

ARMENIAN CENTER FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

# THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: 90 YEARS AND WAITING

Presentation of Public Opinion Poll Results  
(1900 citizens from Yerevan and all Armenia)

## About the Respondents

Age Groups							
16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71 and above	Refused to answer
14.7%	20%	20.8%	22.2%	13.5%	6.1%	2%	0.7%

Gender	
Male	Female
42.5%	57.5%

Education					
Incomplete secondary	Secondary	Specialized secondary	Incomplete higher	Higher	Refused to answer
1.9%	15.3%	18.4%	13.1%	47.1%	4.2%

Place of Residence	
Urban	Rural
65.2%	34.8%

Yerevan	32%
Aragatsotn region	4.2%
Armavir region	9.7%
Ararat region	9.7%
Kotaiik region	5.2%
Siunik region	5.3%
Gegharkunik region	7.3%
Tavush region	4.4%
Lori region	10%
Vayots Dzor region	2.5%
Shirak region	9.7%

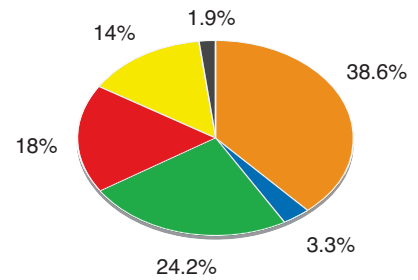
Occupation				
Employed	Unemployed	Pensioner, welfare recipient	Student	Refused to answer
54.8%	19.8%	7.2%	15.4%	2.8%

<b>Status of Workplace</b>	
State-run	64.7%
Non-governmental	33.4%
International organization	1.9%

<b>Sphere of occupation</b>	
State administration or local government	8.1%
Administrative work in non-governmental organizations	3.5%
Health care	7%
Education	30.5%
Science	4.4%
Art and culture	4.5%
Spirituality and religion	0.4%
Media	2%
Law	2.4%
Military and law enforcement	1.6%
Agriculture and forestry	4.4%
Energy, gas and water supply	3%
Transport	2.4%
Telecommunication	0.9%
Finance and economy	3.8%
Real-estate services	0.6%
Communal, social and personal services	0.8%
Library and archive	1.4%
Office work and record keeping	0.7%
Computer science and information technologies	1.5%
Trade and commerce	6.6%
Tourism, hotel and restaurant management	0.7%
Construction and engineering	3%
Industry	2.4%
Blue-collar work	3.3%
Refused to answer	0.1%

**1. Do you remember at what age you first heard about the Armenian Genocide?**

1. I do not remember	38.6%
2. At school age	3.3%
3. Below the age of 7	24.2%
4. Between 8 and 11	18%
5. Between 12 and 17	14%
6. Between 18 and 26	1.9%



**2. When and where did the Armenian Genocide take place and how many lives did it take?**

*When?*

1. April 24 or April 1915	15.9%
2. 1915	68%
3. 1915-1923	3.1%
4. 1915-1918	1.6%
5. 1894-1896	1.9%
6. 1894-1915	2.8%
7. 1896-1921	2.9%
8. 1914-1920	1.6%
9. 1915-1921	0.9%
10. 1909-1916	1.2%
11. 1870-1920	0.6%
12. Permanently	0.1%
13. Difficult to answer	2.3%

*Note:* As the respondents marked several answers in some cases, the total of indices exceeds 100%.

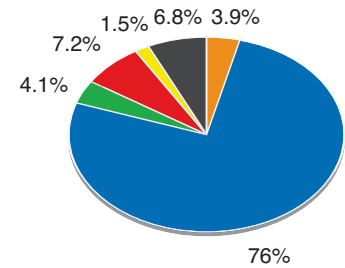
*Where?*

1. Western Armenia	75.8%
2. Eastern Armenia	2%
3. Turkey, Ottoman Turkey	19.2%
4. Cilicia	1.1%
5. Der Zor desert	4.5%
6. Nakhichevan	0.1%
7. Shushi	0.2%
8. Difficult to answer	4.9%

*Note:* As the respondents marked several answers in some cases, the total of indices exceeds 100%.

*How many victims?*

1. Half a million	0.1%
2. One million	3.9%
3. One and a half million	76%
4. One and a half to two million	4.1%
5. Two million	7.2%
6. Two and a half million	1.5%
7. Three million	0.4%
8. Difficult to answer	6.8%

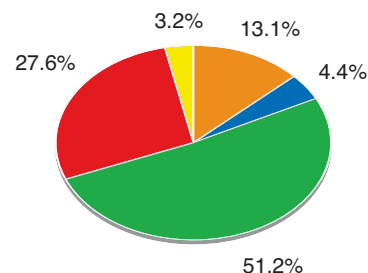


**3. From where and how frequently do you receive information about issues relating to the Armenian Genocide?**

Information Source	Frequency of Receiving Information		
	Never	Sometimes	Often
1. Television	3.8%	25.5%	70.7%
2. Radio	27.3%	45.7%	27%
3. Press	18%	44.4%	37.6%
4. Internet	72.8%	18.8%	8.4%
5. Speeches of politicians	27.7%	43.8%	28.5%
6. Literature, articles	16.2%	35.5%	48.3%
7. Expert opinions	40.7%	39.8%	19.5%
8. <i>Other</i>	8.2%		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Survivors and witnesses of the Genocide, exiled relatives</li> <li>✓ Elders, grandparents, parents</li> <li>✓ Friends and surroundings</li> <li>✓ Educational institutions, teachers, professors</li> <li>✓ History textbooks</li> <li>✓ Academic conferences, discussions, seminars</li> <li>✓ Public-political organizations</li> <li>✓ Archives</li> </ul>			

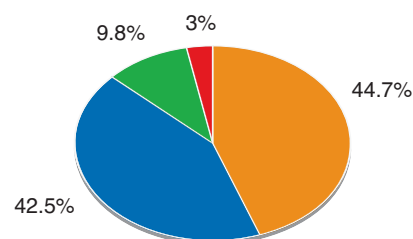
**4. What anniversary do all Armenians commemorate on April 24?**

1. The day the Armenian Genocide was ordered by the Committee of Union and Progress (Young Turks)	13.1%
2. The date when the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire heard that widespread massacres were taking place against them	4.4%
3. April 24 is just a symbolic date chosen to commemorate the event	51.2%
4. The beginning of the Armenian massacres and deportations by the Turks	27.6%
5. <i>Other</i>	0.5%
✓ The scale of massacres was greater on that day	
6. Difficult to answer	3.2%



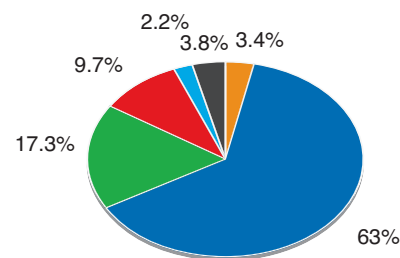
**5. In your mature life you have participated in the Genocide commemorations...**

1. Nearly always	44.7%
2. Sometimes	42.5%
3. Never	9.8%
4. I do not remember	3%



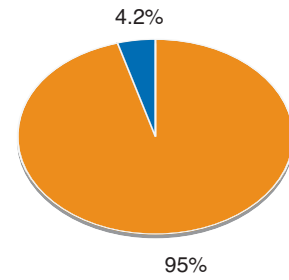
**6. What is your motivation for going to Tsitsernakaberd or another memorial monument to the Genocide?**

1. Going for a walk	0.3%
2. It is a long-standing tradition	3.4%
3. It is my duty to respect the memory of the martyrs	63%
4. It is a way of showing the world that the Armenians do not forget their history	17.3%
5. It is a way of protesting against Turkish denial of the fact of Genocide	9.7%
6. It is a way of perpetuating national identity	2.2%
7. I do not go anywhere	3.8%
8. Difficult to answer	0.3%



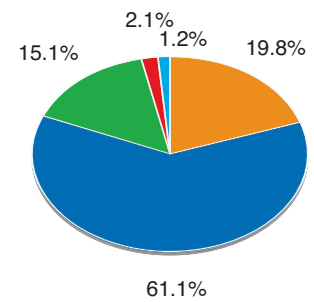
**7. How important is it to mark that day with a national commemoration every year?**

1. Very important	95%
2. It does not matter much	4.2%
3. Not important	0.5%
4. Difficult to answer	0.3%



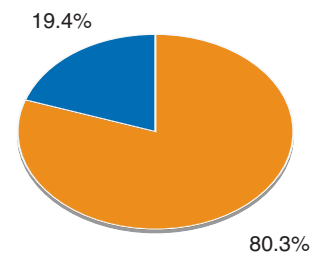
**8. Which of the following interests you apart from the Genocide commemoration on April 24?**

1. Reading books or articles on the history of the Genocide	19.8%
2. Being aware of current progress on international recognition of the Genocide	61.1%
3. Being aware of the ongoing debate between Armenian or non-Armenian historians and Turkish historians	15.1%
4. Other	0.7%
✓ Recognition of the Genocide by Turkey	
✓ Everything relating to the Genocide	
✓ Strengthening of the Homeland	
5. None	2.1%
6. Difficult to answer	1.2%



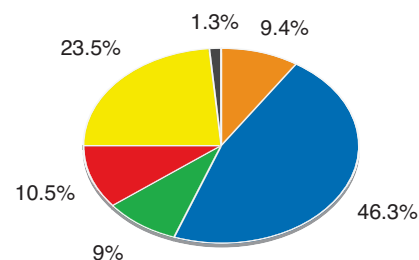
**9. Are you or would you be ready to get involved in activities relating to Genocide issues beyond marking the Genocide's anniversary on April 24?**

1. Yes	80.3%
2. No	19.4%
3. Difficult to answer	0.3%



**10.** If no, for which of the following reasons?

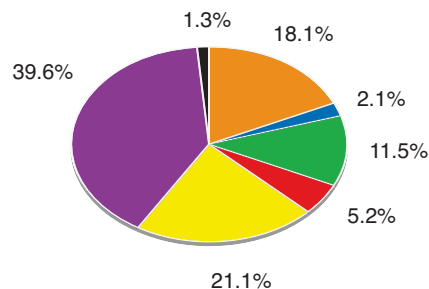
1. No time	9.4%
2. I don't think I can change anything	46.3%
3. It's not my role	9%
4. I don't want to join a political party	10.5%
5. I have not thought about it, but can consider the possibility	23.5%
6. <i>Other</i>	1.3%
✓ Age and health reasons	
✓ I don't want to remember it	



*Note:* The indices are calculated against the number of respondents who chose the answer "No" in the previous question.

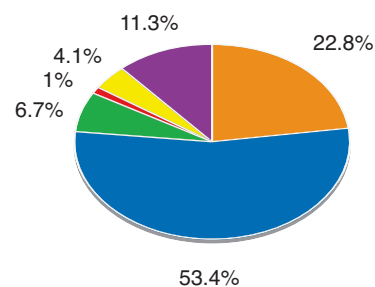
**11.** What do you feel when thinking about the Armenian Genocide?

1. Hatred	18.1%
2. Guilt	2.1%
3. Enmity	11.5%
4. Sympathy	5.2%
5. Indifference	0.3%
6. Revenge	21.1%
7. Pain	39.6%
8. <i>Other</i>	0.8%
✓ Incapability	
✓ Sobriety	
✓ Obligation	
✓ Readiness to forgive	
✓ Will to live	
✓ Will to unite, win, and redeem	
✓ None	
9. Difficult to answer	1.3%



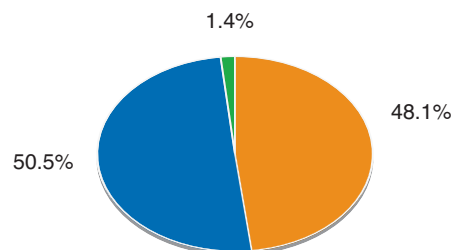
**12.** Which is the biggest loss of the Armenian Genocide?

1. Territorial (A major part of the historical homeland)	22.8%
2. Human	53.4%
3. Spirit and will	6.7%
4. Cultural values	1%
5. Intelligentsia	4.1%
6. All of the above	11.3%
7. Difficult to answer	0.7%



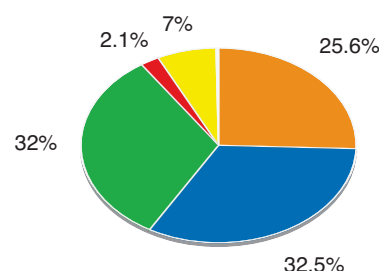
**13.** Has any of your forebears been affected by the great calamities of the 20th Century, including 1915?

1. Yes	48.1%
2. No	50.5%
3. I don't know	1.4%



**14.** To what extent do you think memory of the Genocide is an element of the Armenian identity (such as Armenian history, religion, language, and culture)?

1. It is the most significant element	25.6%
2. It is among the most significant elements	32.5%
3. It is important equally with the others	32%
4. It is not that important	2.1%
5. It is not important at all	0.8%
6. Difficult to answer	7%



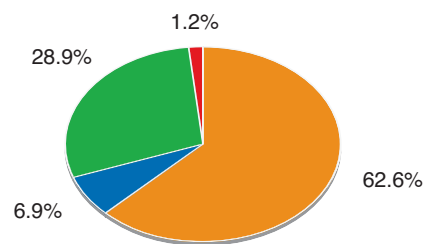
**15.** Who is first and foremost responsible for the Armenian Genocide?

1. The Young Turks	54.8%
2. The Turkish people	23.1%
3. The Turkish state in its entirety	61.1%
4. The Armenian intelligentsia of Western Armenia	4.4%
5. Traditional Armenian parties	10%
6. The Russian Empire	13.4%
7. United States of America	4.3%
8. Great Britain	6.2%
9. Germany	29.7%
10. France	1.9%
11. Jews	5.2%
12. The entire Armenian people	6.5%
13. Other	0.4%
✓ All humanity, international community	
14. Difficult to answer	4.4%

*Note:* The respondents were given the opportunity to choose three answers, marking them according to their importance. Therefore the total of indices exceeds 100%.

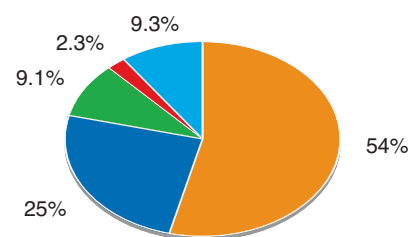
**16. What is your attitude toward contemporary Turks and Turkey?**

1. A Turk remains a Turk, always capable of committing genocide	62.6%
2. Contemporary Turks are not those of the beginning of the 20th Century	6.9%
3. Turkey's governmental policies are one thing, its average citizens another	28.9%
4. Other	0.4%
✓ Some Turks are people, others are perpetrators	
✓ They are perpetrators until they recognize the Genocide	
✓ They are not worse than our other neighbors	
5. Difficult to answer	1.2%



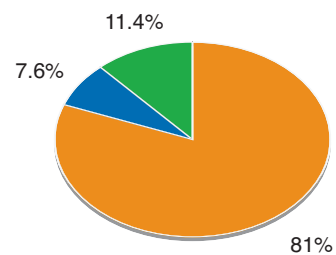
**17. What do you conclude from Turkey's denial of the Armenian Genocide?**

1. It is afraid of its own past	54%
2. It can do the same in the future	25%
3. It remains a country with medieval mentality	9.1%
4. It is afraid of reparations	2.3%
5. Other	0.3%
✓ It does not take seriously the existence of the Armenian state, and is not afraid of it	
✓ It is against its political interests	
✓ It is afraid of Jews, who organized it	
6. Difficult to answer	9.3%



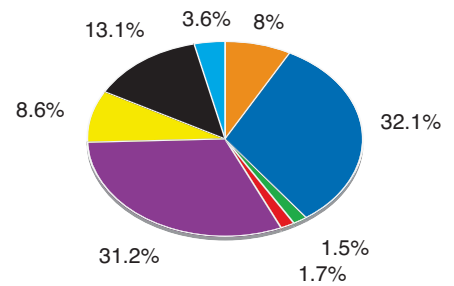
**18. Is today's Republic of Turkey accountable for the Genocide?**

1. Yes	81%
2. No	7.6%
3. Difficult to answer	11.4%



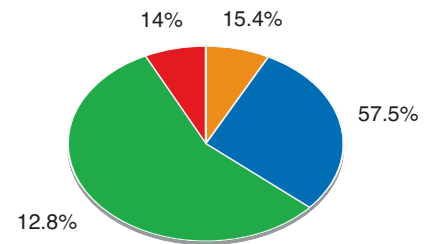
**19. Who should play the main role in the resolution of the Armenian Genocide issue?**

1. Republic of Armenia	8%
2. All Armenians	32.1%
3. Heirs of the victims of the Genocide	1.5%
4. Diaspora	1.7%
5. All humanity	31.2%
6. International organizations	8.6%
7. World powers	13.1%
8. No one	0.1%
9. <i>Other</i>	0.1%
✓ Armenia's historians and political scientists	
10. Difficult to answer	3.6%



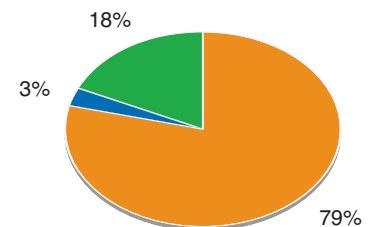
**20. Do you think Turkey will recognize the Genocide in the next five to ten years?**

1. It is possible if the international efforts of Armenia and the Diaspora for recognition are activated	15.4%
2. It is possible if the United States and the European Union exert stronger pressure on Turkey	57.5%
3. It is not possible	12.8%
4. <i>Other</i>	0.3%
✓ It is possible if we act like Israel	
✓ It depends on Armenia's development	
✓ It depends on the circumstances	
✓ It is possible if the United States accepts the Genocide	
5. Difficult to answer	14%



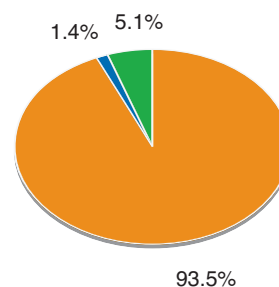
**21. Do you think the Republic of Armenia has the right to represent the heirs of the victims of the Genocide?**

1. Yes	79%
2. No	3%
3. Difficult to answer	18%



**22.** Do you think Armenia should claim reparations from Turkey?

1. Yes	93.5%
2. No	1.4%
3. Difficult to answer	5.1%



**23.** If yes, what kind of reparations do you expect of Turkey?

1. Official acknowledgment and apology, becoming part of civilization, and removal of all forms of denial (i.e., teaching the Armenian Genocide in schools, stopping all forms of discrimination against Armenians still living in Turkey, restoring and reopening the Armenian historical and architectural heritage in Turkey)	27.3%
2. Financial reparations to the heirs of the victims	3.7%
3. Return of territories in Western Armenia	20.3%
4. Voluntary inhabitation of territories by the heirs of former owners (guaranteed right of return)	5%
5. All of these together	40.4%
6. Difficult to answer	3%

*Note:* The respondents who chose the answer “Yes” in the previous question were given the opportunity to choose three answers, marking them according to their importance. Therefore the total of indices does not constitute 100%.

**24.** Do you think it is the role of the Republic of Armenia to contribute to the recognition of the Genocide?

	Yes	No	Difficult to answer
1. By Turkey	80.8%	8.5%	10.7%
2. By other important countries (US, EU member-states, Russia, etc.)	79.3%	6.1%	14.6%
3. By international organizations such as the United Nations	76.8%	5.5%	17.7%

**25.** Do you think it is the role of other countries to put pressure on Turkey so that it recognizes the Genocide?

	Yes	No	Difficult to answer
1. The United States	74.5%	9.4%	16.1%
2. Europe	69.5%	8.9%	21.6%
3. Russia	65.2%	10.5%	24.3%
4. UN and other international organizations	80%	4.5%	15.5%
5. <i>Other</i>	2.5%		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ The whole world</li> <li>✓ Israel, Jews</li> <li>✓ Germany, Great Britain, NATO member-states</li> <li>✓ China and India</li> <li>✓ Arab countries, Islamic world, international religious organizations including the Islamic conference</li> </ul>			

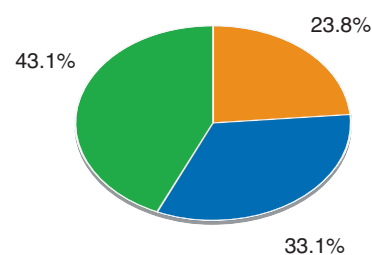
**26.** What will Armenia and the Armenian people gain from acceptance of the Genocide?

1. Restoration of dignity	32.6%
2. Triumph of historical justice	64%
3. Overcoming the syndrome of victimhood	10.8%
4. Return of historical lands and their inhabitation by heirs of the victims	73.5%
5. <i>Other</i>	0.5%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Peace of mind and spirit</li> <li>✓ Opening of the Armenian-Turkish border</li> <li>✓ Punishability of Genocide</li> <li>✓ Revelation of the real face of the Turk</li> </ul>	
6. Difficult to answer	2.9%

*Note:* The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Therefore the total of indices exceeds 100%.

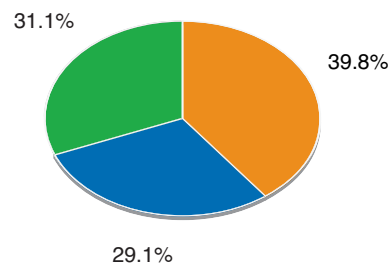
**27.** Will the Armenian and Turkish peoples ever be reconciled?

1. Yes	23.8%
2. No	33.1%
3. Difficult to answer	43.1%



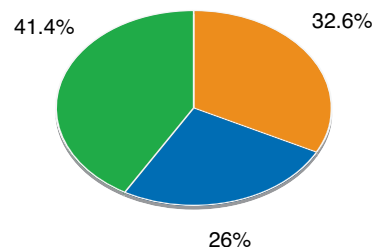
**28.** Do you agree with Armenia's current posture toward Turkey (i.e., no preconditions for establishing bilateral relations but advocacy of Genocide recognition in the international arena)?

1. Yes	39.8%
2. No	29.1%
3. Difficult to answer	31.1%



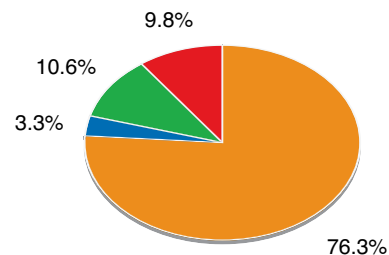
**29.** Do you think such a position contributes to the possibility of Genocide recognition by Turkey?

1. Yes	32.6%
2. No	26%
3. Difficult to answer	41.4%



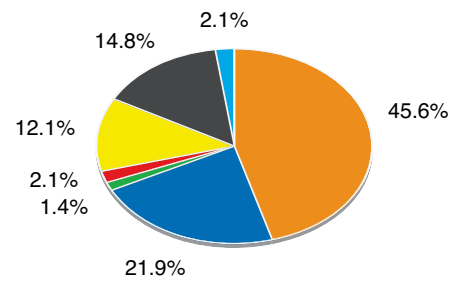
**30.** What position should the Armenian side assume in establishing relations with Turkey?

1. Establish relations without forgetting the past	76.3%
2. Establish relations without remembering the past	3.3%
3. Not establish relations	10.6%
4. Difficult to answer	9.8%



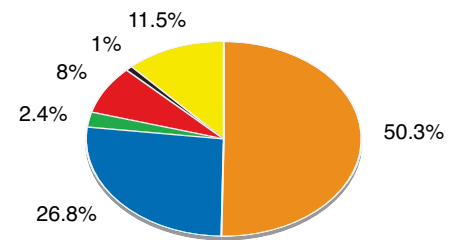
**31.** What kind of relations should Armenia establish with Turkey?

1. Diplomatic	45.6%
2. Economic	21.9%
3. Cultural	1.4%
4. Military	2.1%
5. Comprehensive	12.1%
6. None	14.8%
7. Difficult to answer	2.1%



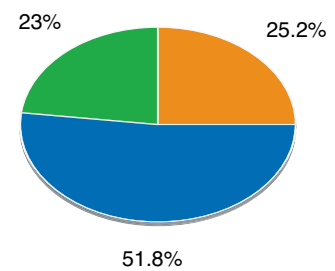
**32.** In which way should Turkey recognize the Armenian Genocide?

1. Under pressure of the international community	50.3%
2. As a prerequisite for entering the European Union	26.8%
3. Pursuant to the Diaspora's quest	2.4%
4. Pursuant to Armenia's state policy	8%
5. <i>Other</i>	1%
✓ Pursuant to Turkey's own decision and common sense to admit its own mistakes	
✓ Under pressure of Israel and the masons	
✓ By keeping them under the same threat	
✓ In no way will it recognize	
6. Difficult to answer	11.5%



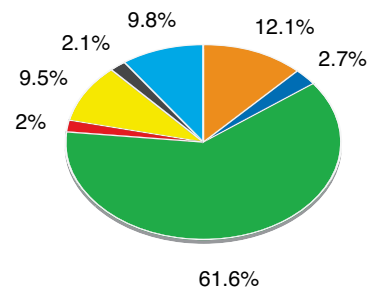
**33.** Are you in favor of Turkey's accession to the European Union?

1. Yes	25.2%
2. No	51.8%
3. Difficult to answer	23%



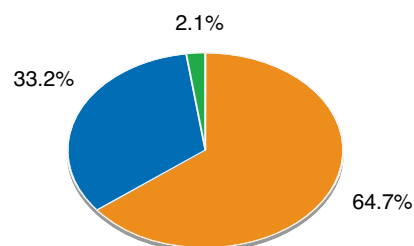
**34.** What requirements should be set before Turkey for its accession to the European Union?

1. Respecting and guaranteeing human and national minority rights in Turkey	12.1%
2. Opening the Turkish-Armenian border	2.7%
3. Recognizing the Armenian Genocide	61.6%
4. Establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia	2%
5. Fully normalizing relations with Armenia	9.5%
6. No requirement	2.1%
7. <i>Other</i>	0.2%
✓ All requirements necessary for being civilized	
8. Difficult to answer	9.8%



**35.** Do you think that Armenians are or in the recent past have been under a threat of genocide or wide-scale massacres?

1. Yes	64.7%
2. No	33.2%
3. Difficult to answer	2.1%



**36.** If yes, cite the event or events that have endangered Armenian lives.

1. Massacres of Armenians in Azerbaijan (1988-90 in Sumgait, Baku, Kirovabad)	62.8%
2. Azerbaijan's aggression against Artsakh	18%
3. Concentration of Turkish armed forces on the Armenian-Turkish border during the Karabagh war	0.3%
4. Murder of Armenian officer Gurgen Margarian in Budapest	0.5%
5. Collapse of the USSR	0.4%
6. World War II	0.9%
7. Soviet repressions of 1937	0.1%
8. Ethnic cleansing of all Armenians from Nakhichevan	0.9%
9. Russian-Turkish war	0.2%
10. Deterioration of conditions of Armenians in Javakhk	0.1%

*Note:* The respondents who chose the answer "Yes" in the previous question were given the opportunity to choose three answers. Therefore the total of indices does not constitute 100%.

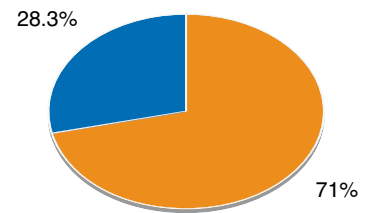
**37. For which of the following reasons did the Armenians of Mountainous Karabagh and Armenia demand the reunification of Artsakh with Armenia in 1988 and thereafter?**

1. Mountainous Karabagh was an Armenian territory delivered to the hands of another country	47.2%
2. They were seeking to correct the historical injustice imposed by Stalin	27.5%
3. The Armenians of Artsakh found themselves under a threat of being ethnically cleansed by Azerbaijani forces	40.7%
4. The Artsakh Armenians simply wanted to be reunited with their compatriots	24.9%
5. It was the right to self-determination of the Armenian nation as facilitated by Gorbachev's politics	25.2%
6. There was no real rational reason; it was an irrational and unconscious measure	2%
7. Difficult to answer	2.8%

*Note:* The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers. Therefore the total of indices exceeds 100%.

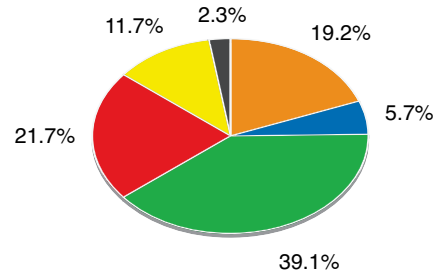
**38. If for one reason or another the hostilities with Azerbaijan resume, will you be ready to join the Armenians of Karabagh in their struggle?**

1. Yes	71%
2. No	28.3%
3. Difficult to answer	0.7%



**39. If yes, for what reason?**

1. Without the Armenians of Armenia, the Artsakh Armenians will not stand a chance	19.2%
2. A war against the Armenians of Artsakh will mean that they all will run the risk of being killed or expelled from Artsakh	5.7%
3. Karabagh is Armenian, and it is my right and duty to defend it	39.1%
4. Armenia and Artsakh have lost so many lives in that war that we can't give up on it now	21.7%
5. I will go for the sake of the Armenian people	11.7%
6. I will obey the state's decision regardless of what I might think about it	2.3%
7. <i>Other</i>	0.3%
✓ I am from Karabagh	
✓ To struggle against injustice	



**40. If no, for what reason?**

1. I am convinced that violence will not solve the problem	48.7%
2. I think Mountainous Karabagh has no value in my life	7.2%
3. I believe Armenia will not have the advantage in a war	6.4%
4. I don't wish to help the Artsakh Armenians	4.2%
5. Whatever the outcome of the war, the final resolution of the question will be contrary to Armenia's interests	10%
6. I have already lost much in that war and can't afford to lose more	16.9%
7. <i>Other</i>	6.6%
✓ Let the president and defense minister and their dear ones get ready for the war; it will be a predetermined, provocative war for the preservation of their power, and I would not like to participate in that	
✓ Age, health, and gender reasons	
✓ My role is trivial	
✓ I am not psychologically ready	
✓ I don't want to participate in a war in which certain people take part for career development	
✓ If I am killed, my family will be treated with indifference	

