

ARMENIAN CENTER FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

ARMENIA'S THIRTEEN-YEAR-OLD INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

Presentation of Expert and Public Poll Results
(50 experts and 1526 citizens from Yerevan and all Armenia)

About the Respondents (Expert Survey)

Age Groups				
<i>21-30</i>	<i>31-40</i>	<i>41-50</i>	<i>51-60</i>	<i>61-70</i>
10%	32%	34%	22%	2%
Gender				
<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>	
72%			28%	
Education				
<i>Incomplete higher</i>			<i>Higher</i>	
0%			100%	
Academic Degree				
<i>PhD</i>	<i>Candidate of Science</i>	<i>Master's</i>		<i>Bachelor's</i>
2%	30%	66%		2%
Profession				
<i>Art critic</i>			4%	
<i>Orientalist</i>			4%	
<i>Geographer</i>			2%	
<i>Physicist, radiophysicist</i>			14%	
<i>Architect, builder</i>			4%	
<i>Engineer</i>			4%	
<i>Lawyer</i>			4%	
<i>Journalist</i>			20%	
<i>Linguist</i>			4%	
<i>Manager</i>			8%	
<i>Mathematician</i>			8%	
<i>Historian</i>			6%	
<i>Political Scientist</i>			10%	
<i>Economist</i>			8%	
Status of Workplace				
<i>State-run</i>			34%	
<i>Non-governmental</i>			50%	
<i>International organization</i>			16%	

About the Respondents (Public Survey)

Age Groups							
<i>16-20</i>	<i>21-30</i>	<i>31-40</i>	<i>41-50</i>	<i>51-60</i>	<i>61-70</i>	<i>71 and above</i>	<i>Refused to answer</i>
13.7%	21.8%	22.5%	20.4%	11.4%	7%	2.2%	1%

Gender	
<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
43.5%	56.5%

Education					
<i>Incomplete secondary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Specialized secondary</i>	<i>Incomplete higher</i>	<i>Higher</i>	<i>Refused to answer</i>
2.1%	21.2%	18%	12.1%	43.5%	3.1%

Occupation					
<i>Employed</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Pensioner</i>	<i>Welfare recipient</i>	<i>Student</i>	<i>Refused to answer</i>
54.2%	20.3%	6.9%	2.2%	15.6%	0.8%

Status of Workplace			
<i>State-run</i>	<i>Non-governmental</i>	<i>International organization</i>	<i>Refused to answer</i>
57.1%	37%	3%	2.9%

Note: The indices on the status of workplace are calculated against the number of employed respondents (54.2%).

Sphere of Occupation	
<i>State administration or local government</i>	9.1%
<i>Administrative work in non-governmental organizations</i>	6.9%
<i>Health care</i>	4.9%
<i>Education</i>	8.3%
<i>Science</i>	4.3%
<i>Art and culture</i>	5%
<i>Spirituality and religion</i>	0.3%
<i>Media</i>	1%
<i>Law</i>	1.6%
<i>Military and law enforcement</i>	3.2%
<i>Agriculture and forestry</i>	8.4%
<i>Energy, gas and water supply</i>	2.9%
<i>Transport</i>	4.7%
<i>Telecommunication</i>	3.1%
<i>Finance and economy</i>	4.6%
<i>Real-estate services</i>	0.1%
<i>Communal, social and personal services</i>	4.1%
<i>Library and archive</i>	1.3%
<i>Office work and record keeping</i>	0.5%
<i>Computer science and information technologies</i>	1.4%
<i>Trade and commerce</i>	8%
<i>Tourism, hotel and restaurant management</i>	2.9%
<i>Construction and engineering</i>	3.2%
<i>Industry</i>	3.9%
<i>Blue-collar work</i>	4.6%
<i>Refused to answer</i>	1.7%

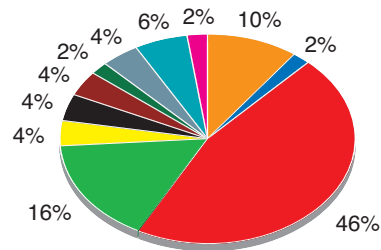
Place of Residence	
Urban	Rural
59.7%	40.3%
Yerevan	32.6%
Aragatsotn region	4.1%
Armavir region	9.4%
Ararat region	9.2%
Kotaik region	7.9%
Siunik region	5.2%
Gegharkunik region	7.2%
Tavush region	4%
Lori region	9%
Vayots Dzor region	2.2%
Shirak region	9.2%

1. What is the main achievement of Armenia since its independence?

Expert Survey

1. Shaping of national institutions	10%
2. Shaping and clarification of national policy (domestic and foreign)	2%
3. Development through democracy	0%
4. Liberation of Mountainous Karabagh	46%
5. Establishment of the army	16%
6. Formation of people's free thinking	4%
7. National unity and solidarity	0%
8. Return to national and religious roots	4%
9. Formation of market economy	0%
10. Strengthening of ties with Diaspora	4%
11. Confidence in our abilities	2%
12. Formation of national mindset	0%
13. None	4%
14. Difficult to answer	6%
15. Other	2%

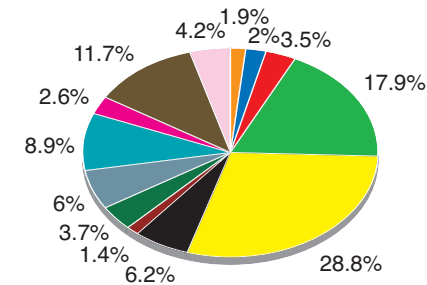
- ✓ Adoption of Armenia's law on language



Public Survey

1. Shaping of national institutions	1.9%
2. Shaping and clarification of national policy (domestic and foreign)	2%
3. Development through democracy	3.5%
4. Liberation of Mountainous Karabagh	17.9%
5. Establishment of the army	28.8%
6. Formation of people's free thinking	6.2%
7. National unity and solidarity	1.4%
8. Return to national and religious roots	3.7%
9. Formation of market economy	6%
10. Strengthening of ties with Diaspora	8.9%
11. Confidence in our abilities	2.6%
12. Formation of national mindset	0.9%
13. None	11.7%
14. Difficult to answer	4.2%
15. Other	0.3%

- ✓ Improvement in standard of living
- ✓ Anarchy and absence of authority
- ✓ Formation of a new type of total system

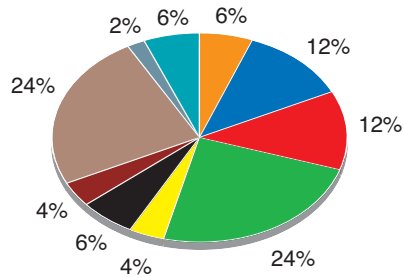


2. What is the main negative phenomenon since Armenia's independence?

Expert Survey

1. Human losses in Karabagh's fight for freedom	6%
2. Isolation of the country	12%
3. Restriction of civil and political rights	12%
4. Emergence of social evils (poverty, emigration, unemployment, etc.)	24%
5. Economic decline and turmoil (privatization process, closing down of large industrial enterprises, etc.)	4%
6. Decline in educational level	6%
7. Deterioration of health care system	4%
8. Formation of clans	24%
9. Difficult to answer	2%
10. <i>Other</i>	6%

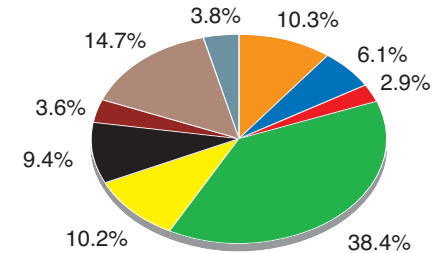
- ✓ Mutual mistrust as well as toward the future, loss of faith, disenchantment
- ✓ Retreat of value system



Public Survey

1. Human losses in Karabagh's fight for freedom	10.3%
2. Isolation of the country	6.1%
3. Restriction of civil and political rights	2.9%
4. Emergence of social evils (poverty, emigration, unemployment, etc.)	38.4%
5. Economic decline and turmoil (privatization process, closing down of large industrial enterprises, etc.)	10.2%
6. Decline in educational level	9.4%
7. Deterioration of health care system	3.6%
8. Formation of clans	14.7%
9. Difficult to answer	3.8%
10. <i>Other</i>	0.6%

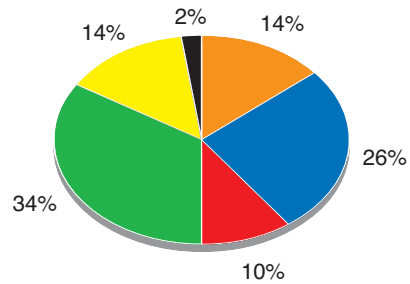
- ✓ Inertia of the USSR's disintegration
- ✓ Disappointment with state authority
- ✓ Murders, arbitrariness, illegality
- ✓ Departure of moral norms
- ✓ There is no negative phenomenon



3. How would you compare the losses and gains of the independence years?

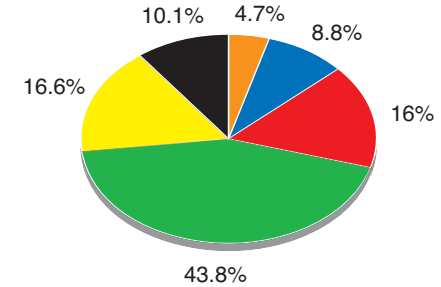
Expert Survey

1. Losses are trivial compared with gains	14%
2. Losses are less than gains	26%
3. Losses are equivalent to gains	10%
4. Losses are more than gains	34%
5. Losses are meaningless, as there is either no gain or a trivial one	14%
6. Difficult to answer	2%



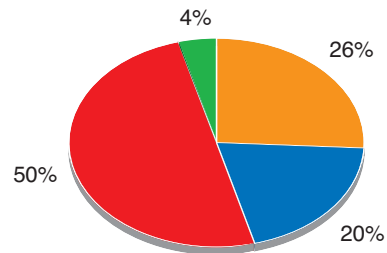
Public Survey

1. Losses are trivial compared with gains	4.7%
2. Losses are less than gains	8.8%
3. Losses are equivalent to gains	16%
4. Losses are more than gains	43.8%
5. Losses are meaningless, as there is either no gain or a trivial one	16.6%
6. Difficult to answer	10.1%

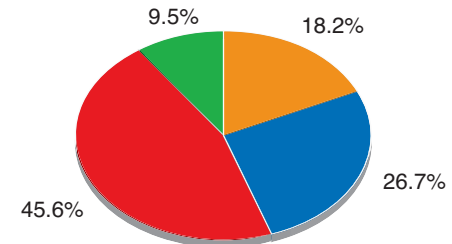


4. During the 13 years of independence, your family's standard of living...

1. Improved	26%
2. Remained the same	20%
3. Declined	50%
4. Difficult to answer	4%

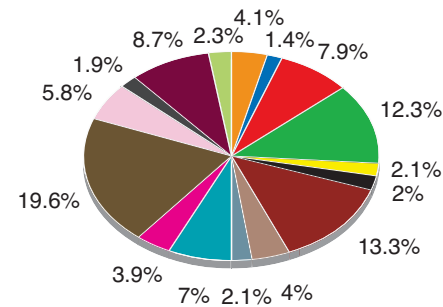
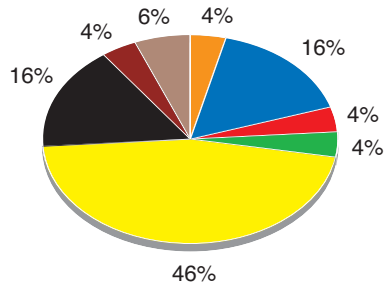


1. Improved	18.2%
2. Remained the same	26.7%
3. Declined	45.6%
4. Difficult to answer	9.5%



5. Which of the below-mentioned spheres have registered progress over the last 13 years?

Expert Survey		Public Survey	
<i>First Choice</i>			
1. Health care	0%	1. Health care	4.1%
2. Industry	0%	2. Industry	1.4%
3. Foreign policy	0%	3. Foreign policy	7.9%
4. Banking system	0%	4. Banking system	12.3%
5. Science and education	0%	5. Science and education	2.1%
6. Agriculture	4%	6. Agriculture	2%
7. Business	16%	7. Business	13.3%
8. Judicial system	0%	8. Judicial system	0.3%
9. Law-enforcement bodies	0%	9. Law-enforcement bodies	0.3%
10. Energy system	4%	10. Energy system	4%
11. Tax and customs agencies	0%	11. Tax and customs agencies	2.1%
12. Spiritual-religious sphere	4%	12. Spiritual-religious sphere	7%
13. Culture and art	0%	13. Culture and art	3.9%
14. Defense (army)	46%	14. Defense (army)	19.6%
15. Social security system	0%	15. Social security system	0.2%
16. Information technologies	16%	16. Information technologies	5.8%
17. Youth affairs	0%	17. Youth affairs	1.9%
18. Sport	0%	18. Sport	0.3%
19. Difficult to answer	4%	19. Difficult to answer	8.7%
20. None	6%	20. None	2.3%
		21. <i>Other</i>	0.5%
		✓ Urban construction	
		✓ Advertisement	



Expert Survey		Public Survey	
<i>Second Choice</i>			
1. Health care	0%	1. Health care	0.8%
2. Industry	0%	2. Industry	1.5%
3. Foreign policy	8%	3. Foreign policy	4.5%
4. Banking system	8%	4. Banking system	6.6%
5. Science and education	0%	5. Science and education	2.3%
6. Agriculture	4%	6. Agriculture	1.4%
7. Business	4%	7. Business	11%
8. Judicial system	0%	8. Judicial system	0.6%
9. Law-enforcement bodies	0%	9. Law-enforcement bodies	1%
10. Energy system	8%	10. Energy system	2.6%
11. Tax and customs agencies	0%	11. Tax and customs agencies	5.2%
12. Spiritual-religious sphere	4%	12. Spiritual-religious sphere	11.4%
13. Culture and art	2%	13. Culture and art	7.4%
14. Defense (army)	22%	14. Defense (army)	19.1%
15. Social security system	0%	15. Social security system	0.7%
16. Information technologies	34%	16. Information technologies	14.8%
17. Youth affairs	6%	17. Youth affairs	6.2%
18. Sport	0%	18. Sport	2.9%

Category	Percentage
Information technologies	34%
Defense (army)	22%
Foreign policy	8%
Banking system	8%
Energy system	8%
Youth affairs	6%
Spiritual-religious sphere	4%
Business	4%
Agriculture	4%
Culture and art	2%

Category	Percentage
Defense (army)	19.1%
Information technologies	14.8%
Spiritual-religious sphere	11.4%
Business	11%
Culture and art	7.4%
Banking system	6.6%
Youth affairs	6.2%
Tax and customs agencies	5.2%
Foreign policy	4.5%
Energy system	2.9%
Science and education	2.6%
Industry	1.5%
Agriculture	1.4%
Law-enforcement bodies	1%
Social security system	0.7%
Judicial system	0.6%
Health care	0.8%

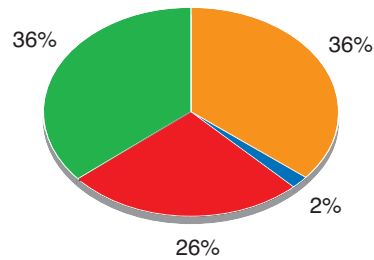
Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 50 experts surveyed 76% marked a second answer. The indices of the second answer are calculated against this number.

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 1526 respondents surveyed 63.6% marked a second answer. The indices of the second answer are calculated against this number.

6. Which institution of national authority is the most anti-democratic?

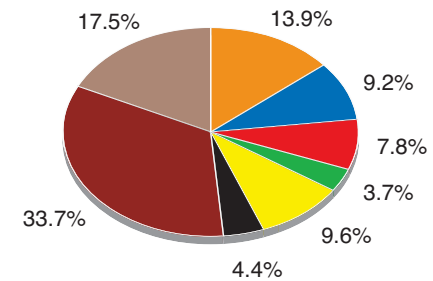
Expert Survey

1. The Presidency	36%
2. National Assembly	2%
3. Armenian Government, ministries, and government-affiliated boards	0%
4. Regional governmental bodies, governors' offices	0%
5. Judicial authorities: courts, prosecutor's office	26%
6. Local governmental offices: city halls, community and village administrations	0%
7. All of them and equally	36%
8. None	0%
9. Difficult to answer	0%



Public Survey

1. The Presidency	13.9%
2. National Assembly	9.2%
3. Armenian Government, ministries, and government-affiliated boards	7.8%
4. Regional governmental bodies, governors' offices	3.7%
5. Judicial authorities: courts, prosecutor's office	9.6%
6. Local governmental offices: city halls, community and village administrations	4.4%
7. All of them and equally	33.7%
8. None	0.2%
9. Difficult to answer	17.5%



7. Which is the main reason for the non-establishment, if you so think, of national institutions in independent Armenia?

Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Leaders' vainglory and thirst for power 8%	1. Leaders' vainglory and thirst for power 22.3%
2. Leaders' undemocratic and unpopular essence 26%	2. Leaders' undemocratic and unpopular essence 12.4%
3. Leaders' inability to govern, incompetence 14%	3. Leaders' inability to govern, incompetence 11.2%
4. Leaders' parochial approaches 24%	4. Leaders' parochial approaches 18.7%
5. Impossibility of neutralizing the consequences of collapse of the USSR 0%	5. Impossibility of neutralizing the consequences of collapse of the USSR 3.3%
6. People's indifference and passiveness 12%	6. People's indifference and passiveness 6%
7. Peculiarities of the Armenian people's mentality 4%	7. Peculiarities of the Armenian people's mentality 4.2%
8. Not taking account of the people's will 8%	8. Not taking account of the people's will 14.3%
9. Difficult to answer 0%	9. Difficult to answer 7.5%
10. <i>Other</i> 4%	10. <i>Other</i> 0.1%

- ✓ Russian orientation and provincialism
- ✓ Leaders' lack of patriotism

- ✓ National institutions have been shaped

Reason	Percentage
Leaders' vainglory and thirst for power	8%
Leaders' undemocratic and unpopular essence	26%
Leaders' inability to govern, incompetence	14%
Leaders' parochial approaches	24%
Impossibility of neutralizing the consequences of collapse of the USSR	0%
People's indifference and passiveness	12%
Peculiarities of the Armenian people's mentality	4%
Not taking account of the people's will	8%
Difficult to answer	0%
Other	4%

Reason	Percentage
Leaders' vainglory and thirst for power	22.3%
Leaders' undemocratic and unpopular essence	12.4%
Leaders' inability to govern, incompetence	11.2%
Leaders' parochial approaches	18.7%
Impossibility of neutralizing the consequences of collapse of the USSR	3.3%
People's indifference and passiveness	6%
Peculiarities of the Armenian people's mentality	4.2%
Not taking account of the people's will	14.3%
Difficult to answer	7.5%
Other	0.1%

8. Which of the below-mentioned events had the biggest negative effect on the nation's path of development?

Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Falsification of presidential election (1996, 1998, 2003) results 42%	1. Falsification of presidential election (1996, 1998, 2003) results 30.1%
2. Falsification of parliamentary election (especially 1995 and 2003) results 14%	2. Falsification of parliamentary election (especially 1995 and 2003) results 4.8%
3. Falsifications made during the 1995 referendum on the Constitution 4%	3. Falsifications made during the 1995 referendum on the Constitution 3.3%
4. Terrorism committed in the Armenian Parliament on October 27, 1999 20%	4. Terrorism committed in the Armenian Parliament on October 27, 1999 31.2%
5. Political murders committed from 1990 on (Hambardzum Ghandilian, Marius Yuzbashian, Hambardzum Galstian, Artsrun Margarian, Vahram Khorkhoruni, Henrik Khachatryan, and others) 4%	5. Political murders committed from 1990 on (Hambardzum Ghandilian, Marius Yuzbashian, Hambardzum Galstian, Artsrun Margarian, Vahram Khorkhoruni, Henrik Khachatryan, and others) 4.6%
6. Trial of the October 27 case 4%	6. Trial of the October 27 case 8.3%
7. Poghos Poghosian's 2001 murder at the Aragast Café 0%	7. Poghos Poghosian's 2001 murder at the Aragast Café 0.9%
8. Tigran Naghdalian's murder in 2002 0%	8. Tigran Naghdalian's murder in 2002 2.6%
9. Acts of violence committed by the authorities against peaceful demonstrators, and invasion of political party offices, on April 13, 2004 4%	9. Acts of violence committed by the authorities against peaceful demonstrators, and invasion of political party offices, on April 13, 2004 1.2%
10. Judicial verdict to imprison Edgar Arakelian for striking a policeman with a plastic bottle on April 13, 2004 2%	10. Judicial verdict to imprison Edgar Arakelian for striking a policeman with a plastic bottle on April 13, 2004 0.4%
11. Detention and incarceration of participants in peaceful demonstrations in 2003-2004 0%	11. Detention and incarceration of participants in peaceful demonstrations in 2003-2004 1.7%
12. Difficult to answer 2%	12. Difficult to answer 10.6%
13. <i>Other</i> 4%	13. <i>Other</i> 0.3%

- ✓ Electing Levon Ter-Petrosian president in 1991
- ✓ Adoption of presidential model of governance in 1991

- ✓ Falsification of elections on all levels
- ✓ Introduction of social security card system

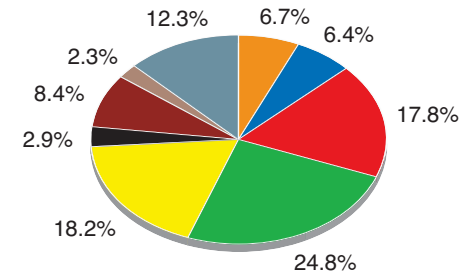
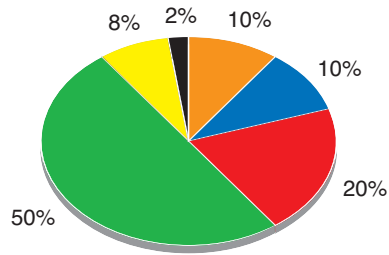
Detailed description: A pie chart representing the Expert Survey data. The largest slice is orange at 42%, followed by a green slice at 20%, a blue slice at 14%, and several smaller slices at 4%, 4%, 4%, 2%, 2%, and 0%.

Detailed description: A pie chart representing the Public Survey data. The largest slice is orange at 30.1%, followed by a green slice at 31.2%, a blue slice at 8.3%, a yellow slice at 4.6%, and several other slices at 4.8%, 3.3%, 2.6%, 1.7%, 1.2%, 0.9%, 0.4%, and 0.3%.

9. Which of the below-mentioned events had the biggest positive effect on the nation's path of development?

Expert Survey		Public Survey	
1. Privatization of land, apartments, and means of production	10%	1. Privatization of land, apartments, and means of production	6.7%
2. Adoption of the Armenian Constitution	10%	2. Adoption of the Armenian Constitution	6.4%
3. Cease-fire with Azerbaijan	20%	3. Cease-fire with Azerbaijan	17.8%
4. The Armenian triumph in the Karabagh war	50%	4. The Armenian triumph in the Karabagh war	24.8%
5. Treaty of strategic cooperation with Russia	0%	5. Treaty of strategic cooperation with Russia	18.2%
6. Cooperation with NATO	0%	6. Cooperation with NATO	2.9%
7. Membership in the Council of Europe	8%	7. Membership in the Council of Europe	8.4%
8. Membership in the World Trade Organization	0%	8. Membership in the World Trade Organization	2.3%
9. Difficult to answer	2%	9. Difficult to answer	12.3%
		10. <i>Other</i>	0.2%

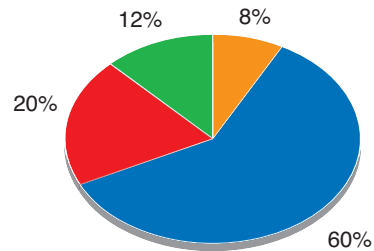
✓ There is no positive event



10. In the case of maintaining the present system, Armenia will move toward...

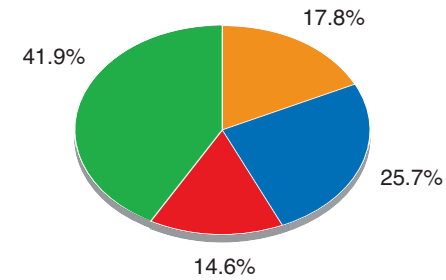
Expert Survey

1. Democracy	8%
2. Authoritarianism	60%
3. Totalitarianism	20%
4. Difficult to answer	12%



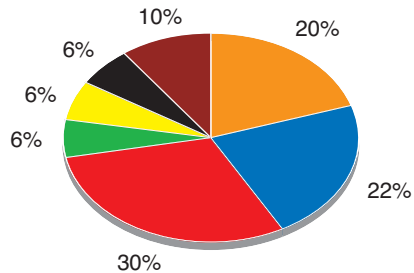
Public Survey

1. Democracy	17.8%
2. Authoritarianism	25.7%
3. Totalitarianism	14.6%
4. Difficult to answer	41.9%

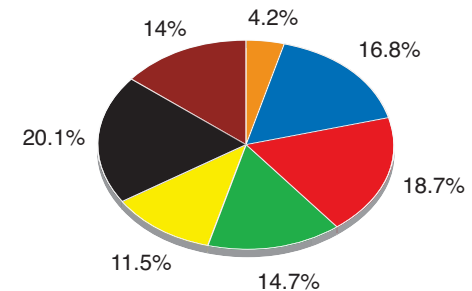


11. How long will it take Armenia to overcome the current obstacles and become a democratic country?

1. 5 years	20%
2. 10 years	22%
3. 25 years	30%
4. 50 years	6%
5. 100 years	6%
6. Never	6%
7. Difficult to answer	10%



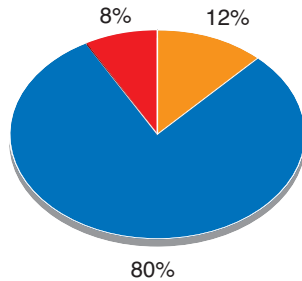
1. 5 years	4.2%
2. 10 years	16.8%
3. 25 years	18.7%
4. 50 years	14.7%
5. 100 years	11.5%
6. Never	20.1%
7. Difficult to answer	14%



12. Do you think Armenia is really, not merely formally, independent and sovereign in making decisions?

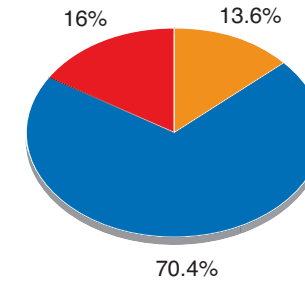
Expert Survey

1. Yes	12%
2. No	80%
3. Difficult to answer	8%



Public Survey

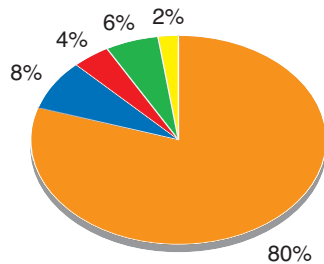
1. Yes	13.6%
2. No	70.4%
3. Difficult to answer	16%



13. If not, on which power do the decisions made in Armenia, and the republic's domestic and foreign policies, first and foremost depend?

1. Russian Federation	80%
2. United States of America	8%
3. European Union	4%
4. Difficult to answer	6%
5. Other	2%

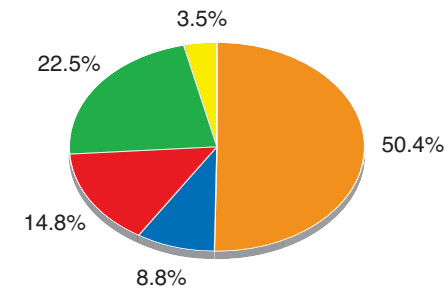
✓ All of them equally



Note: The indices are calculated against 88% of experts who chose the answers "No" and "Difficult to answer" in the previous question.

1. Russian Federation	50.4%
2. United States of America	8.8%
3. European Union	14.8%
4. Difficult to answer	22.5%
5. Other	3.5%

- ✓ All of them equally
- ✓ European Union and Russian Federation
- ✓ Russian Federation and USA
- ✓ Iran



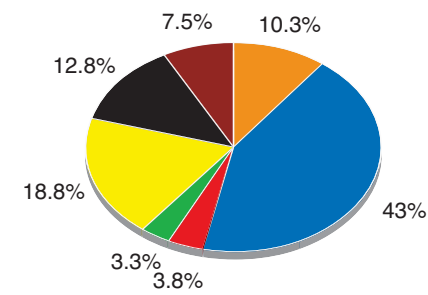
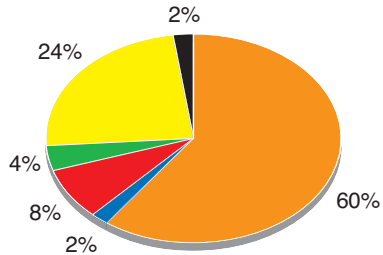
Note: The indices are calculated against 86.4% of respondents who chose the answers "No" and "Difficult to answer" in the previous question.

14. How do you assess the activities of the below-mentioned international structures in Armenia during the years of independence?

Expert Survey					Public Survey				
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Difficult to answer		Positive	Negative	Neutral	Difficult to answer
United Nations	62%	4%	30%	4%	United Nations	56.4%	6.7%	15.7%	21.2%
Council of Europe	76%	6%	14%	4%	Council of Europe	42.9%	14%	16.8%	26.3%
OSCE	70%	10%	20%	0%	OSCE	34.3%	11.5%	18.5%	35.7%
World Trade Organization	18%	10%	46%	26%	World Trade Organization	31.2%	14.3%	17.7%	36.8%
Commonwealth of Independent States	20%	46%	24%	10%	Commonwealth of Independent States	53%	6.5%	14.9%	25.6%
International Monetary Fund	50%	24%	6%	20%	International Monetary Fund	26.5%	14.1%	16.8%	42.6%
World Bank	56%	24%	6%	14%	World Bank	46.7%	14.1%	9.9%	29.3%

15. We should maximally integrate with...

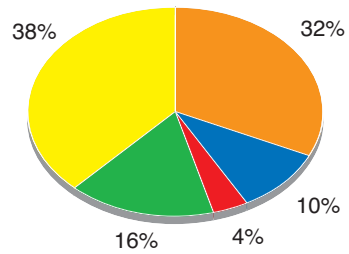
Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Europe 60%	1. Europe 10.3%
2. Russia 2%	2. Russia 43%
3. USA 8%	3. USA 3.8%
4. Our regional neighborhood (Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran) 4%	4. Our regional neighborhood (Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran) 3.3%
5. All of them and equally 24%	5. All of them and equally 18.8%
6. None 0%	6. None 12.8%
7. Difficult to answer 2%	7. Difficult to answer 7.5%
	8. <i>Other</i> 0.5%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Russia and Iran ✓ Iran and Georgia ✓ Europe and Russia ✓ Russia and USA ✓ Together with the region into Europe ✓ Iran, Greece, Bulgaria, China, India



16. From the standpoint of civilizational values, we have affinity with...

Expert Survey

1. Occidental/European civilization	32%
2. Oriental/Asian civilization	10%
3. Russian civilization	4%
4. We are a unique civilization	16%
5. We are a synthesis of all	38%
6. Difficult to answer	0%



Public Survey

1. Occidental/European civilization	8.8%
2. Oriental/Asian civilization	12%
3. Russian civilization	17.6%
4. We are a unique civilization	20.6%
5. We are a synthesis of all	22.7%
6. Difficult to answer	18%
7. Other	0.3%
✓ We are not a civilization	

