

Armenian Center for National and International Studies

Regulating the Karabagh Conflict

Presentation of Public Survey Results
(1950 participating from Yerevan and all Armenia)

About the respondents

Age Groups			
18-30	31-50	50-70	71 and above
30.5%	45.2%	20.6%	3.7%

Gender	
Male	Female
50%	50%

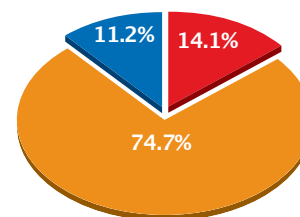
Education				
Incomplete secondary	Secondary	Specialized secondary	Incomplete higher	Higher
2.4%	21.6%	17.3%	11.2%	47.5%

Place of Residence	
Urban	Rural
60.7%	39.3%

Occupation	
a) Employees	61.2%
public education	15.9%
state and civil service	18%
health care	2.1%
agriculture	5.9%
trade and commerce	7.3%
private-sector contract work	8.5%
science, culture, art, and spiritual sphere	1.2%
media	1.1%
military	0.5%
public non-profit sector	0.7%
b) Unemployed	23.4%
c) Pensioners	6.6%
d) Welfare recipients	1%
e) Students	7.8%

1. How well do you think you are informed about the present stage of the Karabagh peace process?

a) Fully	14.1%
b) Partially	74.7%
c) Not informed at all	11.2%



2. From where and how frequently do you receive information about the Karabagh issue? (An opinion is expressed about each of the following.)

Information Source	Frequency of Receiving Information				
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Most Often	Always
Television	4.5%	24.8%	23.3%	24.7%	22.7%
Radio	42.8%	29.6%	15.9%	7.5%	4.2%
Press	28.9%	35.8%	20.7%	7.8%	6.8%
Internet	84.4%	8.8%	4.3%	1.5%	1.0%
Speeches of politicians	22.0%	38.2%	23.3%	10.5%	6.0%
Expert opinions	44.1%	34.4%	13.1%	5.4%	3%
Non-official conversations	31.6%	30.3%	21.0%	8.7%	8.4%

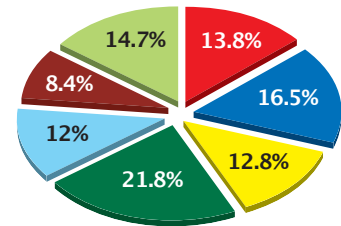
3. What first and foremost have Armenia and Karabagh achieved since the raising of the Karabagh question (1988-2004)?

Options	1	2
a) Independence and sovereignty of Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh	49.7%	8.9%
b) Guarantees of physical security	6%	8.9%
c) Enhancement of territory	12.8%	13.6%
d) Confidence in our own abilities	10%	18.3%
e) Compatriots liberated from Azerbaijani dominion	12.1%	16.4%
f) Other:		
Tracherous president	0%	0.05%
Victims, Yerablur Military Cemetery	0%	0.05%
Armenia and Karabagh surmounted the Azerbaijani presence	0.05%	0.2%
National ideology	0%	0.05%
Difficult to answer	0.05%	0%
g) Enemies, problems	5.6%	11.1%
h) Nothing	3.7%	0%
Total	100%	77.65%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 1950 citizens surveyed 77.65% marked a second answer, while the rest chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

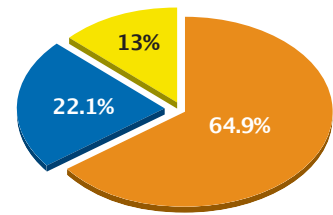
4. The price (personal deprivations, family losses, the state of the nation, etc.) you paid for the above-mentioned achievements during those years is

a) trivial compared with their gains	13.8%
b) less than the gains	16.5%
c) equivalent to the gains	12.8%
d) more than the gains	21.8%
e) meaningless, as there is either no gain or a trivial one	12%
f) inestimable, as I did not give anything for those gains	8.4%
g) difficult to answer	14.7%



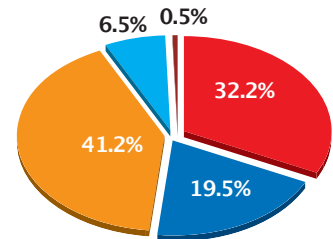
5. Do you think the Karabagh question is the priority issue for Armenia today?

a) Yes	64.9%
b) No	22.1%
c) Difficult to answer	13.0%



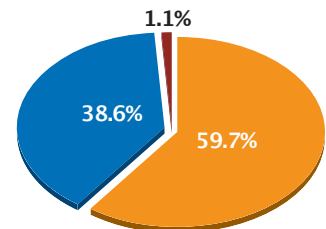
6. The Karabagh issue should be presented as

a) the quest for self-determination of Karabagh's people	32.2%
b) a territorial conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan	19.5%
c) a component part of the Armenian Question	41.2%
d) a result of provocation by "external forces"	6.5%
e) Other:	
an object of speculation for attaining high office	0.05%
a non-issue, as it is already solved and thus there is no need to present it	0.05%
d) difficult to answer	0.5%



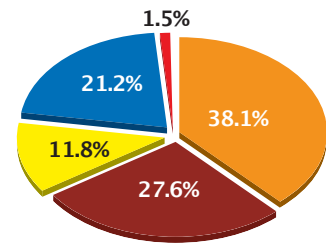
7. How would you like to see the status of Mountainous Karabagh?

a) As a part of Armenia	59.7%
b) As an independent and sovereign republic	38.6%
c) As an autonomous part of Azerbaijan	1.1%
d) Other:	
As the autonomous part of a Caucasus Union	0.05%
As a part of Russia	0.2%
It is all the same	0.05%
At the present stage, de facto a part of Armenia, formally independent and unrecognized	0.05%



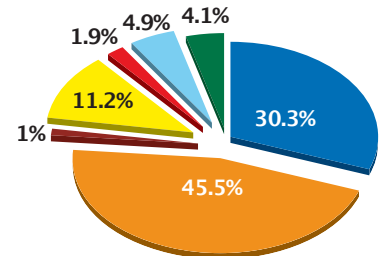
8. Why first and foremost doesn't Mountainous Karabagh belong to Azerbaijan?

a) In Soviet times it was forcibly annexed to the Azerbaijani SSR and during the collapse of the USSR the people of Mountainous Karabagh detached themselves in exercise of their right to self-determination	38.1%
b) Armenians have lived on that land for ages	27.6%
c) We won the war	11.8%
d) In terms of both de jure documents and de facto realities, Karabagh belonged neither to the Musavatist Republic of Azerbaijan (1918-1920) nor to the Azerbaijani Republic that received independence in 1991	21.2%
e) Other:	
Karabagh is an integral part of Armenia	0.05%
They were our lands and we took them back	0.1%
f) Difficult to answer	1.15%



9. How do you see the future of the liberated territories?

a) They will be completely united with Mountainous Karabagh	30.3%
b) They will be united with Armenia together with Mountainous Karabagh	45.5%
c) They will be completely united with Azerbaijan	1%
d) As the result of compromise they will be divided among the parties to the conflict in the following way: the regions of Lachin and Kelbajar to the Armenian side, the rest to Azerbaijan	11.2%
e) As the result of compromise they will be divided among the parties to the conflict in the following way: the region of Lachin to the Armenian side, the rest to Azerbaijan	1.9%
f) They will become a neutral zone under the supervision of international peacekeeping forces	4.9%
g) They will become a neutral zone solely under the supervision of CIS peacekeeping forces	4.1%
h) Other:	
As the result of compromise they will be divided among the parties to the conflict in the following way: the regions of Lachin, Kelbajar, Kubatli, and Zangelan to the Armenian side, the rest to Azerbaijan	0.1%
Lachin and the Shahumian region to the Armenians	0.05%
Kelbajar and Lachin to the Republic of Armenia, the remainder under the supervision of CIS peacekeeping forces	0.05%
The regions of Lachin, Kelbajar, and Zangelan to the Armenians, the remainder to Azerbaijan	0.05%
The regions bordering Armenia must not be given to Azerbaijan	0.05%
As the victor we must set the conditions	0.1%
The lands should be divided between Armenia and Karabagh	0.1%
Whatever the authorities decide	0.05%
They should be exchanged for Nakhijevan	0.1%
i) Difficult to answer	0.45%



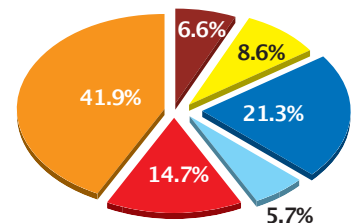
10. We might make territorial concessions to Azerbaijan in the case of

Options	1	2
a) Azerbaijani recognition of Karabagh's independence or its union with Armenia	40.7%	7.4%
b) Azerbaijan's opening of roads leading to Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh	6.4%	8.3%
c) signing a peace accord with Azerbaijan and ruling out war with it	14.1%	12.8%
d) uniting the Shahumian region and the Getashen sub-region with Karabagh	9.4%	9.3%
e) nothing, as the liberated lands cannot be subject to compromises and bargaining, even if that means the resumption of military operations	32.4%	4.4%
f) Other:		
recognition of the Armenian Genocide	0.05%	0.05%
returning Mount Ararat to the Armenians	0.05%	0%
Azerbaijan's exporting oil via Armenia	0%	0.05%
I don't want compromises, but I want war even less	0.3%	0.1%
a swap with Nakhijevan	0%	0.05%
g) Difficult to answer	0.3%	0%
Total	100%	42.5%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 1950 citizens surveyed 42.5% marked a second answer, while the rest chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

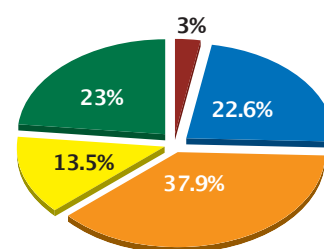
11. In which case would you agree to the return of Azerbaijanis from Karabagh and the liberated territories back to the places of their former residence? Choose one answer only.

a) Before final regulation of the Karabagh issue	6.6%
b) Simultaneously with regulation of the Karabagh issue, if this can promote the regulation process	8.6%
c) Only after final regulation of the Karabagh issue	21.3%
d) In case Azerbaijan also allows Armenian refugees to return to the places of their former residence, including Nakhijevan	5.7%
e) In case Azerbaijan also allows Armenian refugees to return to the places of their former residence, and Turkey allows the Armenian refugees of the beginning of the 20 th Century and their heirs to return to historical Armenia	14.7%
f) Under no condition	41.9%
g) Other:	
In case guarantees for security are provided	0.05%
In case they resign their nationality and religion	0.05%
The Azerbaijanis should return to Armenia to enable us to exert pressure on Azerbaijani policy, if necessary	0.05%
In case Turkey and Azerbaijan recognize the Armenian Genocide and fulfill the obligations stemming from it	0.1%
In case Karabagh becomes a part of the Russian Federation	0.05%
In case Azerbaijan recognizes Karabagh's independence, and Turkey the Armenian Genocide	0.7%
h) Difficult to answer	0.2%



12. The Karabagh negotiation process

a) completely satisfies you	3%
b) more satisfies than dissatisfies you	22.6%
c) more dissatisfies than satisfies you	37.9%
d) completely dissatisfies you	13.5%
e) is difficult to evaluate for lack of information	23%

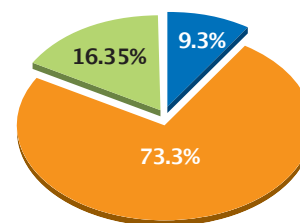
**13. If you are not satisfied with this process, whom do you hold accountable?**

Options	1	2
a) Former administration	29.5%	8.5%
b) Current administration	34.6%	14.8%
c) Mediating organizations	10.5%	11.9%
d) International community	9%	12.6%
e) Armenian society	1.7%	3.3%
f) All Armenians	3.6%	3.2%
g) Turkey	6.6%	7.8%
h) Other:		
USA	0%	0.05%
None	2.8%	0%
Azerbaijan	0.6%	0.3%
The opposition	0.05%	0.05%
Our ancestors	0.05%	0%
Information outlets	0%	0.05%
Everybody	0.05%	0%
Myself	0.05%	0%
i) Difficult to answer	0.9%	0%
Total	100%	62.5%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 1950 citizens surveyed 62.5% marked a second answer, while the rest chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

14. Who should take part in the negotiations?

a) Armenia and Azerbaijan	9.3%
b) Armenia, Republic of Mountainous Karabagh, and Azerbaijan	73.3%
c) Mountainous Karabagh and Azerbaijan	16.35%
d) Other:	
Armenia, Mountainous Karabagh, Azerbaijan, Russia, and CIS	0.5%
No need for negotiations, as the issue is solved	0.1%
It is all the same who will take part	0.1%
Armenia, Karabagh, Azerbaijan, and a strong foreign power	0.05%
Armenia, Karabagh, USA, and Russia	0.05%
Diaspora Armenians	0.05%
Armenia, Karabagh, Azerbaijan, OSCE, and Iran	0.1%
All interested parties	0.1%



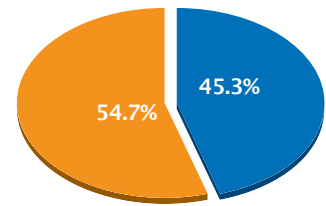
15. Who carries the ultimate right to determine the destiny of Karabagh?

Options	1	2
a) The citizens of Mountainous Karabagh	28.9%	5.5%
b) The authorities of Mountainous Karabagh	5.3%	7.5%
c) The citizens of Armenia	4%	5%
d) The authorities of Armenia	2.5%	3%
e) Armenia and Karabagh together	34.2%	15.1%
f) All Armenians	24.4%	21.7%
g) Other:		
International community	0%	0.2%
Azerbaijan	0%	0.05%
Russia	0.1%	0.2%
Only those who have decided it with their life and blood	0.05%	0%
USA	0%	0.05%
All Armenians have determined the destiny of Karabagh, and we must continue struggling for resolution of the Armenian Question	0.05%	0%
World superpowers	0.1%	0%
God alone	0.2%	0%
United Nations	0%	0.05%
h) Difficult to answer	0.2%	0%
Total	100%	58.3%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 1950 citizens surveyed 58.3% marked a second answer, while the rest chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

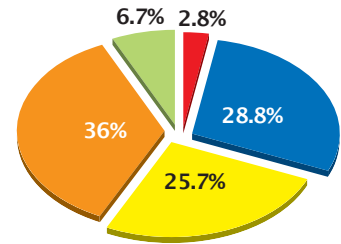
16. Are you familiar with the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group?

a) Yes	45.3%
b) No	54.7%



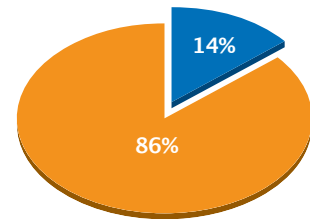
17. Which of the co-chair countries in the OSCE Minsk Group has a position more in correspondence with the Armenian one?

a) USA	2.8%
b) Russian Federation	28.8%
c) France	25.7%
d) None	36%
e) Difficult to Answer	6.7%



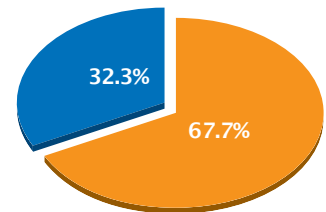
18. Do you think the problem cannot be solved peacefully and it is possible only by means of a new war?

a) Yes	14%
b) No	86%



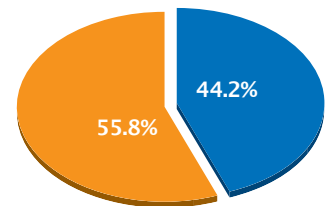
19. In the event of a new war, are you ready to participate to your utmost in the defense of Mountainous Karabagh?

a) Yes	67.7%
b) No	32.3%



20. Would you agree to freeze the Karabagh issue in its current, unregulated state and circumstance (status quo)?

a) Yes	44.2%
b) No	55.8%



21. Delaying regulation of the problem can help

Options	1	2
a) to solve it in the future when Armenia will have achieved a considerable political and economic advantage	25.8%	7.9%
b) to solve it in the future when Armenia will have achieved a considerable military advantage	9.4%	8.3%
c) to reduce the importance of borders and territories for the Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Karabaghtsi publics	4.1%	4.2%
d) to prepare the societies for compromises and their non-painful acceptance	8.7%	7.6%
e) the international community and Azerbaijan to become reconciled to the actual independence of Mountainous Karabagh	29.3%	14.4%
f) to solve nothing	21.8%	3%
g) Other:		
to solve it with the help of Russia	0.05%	0%
to solve it upon recognition of the Armenian Genocide and as part of the Armenian Question	0%	0.05%
to repopulate Karabagh and the liberated lands	0%	0.05%
Karabagh to prove its capacity to live independently	0.05%	0%
to have Karabagh join the Russian Federation	0.05%	0%
to avoid war	0.2%	0%
on the contrary to obstruct the development of Armenia and Karabagh	0.05%	0%
to solve the problem in favor of Azerbaijan	0.05%	0%
to empower Azerbaijan and encourage it to resume the war	0.05%	0%
h) Difficult to answer	0.2%	0%
Total	100%	45.9%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 1950 citizens surveyed 58.3% marked a second answer, while the rest chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.