



TNS opinion



Poll: A Snapshot of Pre-Electoral Armenia

Main findings

22 March 2012

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1. Methodology and quality control of the survey

Methodology

- A multi-stage, random (probability) sampling design was used. In the first stage, primary sampling units (PSU) were selected from each of the administrative regional units. This was agreed as best methodology between IPSC and *TNS opinion*.
- 1,602 interviews conducted face to face between 29th February – 5th March 2012.
- Interviews were conducted in all 10 marzes of Armenia and in all Yerevan communities. The sample was distributed proportionally to reflect the population distribution in Armenia, with 35.0% of interviews conducted in Yerevan and 65.0 % in the marzes.
- Interviewers selected households using the *random walking* method to ensure that there is no selection bias. To ensure a random selection, the person interviewed in each household was the adult whose birthday was closest to the day of the interview.
- If a respondent was not immediately available, 1 to 2 call-back visits were done to conduct the interview later. If a call-back visit was not successful or if a respondent could not take part for other reasons, the interviewer approached the next randomly selected household according to the *random walking* method.
- The sampling procedure was monitored by using a detailed contact sheet for each interviewer. The data base was analysed by *TNS opinion* in order to ensure that interviewers followed the instructions.
- The data was weighted according to region, age, gender and is accurate to a maximum margin of error of $\pm 2.4\%$ for the overall sample.

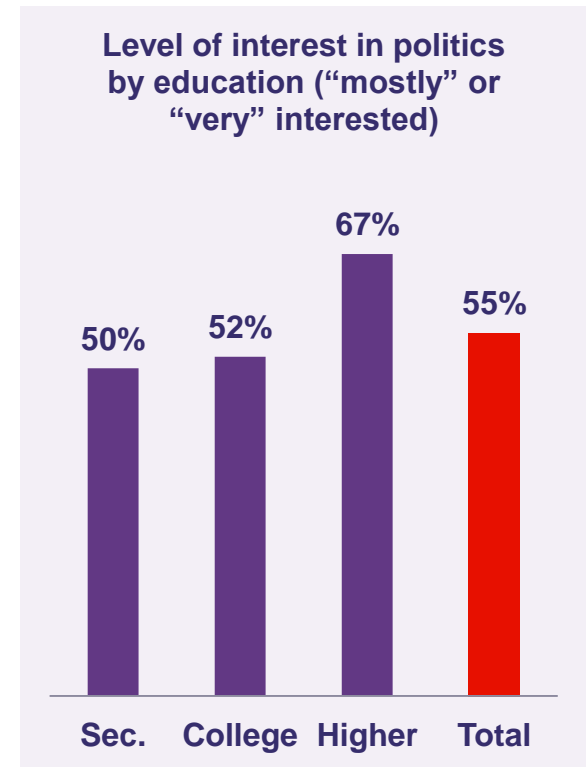
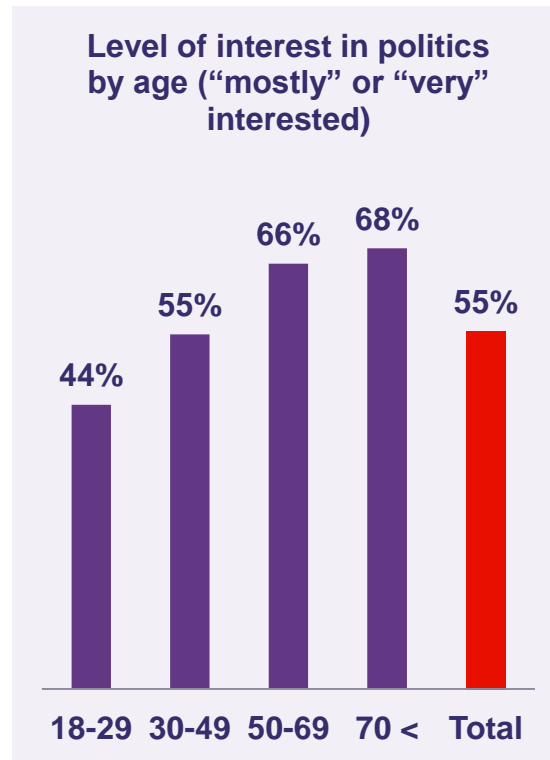
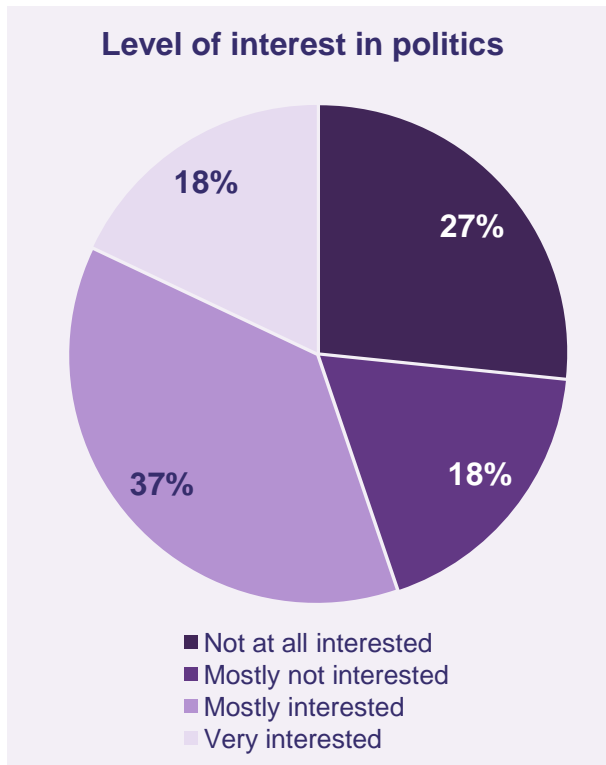
Quality control

- The quality control methodology, fieldwork monitoring and survey implementation were planned in detail and agreed between IPSC and *TNS opinion*.
- 18% of the interviews conducted were accompanied by IPSC quality control coordinators to ensure high quality and compliance with the standards agreed. All questionnaires were monitored by IPSC specialists to check the individual quality and logical consistency of the data. 5% of the questionnaires were checked by return visits. 25% of the entered paper questionnaires were double-checked in the database to ensure accuracy of processed data. Following all these checks, 24 interviews were rejected (1.5%).
- Route records were checked by IPSC and *TNS opinion* independently to ensure that interviews had been selected randomly.
- 29% of the sample was called back by IPSC to confirm demographic details and that the interview took place in the conditions recorded. Additionally, 10% of interviews were randomly selected by *TNS opinion* and called back to confirm key demographic information and two opinion questions. This consistency check-back resulted in the required compliance level with the originally collected data.
- Extensive checks were conducted on the data file by *TNS opinion* to see if there were any logically inconsistent or inaccurate interviews, data points or invalid information. This was assessed positively and no case exclusions were made.

2. Interest and awareness in politics

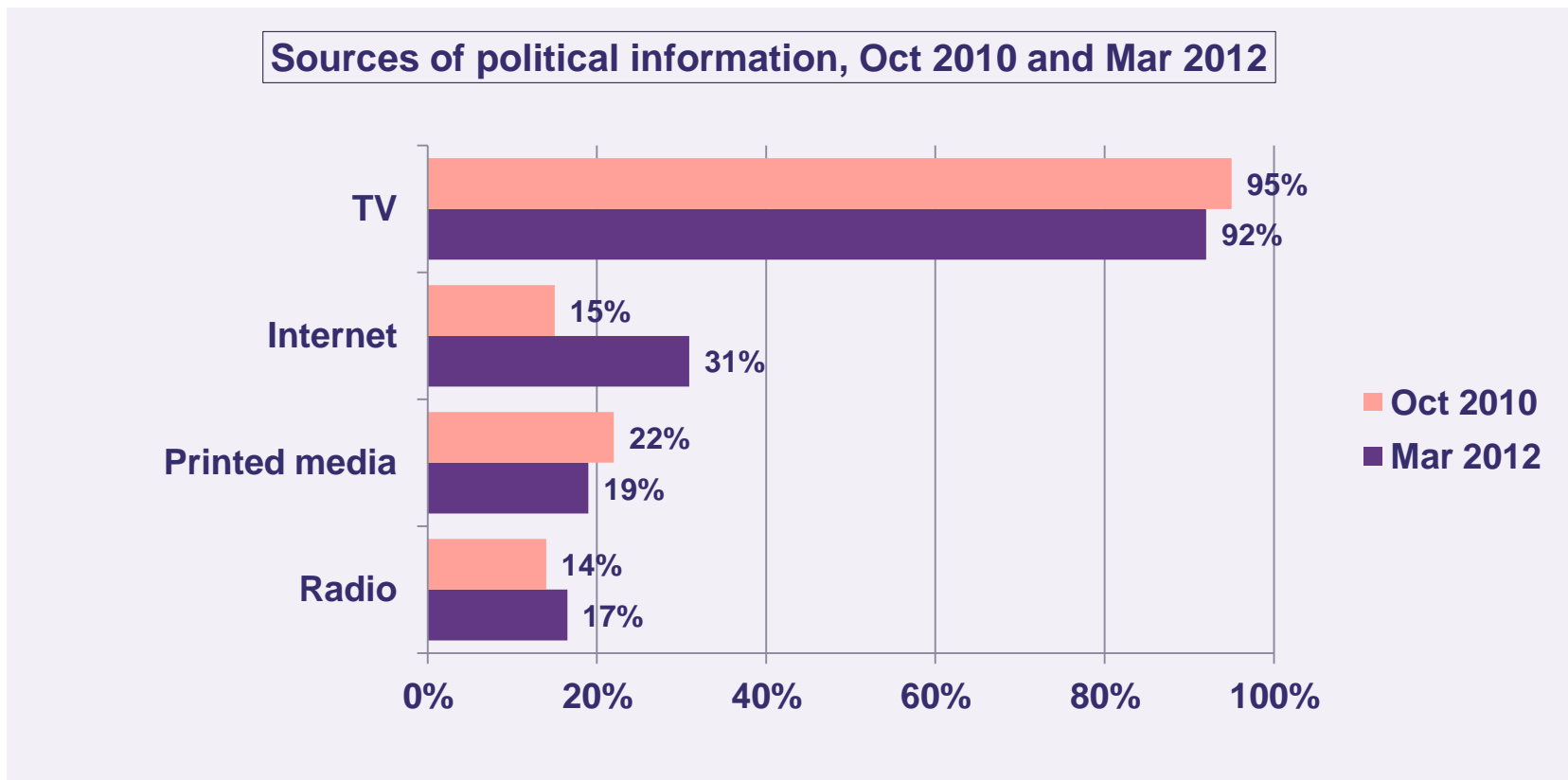
55% of the population is “mostly” or “very” interested in politics.
Interest grows with age and education.

Q1. Could you please tell us how interested you are in socio-political issues in Armenia?



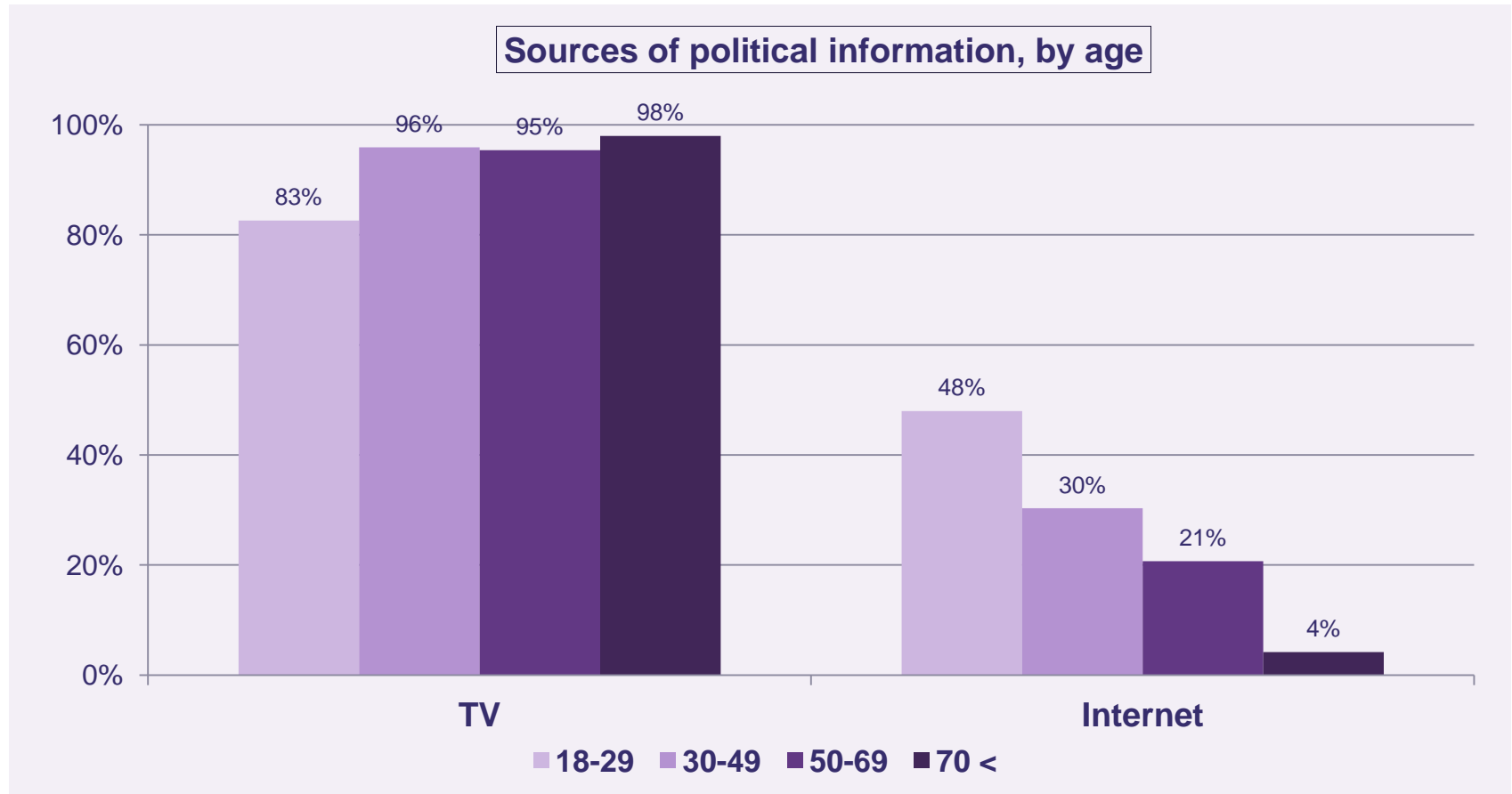
TV remains the main source of political information, while using the internet as an information source has increased substantially in the last 1.5 years.

Q2. From which of the following sources do you get information about socio-political events in Armenia?



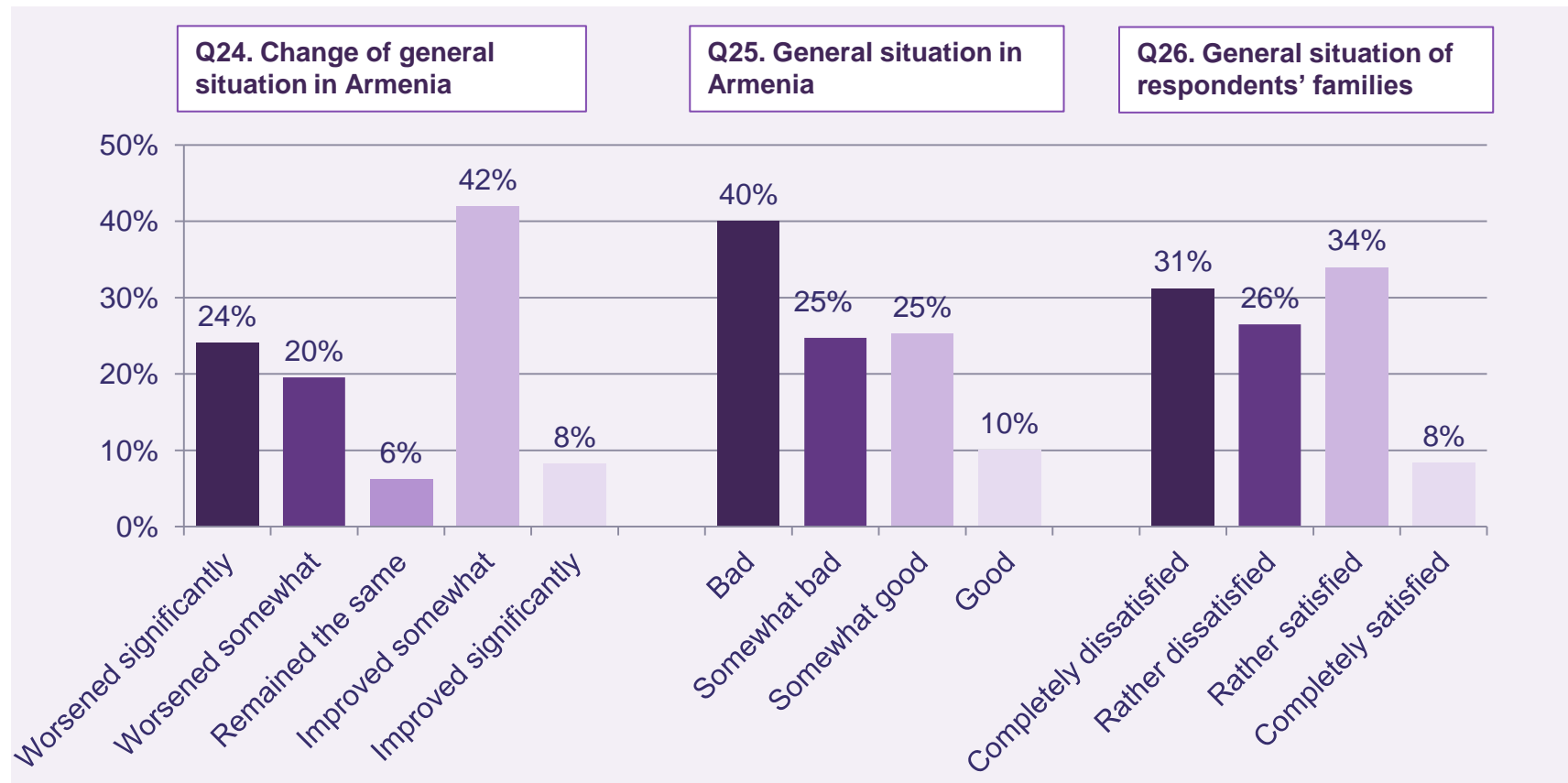
The future is online: to get information, younger people are gradually moving away from TV and towards the internet.

Q2. From which of the following sources do you get information about socio-political events in Armenia?



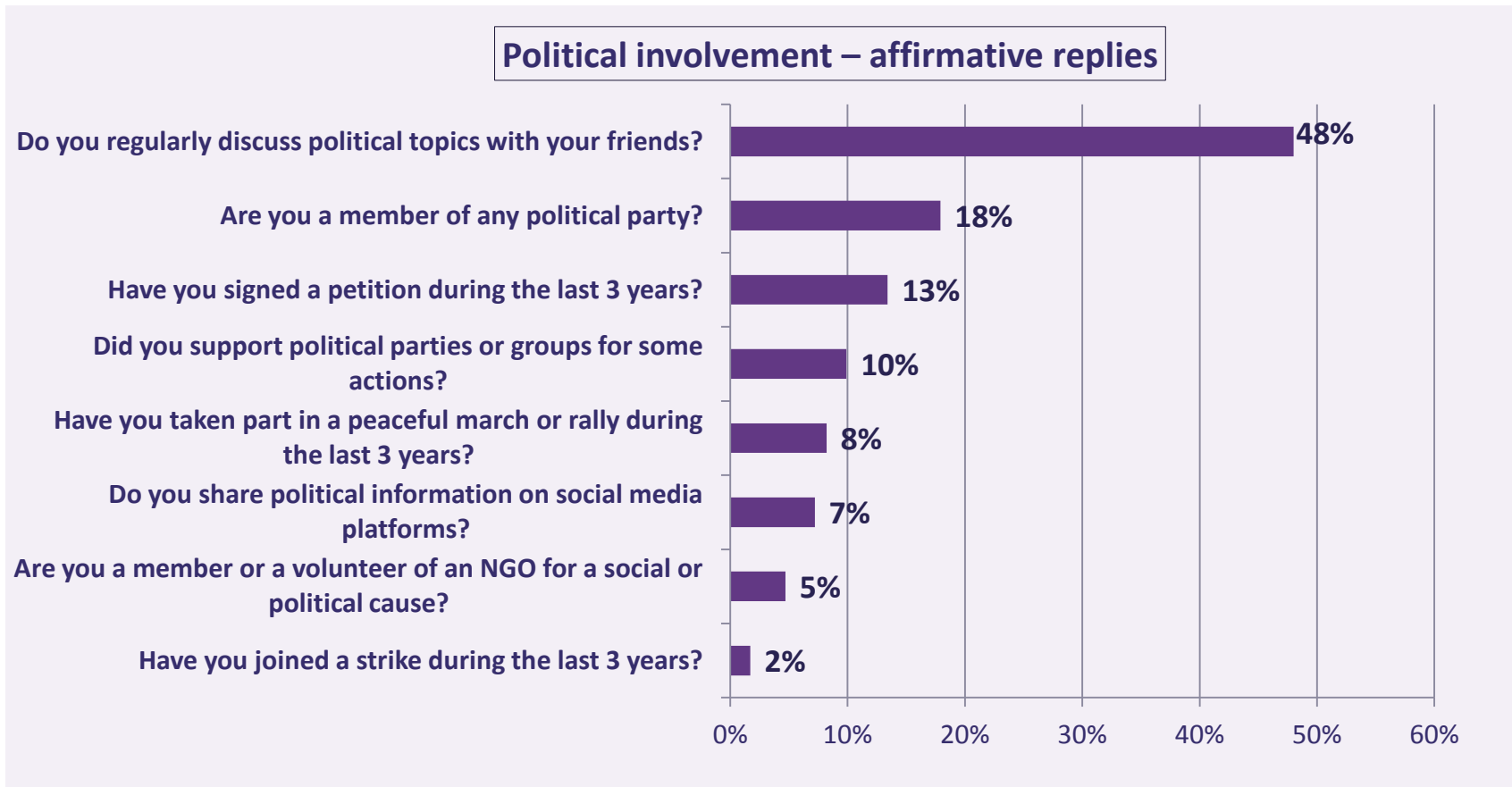
The perceived situation in the country is worse than the real situation in the families.

- Q24.** Compared to 5 years ago do you think that the general situation in Armenia
- Q25.** And if you look at the situation in our country today, do you think that life in Armenia is generally...
- Q26.** And if you think about the general situation of your family, how satisfied are you with it today?



Conversations with friends remain the main expression of political “involvement”. Party membership is fairly high.

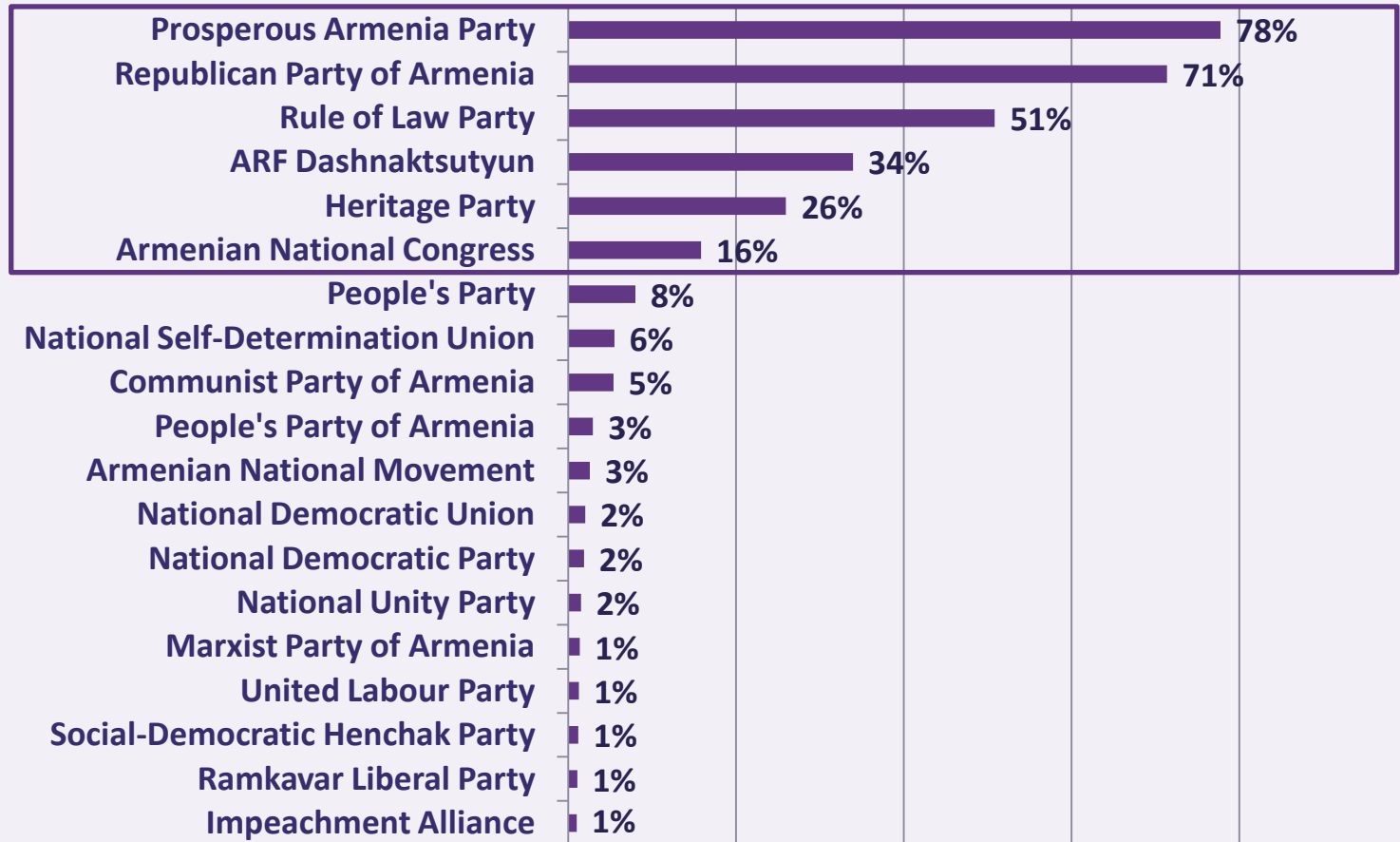
Q3. Now I will ask you several questions on your socio-political involvement.



People are most aware of the political parties which currently sit in the Parliament and Armenian National Congress.

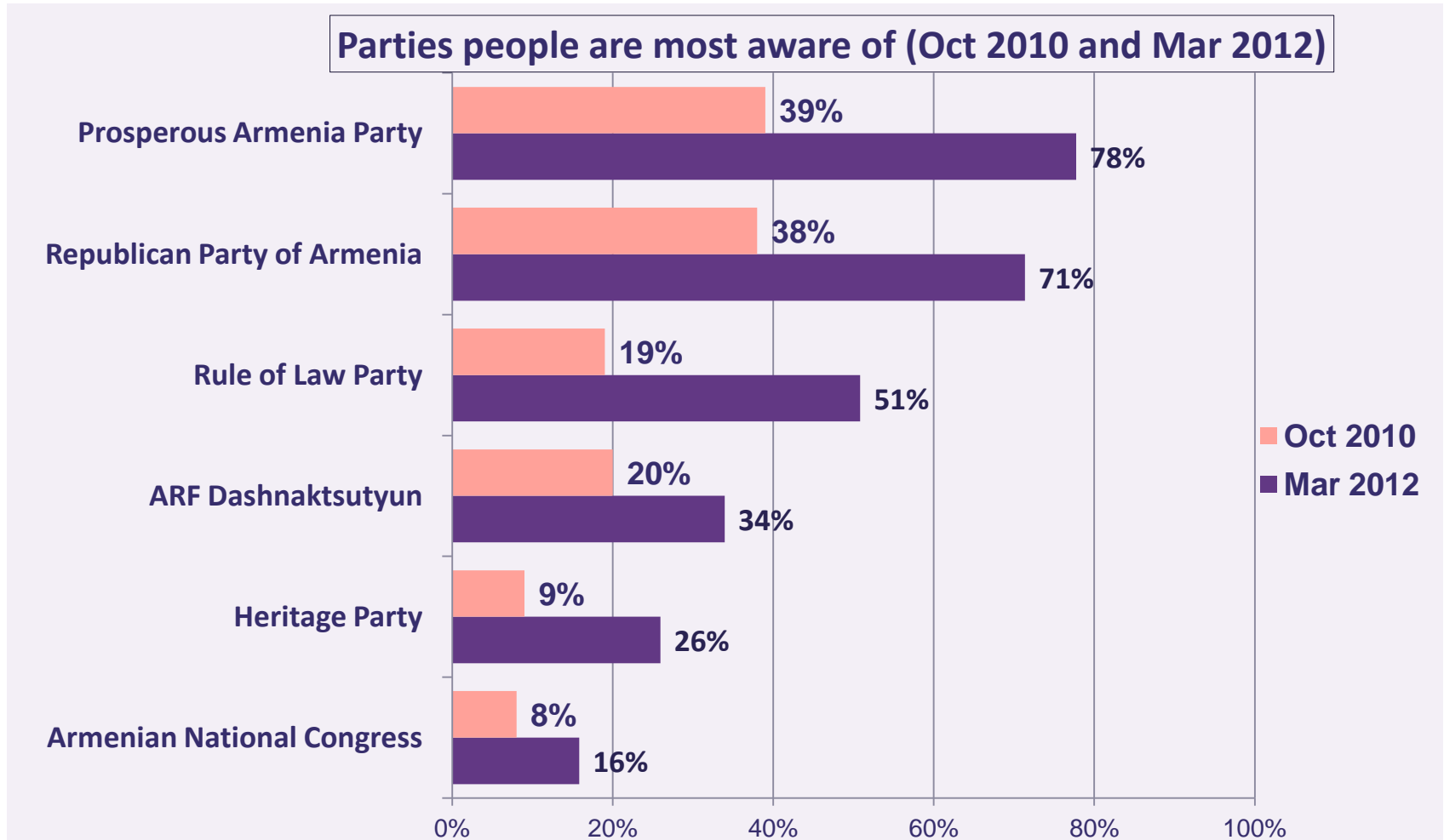
Q4. Please name up to 5 parties in Armenia, which you are most aware of? (Open-ended question without prompt)

Parties people are most aware of



Getting closer to the elections, the awareness of all major parties sharply increases

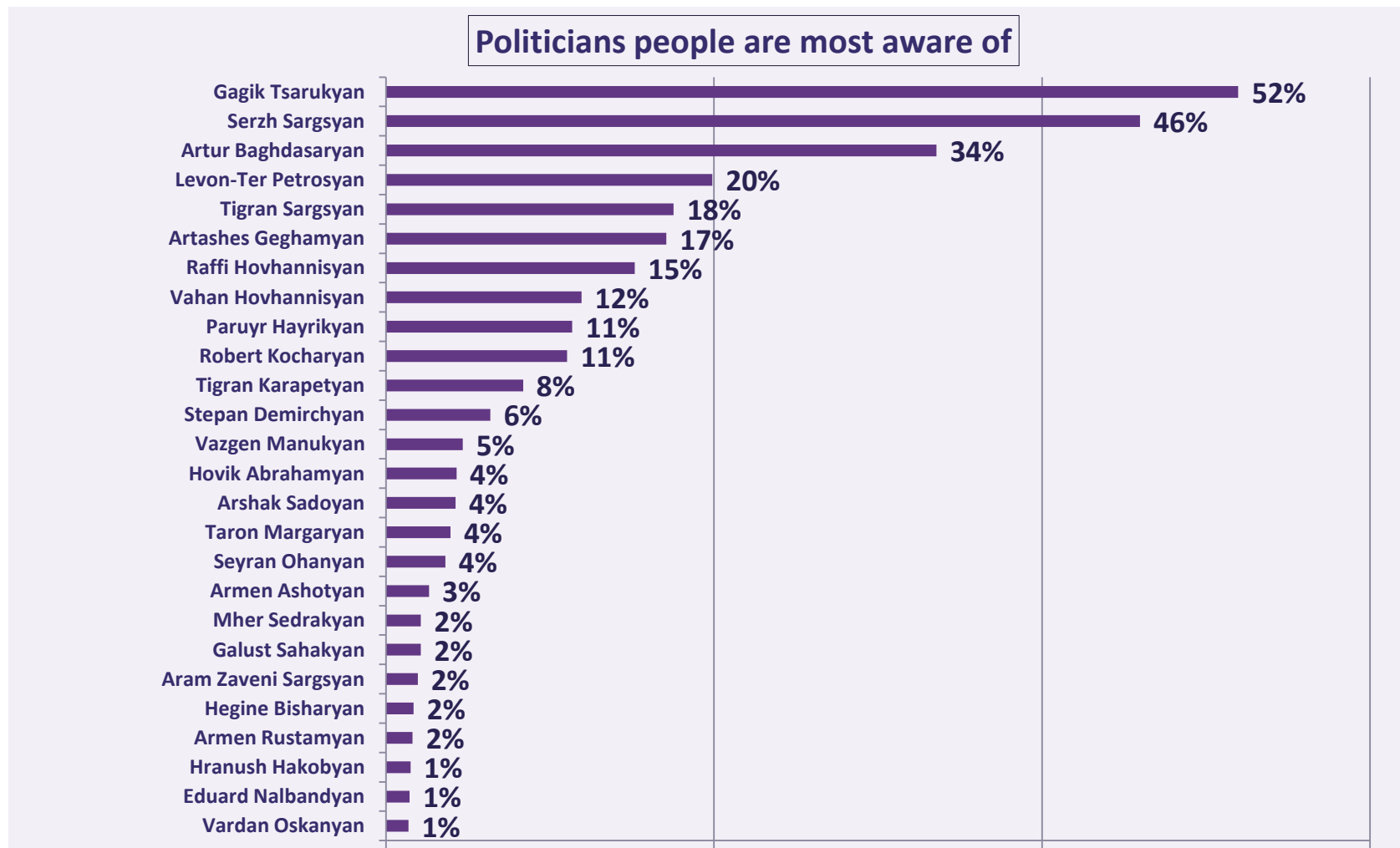
Q4. Please name up to 5 parties in Armenia, which you are most aware of? (Open-ended question without prompt)



The three politicians people are most aware of are G. Tsarukyan, S. Sargsyan and A. Baghdasaryan. L. Ter-Petrosyan scores highest among opposition politicians.

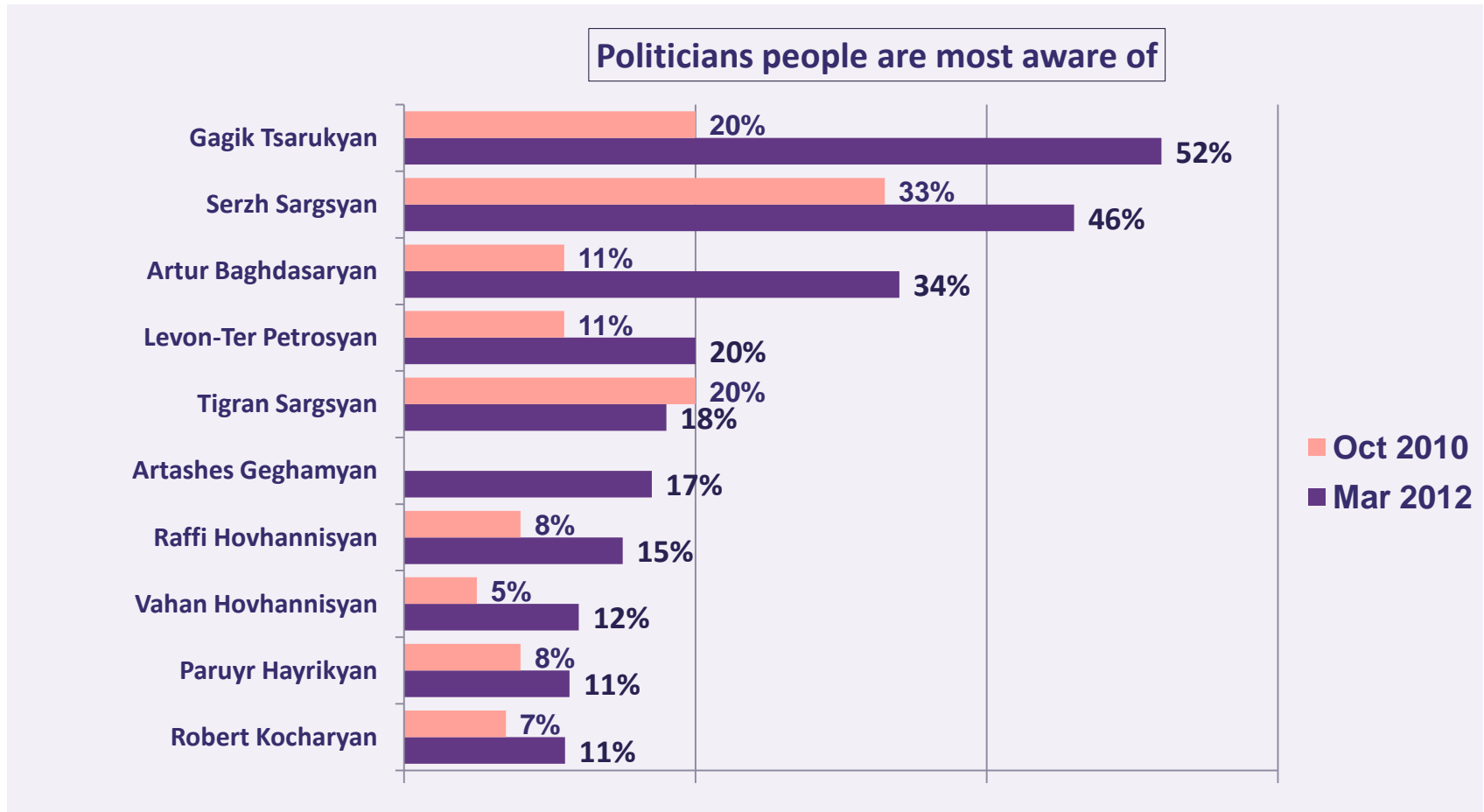
From the 202 politicians named by the respondents, only those mentioned in at least 1.0% of all replies are listed below.

Q5. Please name up to 5 well known Armenian politicians, whom you are most aware of? (Open-ended question without prompt)



Between Oct 2010 and Mar 2012, the awareness of most politicians has increased sharply.

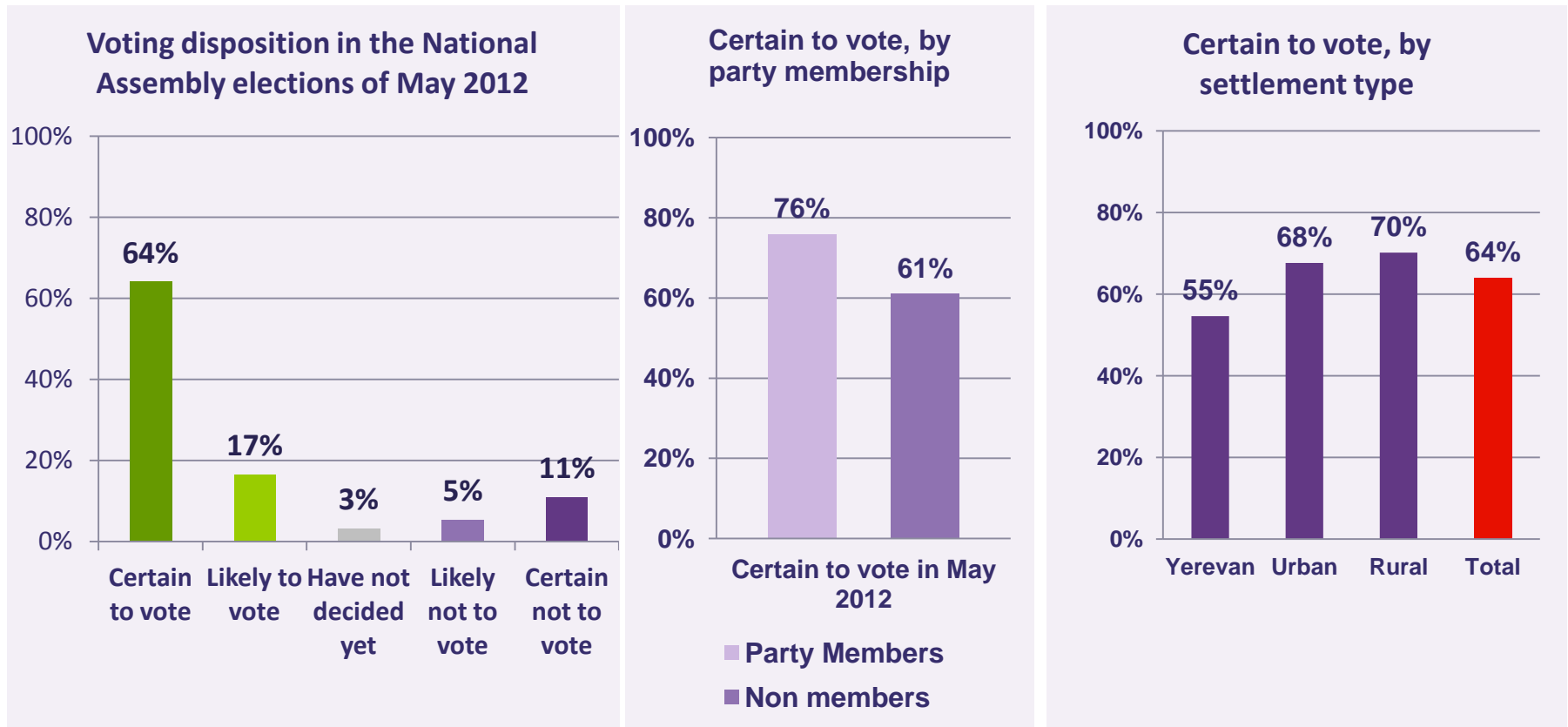
Q5. Please name up to 5 well known Armenian politicians, whom you are most aware of? (Open-ended question without prompt)



3. Electoral participation and party preferences

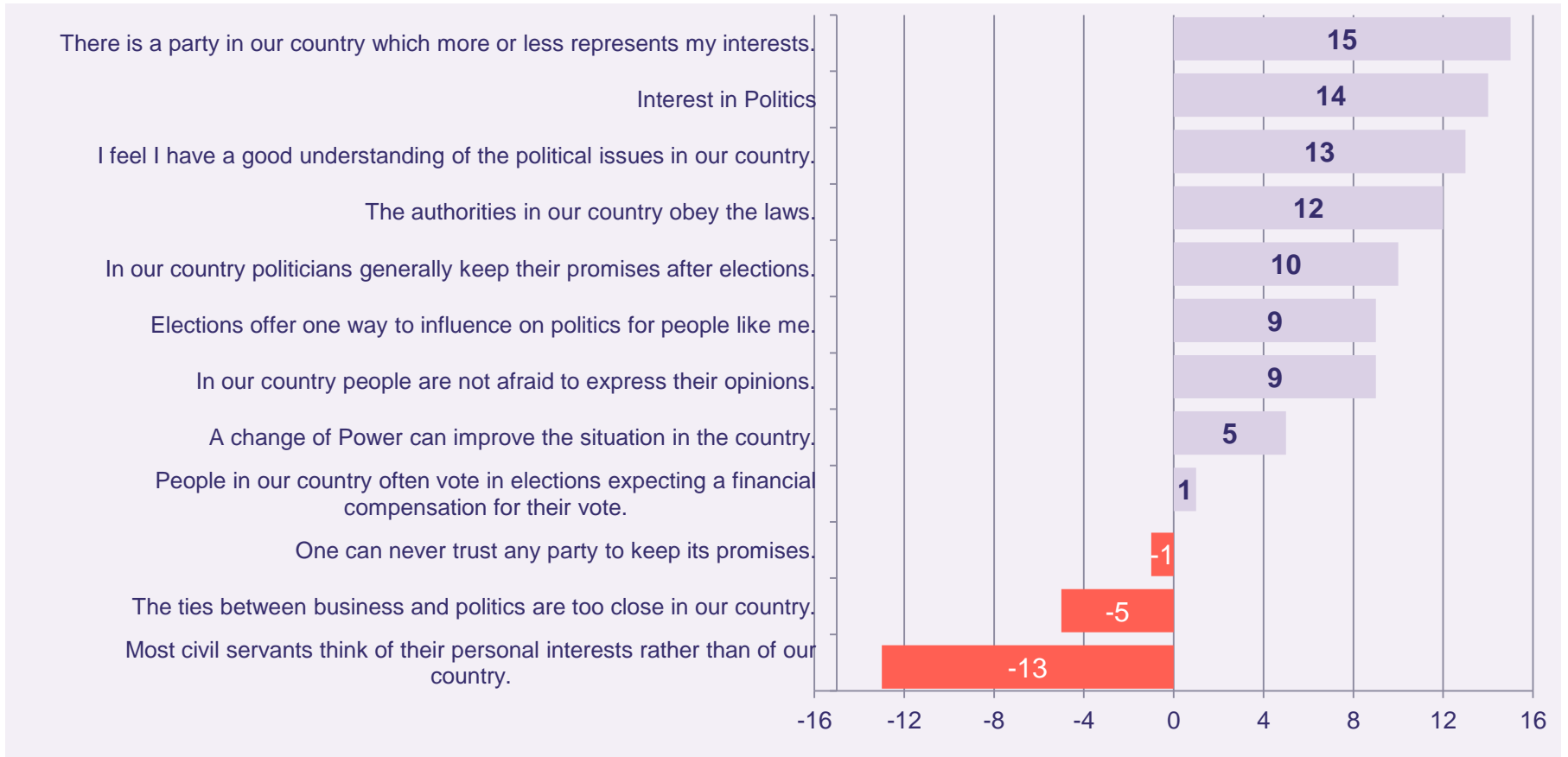
An impressive 64% of the respondents is already certain that they will vote in the upcoming Parliamentary Elections of May 2012.

Q7. You probably know that Parliamentary Elections will be held in Armenia this May. In these Parliamentary Elections, are you certain to vote, likely to vote, likely not to vote, certain not to vote? (The option “Have not decided yet” was not read out)



Those who believe that there is a party which more or less represents their interests are 15 percentage points more likely to vote.

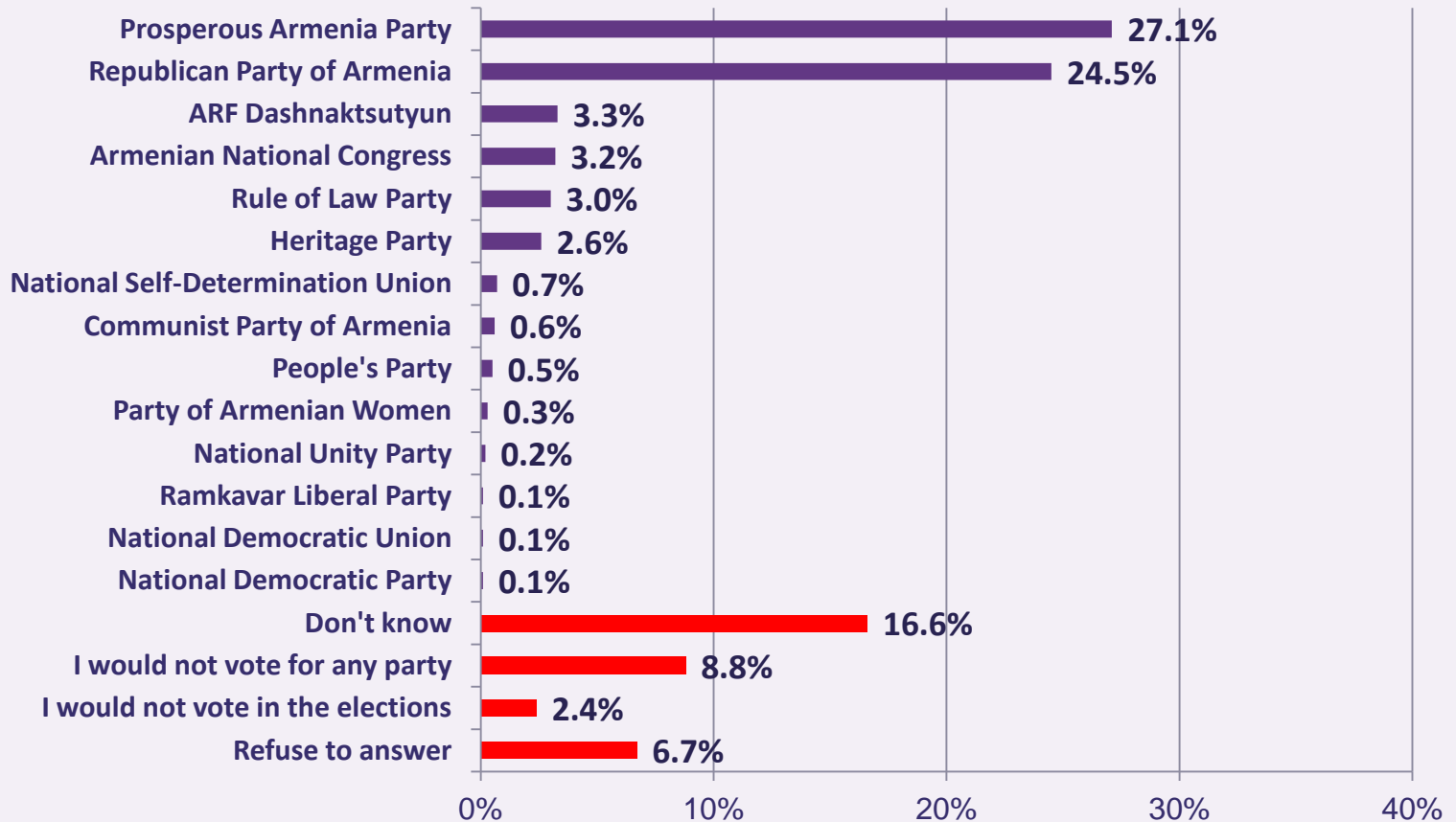
- Q7.** You probably know that Parliamentary Elections will be held in Armenia this May. In these Parliamentary Elections, are you certain to vote, likely to vote, likely not to vote, certain not to vote? (Here shown only “*certain to vote*”)
- Q22.** I will now read out some statements about political life. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with them on a scale from 1 to 4 (Here shown only “*strongly agree*” + “*agree*”).



Prosperous Armenia and Republican Party of Armenia are the two obvious leaders at the beginning of the pre-campaign period (with statistically insignificant difference). However, a staggering 32.1% of electorate has not decided who to vote for yet, or refuses to answer or is against all.

Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)

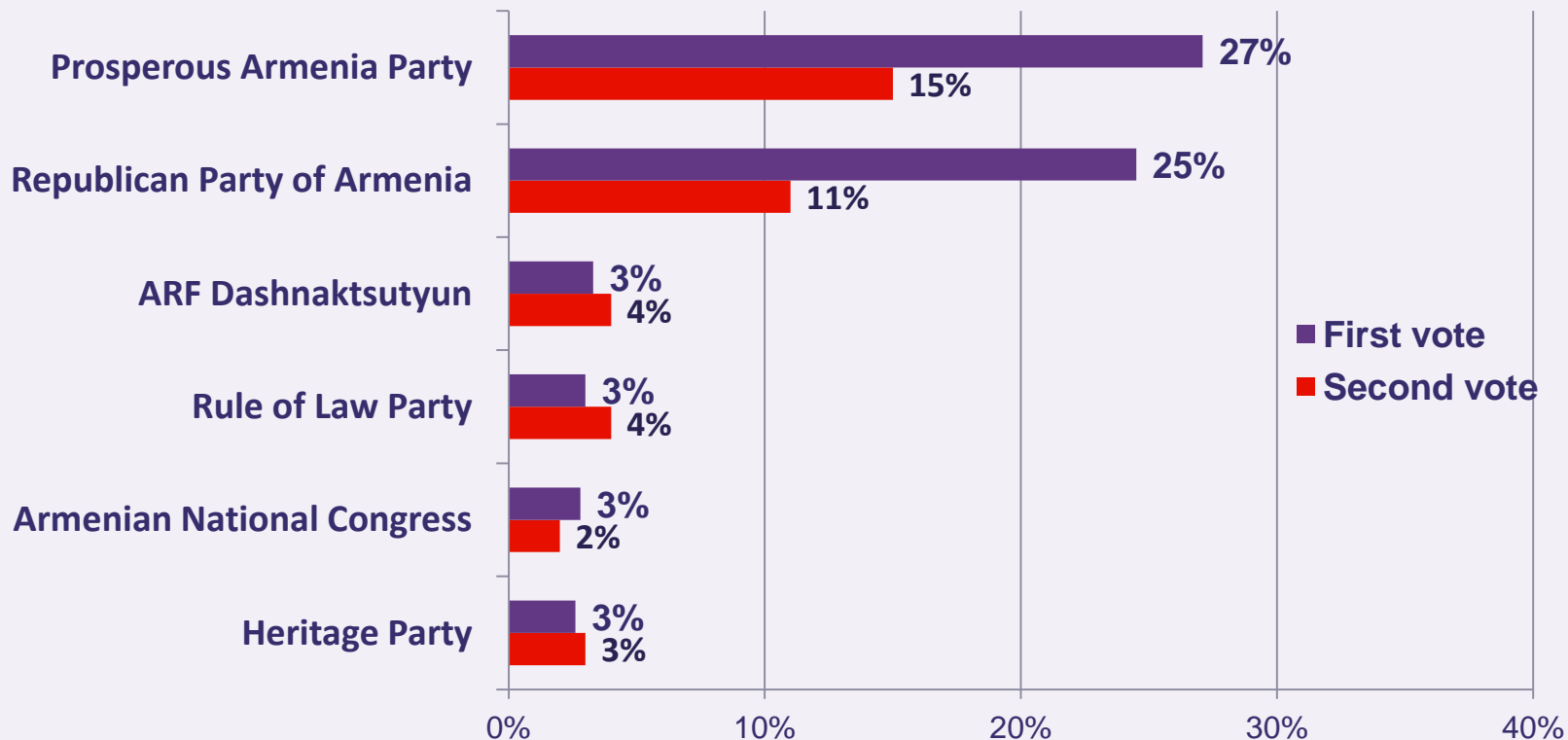
Party ratings, first vote – RAW DATA (including D/K and R/A)



Larger parties also lead in second vote preferences, whereas the smaller parties have comparatively higher second vote scores, indicating their potential.

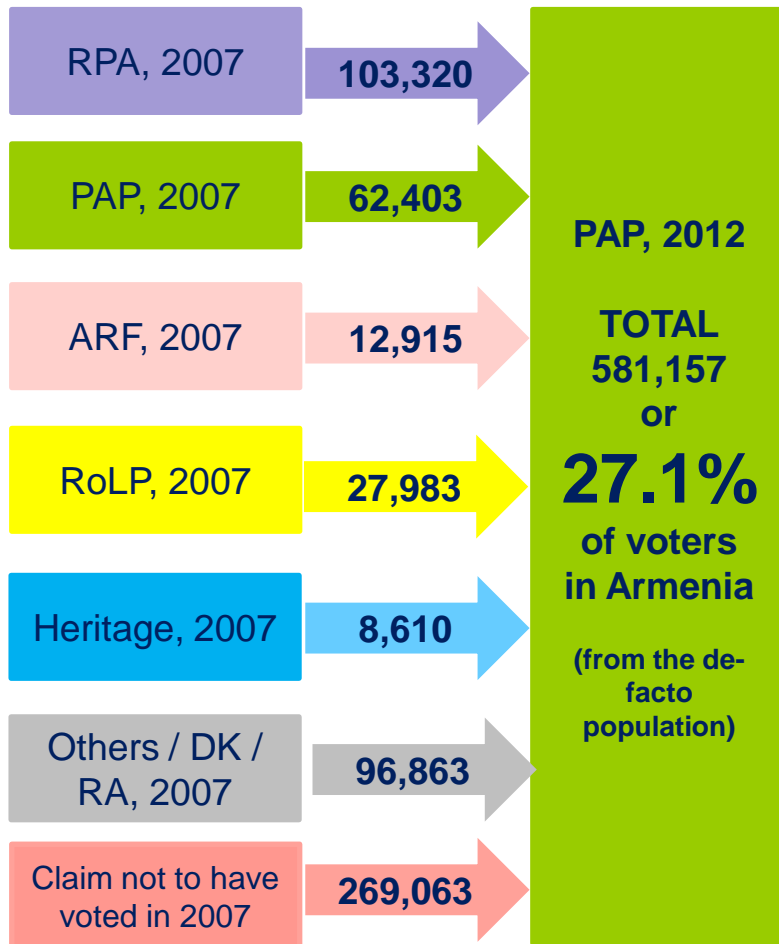
- Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)
- Q10. If we imagine that the party you have named did not take part in the Parliamentary Elections, which party would be your second choice? (Single answer)

Party ratings, first and second votes – RAW DATA (including D/K and R/A)

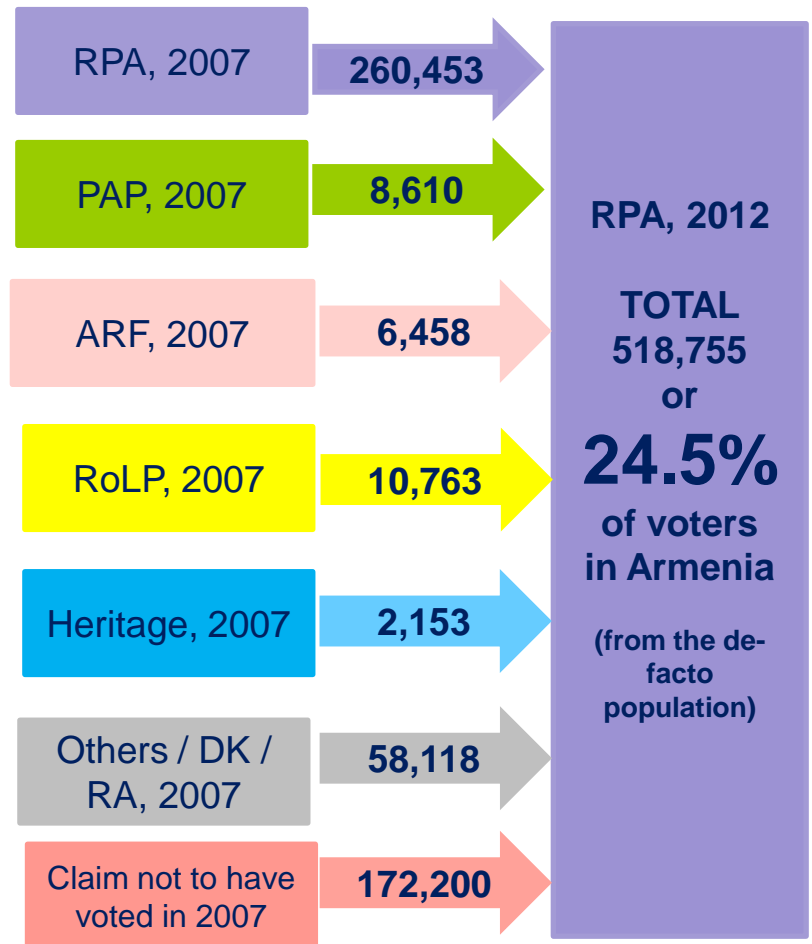


While 2/3 of today's voters of the Republican Party already voted for it in 2007, Prosperous Armenia recruits most of its supporters from new voters.

Supporters of Prosperous Armenia and their claimed voting behaviour in 2007 (recalculated to total figures)

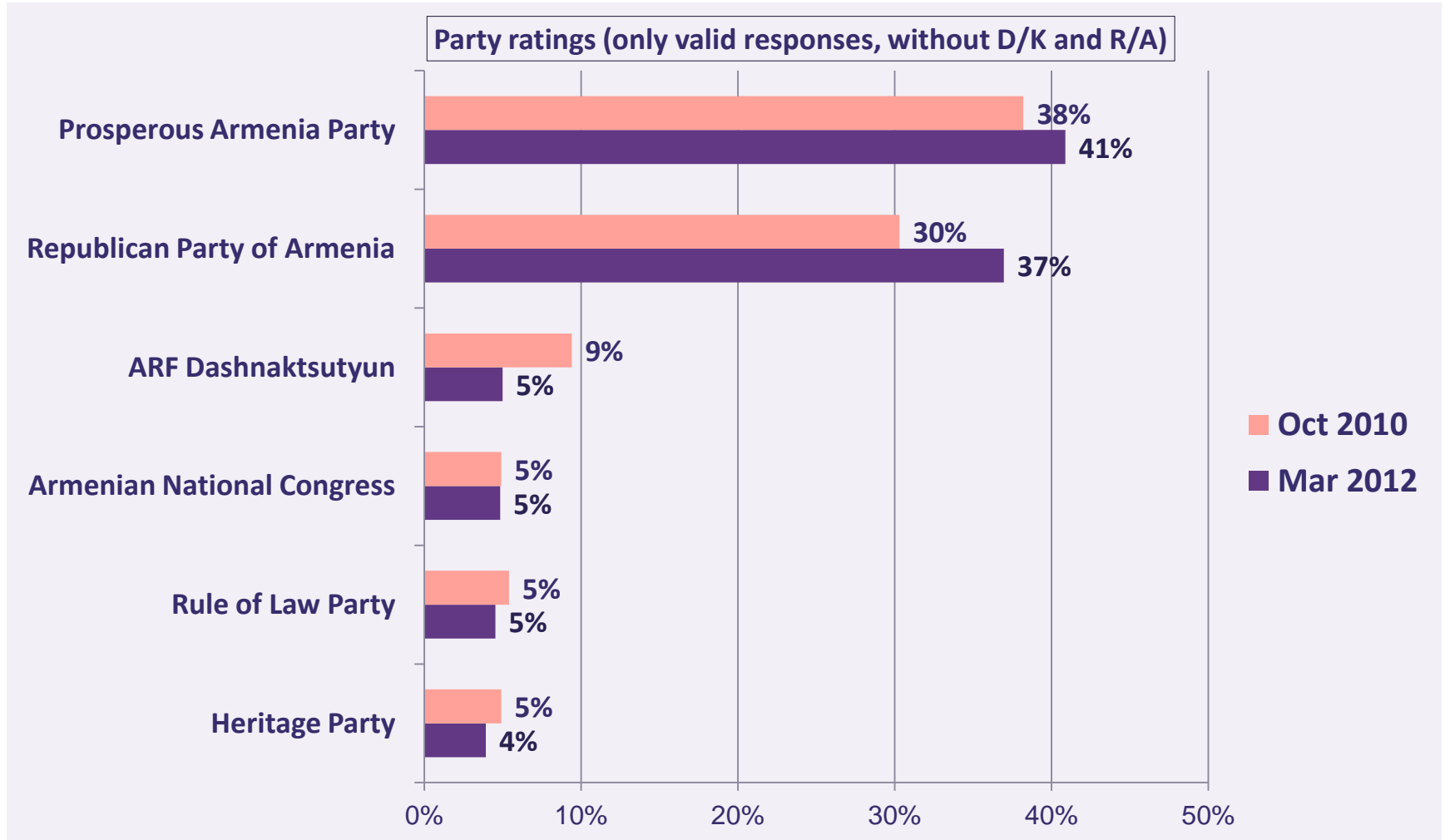


Supporters of Republican Party and their claimed voting behaviour in 2007 (recalculated to total figures)



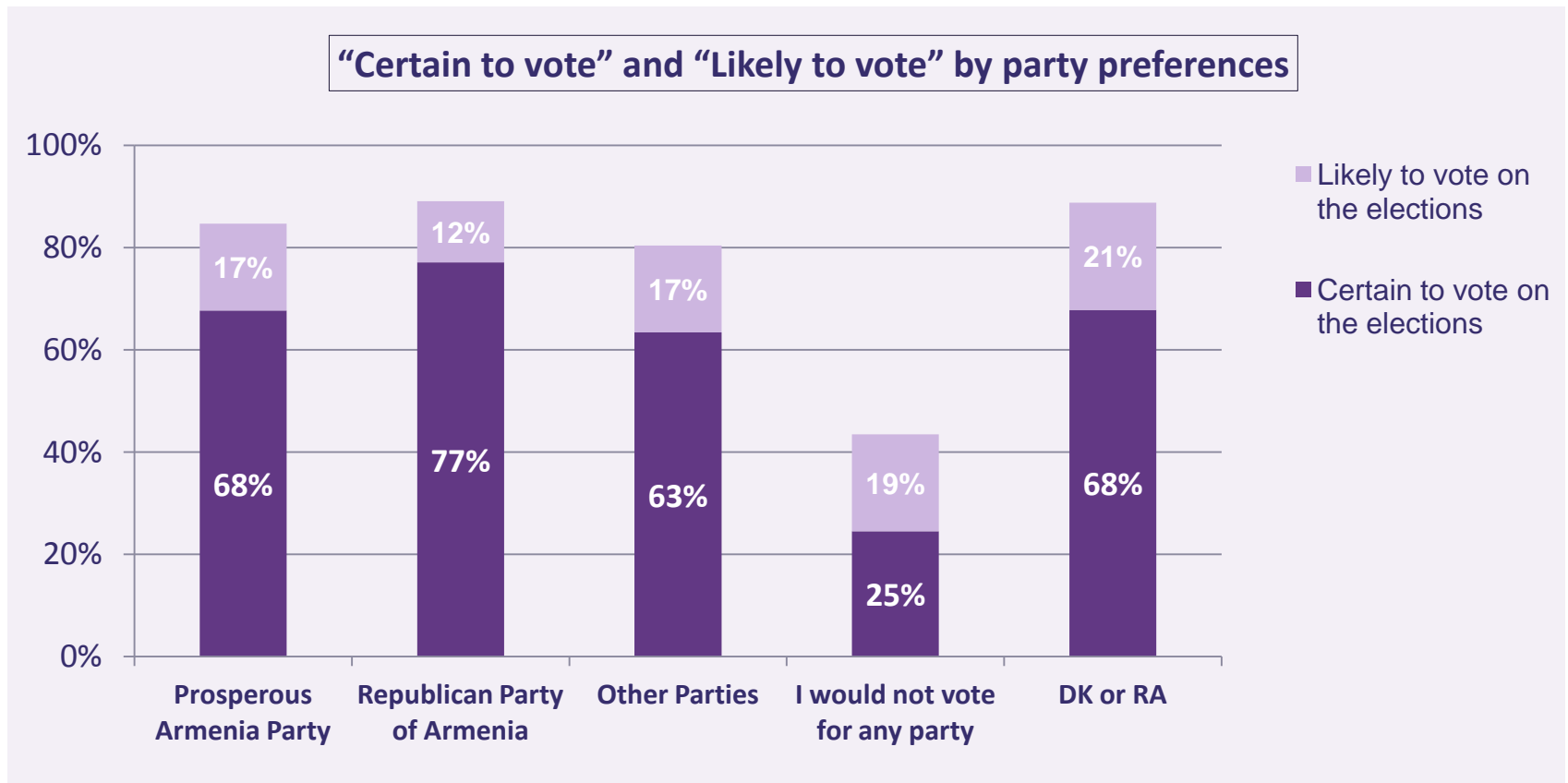
Considering the margin of error all four other parties may pass the 5% threshold. The statistically valid change is registered for RPA and ARF only.

Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)



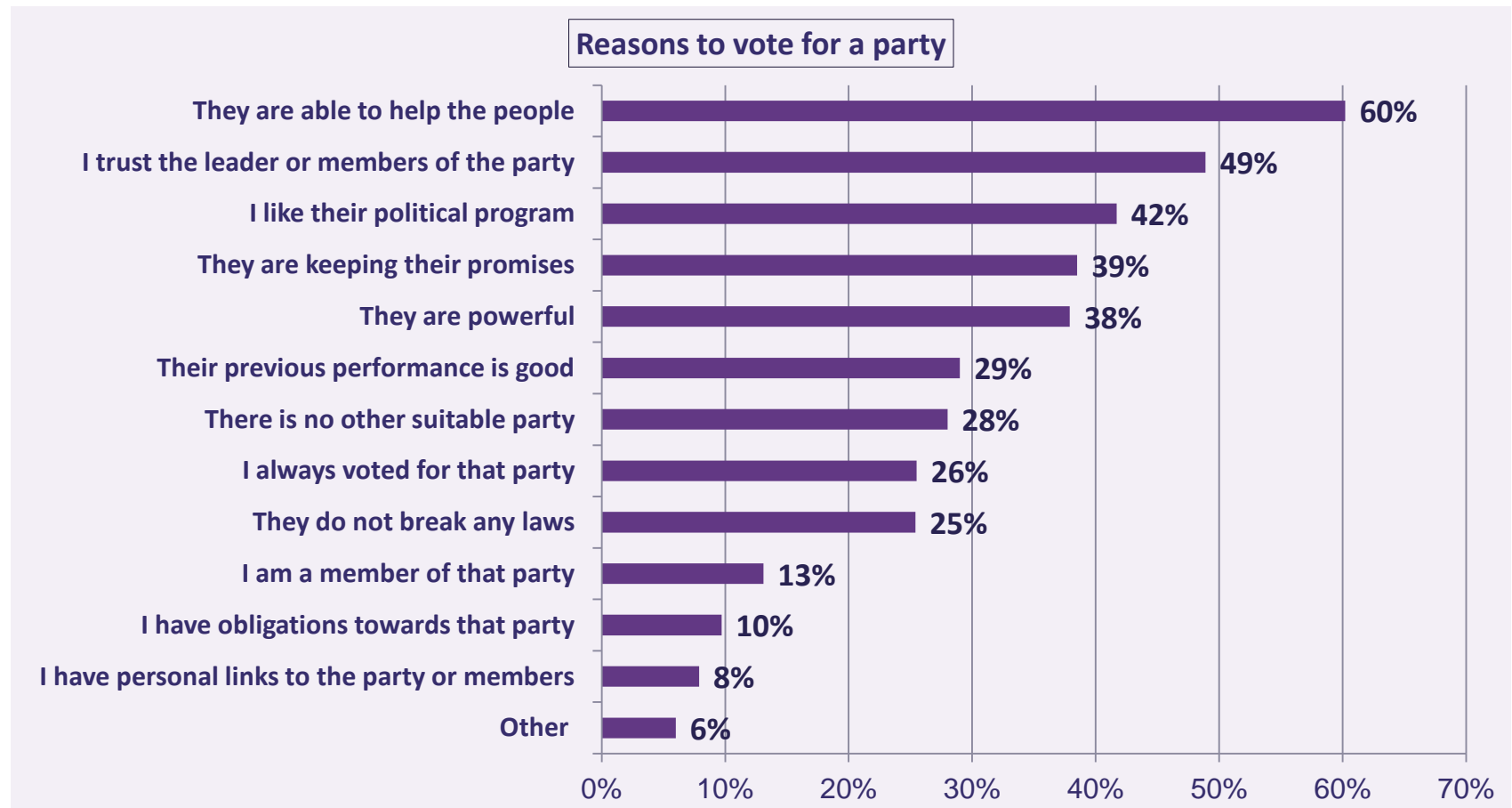
The Republican Party of Armenia has the electorate which is the most certain to vote.

- Q7.** You probably know that Parliamentary Elections will be held in Armenia this May. In these Parliamentary Elections, are you certain to vote, likely to vote, likely not to vote, certain not to vote? (The option “Have not decided yet” was not read out)
- Q8.** If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)



The main reasons to vote for a certain party are the “*ability [of the party] to help people*”, and the “*trust towards the leader and the members of the party*”. These motivations do not change between party members and non-members.

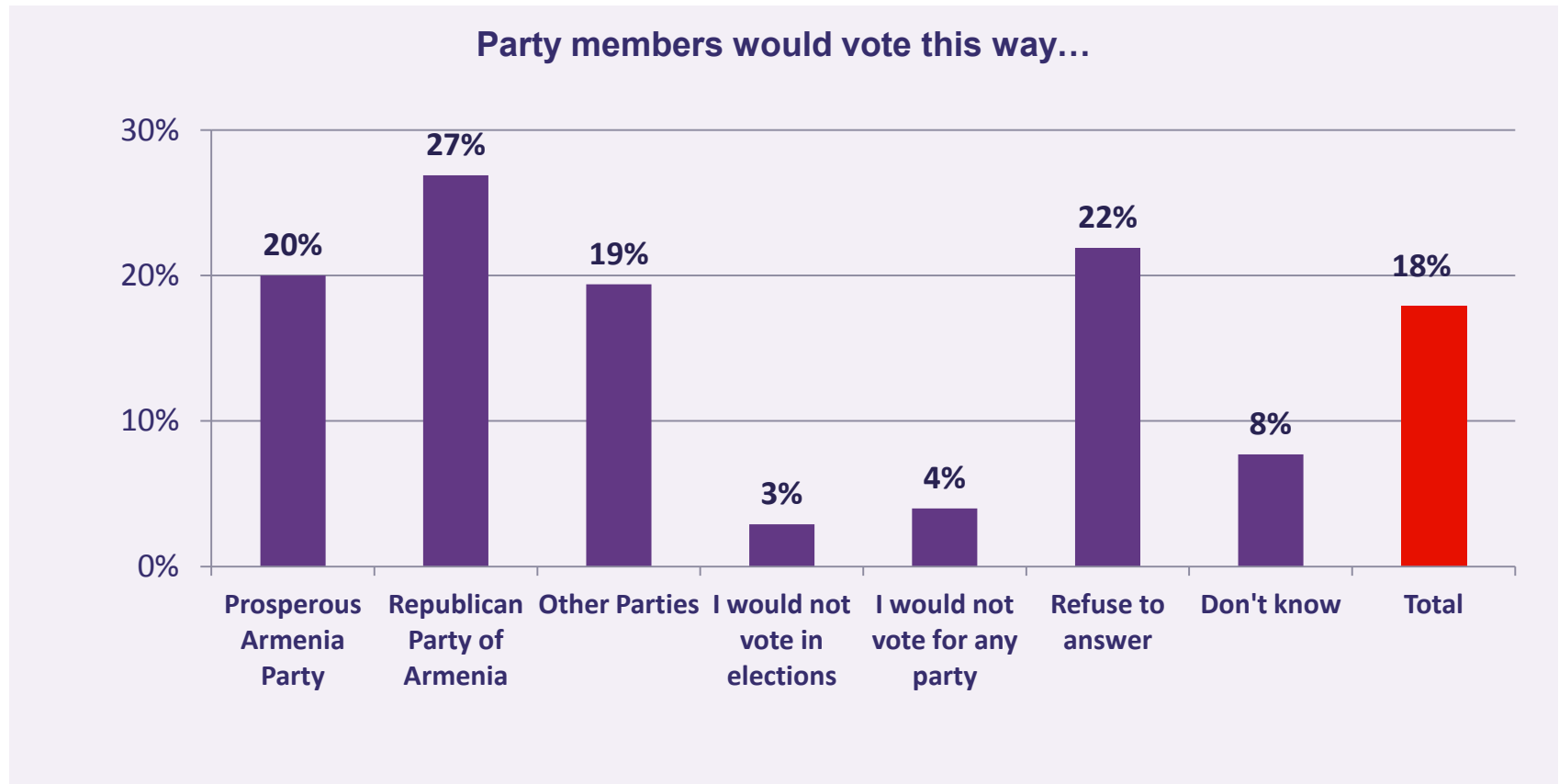
Q9. Looking at this card, please tell us which are the most important reasons for you to vote for that party? You can select several options, which you consider important.



27% of the Republican Party voters are members of a party (not necessarily of the Republican Party).

Q3.7. Are you a member of any political party (we will not ask you which)?

**Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for?
(Open-ended question without prompt)**



The Republican Party and Prosperous Armenia are the best problem solvers. The opposition has relatively high strengths in the area of human rights / democracy, and Heritage also in environmental issues. Corruption and increase of prices seem irresolvable for any of the given parties.

Q27. Now I will read out a list of important problems in Armenia. Please tell us which party in your opinion could best solve them? (Party names in Armenian alphabetic order)

Problems	PAP	Heritage	ANC	RPA	ARF	RoLP	Other	None
Unemployment	50%	6%	4%	15%	3%	5%	1%	17%
Human rights/ lack of democ.	20%	15%	4%	20%	11%	12%	2%	17%
Corruption	14%	7%	4%	24%	7%	6%	0%	38%
Problems in the educ. system	31%	10%	3%	29%	5%	9%	1%	13%
Problems in the health system	49%	2%	4%	21%	3%	2%	1%	18%
Environmental issues	24%	14%	4%	28%	5%	5%	0%	21%
Increase of prices	20%	5%	5%	30%	3%	1%	2%	35%
Poverty	35%	3%	3%	21%	2%	2%	2%	34%
Karabakh conflict	9%	3%	5%	52%	10%	3%	2%	17%
External security of the country	11%	4%	3%	54%	8%	7%	2%	11%

While RPA is stronger on foreign policy and security issues, PAP scores higher in the ability to deal with socio-economic problems.

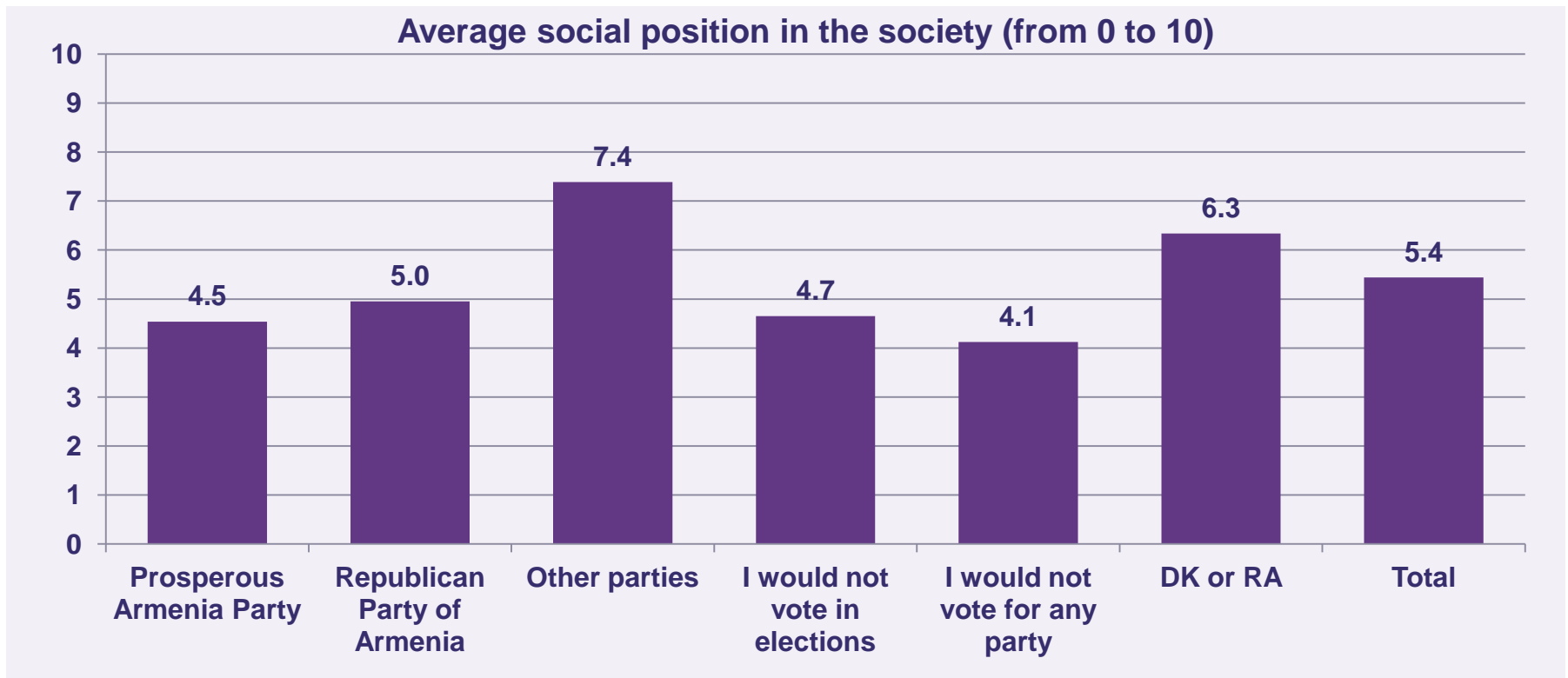
Q27. Now I will read out a list of important problems in Armenia. Please tell us which party in your opinion could best solve them? (Party names in Armenian alphabetic order)

Problem	PAP	RPA
Unemployment	51%	16%
Human rights/ lack of democracy	22%	22%
Corruption	17%	23%
Problems in the educational system	31%	29%
Problems in the healthcare system	50%	21%
Environmental issues	29%	26%
Increase of prices	24%	29%
Poverty	35%	23%
Karabakh conflict	10%	52%
External security of the country	14%	52%

People with a lower social position are likely to vote Prosperous Armenia or not vote for anyone. People with a higher social position tend to vote more for oppositional parties.

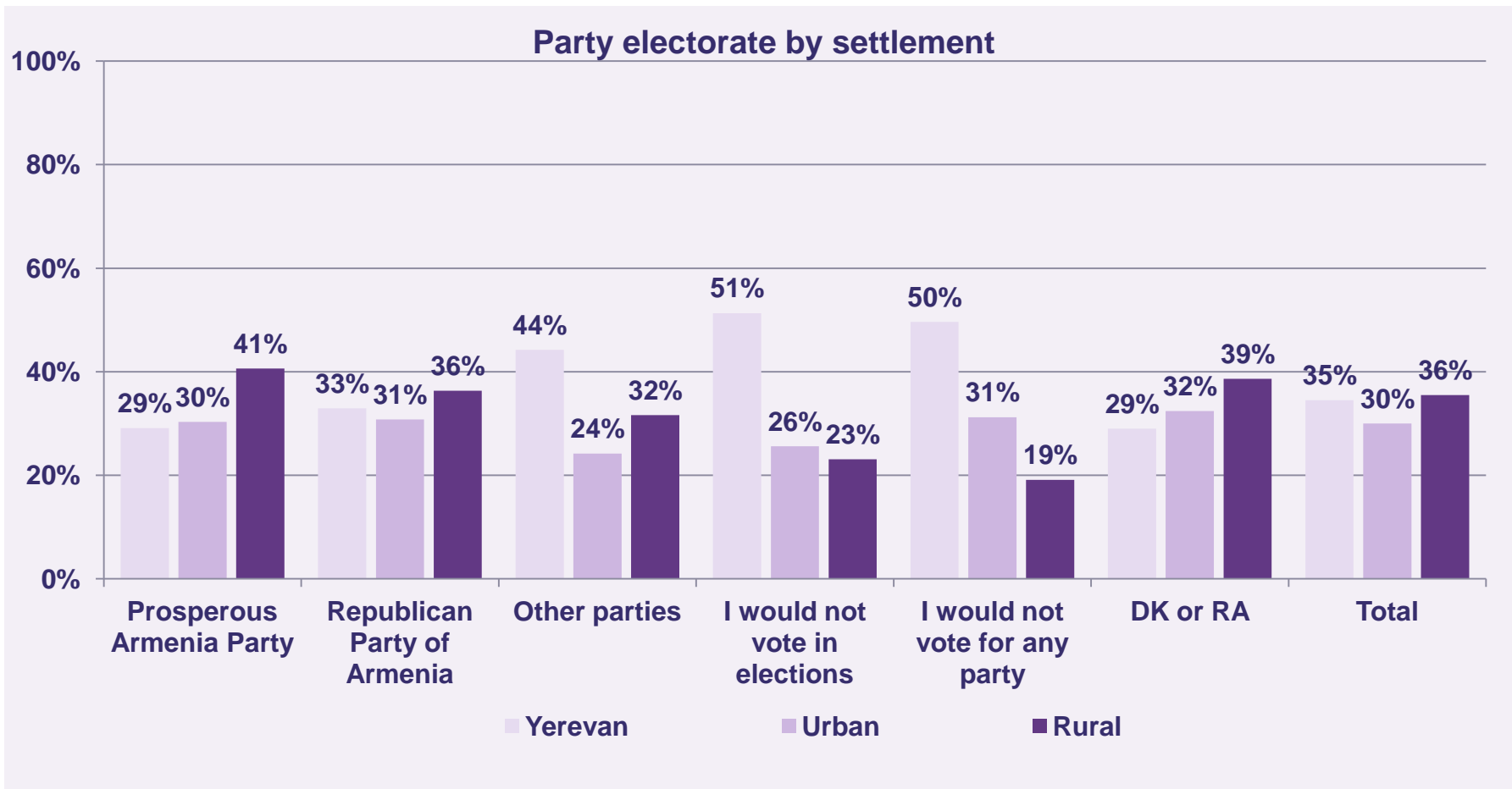
D6. On the following scale, step '0' corresponds to "the lowest position in the society"; step '10' corresponds to "the highest position in the society". Could you tell me on which step you would place family?

Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)



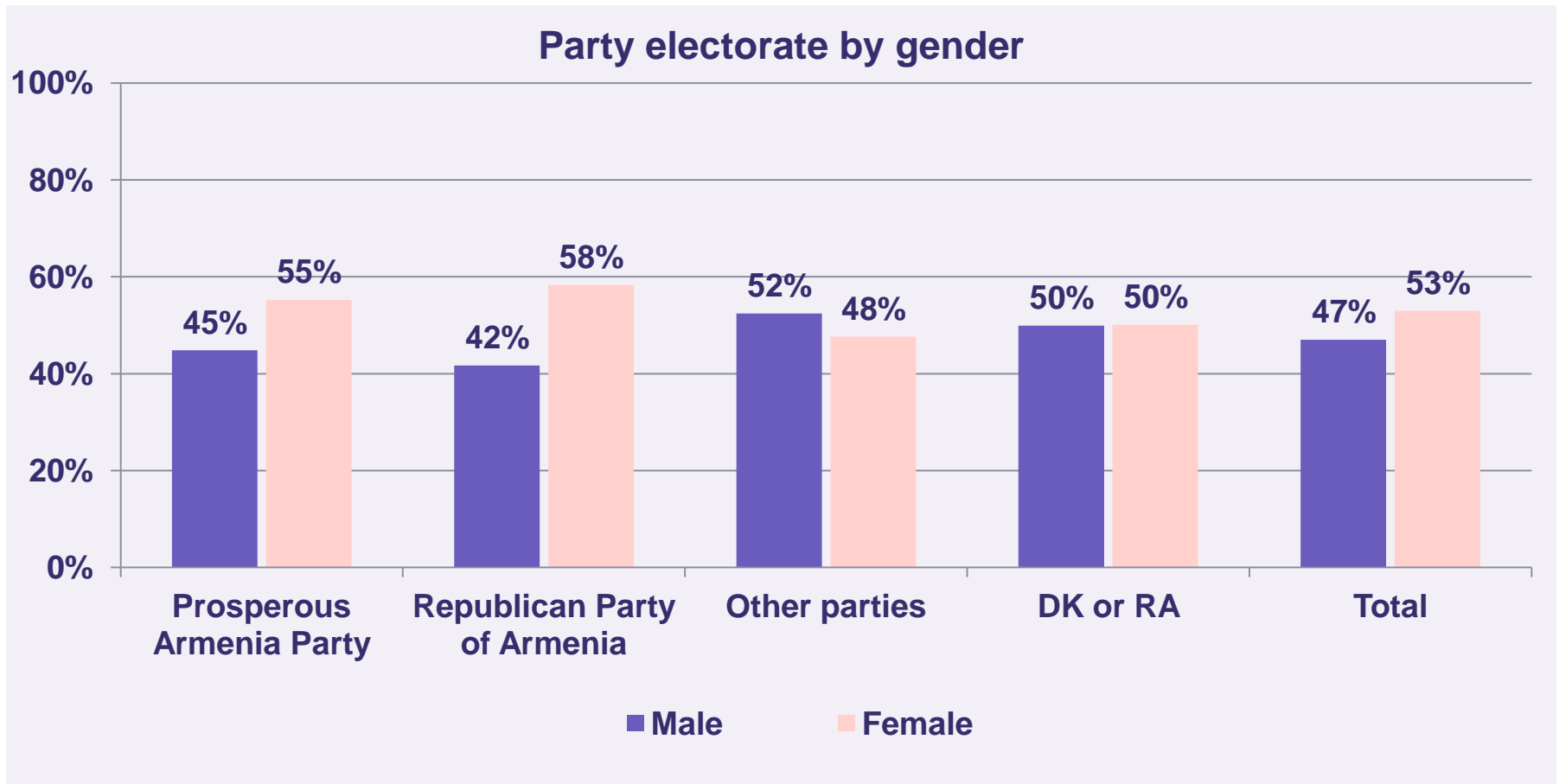
The majority of the electorate of other parties (non PAP and RPA), as well as those who would not vote in elections or for any party live in Yerevan.

Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt), by settlement type



The majority of the electorate of the leading parties is female, whereas for the other parties it is male.

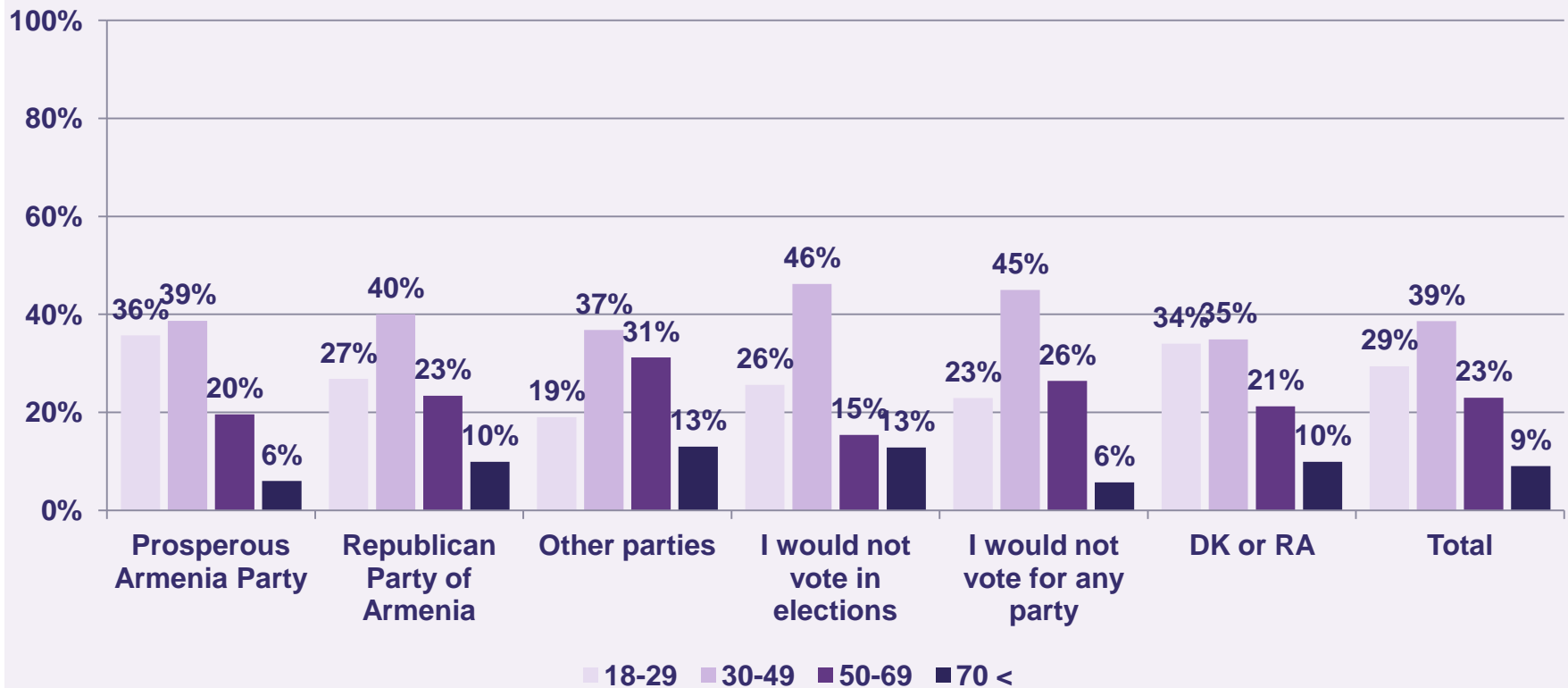
Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt), by gender



The electorate of the leading two parties is younger, while people aged 30-49 are more than others determined not to vote in the coming elections.

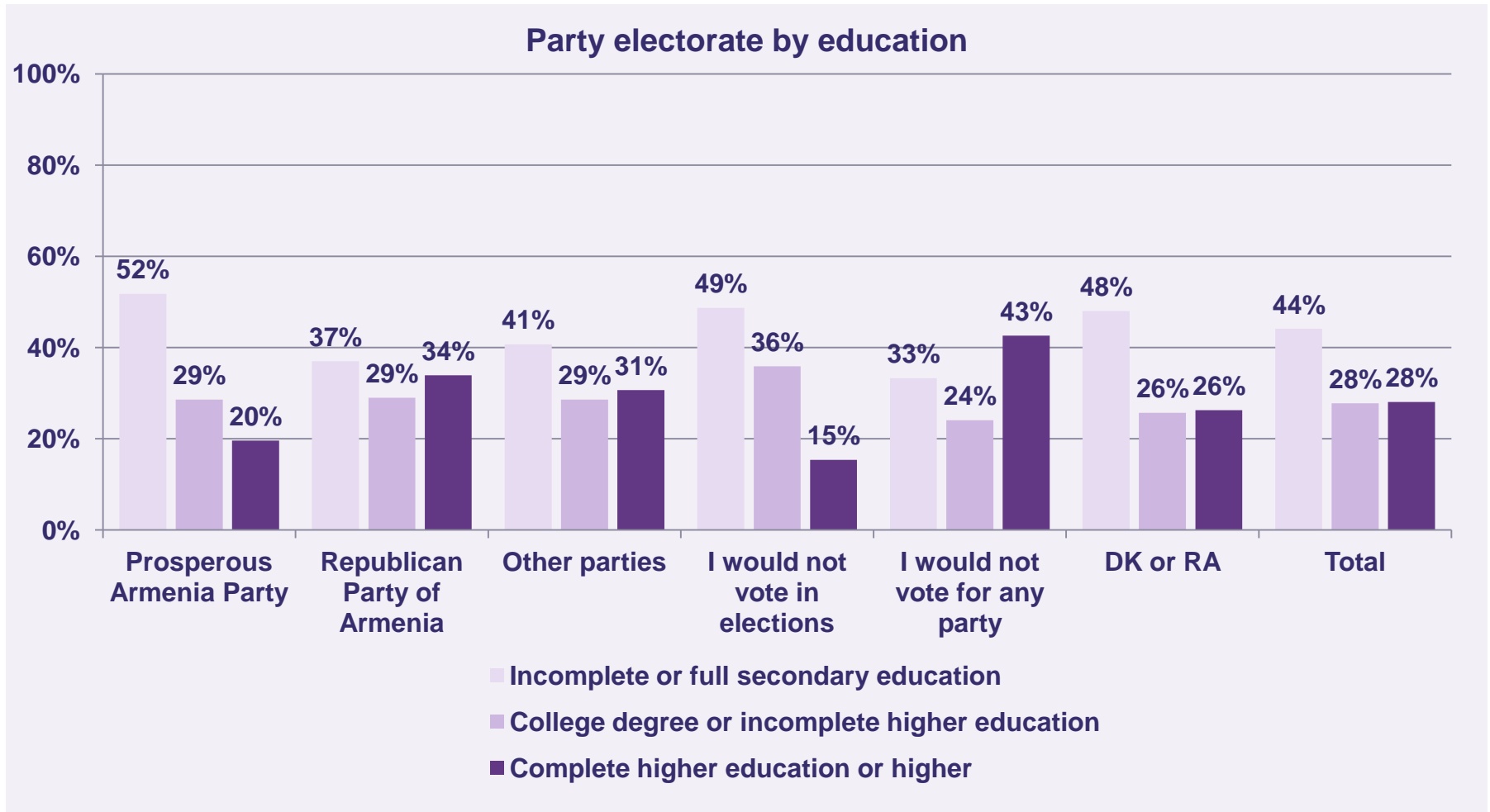
Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt), by age

Party electorate by age groups



The respondents with the lowest level of education vote mainly for Prosperous Armenia while the respondents with the highest level of education are mainly those who do not vote for any party.

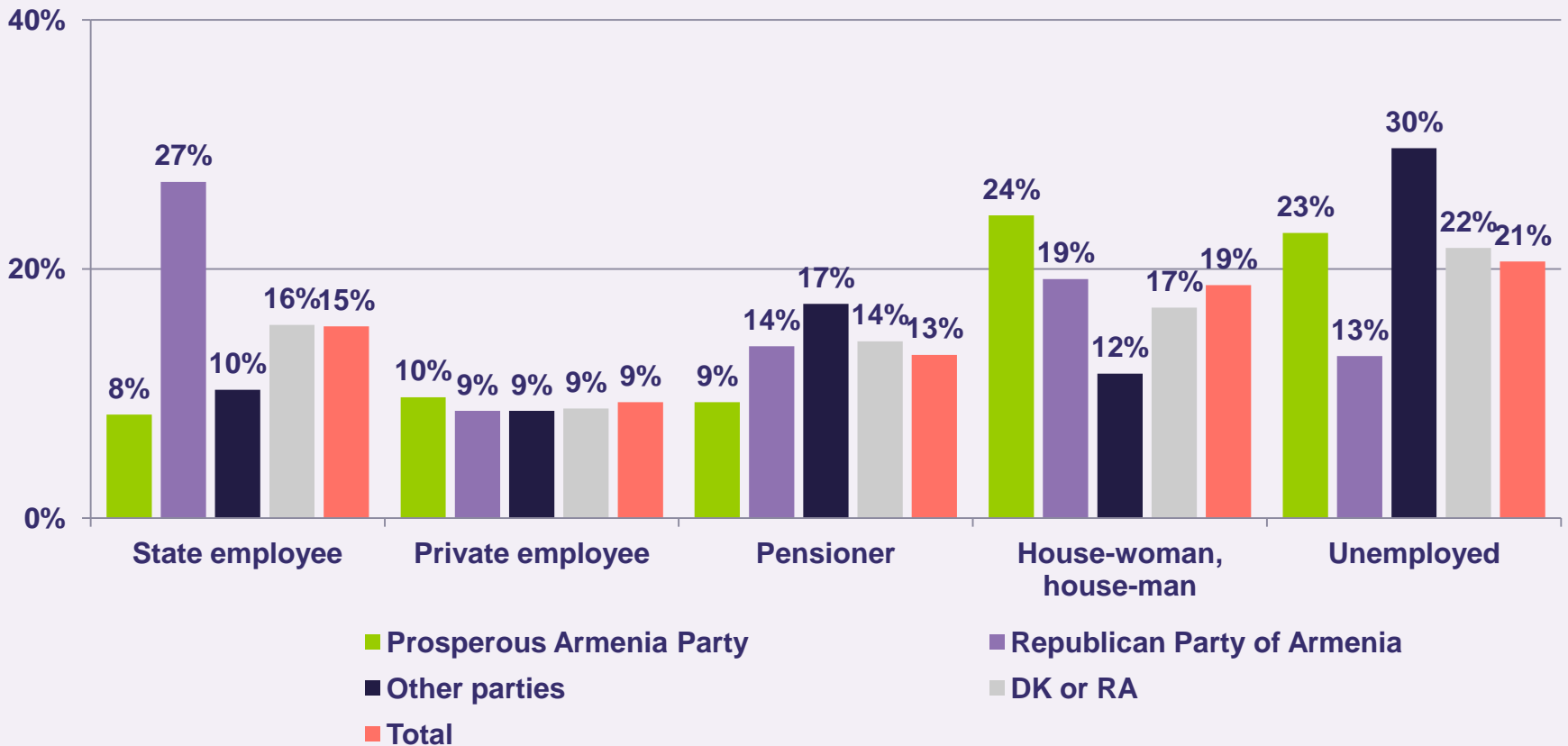
Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt), by education



Prosperous Armenia is strongest among housewives and unemployed, whereas the Republican Party is strongest among state employees. Other parties are strongest among pensioners and unemployed. Other parties are strongest among pensioners and unemployed.

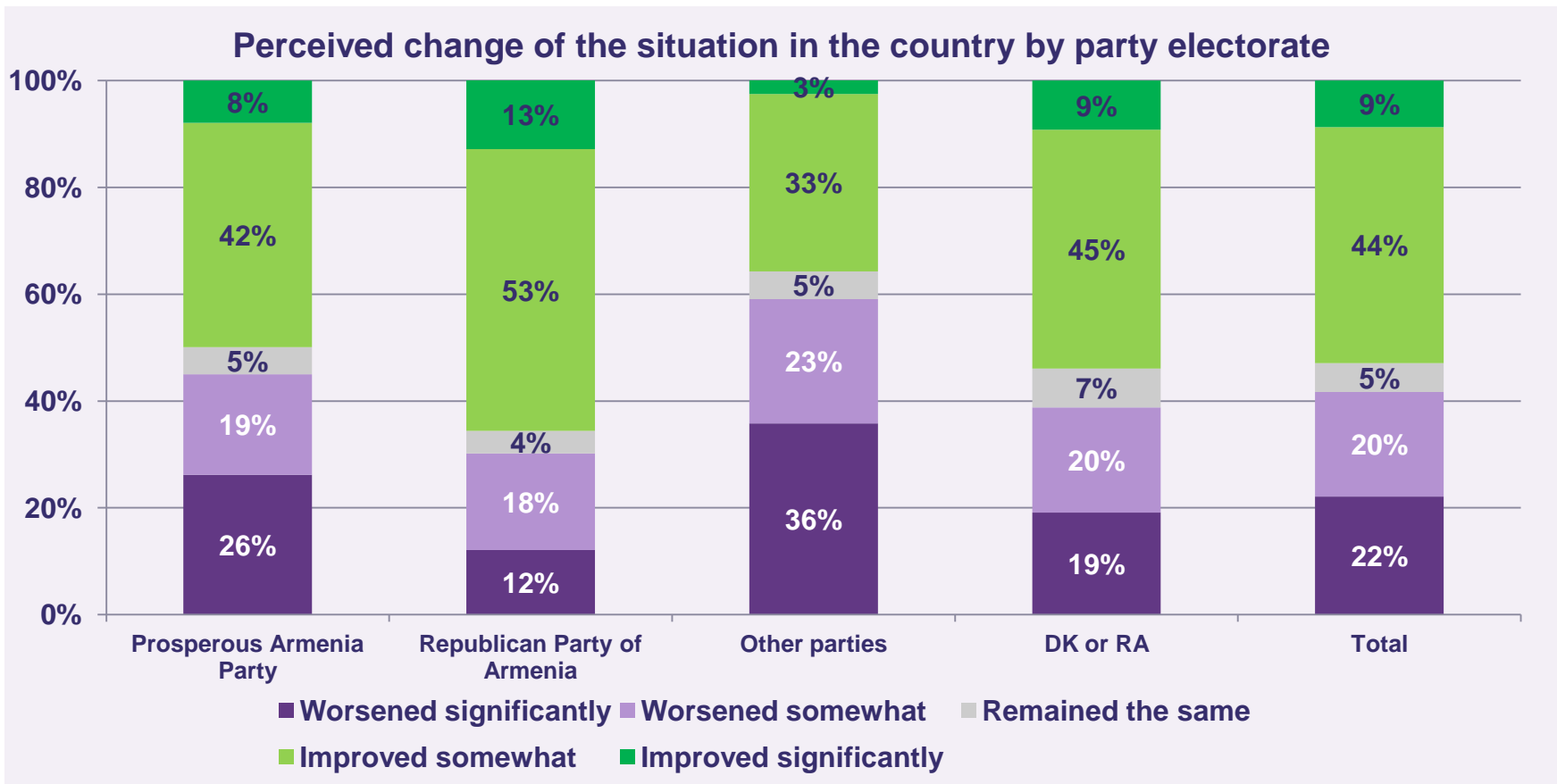
Q8. If the Parliamentary Elections were held next Sunday, which party would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt), by occupation

Party electorate by occupation



The voters of RPA are much more optimistic, whereas the voters of other parties are much more pessimistic about the development over the last 5 years.

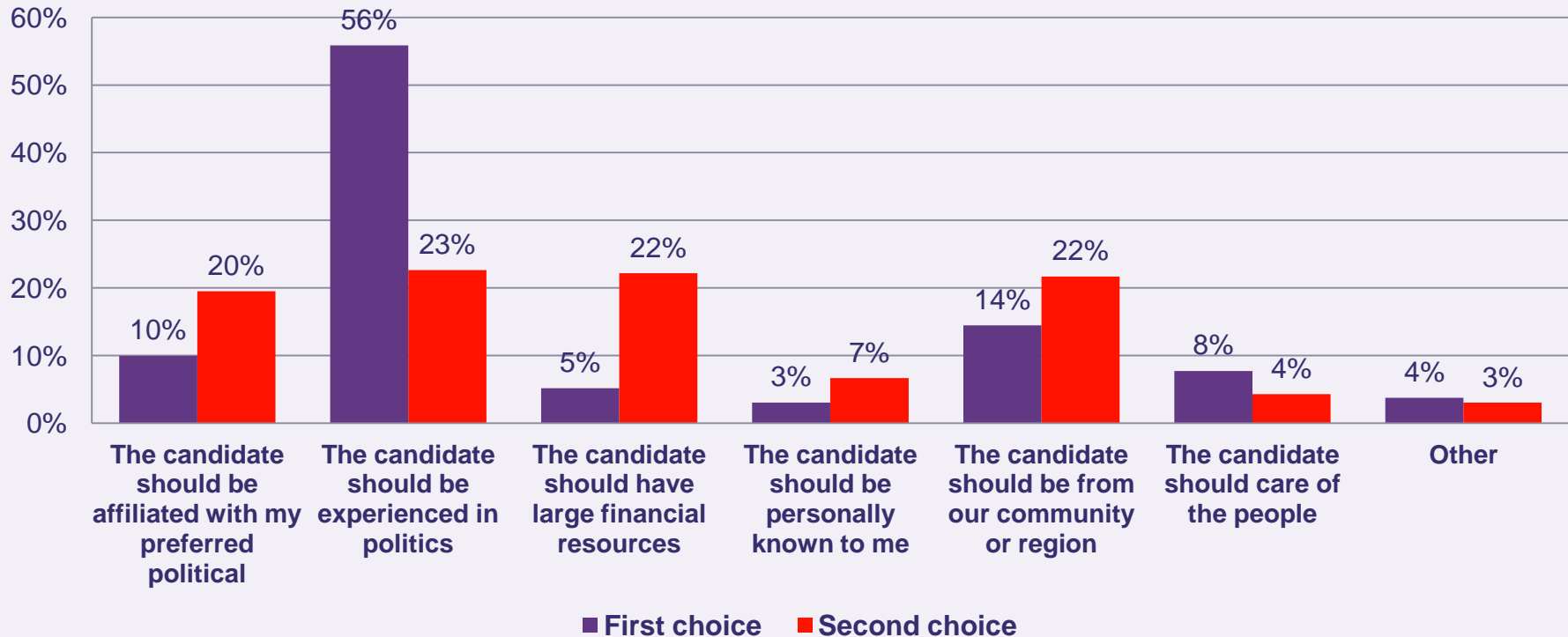
Q24. Compared to 5 years ago do you think that the general situation in Armenia is worsened significantly, worsened somewhat, remained the same, improved somewhat, improved significantly? by party electorate



The most important factor defining the majoritarian voting (direct candidate) is the “*political experience of the candidate*”.

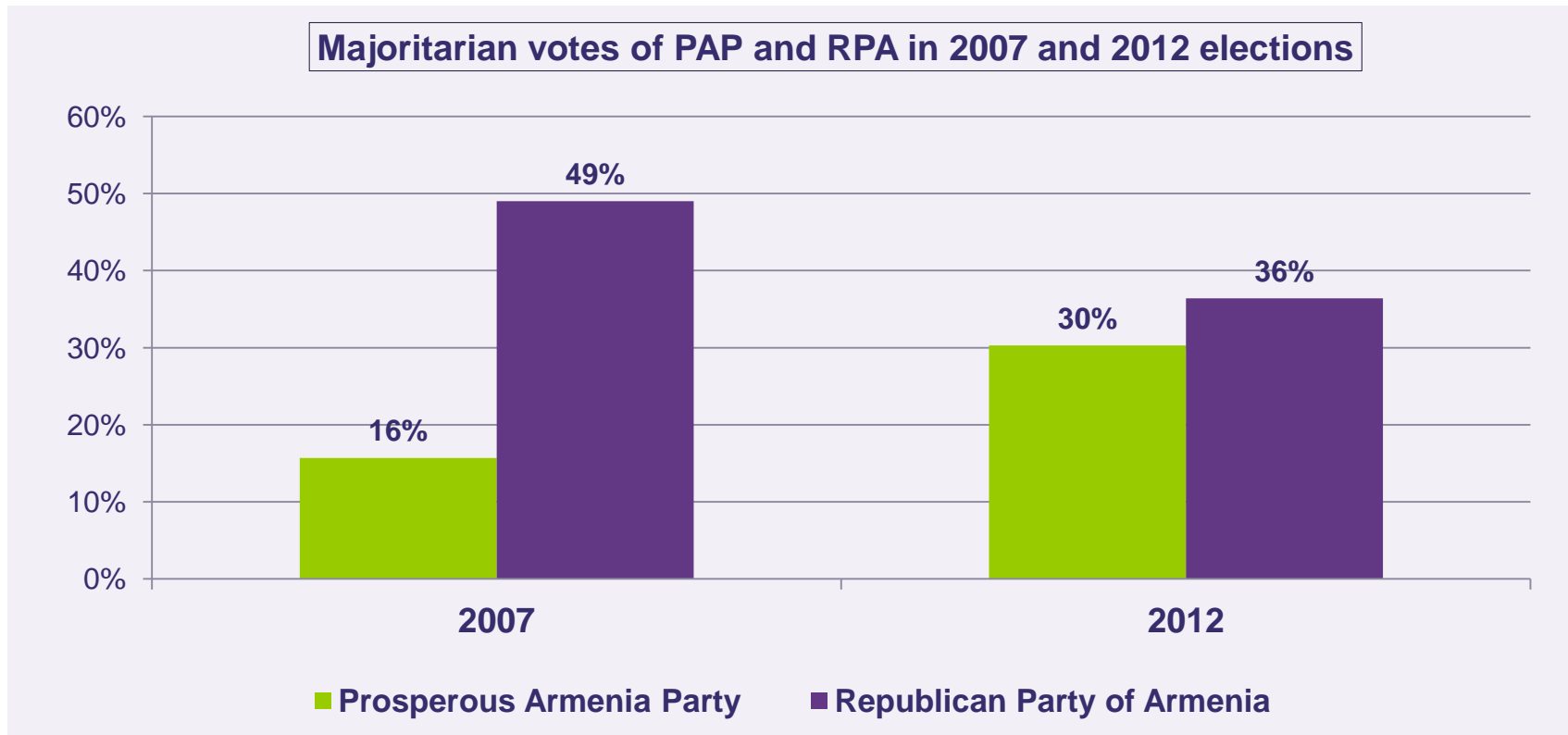
Q17. When you vote for a candidate from your constituency, as your direct majoritarian representative in the Parliament, what is most important for you? Please look at this list and select the most important factor (After writing down the first choice, ask:) And which is the second important factor for you?

Factors defining voting for majoritarian candidates



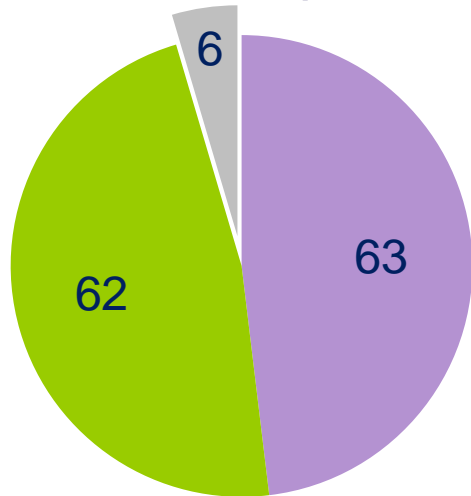
No clear prediction of the majoritarian seats is possible. However, it is likely that in 2012 National Assembly Prosperous Armenia will secure more direct seats than in 2007, but still fewer than the Republican Party.

- Q15. Could you remember and tell us the name of the candidate (or the name of the party that candidate was affiliated to) for whom you voted as your direct majoritarian representative in the Parliamentary Elections in May, 2007? (Open-ended question without prompt, results grouped by party)**
- Q16. If you already know, could you tell us whom would you like to vote for as your direct majoritarian representative in the upcoming Parliamentary Elections in May, 2012? (Open-ended question without prompt, results grouped by party)**



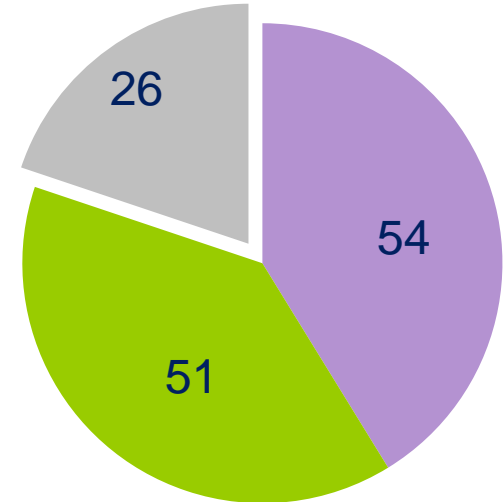
All four smaller parties are equally likely to pass the 5% threshold or not. Hence, the new parliament **cannot be predicted today**. Scenarios include these extremes (includes estimation of 41 majoritarian and 90 proportional seats):

Distribution of 131 parliament seats without smaller parties



■ Republican Party of Armenia
■ Prosperous Armenia Party
■ Smaller parties and not-affiliated deputies

Distribution of 131 parliament seats with 4 smaller parties



■ Republican Party of Armenia
■ Prosperous Armenia Party
■ Smaller parties and non-affiliated deputies

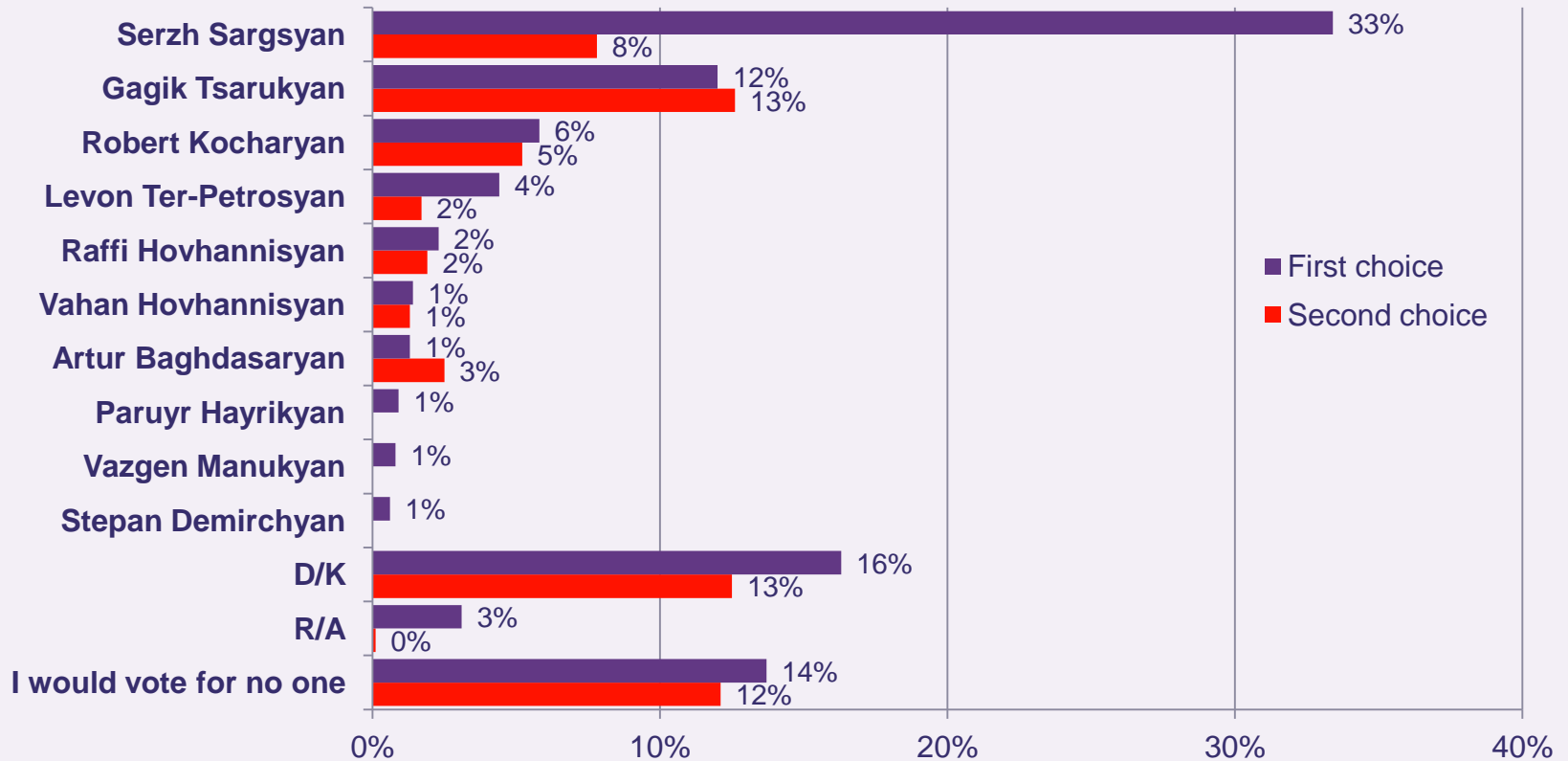
Scenario	RPA	PAP	Other
No smaller parties in NC	63	62	6
Discrepancy ± 5 seats	$58 \leq \text{RPA} \leq 68$	$57 \leq \text{PAP} \leq 67$	$1 \leq \text{Others} \leq 11$
4 smaller parties in NC	54	51	26
Discrepancy ± 5 seats	$48 \leq \text{RPA} \leq 58$	$46 \leq \text{PAP} \leq 56$	$21 \leq \text{Others} \leq 31$

4. Presidential elections

S. Sargsyan is the leader of the prospective presidential candidates.

- Q18. If presidential elections were actually held next Sunday, which politician would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)**
- Q19. And if we imagine that the politician that you have named did not take part in the presidential elections, which politician would be your second choice? (Open-ended question without prompt)**

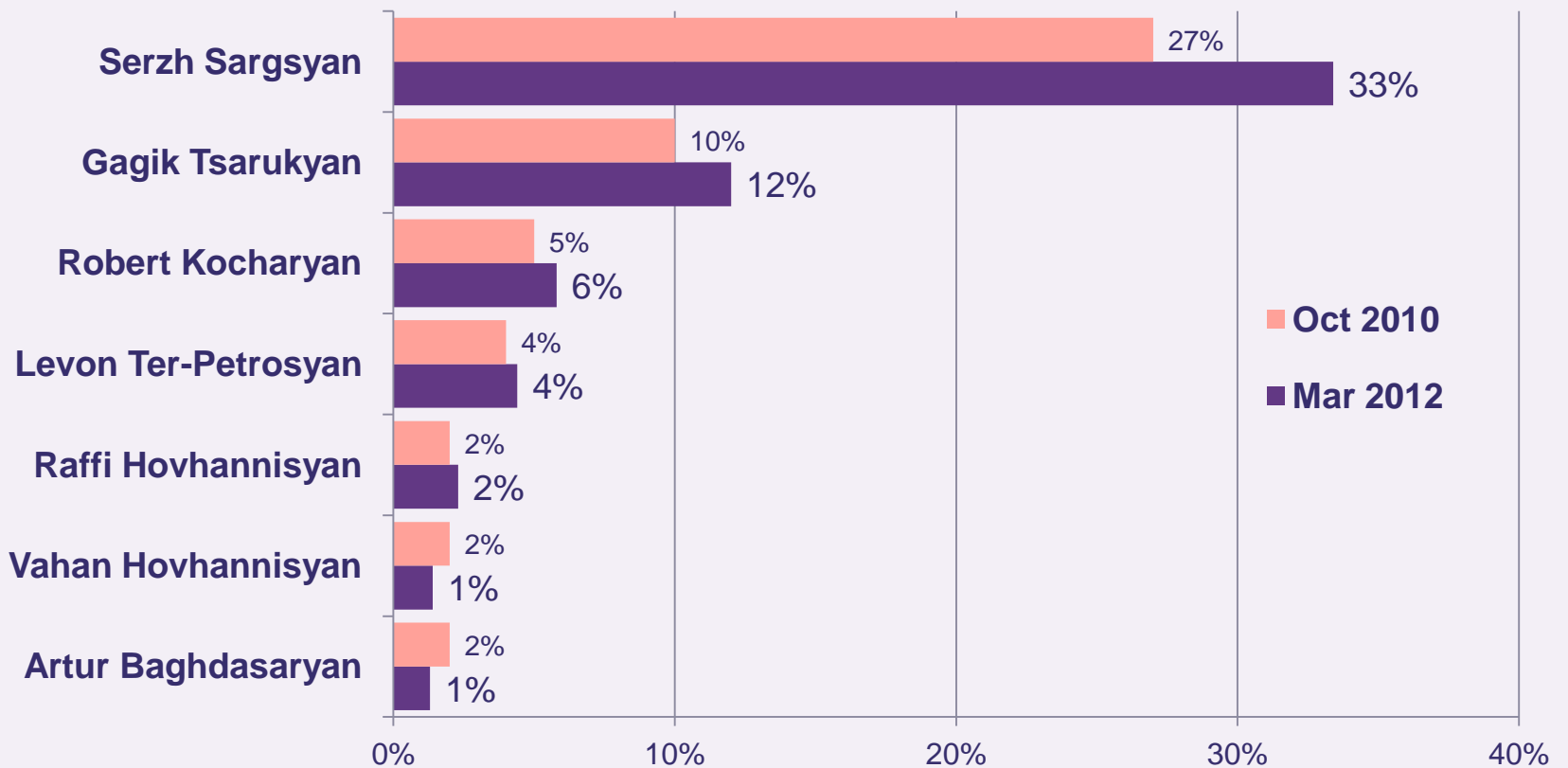
Candidate ratings – RAW DATA (including D/K and R/A)



From Oct 2010 to Mar 2012, S. Sargsyan's popularity increased by 6 percentage points and G. Tsarukyan's by only 2 percentage points.

Q18. If presidential elections were actually held next Sunday, which politician would you vote for? (Open-ended question without prompt)

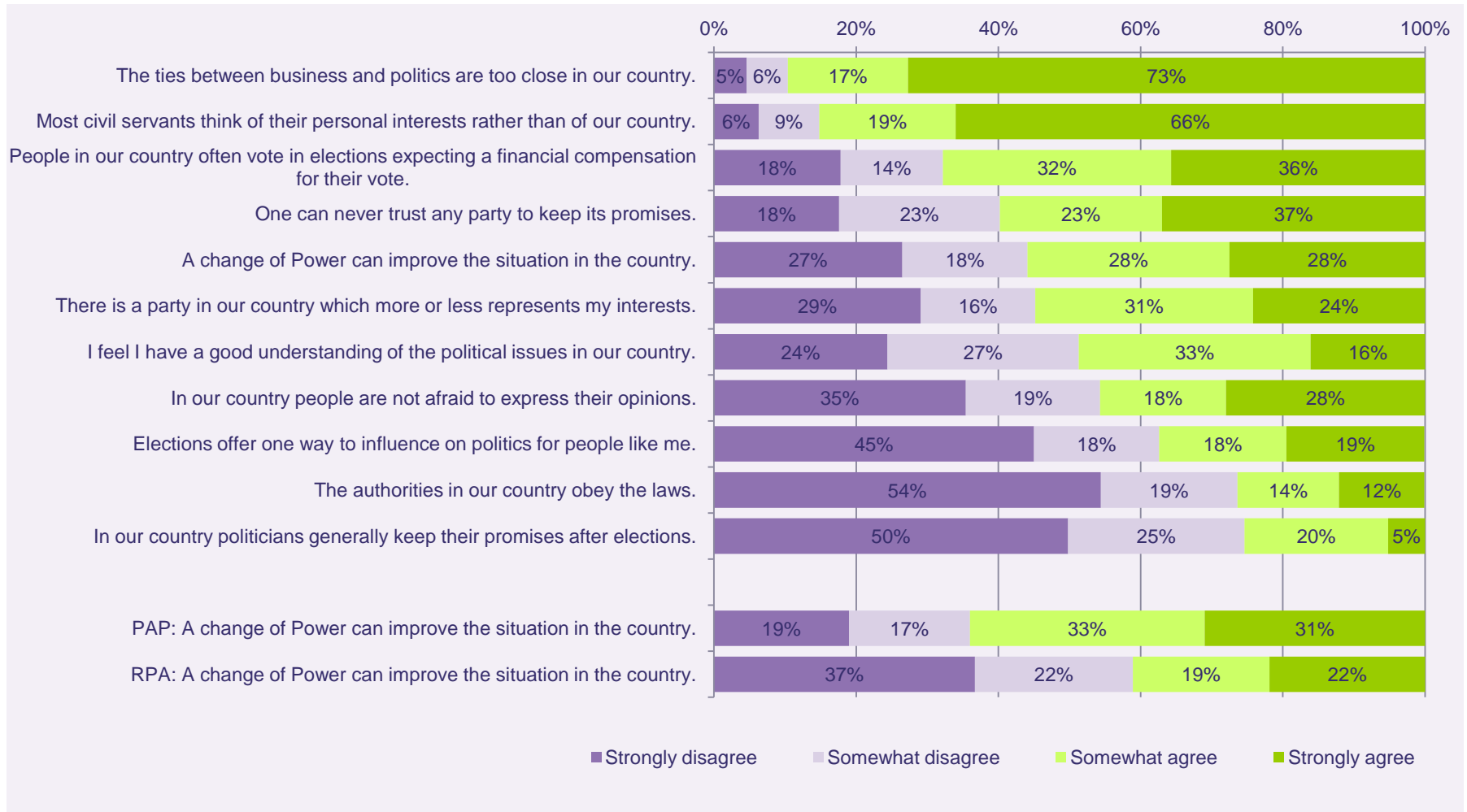
Candidate ratings comparison – RAW DATA (including D/K and R/A)



5. Political attitudes

Voters have little trust and support for the politics in Armenia and state institutions. It is striking, that supporters of the governmental party Prosperous Armenia favour a change of power.

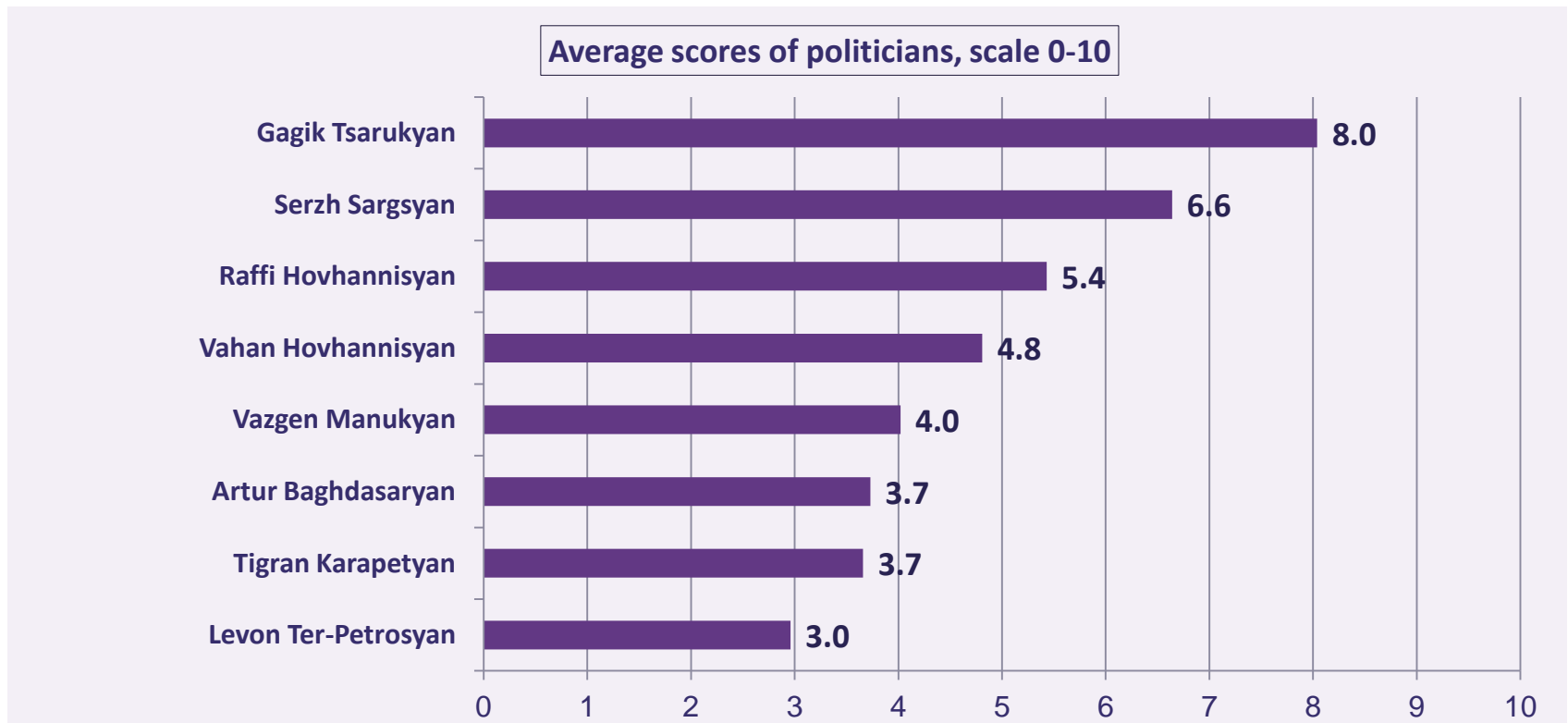
Q22. I will now read out some statements about political life. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with them.



Only three party leaders are “liked” (higher than 5), with G. Tsarukyan ahead of S. Sargsyan and R. Hovhannisyan.

Respondents who are politically more active are less inclined to evaluate G. Tsarukyan higher than those who are not active.

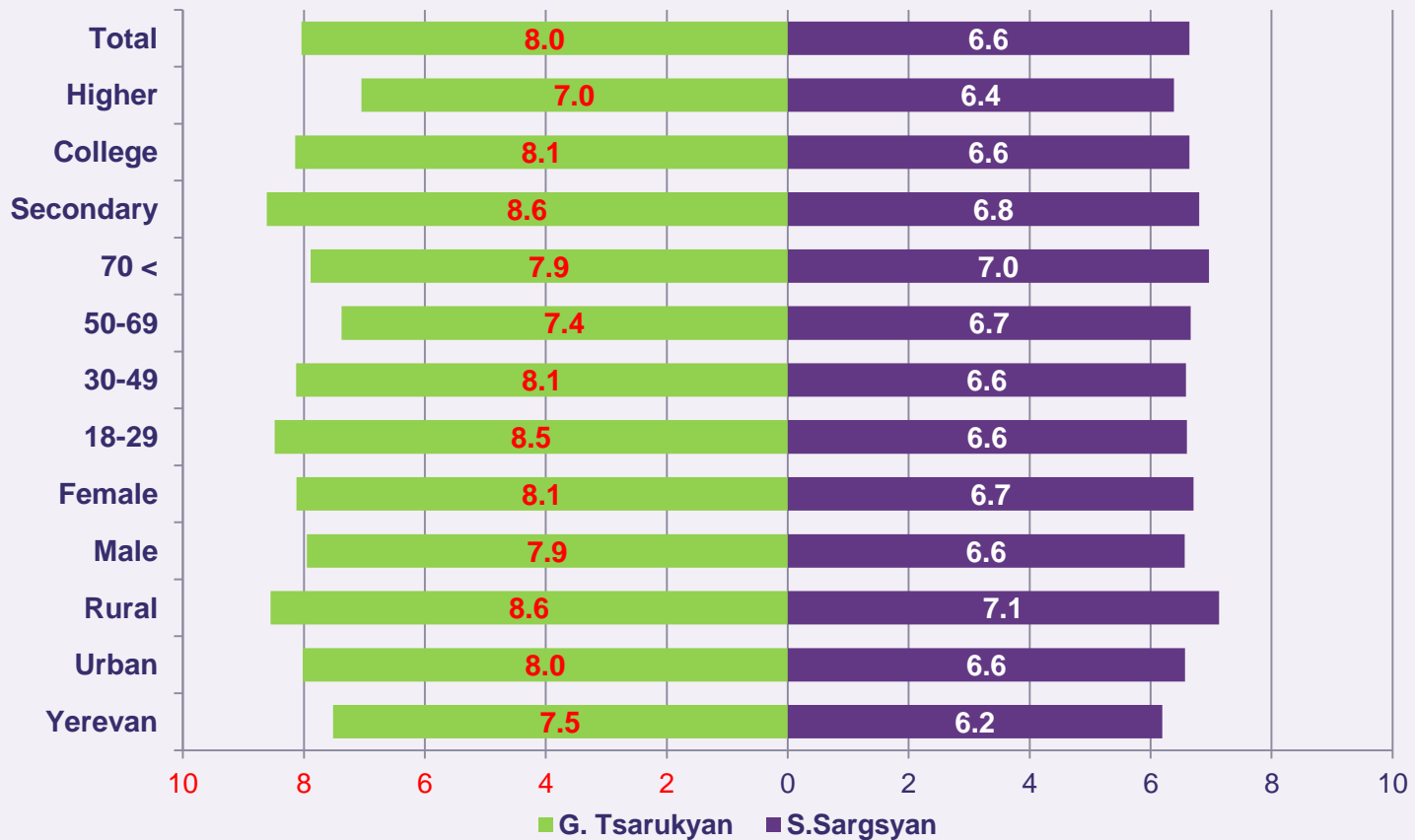
Q21. I will now read to you the names of party leaders. Could you please tell us how you feel about them, using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you really dislike the person and 10 means you really like the person.



Both S. Sargsyan and G. Tsarukyan have their lowest scores in Yerevan.

G. Tsarukyan is best evaluated among people with lower education level, from rural settlements and among younger people. Further analysis shows that his electorate is more apolitical and reasons for voting are based on economic rather than political performance.

Q21. I will now read to you the names of party leaders. Could you please tell us how you feel about them, using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you really dislike the person and 10 means you really like the person. By demography (For S. Sargsyan and G. Tsarukyan)



For the first 10 politicians mentioned most often, the main feature is “experienced”, except for G. Tsarukyan (“financially powerful”) and T. Karapetyan (“caring about the people”).

Q6. Which of the following characteristics best describe the politicians you just mentioned? (Asked for politicians, mentioned in the open-ended question without prompt)

Politician	1. Is experienced	2. Is credible	3. Is caring about people	4. Is financially powerful	5. Is politically powerful	6. Is likeable	N
1. Tsarukyan G.	77%	87%	93%	94%	79%	93%	833
2. Sargsyan S.	100%	71%	66%	80%	87%	70%	741
3. Baghdasaryan A.	69%	46%	41%	47%	62%	51%	534
4. Ter-Petrosyan L.	84%	36%	32%	47%	65%	51%	328
5. Sargsyan T.	95%	70%	64%	63%	74%	69%	281
6. Geghamyan A.	75%	42%	40%	33%	54%	48%	260
7. Hovhannisyanyan R.	82%	75%	66%	35%	62%	71%	243
8. Hovhannisyanyan V.	87%	69%	53%	33%	70%	66%	191
9. Kocharyan R.	89%	60%	48%	83%	82%	59%	180
10. Karapetyan T.	61%	56%	76%	67%	47%	66%	134



TNS opinion



Thank you for your attention

Poll: A Snapshot of Pre-Electoral Armenia Հարցում. նախանտրական պատկերը Հայաստանում

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