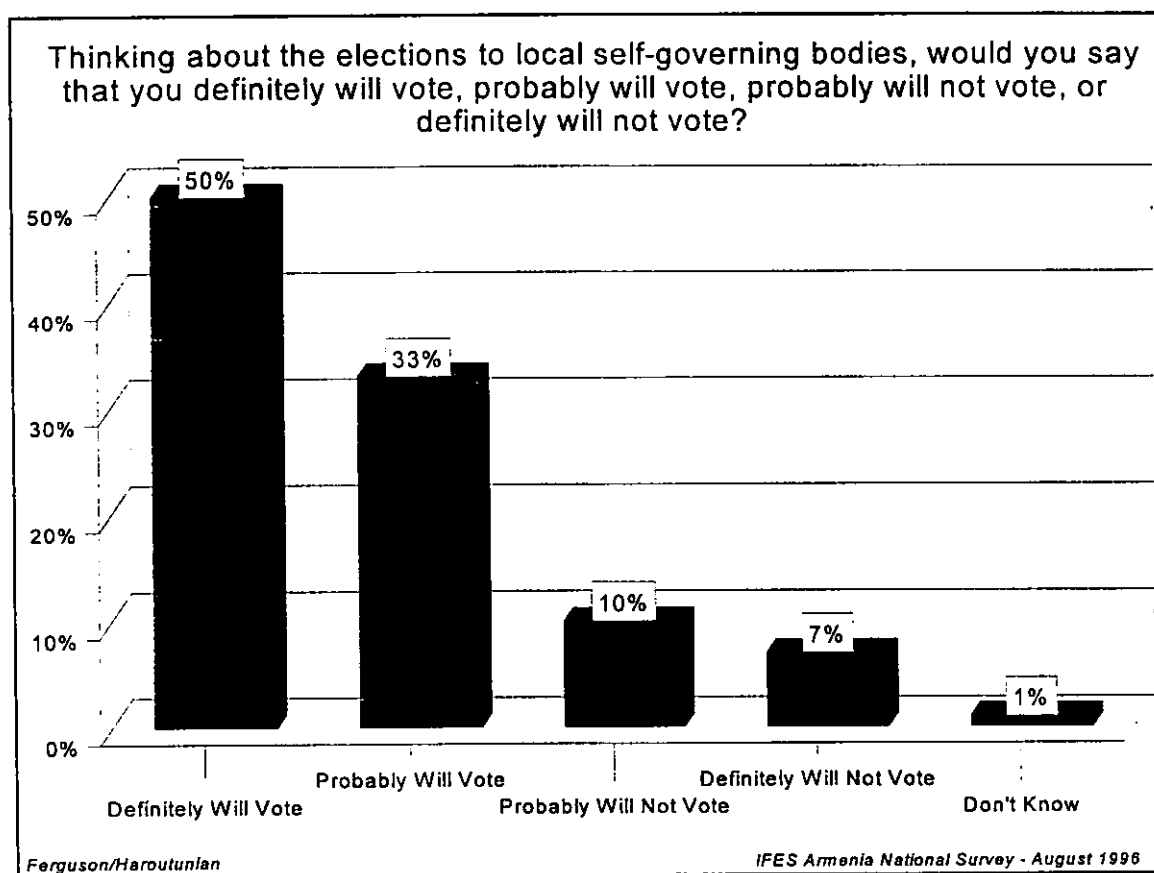


Several regions are more likely to vote than others. These include Ararat (63% definitely), Armavir (74%), and Lori (82%). Other likely voters include men 35-54 (59% definite), full-time workers (59%), supporters of state control of the economy (56%), the politically well-informed (58%), those interested in politics (62%), Ter-Petrosian voters (58%), supporters of affiliated candidates (57%), and Armenian National Movement voters (68%). Surprisingly, Communist Party voters show less intensity on this question as only 42% say they are definitely voting in the local elections.

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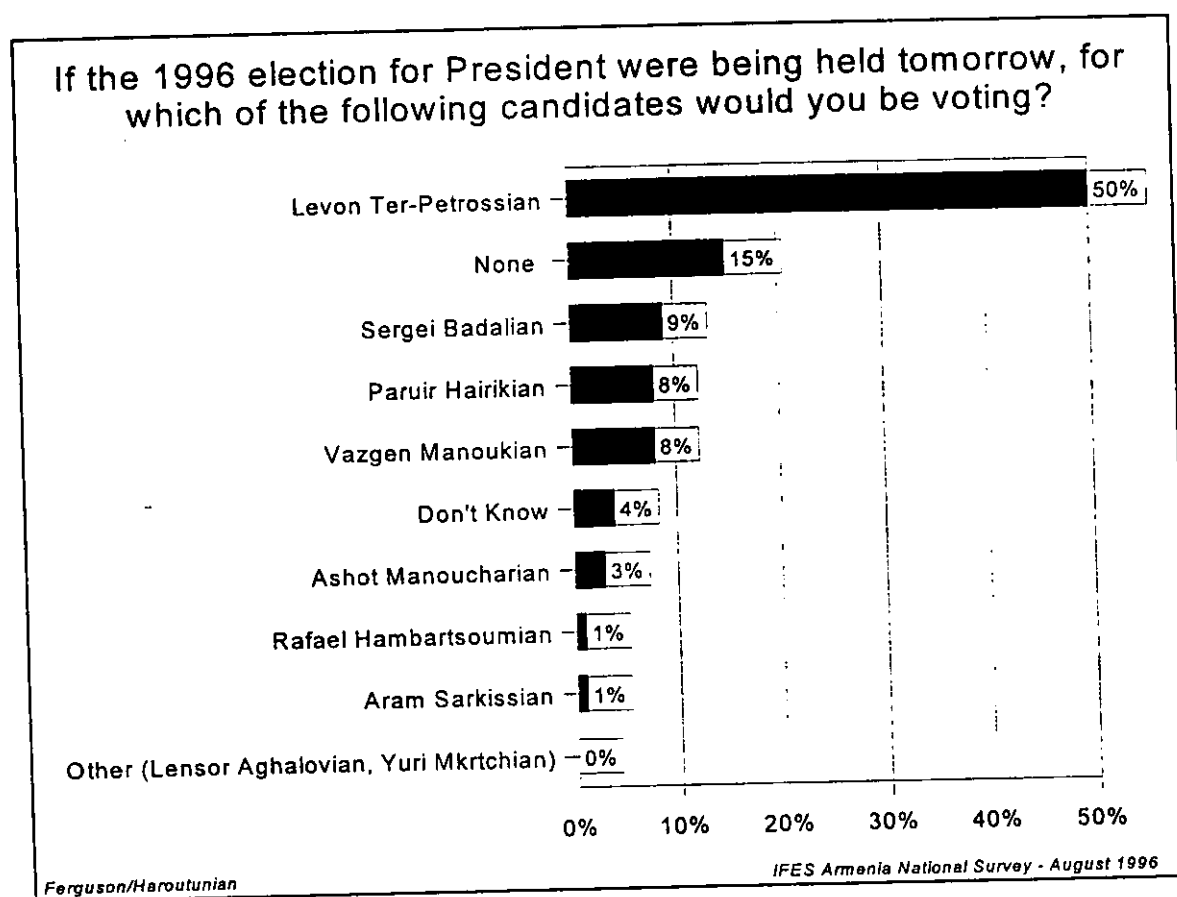
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Presidential Voting

President Levon Ter-Petrosian is in a strong position for reelection at this time. He receives 50% of the total vote as compared to 9% for his closest rival, Sergei Badalian, who is in a virtual tie with Vazgen Manoukian (8%), and Paruir Hairikian (8%). Rounding out the ballot test, Ashot Manoucharian receives 3%, Aram Sarkissian 1%, and Rafael Hambartsoumian 1%. Lenser Aghalovian receives less than one percent as does Yuri Mrktchian. None of the above receives 15% and 4% are undecided. (NOTE: Nine candidates were included in the ballot test originally, but two were omitted after dropping out of the race).



Ter-Petrosian

The President's support is significantly higher in Lori (61%), and Tavush (66%), but is lower in Gedharkhunik (30%) and Kotaik (32%). Those with higher incomes also have a greater tendency to support the President as 59% of those with modest income and 73% of above-average means support him. 74% of those who are satisfied with things in Armenia support him as compared with 44% of those who are dissatisfied. Among likely voters, Ter-Petrosian receives 54% of the vote.

Badalian

Support for Badalian is higher among older voters , reaching 19% among those age 55-64 and 18% among those 65 and older. Badalian also has more support among men 55+ (28%), the bottom education cohort (15%), Pensioners (19%), and the very poor (17%). He also receives a higher score in small cities and towns (17%). 10% of all likely voters support Badalian.

Manoukian

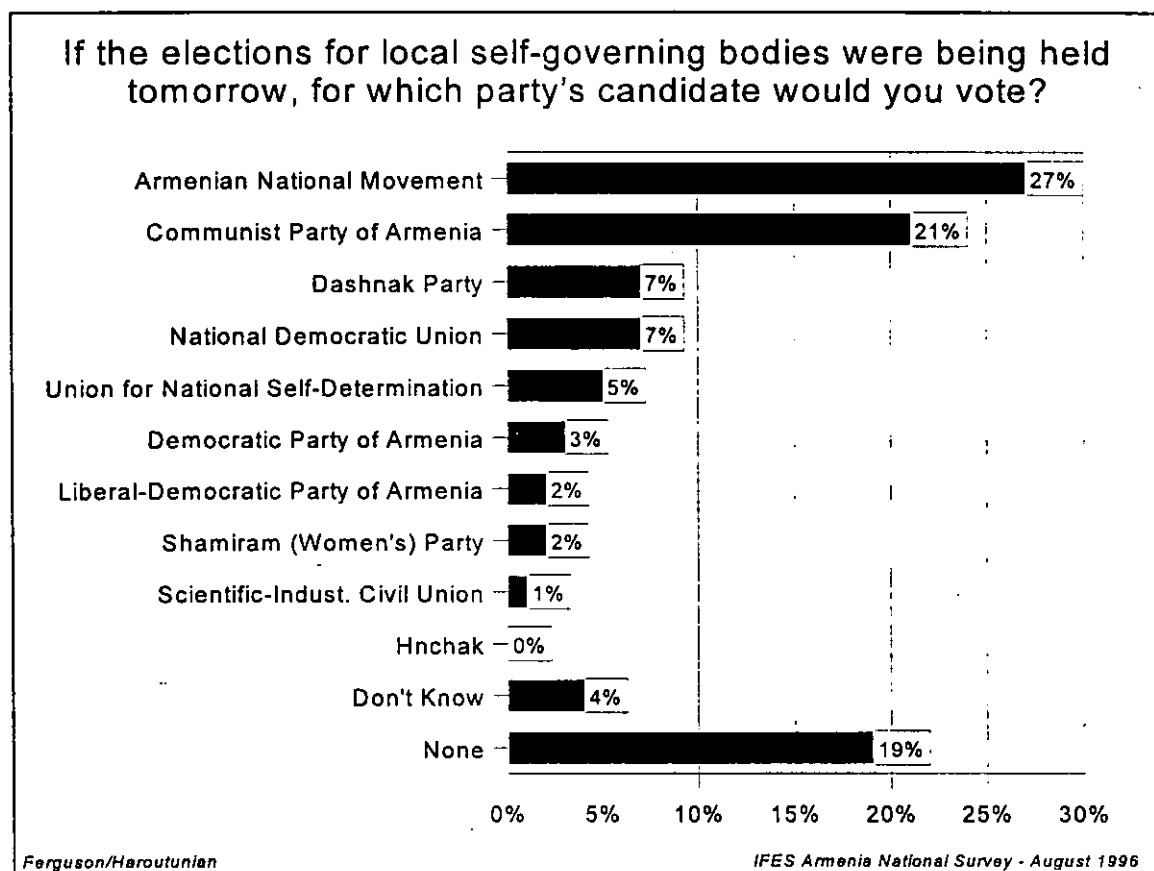
Manoukian's score improves in Yerevan (13%), among the highly educated (13%), and with those who say that voting does not give people influence (11%),

Hairikian

Scores are higher among students (27%), Union for Self-Determination voters (92%), and Dashnak voters (21%)

Local Elections Voting

Both the Armenian National Movement and the Communist Party are poised to do well in the local elections set for November. The following chart outlines voter preferences.



The Armenian National Movement receives higher scores in Armavir (39%), Siunik (46%), and Shirak (38%). Voters with modest income (35%), those satisfied with the situation in Armenia (40%), and Ter-Petrossian voters (51%) are also stronger supporters of the Armenian National Movement.

The Communists look strong in Gedharkhunik, receiving 57% of the vote. Communist voting is also higher among men 55+ (40%), women 55+ (31%), the very poor (35%), and small cities and towns (35%).

VIII. PAST VOTING EXPERIENCE

Nearly seven in 10 voters (69%) participated in the July 1995 elections while 31% say they did not participate. Better than 70% of all age cohorts above 18-29 say they voted in that election. Just 58% of those 18-29 report voting in that election.

With the exception of men age 18-34, men are more likely to have voted than women as more than 80% of men over age 35 voted as compared with 69% of women in the same age range. Reported voting rises with education (to 82%) of those with more than three years of university. The voters of 1995 tend to be the likely voters of 1996.

Problems Encountered in Voting

The following table outlines the problems encountered by voters in 1995.

***"Did You Encounter or Observe Any of These Problems
When You Voted in the 1995 National Assembly Elections?"***

	Yes	No
The ballot was confusing	9%	90%
Election officials at the voting place tried to tell me whom to vote for	12%	88%
Election officials at the voting place could not answer my questions	10%	90%
I felt that my ballot was not kept secret and that someone could learn how I voted	11%	88%
The polling place was not convenient	8%	92%
I saw other people voting in groups without a secret ballot	12%	88%
Material or financial incentives being offered to voters	8%	91%
The polling place was not well equipped	4%	96%
I know of cases where people voted on behalf of family members or neighbors	14%	84%
Campaigning on behalf of a candidate occurred on election day	23%	76%
When I went to the polling place, someone had already voted for me	1%	99%

Observations

Few voters observed any of the problems listed above. The most prevalent problem appears to have been election day campaigning at 23%. Next was voting on behalf of family members (14%), improper influence by election officials (12%), group voting (11%), no ballot secrecy (11%), and uninformed election officials (10%). Needless to say, these problems were not widespread in 1995.

The Ballot Was Confusing

Only Lori (25%) voters and those age 65+ (20%) are more likely to have encountered this problem.

Election Officials Tried to Tell Me Whom to Vote For

Scores for this problem are consistent across the population. Only one group, voters for the Union of National Self Determination are significantly more likely (32%) to mention this problem.

Election Officials Could Not Answer My Questions

Again, response levels are consistent. Those in medium-sized cities (18%), those who are more likely to support a candidate who is not affiliated with a party (15%), and those who give the CEC a poor job assessment are more likely to say that elections officials were uninformed in 1995.

I Felt That My Ballot Was Not Kept Secret

Lori voters (22%), less than secondary education (21%), and those with less than three years of university (23%) tend to feel ballot secrecy was a problem.

Group Voting

Voters who say Armenia is not a democracy (17%), and those who disapprove of the CEC's job performance in 1995 (20%) are the only groups significantly more likely to have observed group voting.

Material or Financial Incentives

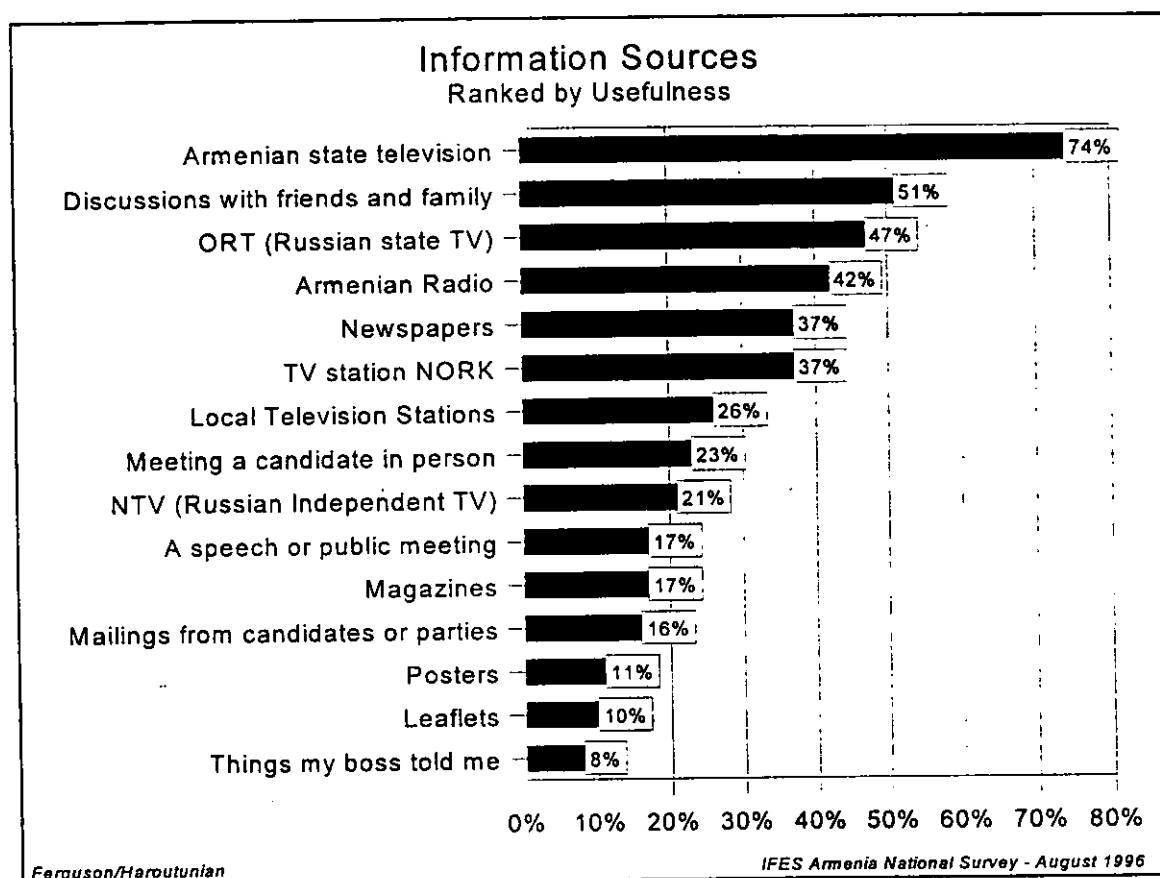
Only those who disapprove of the CEC's job performance in 1995 (13%) are significantly more likely to have observed such incentives being offered to voters.

Campaigning Occurred On Election Day

This phenomenon was consistently observed across the subgroups; more so by those who say Armenia is not a democracy (31%), Badalian voters (36%), Dashnak voters (39%), those with a higher level of knowledge about the CEC (31%), and those who disapprove of the CEC's job performance (31%).

IX. INFORMATION SOURCES

When voters were asked which sources of information were useful in previous elections and referendums, Armenian State TV was, by far, considered to be the most useful. The chart below outlines several tiers of source utility.



Several groups find greater utility in the various sources.

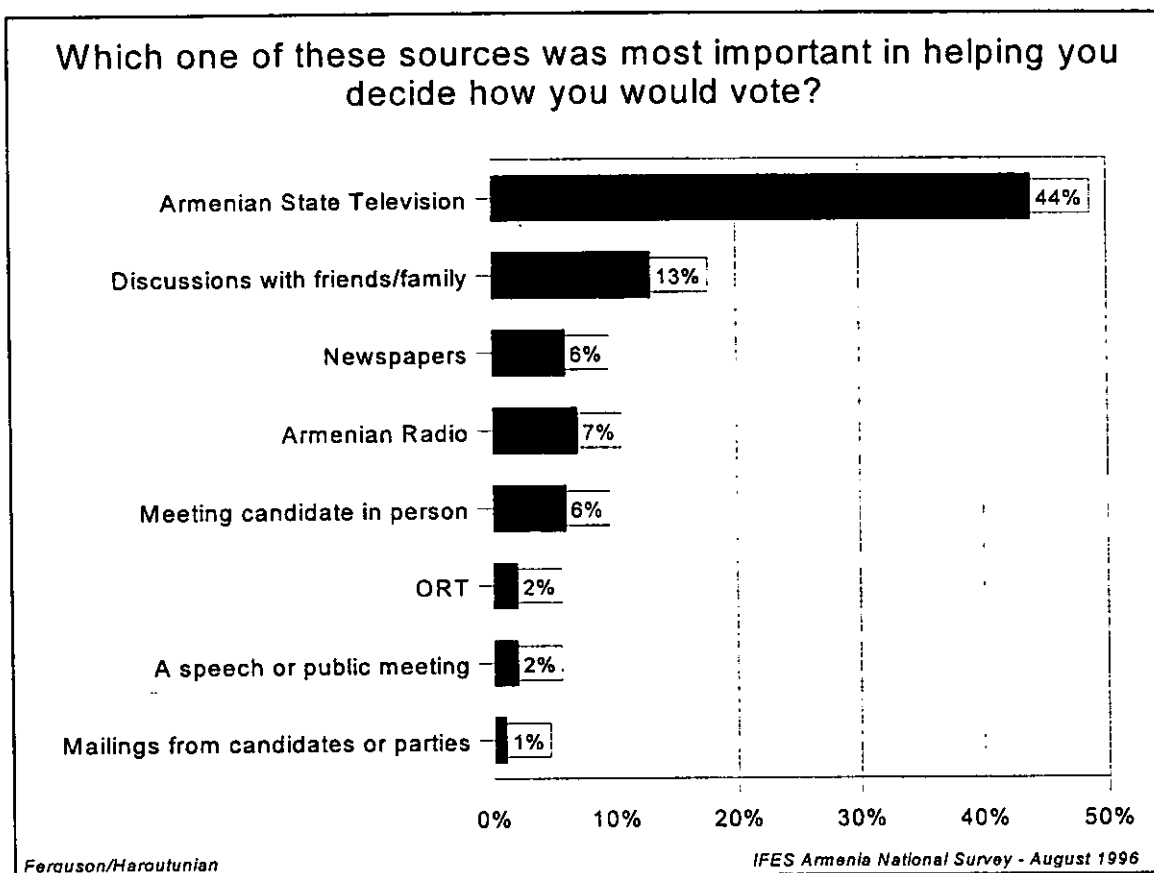
Armenian State TV: Those in Armavir, Shirak, age 18-29, women 18-34, those with above average income, those satisfied with the situation in Armenia, those who say Armenia is a democracy, those who believe voting gives influence, Ter-Petrossian voters, National Democratic Union voters, Armenian National Movement voters, and those who approve of CEC job performance.

Discussions: Those in Armavir, Kotaik, and Lori; respondents in higher SES groups, those who say candidate affiliation not is important, Shamiram voters, and those willing to volunteer at an NGO.

- QRT: Lori voters, Yerevan voters, women 18-34, those with higher education levels, and those willing to volunteer at an NGO.
- Armenian Radio: Shirak voters, men, men 35-54, those residing in small towns, those who are well-informed, Dashnak voters, those with higher levels of knowledge about the CEC, and those who approve of the CEC.
- TV NORK: Aragatz, Armavir, and Gedharkhunik voters; homemakers, National Democratic Union voters, and those who approve of the CEC.
- Newspapers: Shirak and Yerevan voters; men, age 18-29, those with higher education levels, those who work full-time, have higher SES, those with no children, those who are satisfied with the current situation in Armenia, those who are well-informed, and those who sat Armenia is a democracy. Also, those who are interested in politics, National Democratic Union voters, those with higher knowledge about the CEC, and willing NGO volunteers.
- Local TV: Armavir, Gedharkhunik, Lori, and Shirak voters; those residing in a medium city, and Dashnak voters.
- Meet a Candidate: Aragatz voters, those with higher education levels, those who work full-time, those who are well-informed, those interested in politics, Manoukian voters, National Democratic Union voters, those with higher knowledge about the CEC, and willing NGO volunteers.

Most Important Source

Of these sources, Armenian State Television (44%) was clearly the most important source in helping Armenians decide how to vote.



Government Control of the Media

A nearly universal perception exists that the media are at least somewhat controlled by the government when respondents were asked the following question: Do you think that each of the following is completely free of government control, somewhat controlled by the government, or completely controlled by the government when reporting events and developments in Armenia?

	Completely Free	Somewhat Controlled	Completely Controlled
Armenian Radio	10%	65%	18%
Armenian State Television	8%	67%	22%
TV Station NORK	7%	61%	14%
Local Television Stations	16%	57%	12%
ORT	14%	65%	14%
NTV	12%	56%	9%
Newspapers	14%	67%	12%
Magazines	13%	67%	12%

X. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Facing severe challenges that make Armenia unique among former Soviet Republics, the Armenian people exhibit a fascinating mix of consensus and contention, sanguinity and pessimism, skepticism and confidence. Highly educated and literate, Armenians nevertheless live in extreme poverty as a result of their low status in the Soviet system, the devastating 1988 earthquake, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and the ensuing economic embargoes by Turkey and Azerbaijan.

There are many significant differences between subgroups of the population on matters of importance. At the same time, economic hardship fuses Armenian society together with a common goal: survival. The most striking and consistent *subgroup* differences are based on the most elemental variable: socioeconomic status.

Achieving modest means appears to be the defining point. Those who are below that level – the poor who have barely enough for food and the very poor who haven't enough for basic needs – comprise 65% of the population. They are less interested in politics, less optimistic about the future, and less likely to vote, or join a political party or non-governmental organization. They are the most skeptical about the corruption in the country, and the most disapproving of its leaders.

The opposite is true among those who have achieved the relative comfort level of having enough food on the table, being able to buy clothing occasionally, and having modest savings. For example, 25% of the very poor are satisfied with the Armenian electoral system as compared to 60% among those with above-average circumstances.

Not surprisingly, 78% are dissatisfied with the current situation in the country, stemming not only from poverty but also from unemployment and poor economic and living conditions. The vast majority are dissatisfied with the quality of health care, the social welfare system, and the way economic reforms are developing.

At the same time, Armenians see a brighter future ahead. This hope springs from the relative peace and stability of the past year as well as signs that the economy is beginning to improve. Those who are satisfied with current conditions generally credit their view to the belief that some level of well-being has been reached and life is bearable, because of the established peace in Nagorno-Karabakh, and because they believe the economic crisis is in the past and the country is developing. Fully one-third believe the economy will improve in the next year and 61% believe it will improve by the year 2000.

The people remain divided as to the role government should play in economic development. Roughly half of the population says that Armenia should develop an economy with limited government control while the other half supports returning to a system in which the government basically controls the economy. This is a far more market-oriented, not to mention patient, response than was found in Russia last year and reflects the clear direction toward a market economy set by the government since 1991.

Regardless of the desired level of government control over the economy, Armenians appear united in setting their course toward the marketplace. Eight of 10 Armenians hold the opinion that Armenia should have a market economy. However, there is some disagreement as to the pace of economic reform. That is, 52% say the country should work toward a market economy with steady but small reforms while 25% think Armenia should work toward a market economy as quickly as possible, and 19% believe Armenia should not pursue a market economy.

Although age is a less notable factor here than in Russia, it remains a factor nevertheless. Regarding the question of state control of the economy, for example, 61% of those under 30 years of age favor limited government control but 57% of those age 55-64 favor state control of the economy.

This study reveals a populace that is divided in its views on issues of democracy. A 54% majority say that Armenia is not a democracy and many others express little confidence in or approval of the various branches of government.

Armenians believe it is important for individual rights and freedoms to be respected, but 63% do not feel the government is protecting those rights and freedoms. Further, just 40% are satisfied with the Armenian electoral system. On the whole, 50% are satisfied with the level of political freedom they enjoy while 48% are not.

Nearly four out of 10 Armenians are interested in matters of government and politics but a majority are not. Most think that electoral party competition is important, but more than one in three say that the ideal number of political parties is one. Further, few are members of a political party and even fewer express an interest in joining. Still, Armenians are likely voters – 86% plan to vote in the presidential election in September and 83% say they will vote in the November elections for local self-governing bodies.

Relatively few Armenians are well-informed about economic reforms or political developments. Only 25% are fairly well informed about economic aspects and 36% about political developments.

Armenians, in their own words, think of democracy as a state of freedom, equality, and security. A majority, however, say that Armenia is not a democracy. Only 38% say that Armenia is a democracy and 54% that it is not. This opinion is particularly prevalent among opposition party voters and those who disapprove of the CEC.

Indeed, just 28% say that personal rights and liberties are protected by the government to some extent and 71% say the government disregards such rights. Voters, however, say it is very important for government to protect certain rights and liberties including:

- Honest elections held regularly;
- Freedom of expression in the media for political parties;
- Multi-party and multi-candidate elections, and
- The right of citizens to form political parties with differing viewpoints.

In this climate, roughly half of all voters (49%) say voting gives people a chance to influence decision-making in Armenia and 50% disagree. Differences are, again, based on satisfaction and level of information. In short, socioeconomic status.

Another aspect of the political climate is the low level of confidence Armenians generally have in state institutions and officials, particularly the courts, the government ministries, and the National Assembly. The President, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court, and the military forces fare somewhat better. The judiciary, including the militia, the courts, and the public prosecutor, are held in extraordinarily low esteem. Of the judicial branches tested, only groups of local defense have the confidence of their neighbors.

With regard to their job performance, only two of eight entities tested have the approval of the people – Levon Ter-Petrossian and Gagik Haroutunian at 57% each. Majorities disapprove of the Marzpets governments, the National Assembly, government ministries, the courts, Babken Ararktsian, and Hrant Bagratian.

As is the case with knowledge about the economy and political developments, few Armenians (23%) are fairly knowledgeable about the Central Electoral Commission. These voters are skeptical about the neutrality of the CEC. Only 29% say the CEC is neutral in its work while 66% believe the CEC makes decisions which favor particular candidates or which the government wants. Nevertheless, a 45% plurality (and 54% of those who are knowledgeable about the CEC) say that the Commission performed well during 1995.

Like the citizens of many other nations, Armenians believe there is widespread official corruption in their country. In fact, 89% say such corruption is common and 54% say it is very common. Further, 89% consider this a serious problem. Government bureaucrats (84% common) and Council of Ministers (78% common) bear the brunt of the opprobrium, but the Central Bank of Armenia (54% corruption is common) is not immune. Private entrepreneurs score fairly well (46% common-42% rare).

Of particular interest to the foreign business community should be the very positive perceptions of them among Armenians. Only 19% say that corruption is common among foreign companies doing business in Armenia while 59% say corruption is rare.

Further, Armenians are very open to both financial and technical assistance from abroad. The vast majority say that foreign investments are important to the economic health of the nation and favor both foreign technical assistance and investment in agriculture. Many draw the line, however, at granting foreign businesses the right to do business in their country. That is, a 54% majority disagree that foreign businesses have the right to open businesses in Armenia.

In terms of economic and political development, the United States is seen as the best foreign model for Armenia (receiving 31% on both questions) followed by Russia (11% economic/11% political), Germany (8% economic/10% political), France (10% economic/10% political), and Soviet Armenia (6% economic/6% political).

The issue of non-governmental organizations is another on which Armenians are divided. Overall, 48% say that it is possible to form such organizations while 46% say it is not. Another 48% say such organizations are necessary and 48% say they are not.

Regardless of their opinion on these questions, few Armenians presently belong to, or plan to join an NGO. A substantial 39%, however, say they would volunteer their time to work for a non-governmental organization without receiving any compensation. Armenians are most likely to join these groups: Assistance to the needy (19%), Educational (17%), Labor Collective (13%) and Youth (10%). Political parties are well down the list at 4%.

As in Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union, political parties in Armenia face major challenges with regard to building membership. Only 8% currently consider themselves members of a party and, as noted above, fewer plan to join. At the same time, parties are viewed rather favorably. More Armenians (43%) are likely to support a party-affiliated candidate than one who is not affiliated (35%); nearly twice as many (43%) favor a party-affiliated candidate as in Russia a year ago (24%).

In addition, many who are not party members still sympathize with a political party (43% while 47% do not). Furthermore, 63% of all Armenians think that it is important to have competition between at least two parties in an election and 56% think that the ideal number of parties is two or more (33% say several). Still, 36% think a single party would be ideal. In terms of candidate nominations, 87% say political parties should have the right to nominate candidates for public office. Armenians also support the right of citizens initiative organizations (71%), local governments (69%), and the President (69%) to nominate candidates.

In this period of relative stability and improving conditions, President Levon Ter-Petrossian is poised to win re-election albeit with far less support than he enjoyed in 1991. He currently receives 50% against a multi-candidate field and 54% among likely voters. The substantial opposition to the President is underlined in the 42% who disapprove of his job performance. Opposition, however, is extremely fragmented.

Sergei Badalian, the Communist Party candidate, has perhaps the most cohesive base and yet manages only 9% of the vote (10% among likely voters). Vazgen Manoukian (at 8% and 9% with likely voters) and Paruir Hairikian (at 8% consistently) vie with Badalian for bragging rights but pose no threat to Ter-Petrossian. Ballot scores are as follows.

Presidential Ballot

	Total	Likely Voters
Ter-Petrossian	50%	54%
Badalian	9%	10%
Manoukian	8%	9%
Hairikian	8%	8%
Manoucharian	3%	4%
Sarkissian	1%	1%
Hambartsoumian	1%	1%
Aghalovian	< 1%	< 1%
Mkrtchian	< 1%	< 1%
None	15%	9%
Don't Know	4%	4%

Both the Armenian National Movement and the Communist Party are well-positioned for the November elections to local self-governing bodies.

Local Elections Ballot

Armenian National Movement	27%
Communist Party of Armenia	21%
Dashnak Party	7%
National Democratic Union	7%
Union for National Self-Determination	5%
Democratic Party of Armenia	3%
Shamiram Party	2%
Liberal-Democratic Party of Armenia	2%
Scientific-Industrial Civil Union	1%
Other	1%
Social-Democratic (Hnchak) Party	< 1%
None	19%
Don't Know	4%

Despite widespread claims of fraud in 1995, few voters encountered any overtly fraudulent behavior at the polls. In all, 69% reported voting in the National Assembly elections. Of these voters, the most commonly observed problem was campaigning on behalf of a candidate on election day (23%). In comparison, 14% know of cases of proxy voting for family members or neighbors, 12% saw election officials trying to influence votes, 12% saw group voting, 11% felt their ballot was not kept secret, and 8% saw financial or material incentives being offered to voters.

Armenians describe a press that is not free of government control and a government that fails to protect certain rights and liberties. In many ways, however, this is a willing collaboration between the people and the government – for now at any rate. That is, voters acknowledge the failure of the government to protect certain rights and liberties as well as its general lack of responsiveness to the needs and concerns of the people. Yet, they seem willing to defer their concerns in these areas until the economy stabilizes.

Armenians acknowledge that the various media, particularly Armenian State Television, are not free from government control. Yet Armenian State Television is by far the most useful and relied-upon source of electoral information for the people – despite the availability of other sources that are perceived to be somewhat more free of government control. Perhaps this heavy reliance on state television is a function of the inability of alternative media to maintain consistent broadcast or publication schedules.

This survey represents a large-scale effort on the part of the International Foundation for Election Systems to make an accurate assessment of Armenians' views on the nation's political environment, its institutions and officials, the development of NGOs and political parties, voting patterns and preferences, past voting experience, and sources of information. Interested parties may contact IFES for additional information.

APPENDIX A
ANNOTATED QUESTIONNAIRE

IFES Armenia Survey
SURVEY RESULTS
August 1996

Standard Contractor Introduction

1. How interested are you in matters of politics and government – are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?

11% Very Interested
28% Somewhat Interested
38% Not Too Interested
23% Not At All Interested

39% **TOTAL INTERESTED**
61% **TOTAL NOT INTERESTED**

2. On the whole, are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the situation in Armenia – would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

2% Very Satisfied
20% Somewhat Satisfied
35% Somewhat Dissatisfied
43% Very Dissatisfied
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

21% **TOTAL SATISFIED**
78% **TOTAL DISSATISFIED**

3. Please tell me the main reason why you said you are [satisfied/unsatisfied] with the situation in Armenia. **CODE SEPARATELY FOR SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED**

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July 1996

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4. Please tell me whether you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with each of the following things in our country:

ROTATE

		Very Sat.	Some Sat.	Some Dis.	Very Dis.	DK/ Ref	Total Sat.	Total Dis.
4.1	How economic reforms are developing	1%	19%	44%	32%	3%	21%	76% *
4.2	The social welfare system	2%	16%	33%	48%	2%	17%	81%
4.3	The level of political freedom	12%	38%	30%	18%	2%	50%	48%
4.4	Protection of personal rights and freedoms of citizens by the government	6%	29%	36%	27%	1%	35%	63%
4.5	The fight against crime	11%	36%	26%	25%	2%	47%	51%
4.6	The quality of health care	3%	22%	30%	44%	1%	25%	74%
4.7	Our electoral system	6%	34%	32%	24%	5%	40%	55%

5. In your opinion, which foreign country, if any, do you think could be a model for Armenia's economic development? **OPEN-ENDED, CODE APPROPRIATELY**
6. In your opinion, which foreign country, if any, do you think could be a model for Armenia's political development? **OPEN ENDED, CODE APPROPRIATELY**
7. When thinking about our economic future, should our country develop an economy with limited government control of the economy or should we return to an economy basically controlled by the state?

50% Limited Government Control
48% State Control
2% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

8. How would you describe the current economic situation in our country – very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad?

* Very Good
22% Somewhat Good
44% Somewhat Bad
33% Very Bad
1% Don't Know

23% **TOTAL GOOD**
77% **TOTAL BAD**

9. In the next twelve months, in your opinion will the economic situation in Armenia be better than it is now, remain the same, or get worse?

33% Better
40% Same
24% Worse
3% Don't Know

10. Thinking into the future – in the year 2000, in your opinion will the economic situation in Armenia be better than it is now, remain the same, or get worse?

61% Better
13% Same
16% Worse
9% Don't Know
* Refused/NA

11. When it comes to our economic development, should we work toward a market economy with steady but small reforms, should we get to a market economy as quickly as possible, or should we not pursue a market economy at all?

52% Work Toward Market Economy With Steady, Small Reforms
25% Get To Market Economy As Quickly As Possible
19% Should Not Pursue Market Economy
3% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

12. In your opinion, how important are foreign investments to the economic health of our country – very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

36% Very Important
40% Somewhat Important
13% Not Very Important
9% Not At All Important
1% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

76% **TOTAL IMPORTANT**
22% **TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT**

13. Thinking now of reforms in our agricultural sector...Would you be in favor or against having foreign investments assist in the restructuring of our agriculture sector? Are you very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat opposed, or very much opposed?

36% Very Favorable
42% Somewhat Favorable
12% Somewhat Opposed
8% Very Much Opposed
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

78% **TOTAL FAVOR**
21% **TOTAL OPPOSED**

14. Would you be in favor of or against foreign technical assistance to the agricultural sector of Armenia? Are you very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat opposed, or very much opposed?

49% Very Favorable
40% Somewhat Favorable
8% Somewhat Opposed
3% Very Much Opposed
* Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

89% **TOTAL FAVOR**
11% **TOTAL OPPOSE**

15. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: foreign firms have a right to open businesses in Armenia – Do you completely agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or completely disagree?

19% Agree Very Much
27% Agree Somewhat
20% Disagree Somewhat
33% Disagree Very Much
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

45% **TOTAL AGREE**
54% **TOTAL DISAGREE**

16. How much do you know about economic reforms in Armenia – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

2% Great Deal
23% Fair Amount
57% Not Very Much
18% Nothing At All
* Don't Know
* Refused/NA

17. How much do you know about political developments in Armenia – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

4% Great Deal
32% Fair Amount
54% Not Very Much
10% Nothing At All
* Don't Know
* Refused/NA

18. Would you say that Armenia is primarily a democracy?

38% Primarily A Democratic Country
54% Not Primarily A Democratic Country
7% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

19. What does it mean to you to live in a democratic society?
OPEN-ENDED, CODE APPROPRIATELY

20. At this time, to what degree does the government of Armenia protect or disregard personal rights and liberties in our country? – Are personal rights and liberties completely protected, somewhat protected, somewhat disregarded, completely disregarded?

2% Completely Protected
26% Somewhat Protected
47% Somewhat Disregarded
24% Completely Disregarded
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

28% **TOTAL PROTECTED**
71% **TOTAL DISREGARDED**

21. How important is it for you that each of the following rights and liberties is protected by the government of Armenia – very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important? **ROTATE**

		Very Impt	Some Impt	Very Impt	Not At All Impt	Not DK Ref	Total Imp	Total Not Imp
21.1	One can choose from .. several parties and candidates when voting		49%	38%	8%	4%	1	87% 12%
21.2	Honest elections are held regularly		71%	27%	2%	1%	*	97% 2%
21.3	Citizens have the right to form political parties representing different viewpoints		39%	32%	17%	10%	1%	72% 27%
21.4	Political parties can freely express their viewpoints in the mass media		51%	39%	7%	2%	1%	89% 10%

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22.1 In your opinion, will current relations among ethnic groups in Armenia be maintained for a very long time, relations will change for the better within 3-5 years, relations will change for the worse in 3-5 years, or are relations among ethnic groups too difficult to predict?

39% Maintained for a very long time
32% Relations will change for the better within 3-5 years
8% Relations will change for the worse in 3-5 years
19% Relations among ethnic groups too difficult to predict
2% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

22.2 How would you describe relations between the various ethnic groups in Armenia?

32% Very Good
63% Fairly Good
3% Fairly Bad
1% Very Bad
1% Don't Know

95% **TOTAL GOOD**
4% **TOTAL BAD**

23. Some people say that the rights of citizens should be the same for all ethnic groups. Others say that rights should be different for citizens of different ethnic groups. Which view is closer to your own?

84% Rights should be the same
8% Rights should be different
7% Mixed Response/Don't Know/Refused

24. How much do you agree with the following statement: Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country. Do you agree fully, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree fully?

13% Agree Fully
36% Agree Somewhat
29% Disagree Somewhat
21% Disagree Fully
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

49% **TOTAL AGREE**
50% **TOTAL DISAGREE**

25. I am going to ask you about several state institutions. For each institution I mention, please tell me how much confidence you have – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

		Great Deal	Fair Amt	Not Very Much	None At All	Don't Know	REF NA
25.1	National Assembly	5%	28%	41%	25%	1%	*
25.2	The Presidency	9%	35%	31%	22%	2%	*
25.3	Local governments	6%	26%	35%	29%	3%	*
25.4	Military forces	26%	43%	16%	14%	1%	*

26. And how much confidence do you have in each of the following institutions of the judicial system to treat all people with fairness and justice – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all? **ROTATE**

		Great Deal	Fair Amt	Not Very Much	None At All	Don't Know	REF NA
26.1	The courts	2%	23%	37%	36%	1%	*
26.2	Office of the Public Prosecutor	3%	23%	38%	35%	1%	*
26.3	The militia	4%	26%	33%	36%	1%	*
26.4	Groups of Local Defense	25%	49%	13%	11%	1%	*

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27. Now I'm going to read you the names of several national leaders and institutions. For each, please tell me how much you approve or disapprove of the job performance of that leader or organization to date. **WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:** Would you say you highly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or highly disapprove?
ROTATE

		High Appr	Some Appr	Some Dis	High Dis	DK Ref	Total Appr	Total Dis
27.1	Levon Ter-Petrosian	16%	42%	22%	20%	*	57%	42%
27.2	Hrant Bagratyan	4%	20%	26%	48%	1%	24%	74%
27.3	Babken Ararktsyan	3%	25%	31%	39%	2%	29%	69%
27.4	Gagik Haroutiunian	19%	38%	22%	18%	3%	57%	41%
27.5	Council of Ministers	3%	24%	37%	31%	4%	27%	69%
27.6.	National Assembly	3%	28%	34%	34%	1%	31%	68%
27.7	Courts	1%	23%	34%	39%	3%	24%	73%
27.8.	Marzpets (local self-governing bodies)	5%	26%	29%	29%	10%	31%	59%

28. Thinking of the various national and local governments, in your opinion how responsive is each to the needs and concerns of the public – very responsive, somewhat responsive, not very responsive, or not at all responsive. **ROTATE**

		Very Resp	Some Resp	Not Very Resp	Not At All Resp	DK/ Ref	Total Total Resp	Not Resp
28.1	Council of Ministers	2%	24%	42%	29%	2%	26%	72%
28.2	The President	6%	36%	29%	25%	3%	42%	54%
28.3	National Assembly	2%	28%	38%	29%	3%	30%	68%
28.4	Marzpets (local self-governing bodies)	4%	29%	33%	28%	7%	32%	61%

-
29. In your opinion, is it possible for citizens of Armenia to unite into groups or formal organizations without the participation of the government?
- 48% Yes
46% No
* Depends **VOLUNTEERED**
5% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer
30. How necessary are such non-governmental organizations – essential, necessary, not very necessary, or not at all necessary?
- 8% Essential
40% Necessary
33% Not Very Necessary
14% Not At All Necessary
3% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer
- 48% **TOTAL NECESSARY**
48% **TOTAL NOT NECESSARY**
31. Look at this CARD and tell me which of the types of non-governmental organizations listed would you most likely join? **ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES**
- 17% Educational
4% Religious
5% Ethnic rights
19% Charity
9% Women
10% Youth
8% Sport
6% Environmental
4% Political parties
4% Consumer rights
2% Independent trade union
3% Veterans
13% Labor collective
30% NONE
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

32. Would you give your time to work for a nongovernmental organization without receiving any compensation?

39% Yes
56% No
4% Depends **VOLUNTEERED**
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

33. Turning now to political parties, what do you think would be the ideal number of political parties to have in Armenia – none, one, two, several, or many?

6% None
36% One
20% Two
33% Several
3% Many
2% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

34. How important do you think it is for Armenia to have at least two political parties competing in an election – very important, fairly important, not very important, or not at all important?

23% Very Important
39% Fairly Important
18% Not Very Important
17% Not At All Important
2% Don't Know

63% **TOTAL IMPORTANT**
35% **TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT**

35. Which of the following organizations should have the right to nominate candidates for public office? **ROTATE**

		Should	Should Not	Depends	Don't Know	Ref/ No Answer
35.1	Political parties	87%	8%	2%	2%	*
35.2	Citizens Initiative organization	71%	23%	3%	2%	1%
35.3	Local gov	69%	26%	2%	3%	*
35.4	The President	69%	26%	2%	2%	*

36. If elections to local self-governing bodies were held tomorrow, would you be more likely to support a candidate who was affiliated with a political party or who was not affiliated with a political party?

43%	Affiliated	
35%	Not Affiliated	
19%	No Difference	VOLUNTEERED
2%	Don't Know	
1%	Refused/NA	

- 37.1 Do you consider yourself to be a member of a political party?

8%	Yes
92%	No

- 37.2 If NO, do you sympathize with any political party?

43%	Yes
47%	No
2%	Don't Know
*	Refused/No Answer

38. Which of the political parties or movements listed on this CARD best represents the views and interests of people like you?

6%	National Democratic Union
5%	Union for National Self-Determination
7%	Armenian Revolutionary (Dashnak) Party
2%	Liberal-Democratic Party of Armenia
20%	Armenian National Movement
3%	Democratic Party of Armenia
20%	Communist Party of Armenia
1%	Scientific-Industrial Civil Union
1%	Social-Democratic (Hnchak) Party
2%	Shamiram (Women's) Party
*	Other _____
29%	None VOLUNTEERED
3%	Don't Know
*	Refused/No Answer

As you may know, a presidential election is scheduled for September 22, 1996 and elections to local self-governing bodies are scheduled for November 1996.

39.1 Thinking about the Presidential election, would you say that you definitely will vote, probably will vote, probably will not vote, or definitely will not vote?

60% Definitely will vote
26% Probably will vote
7% Probably will not vote
6% Definitely will not vote
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

39.2 Thinking about the elections to local self-governing bodies, would you say that you definitely will vote, probably will vote, probably will not vote, or definitely will not vote?

50% Definitely will vote
33% Probably will vote
10% Probably will not vote
7% Definitely will not vote
1% Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

40. If the 1996 election for President were being held tomorrow, which of the following candidates would you be voting for? (ACCEPT VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE WOULD NOT VOTE FOR A PARTY CANDIDATE)

50% Levon Ter-Petrosian
8% Paruir Hairikyan
1% Aram Sarkisyan
9% Sergei Badalyan
8% Vazgen Manukyan
3% Ashot Manucharyan
* Lenser Aghalovian
1% Rafael Hambartsoumian
* Yuri Mkrtchian
15% None VOLUNTEERED
4% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

41. If the 1996 elections for local self-governing bodies were being held tomorrow, for which party's candidate would you vote? (**SHOW CARD; ACCEPT VOLUNTEERED RESPONSE WOULD NOT VOTE FOR A PARTY CANDIDATE**)

7% National Democratic Union
5% Union for National Self-Determination
7% Armenian Revolutionary (Dashnak) Party
2% Liberal-Democratic Party of Armenia
27% Armenian National Movement
3% Democratic Party of Armenia
21% Communist Party of Armenia
1% Scientific-Industrial Civil Union
* Social-Democratic (Hnchak) Party
2% Shamiram (Women's) Party
1% Other _____
19% Would not vote for a party candidate **VOLUNTEERED**
4% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

42. How much have you heard or read about the Central Electoral Commission of Armenia – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

3% A great deal
20% A fair amount
45% Not very much
32% Nothing at all
* Don't Know
* Refused/No Answer

43. **IF GREAT OR FAIR AMOUNT IN Q42 ASK:**
With which of the following statements is closest to your view: **ROTATE**

29% The Central Electoral Commission of Armenia is a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law.
66% The Central Electoral Commission of Armenia makes decisions which favor particular candidates or which the government wants.
2% Don't Know
3% Refused/No Answer

44. How well did the Central Electoral Commission fulfill its duties during the National Assembly elections of July 5, 1995 – very well, fairly well, fairly poorly, or very poorly?

7% Very Well
37% Fairly Well
27% Fairly Poorly
10% Very Poorly
17% Don't Know
2% Refused/No Answer

45% **TOTAL WELL**
37% **TOTAL POORLY**

45. Did you vote in the July 5, 1995 elections?

69% Yes (MOVE ON TO Q.46)
31% No (MOVE ON TO Q.47)
* Refused/No Answer

IFES Armenia Survey
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46. Did you encounter or observe any of the following problems when you voted in the 1995 National Assembly elections – please just tell me yes or no for each problem I read to you?

		Yes	No	Don't Know	REF/ NA
46.1	The ballot was confusing	9%	90%	*	
46.2	Election officials at the voting place tried to tell me whom to vote for	12%	88%		
46.3	Election officials at the voting place could not answer my questions	10%	90%	1%	
46.4	I felt that my ballot was not kept secret and that someone could learn how I voted	11%	88%	1%	*
46.5	The polling place was not convenient	8%	92%	*	
46.6	I saw groups of people voting together without a secret ballot	12%	88%	*	
46.7	Material or financial incentives being offered to voters	8%	91%	*	*
46.8	The polling place was not well equipped, or there were no pens or pencils	4%	96%	*	*
46.9	I know of cases where people voted on behalf of family members or neighbors	14%	84%	1%	
46.10	Campaigning on behalf of a candidate occurred on election day	23%	76%	*	*
46.11	When I went to the polling place, someone had already voted for me	1%	99%		*
46.12	I encountered a different problem _____	2%			
46.13	NOT ASKED	31%			

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47. On this CARD are a number of places you might have gotten information in previous elections and referendums. For each item listed, please tell me whether you found that information useful.

		Useful	Not Useful	Don't Read/ Watch Listen. Partic.	Don't Know	REF No Ans.
47.1	Armenian radio	42%	17%	40%	1%	*
47.2	Armenian state television	74%	14%	10%	1%	*
47.3	TV Station "Nork"	37%	18%	42%	2%	1%
47.4	Local TV Stations	26%	25%	47%	2%	1%
47.5	ORT (Russian state TV)	47%	30%	22%	1%	*
47.6	NTV (Russian independent TV)	21%	22%	54%	2%	1%
47.7	Newspapers	37%	15%	47%	1%	*
47.8	Magazines	17%	21%	61%	1%	1%
47.9	Mailings from candidates/parties	16%	20%	63%	1%	1%
47.10	Leaflets	10%	24%	64%	1%	1%
47.11	Posters	11%	26%	60%	1%	1%
47.12	Meeting a candidate in person	23%	17%	59%	1%	1%
47.13	A speech or public meeting	17%	19%	62%	1%	1%
47.14	Discussions with friends, family	51%	19%	28%	1%	*
47.15	Things my boss told me	8%	32%	57%	2%	1%
47.16	Other _____	2%	22%	67%	2%	8%

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48. Please look again at this CARD and please tell me which ONE of these sources was most important in helping you decide how you would vote?

48.1	Armenian radio	7%
48.2	Armenian state television	44%
48.3	TV Station "Nork"	1%
48.4	Local TV Stations	1%
48.5	ORT (Russian state TV)	2%
48.6	NTV (Russian independent TV)	*
48.7	Newspapers	7%
48.8	Magazines	0%
48.9	Mailings from candidates/parties	1%
48.10	Leaflets	*
48.11	Posters	*
48.12	Meeting a candidate in person	6%
48.13	A speech or public meeting	2%
48.14	Discussions with friends, family	13%
48.15	Things my boss told me	*
48.16	Other (Life Experience)	1%
48.17	None VOLUNTEERED	13%
48.18	Don't Know	1%
48.19	Refused/No Answer	2%

49. Still thinking about our mass media...In reporting the news, events and developments in our country, do you think that [ROTATE LIST] is/are completely free of government control, somewhat controlled by the government, or completely controlled by the government when reporting events and developments in Armenia?

	Compl Free	Some- what Cntrl.	Compl Cntrl.	Don't Know	Ref NA
49.1 Armenian radio	10%	65%	18%	6%	1%
49.2 Armenian state television	8%	67%	22%	3%	1%
49.3 TV station "Nork"	7%	61%	14%	17%	2%
49.4 Local TV Stations	16%	57%	12%	12%	2%
49.5 ORT (Russian state TV)	14%	65%	14%	5%	2%
49.6 NTV (Russian independent TV)	12%	56%	9%	19%	4%
49.7 Newspapers	14%	67%	12%	6%	1%
49.8 Magazines	13%	67%	12%	7%	1%

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50. How common is the problem of official corruption – is it very common, fairly common, fairly rare, or very rare? **ROTATE 1-4 TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP**

54% Very Common
35% Fairly Common
5% Fairly Rare
2% Very Rare
3% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

89% **TOTAL COMMON**
7% **TOTAL RARE**

51. And how serious is the problem of official corruption – is it very serious, fairly serious, not too serious, or not serious at all? **ROTATE 1-4 TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP**

64% Very Serious
25% Fairly Serious
7% Not Too Serious
2% Not Serious At All
2% Don't Know
1% Refused/No Answer

89% **TOTAL SERIOUS**
8% **TOTAL NOT SERIOUS**

52. For each institution or group I mention, please tell me whether, in your opinion, corruption is very common, fairly common, fairly rare, or very rare? **ROTATE**

		Very Comm	Fairly Comm	Fairly Rare	Very Rare	DK/ Ref	Total Comm	Total Rare
52.1	Council Ministers	31%	46%	10%	3%	10%	78%	13%
52.2	Government bureaucrats	42%	43%	8%	2%	5%	84%	10%
52.3	The Central Bank of Armenia	21%	33%	19%	8%	19%	54%	27%
52.4	Private entrepreneurs	14%	32%	26%	16%	12%	46%	42%
52.5	Foreign companies doing business in Armenia	7%	12%	26%	33%	22%	19%	59%

53. Record Sex of Respondent

47% Male
53% Female

54. Age – What is your age please? (RECORD EXACT AGE)

17% 18-24
11% 25-29
13% 30-34
13% 35-39
10% 40-44
7% 45-49
4% 50-54
7% 55-59
6% 60-64
6% 65-69
5% 70-74
1% 75+

55. What is the highest level of education you received?

3% Primary
14% Secondary Incomplete
51% Secondary Complete
9% Less than three years of University
23% More than three years of University
* Advanced Degree

56. What is your employment situation?

29% Employed full-time at one job
3% Employed part-time at one job
* Employed at more than one part-time job
5% Student
20% Pensioner
31% Not Employed
9% I do housework and take care of children
2% Other _____
* Refused/No Answer

57. What is your field of employment?

30%	Culture/Science/Education/Health
12%	Industry
15%	Agriculture
12%	Trade
4%	Construction
4%	Energy
1%	Tourism or Entertainment
4%	Social Services
4%	Transportation
4%	Law Enforcement/Criminal Justice
*	International Affairs
3%	Military
2%	Management
1%	Banks and Finance
1%	Non-governmental public organization
1%	Sports Organization
1%	Other _____

58. What type of place do you work at?

6%	Your own business
10%	Private enterprise
1%	Joint-venture
18%	State controlled enterprise (mixed ownership)
47%	State-owned enterprise
2%	State or collective farm
11%	Private farm
*	My Private Business
2%	Other _____

59. What is your current position?

8%	Administrator/Supervisor
24%	Highly Skilled White Collar Worker
31%	Less-skilled White Collar Worker
8%	Skilled Worker
7%	Worker
5%	Unskilled Worker
2%	Businessman/Entrepreneur
6%	Vendor/Small Business
5%	Other _____

60. What is your marital status?

71%	Married
17%	Single/Never Married
2%	Divorced/Separated
9%	Widowed
*	Refused/NA

61. Do you have any children? [IF YES] Do they live with you?

70%	Yes, live with respondent
10%	Yes, do not live with respondent
21%	No
*	Refused/NA

62. What is your ethnicity?

96%	Armenian
1%	Russian
1%	Kurd/Yezid
1%	Assyrian
*	Ukrainian
*	Other
*	Refused/NA

63. What is the main language you speak in your home? (TWO ANSWERS ACCEPTABLE)

97%	Armenian
9%	Russian
1%	Kurdish
1%	Assyrian
*	Other _____
%	Refused/NA

64. What is the main language spoken in your work place?

98%	Armenian
16%	Russian
*	Kurdish
*	Greek
*	Assyrian
1%	English
*	German
*	Other _____

65. Are you a member of any of the following non-governmental organizations? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

3%	Educational
1%	Religious
*	Ethnic rights
1%	Charity
1%	Women
1%	Youth
1%	Sport
*	Environmental
1%	Political parties
*	Consumer rights
*	Independent trade union
*	Veterans
7%	Labor collective
82%	NONE
*	Don't Know

66. Do you believe in God or not?

85%	Yes
13%	No
2%	Don't Know
1%	Refused/NA

67. [ASK TO ALL] To what church or religious group do you belong?

90%	Armenian Apostolic
1%	Russian Orthodox
*	Roman Catholic
*	Protestant
*	Islamic
*	Religious Sect
*	Jehova's Witness
1%	Other _____
6%	None
1%	Refused/NA

68. What is the material well-being of your family?

24%	Very, poor - we don't have enough money for the most basic needs
41%	Poor - we barely have enough money to buy food, we rarely buy clothes
29%	Modest - we have enough to eat, we occasionally buy clothes, but we have nothing left over to save
4%	Moderate - we have some savings
1%	Above average - we have savings, and can afford a lot
*	Refused

69. Do you own any of the following items:

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Ref/NA
69.1 Television Set	94%	5%		1%
69.2 VCR	20%	80%		1%
69.3 Computer	7%	92%	*	1%
69.4 Radio	59%	40%		1%
69.5 Telephone	61%	38%		1%

THAT IS THE LAST OF OUR QUESTIONS.
THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Observation Variables

70. Region

4%	Aragatz
8%	Ararat
8%	Armavir
2%	Vanadzor
7%	Gegarkunik
9%	Kotaik
10%	Lori
4%	Syunnik
4%	Tavush
10%	Shirak
33%	Yerevan

71. PSU _____

72. Kind of settlement

33%	Cities of 500,000+
5%	Cities of 200,000 - 499,999
10%	Cities of 50,000 - 199,999
11%	Cities of 20,000 - 49,999
10%	Towns of less than 20,000
31%	Rural settlements

73. Language of interview

98%	Armenian
1%	Russian
*	English

74. SES (observations about kind of residence, car, etc):

7%	High
36%	Moderate
37%	Lower than moderate
17%	Low
3%	Indeterminate

75. Interviewer Number _____

76. Date of Interview _____
Name of Crew Leader _____
Name of Controller _____