



Poll conducted in Nagorno-Karabakh: Full report

November 2010

Methodology

804 interviews conducted face to face 22nd – 26th October 2010. Data accurate to a margin of error of +/-3.45% at 95% confidence.

Interviews were conducted across Nagorno-Karabakh, in Stepanakert and in the regions of Askeran, Hadrut, Martakert, Martuni and Shushi. The sample was distributed proportionally to reflect the population distribution in Nagorno-Karabakh. 40% of interviews were conducted in Stepanakert, 60% in the specified regions.

Interviewers selected households to approach using the random walking method to ensure no selection bias. 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 3 call backs were made to conduct the interview later. If a call-back was not successful or if a respondent could not take part for other reasons they were substituted with a respondent of the same demographic characteristics (gender, age and educational level).

Quality control

Completed questionnaires were checked in order to ensure a high quality of interviewing.

Route records were checked to ensure that interviews had been selected randomly. 15% of interviews conducted were accompanied by co-ordinators.

21% of the sample was called back by IPSC to confirm demographic details and that the interview took place in the conditions recorded. 25% of inputted questionnaires were checked to ensure 100% accuracy. In total, 4 interviews were rejected (0.4%).

10% of interviews were randomly selected by Populus and called back to confirm key demographic information and two opinion questions. This consistency back-check resulted in the precautionary elimination of 2 interviews.

Extensive mathematical checks were conducted on the data file by Populus to see if there were any logically inconsistent or inaccurate interviews. No cases of this sort were found.

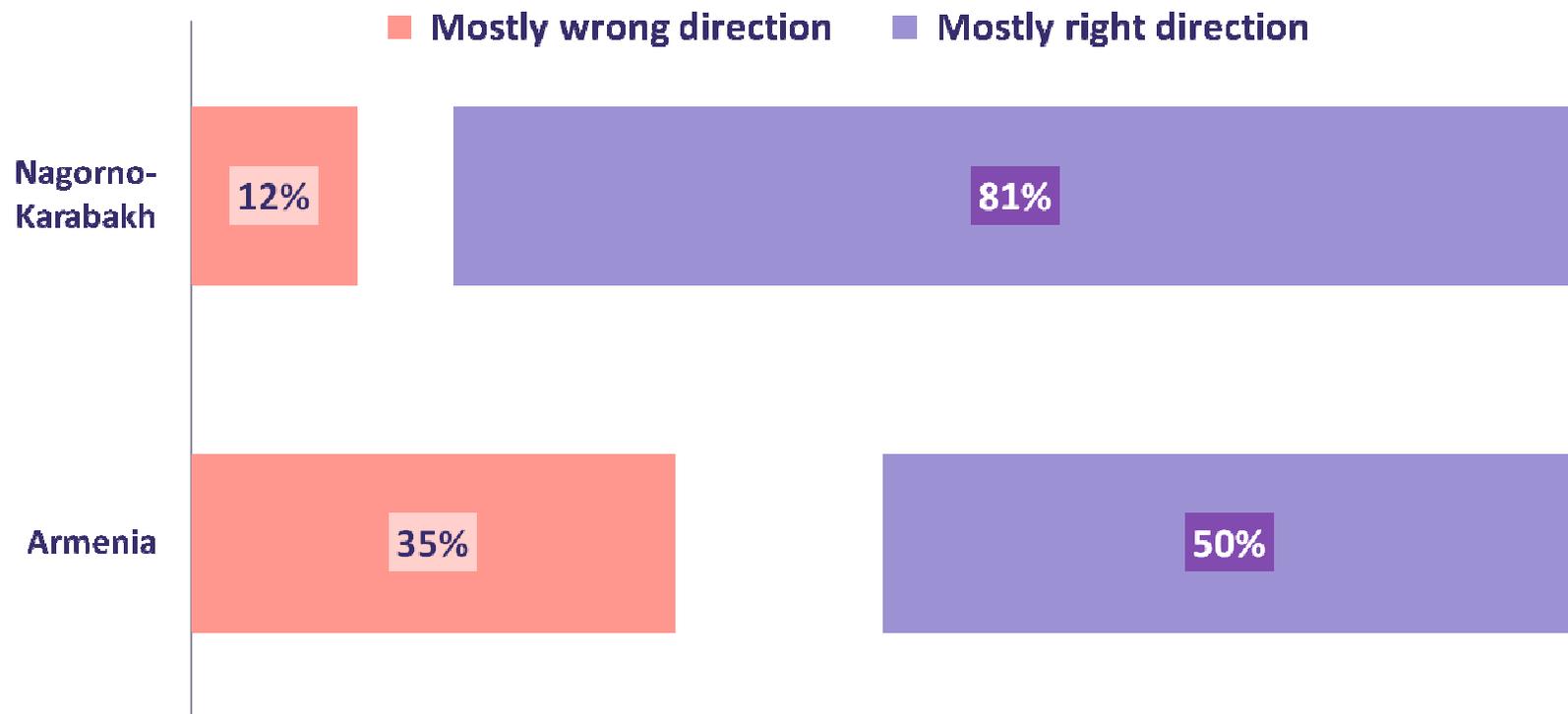
Randomly selected original poll questionnaires were reviewed by Populus to confirm that they were conducted and recorded professionally and accurately.

Life in Nagorno-Karabakh

People in Nagorno-Karabakh are even more positive about the direction of political life in NK than people in Armenia are about the direction of political life in Armenia.

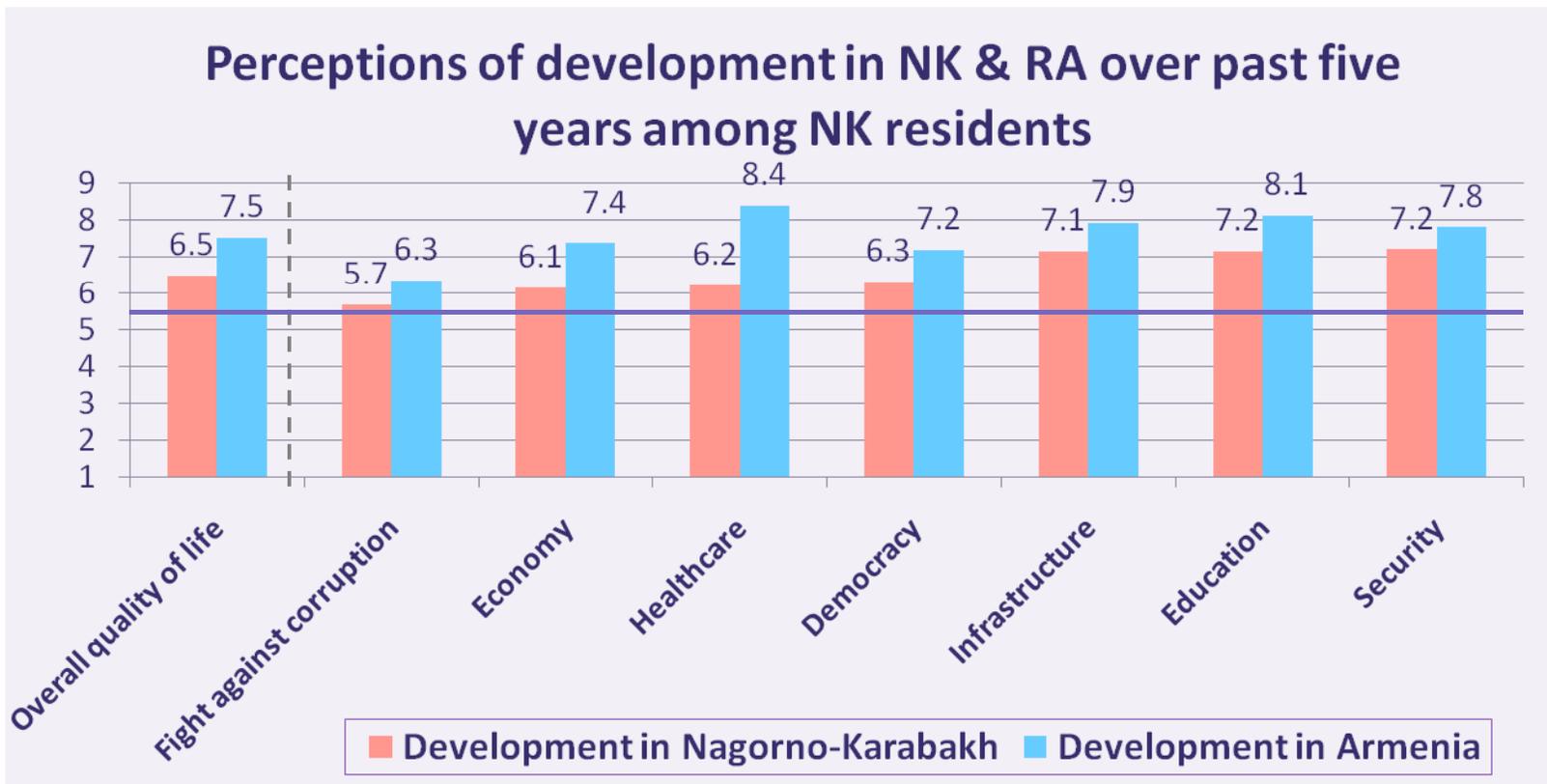
Q Do you believe that the political life of the country is generally going in the right or wrong direction?

Is NK's / RA's political life going in the wrong or right direction?



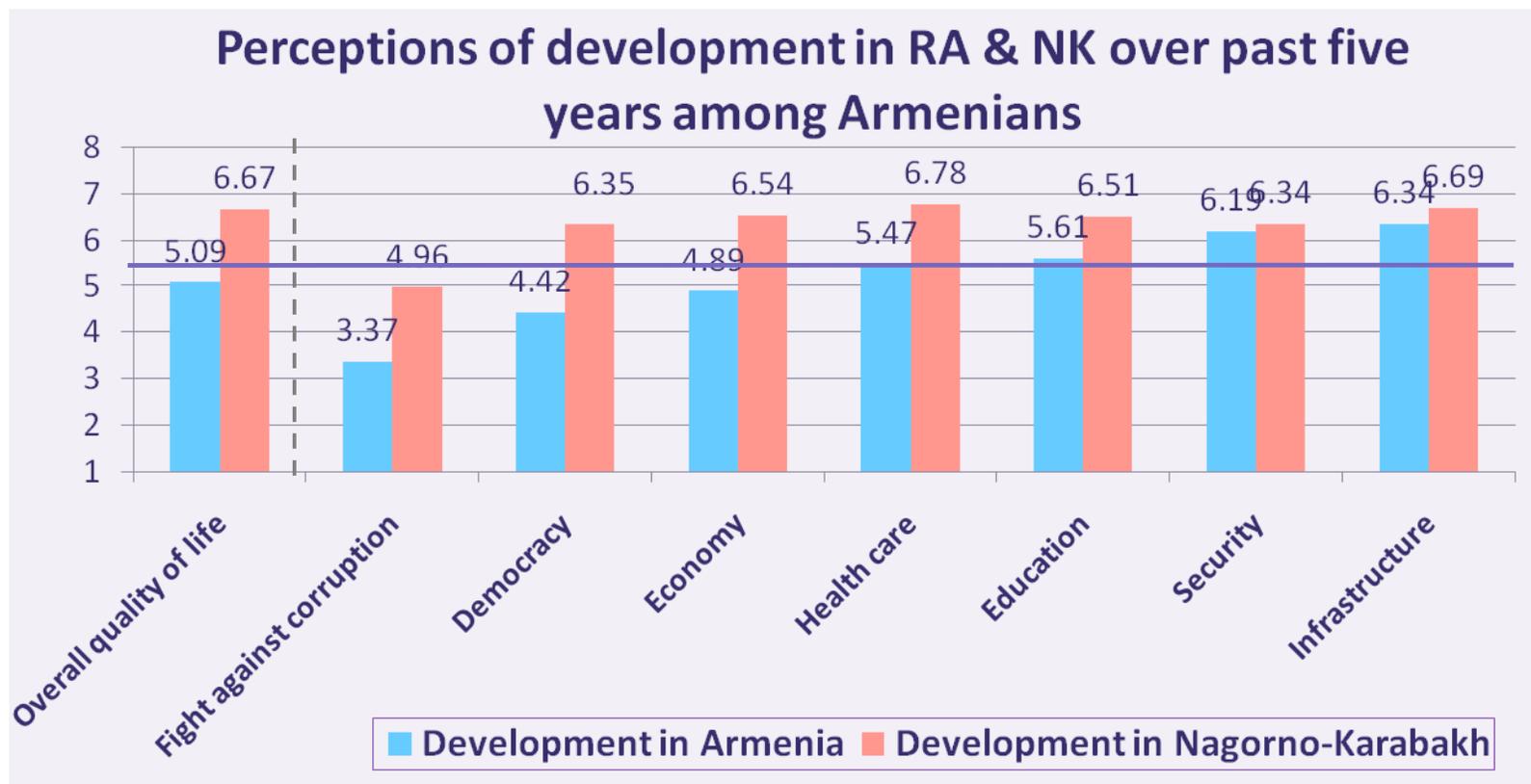
People in NK think that their country has made good progress in all areas in the past five years and they believe that Armenia has seen even greater improvements.

Q *In your opinion, how well developed are the following aspects of RA / NK compared to the situation 5 years ago? Please evaluate by 10 degree scale, where 1 is not developed at all and 10 is very developed*



People in Armenia, by contrast, think progress has been greater in NK than in Armenia.

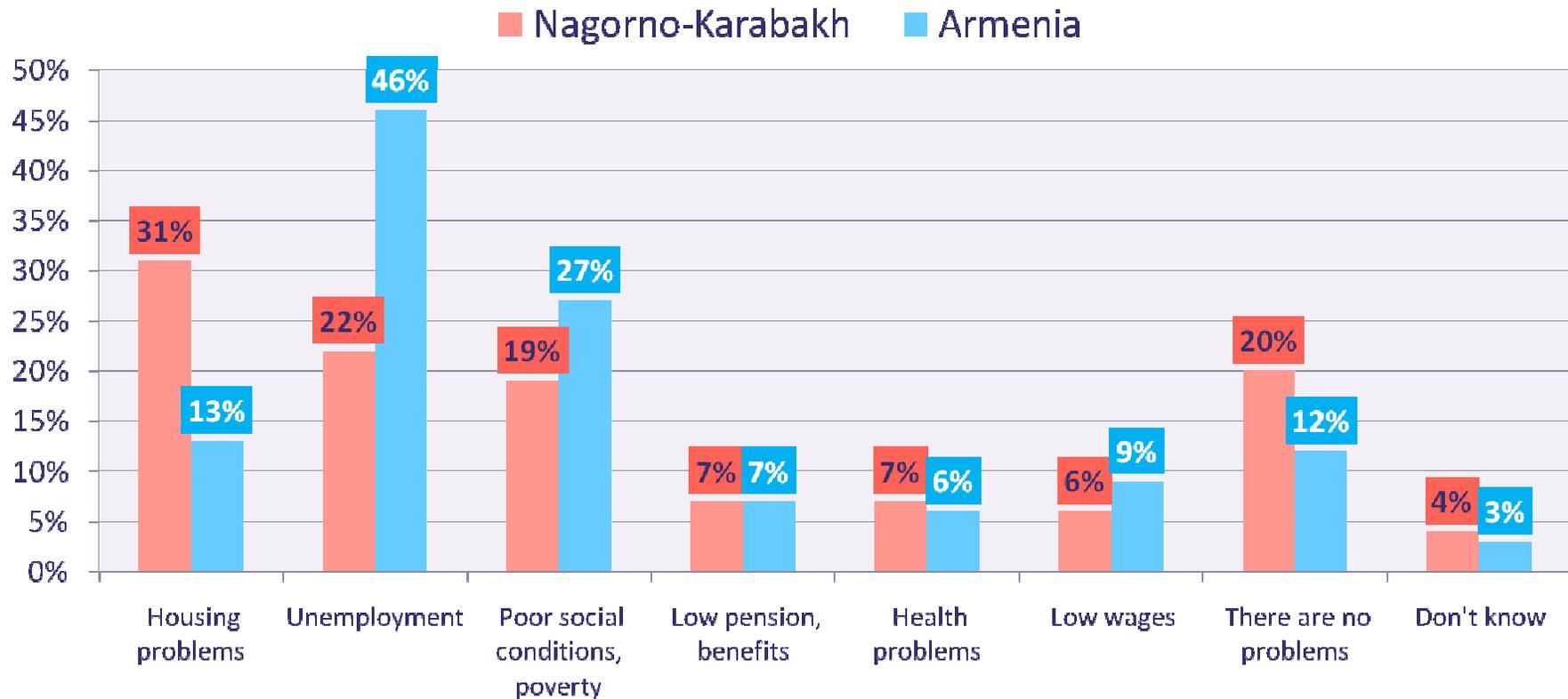
Q *In your opinion, how well developed are the following aspects of RA / NK compared to the situation 5 years ago? Please evaluate by 10 degree scale, where 1 is not developed at all and 10 is very developed*



Housing problems are a much more pressing issue for people in NK than for people in Armenia, while unemployment is a more pressing issue in Armenia.

Q Please specify the most pressing problem which your family faces nowadays? *Open question*

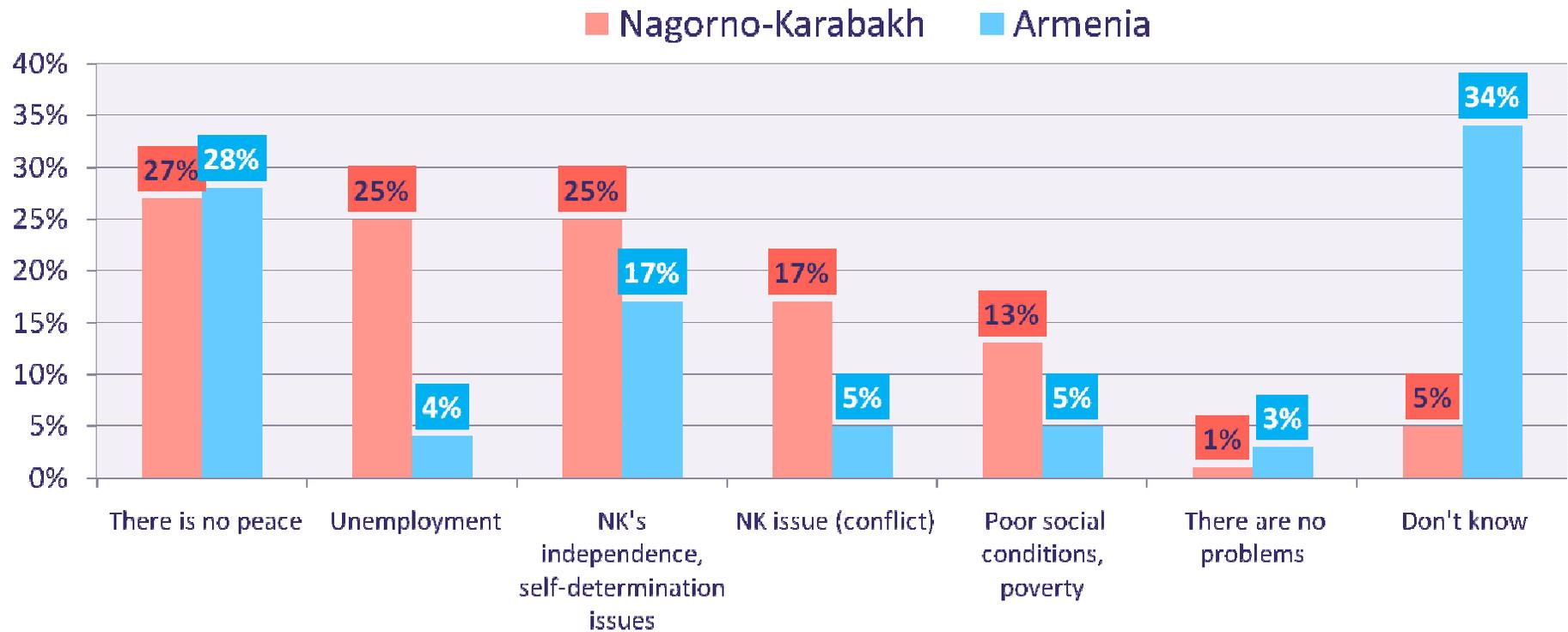
Most pressing problems facing people's families



The conflict is viewed as the most pressing issue for NK, both among residents of NK and Armenia. However, NK residents also say that unemployment is a big issue, which people in Armenia do not perceive to be a key problem in NK.

Q Please specify the most pressing problem which NK faces nowadays? *Open question*

What people in NK and RA think are the most pressing problems facing Nagorno-Karabakh

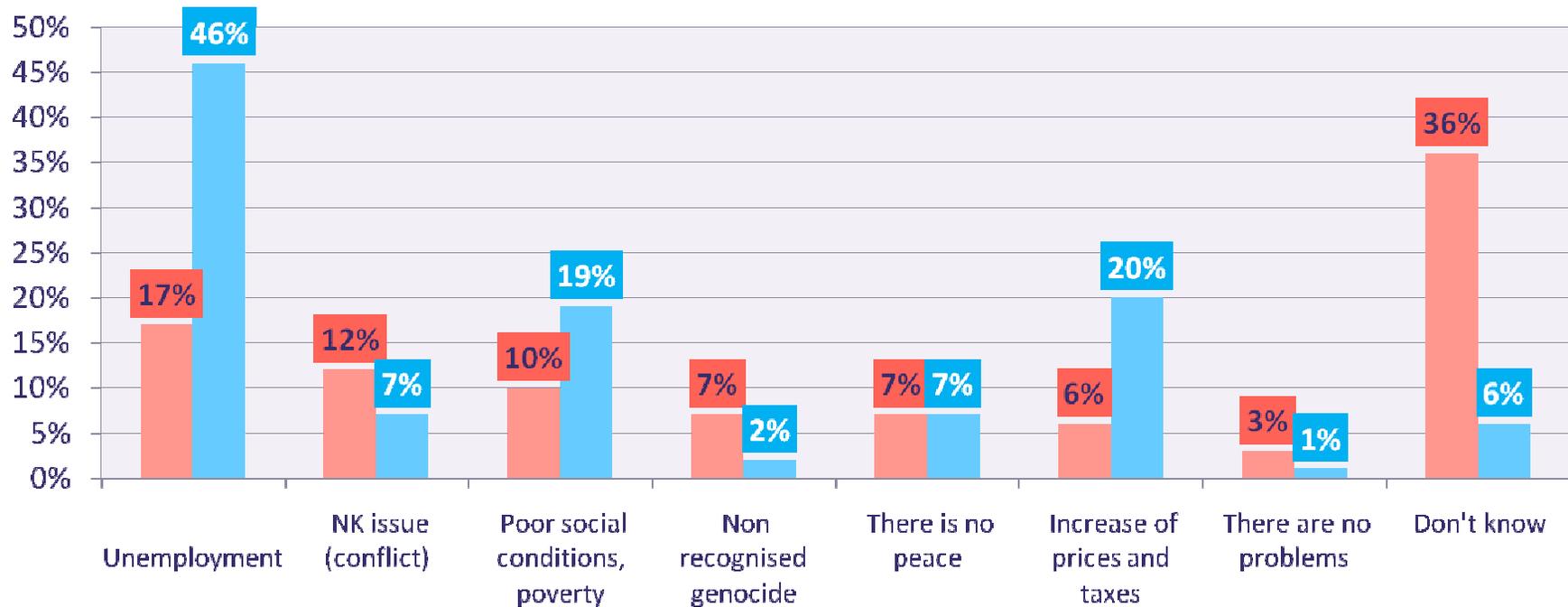


Many people in NK don't know what the biggest issues facing RA are – the same as the other way round. Karabakhi people believe that unemployment is a smaller issue in Armenia than thought in Armenia itself – the same as the other way round.

Q Please specify the most pressing problem which RA faces nowadays? *Open question*

What people in NK and RA think are the most pressing problems facing Armenia

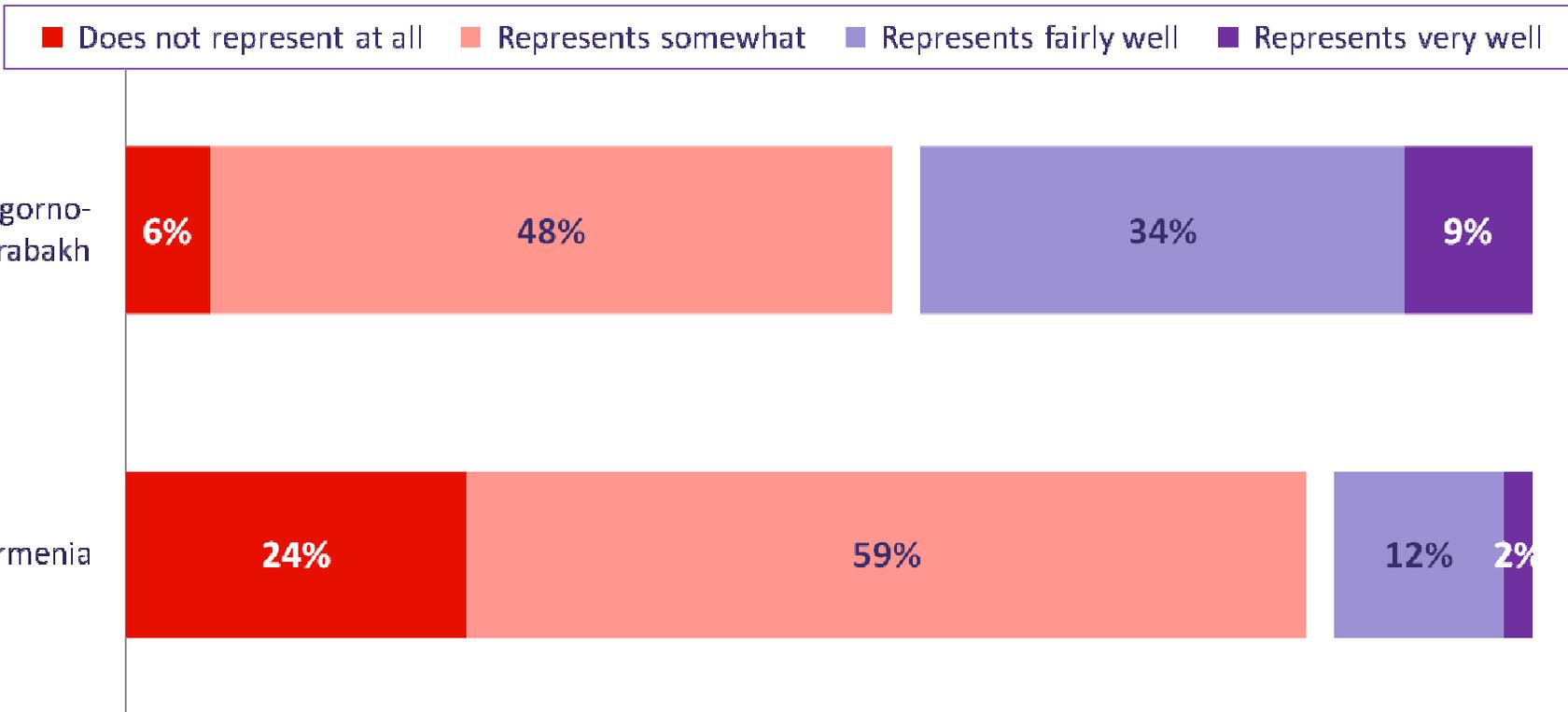
■ Nagorno-Karabakh ■ Armenia



A majority in both countries think that their government does not represent them well, but many more people in NK think that their government *does* somehow represent them.

Q In your opinion, how well does your country's Government represent the interests of its population?

How well people in NK and RA feel their Government represents them

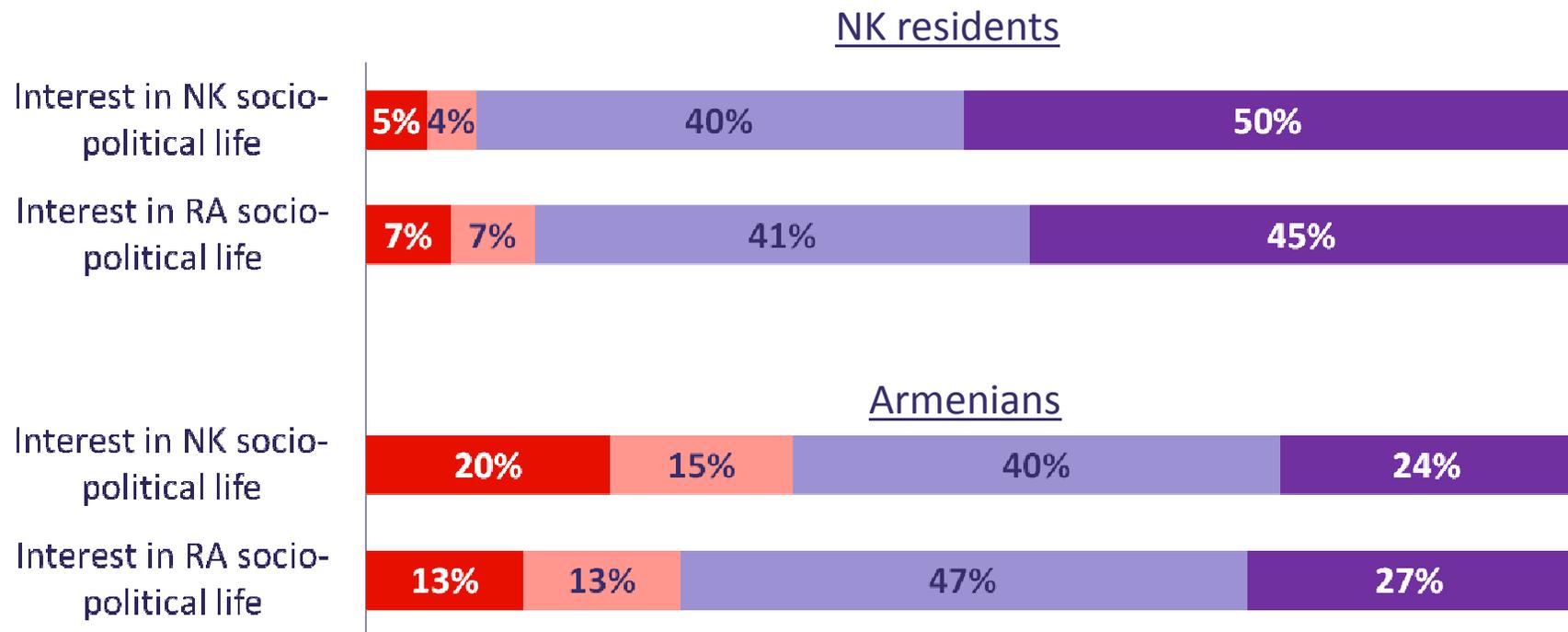


People in NK are more interested in the socio-political and economic life of Nagorno-Karabakh than people in Armenia, and they are even more interested in socio-political life in Armenia than Armenians themselves.

Q Could you please tell us how interested you are in socio-political and economic life in RA and NK?

Interest in the socio-political & economic life of NK & RA

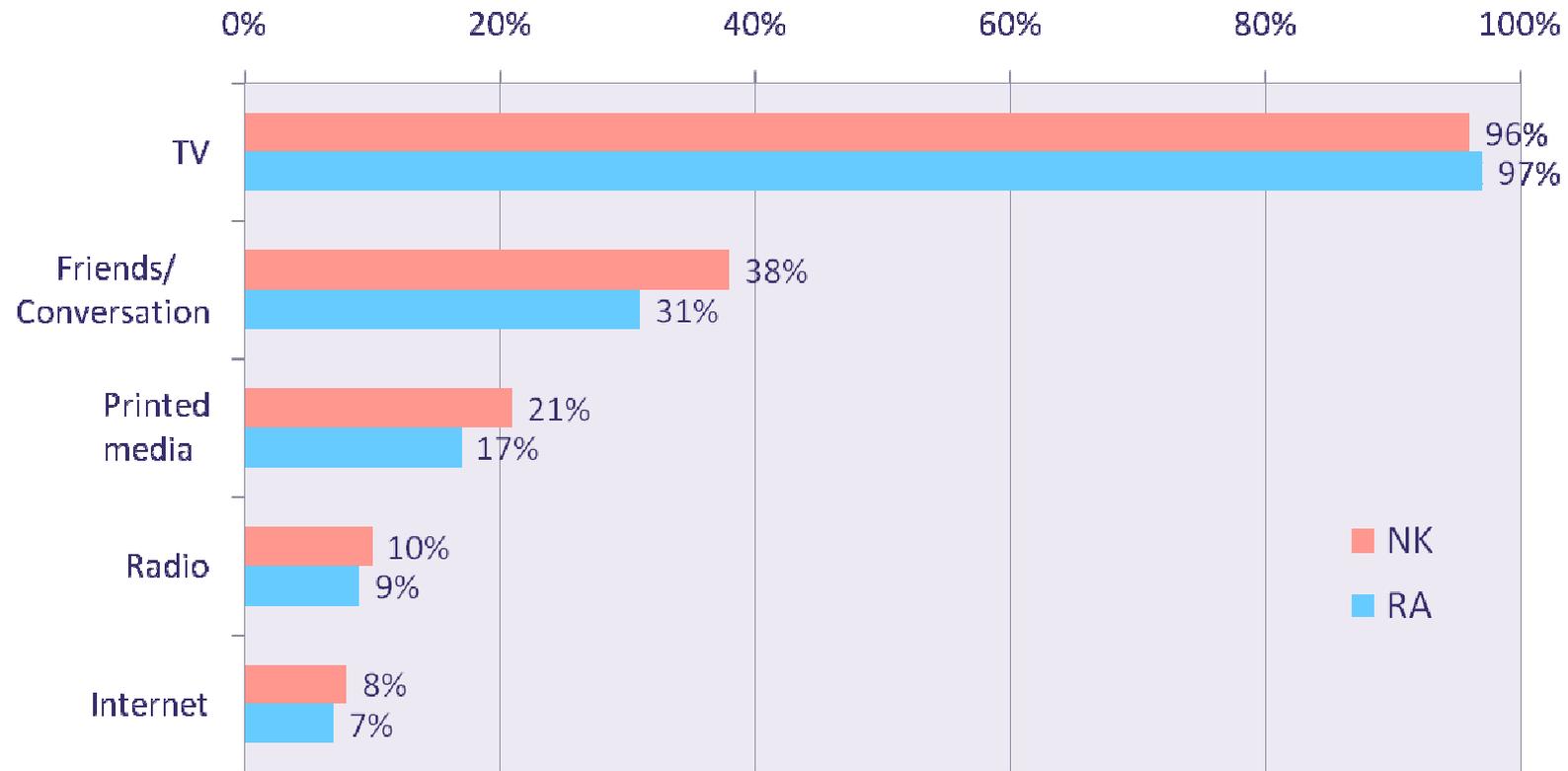
■ Not at all interested ■ Hardly interested ■ Quite interested ■ Very interested



**Almost all people in NK get their information about RA and NK from TV.
Armenians also receive most of their information about RA and NK by TV.**

Q How are you usually informed of socio-political news/events on RA/NK? Please specify and rank up to 3 mostly used sources of information.

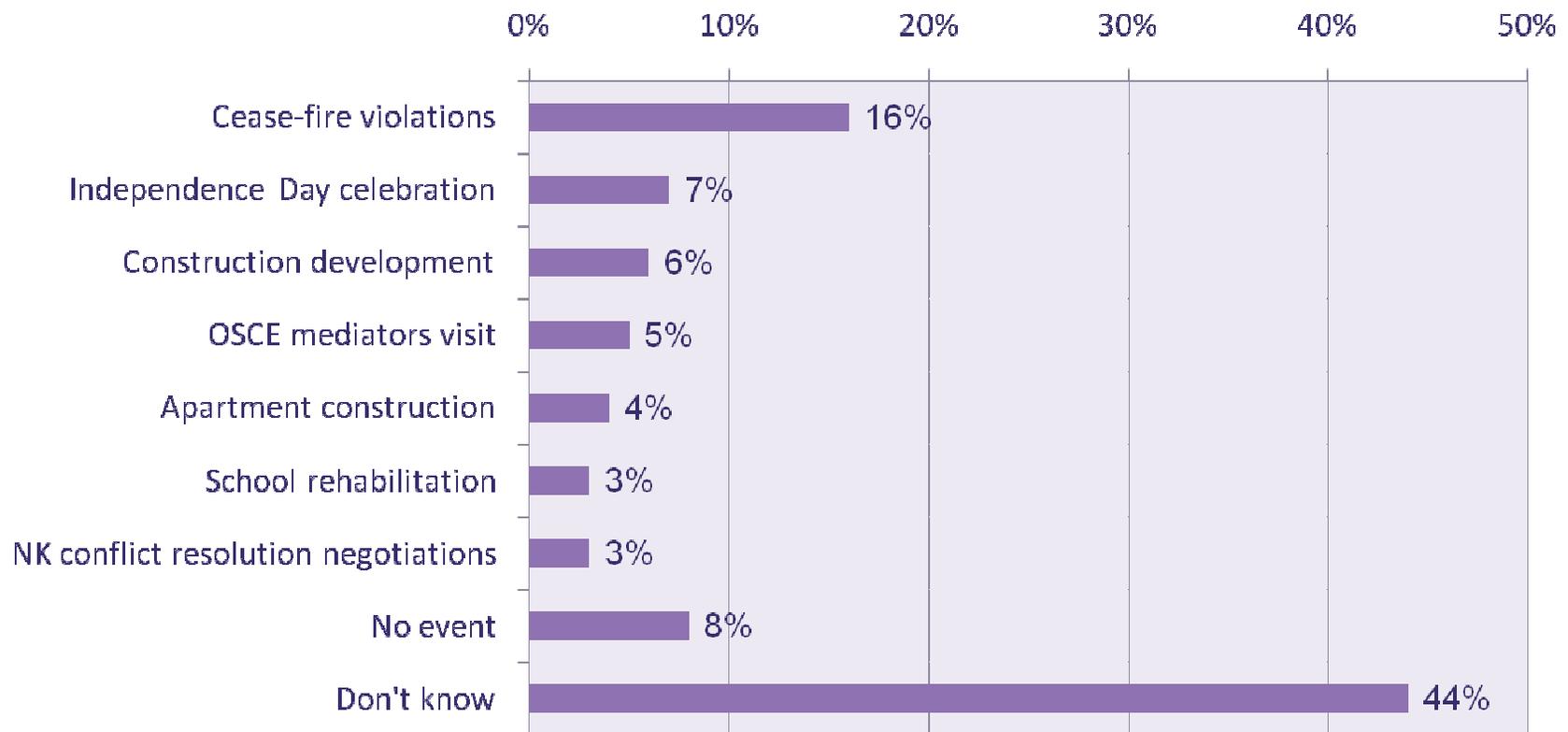
Main sources of information about socio-political news & events in NK & RA



Many NK residents don't have a response to what the most remarkable recent events in NK were. As in Armenia, the most mentioned is ceasefire violations.

Q Please specify what you think are the most remarkable socio-political events that have taken place in RA and NK during the last three months. **Open question**

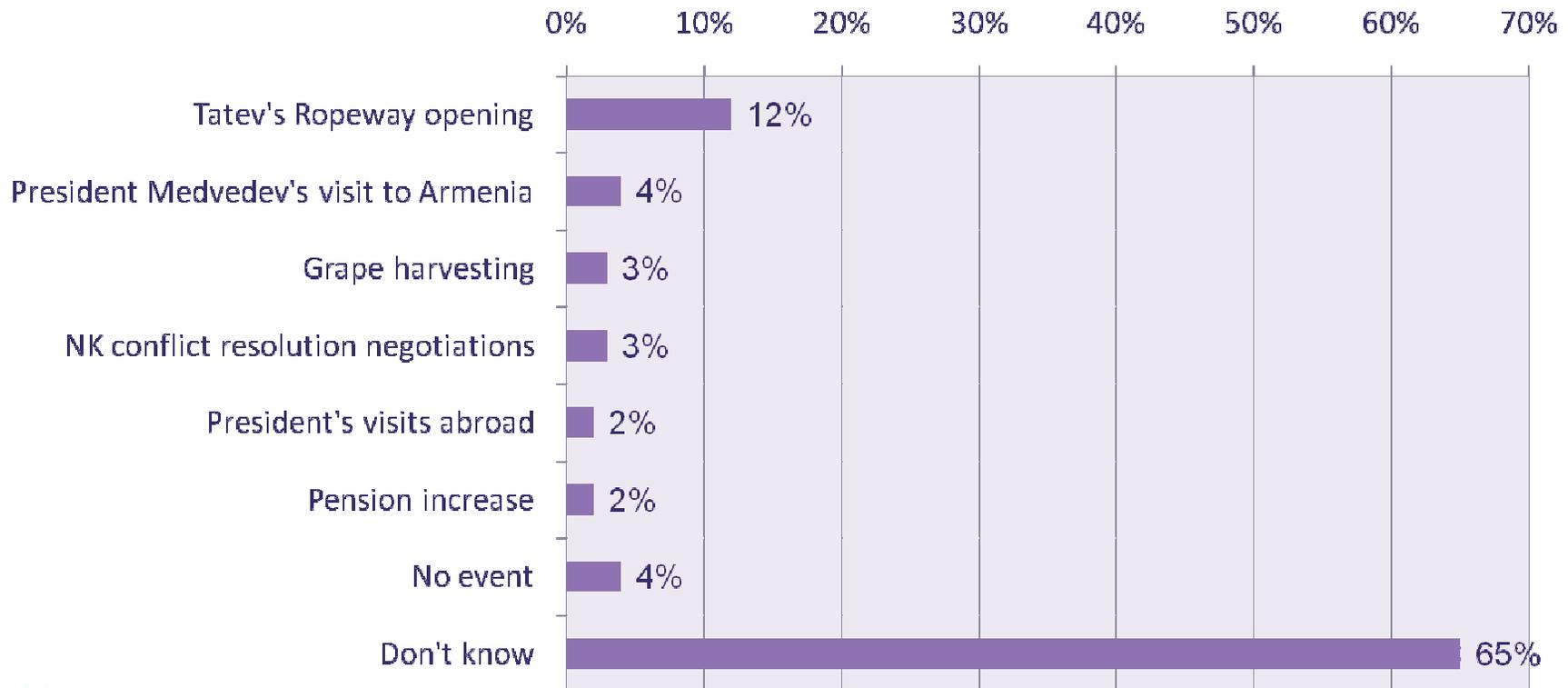
Most remarkable recent events in NK



Most NK residents don't know what have been the most remarkable recent events in Armenia, but the one event noticed by a significant number was Tatev's ropeway opening. This was also the event most mentioned in Armenia.

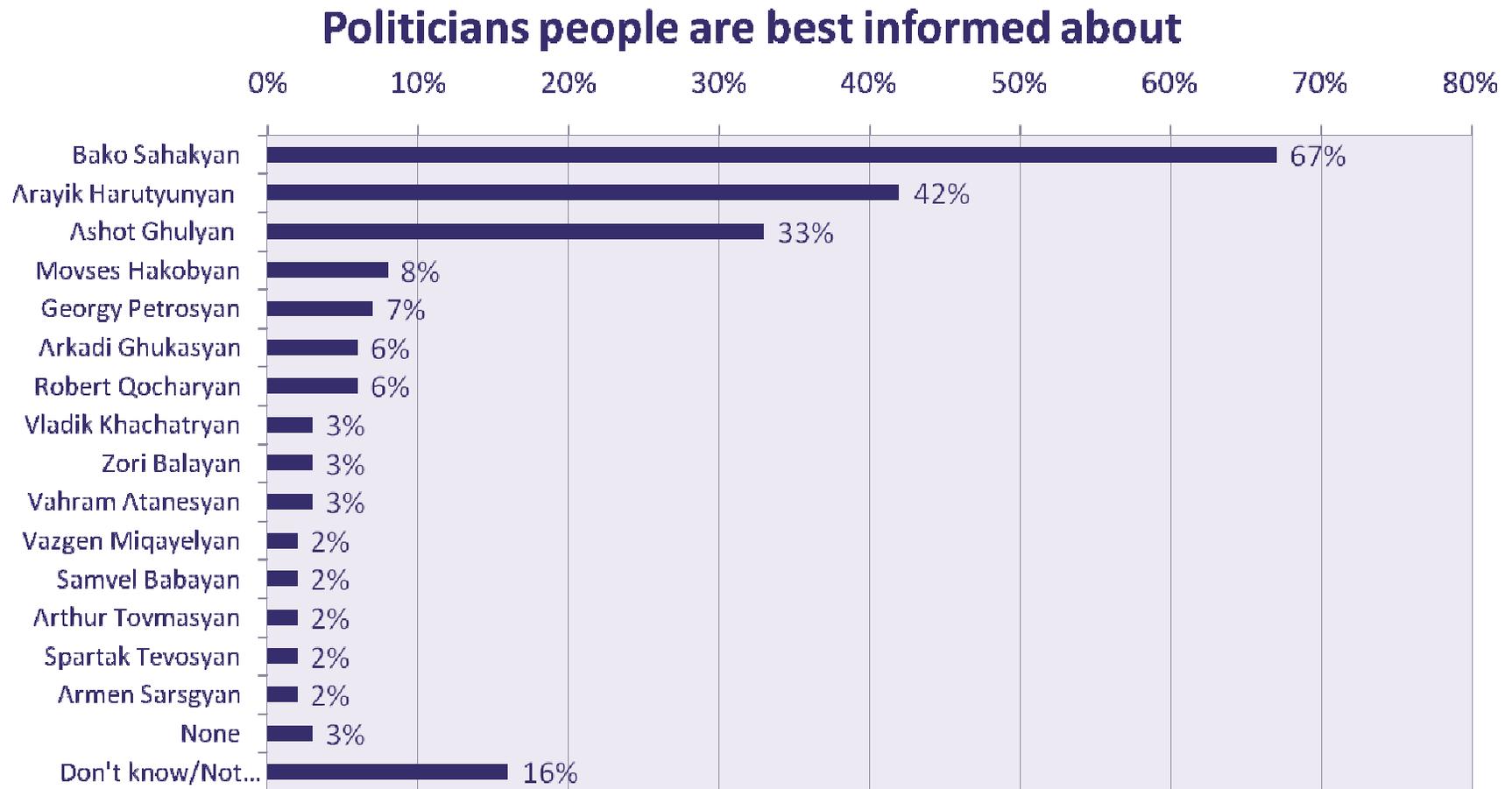
Q Please specify what you think are the most remarkable socio-political events that have taken place in RA and NK during the last three months. **Open question**

Most remarkable recent events in RA



The current President and Prime Minister are the two politicians people feel most informed about, followed by the Speaker of the Parliament.

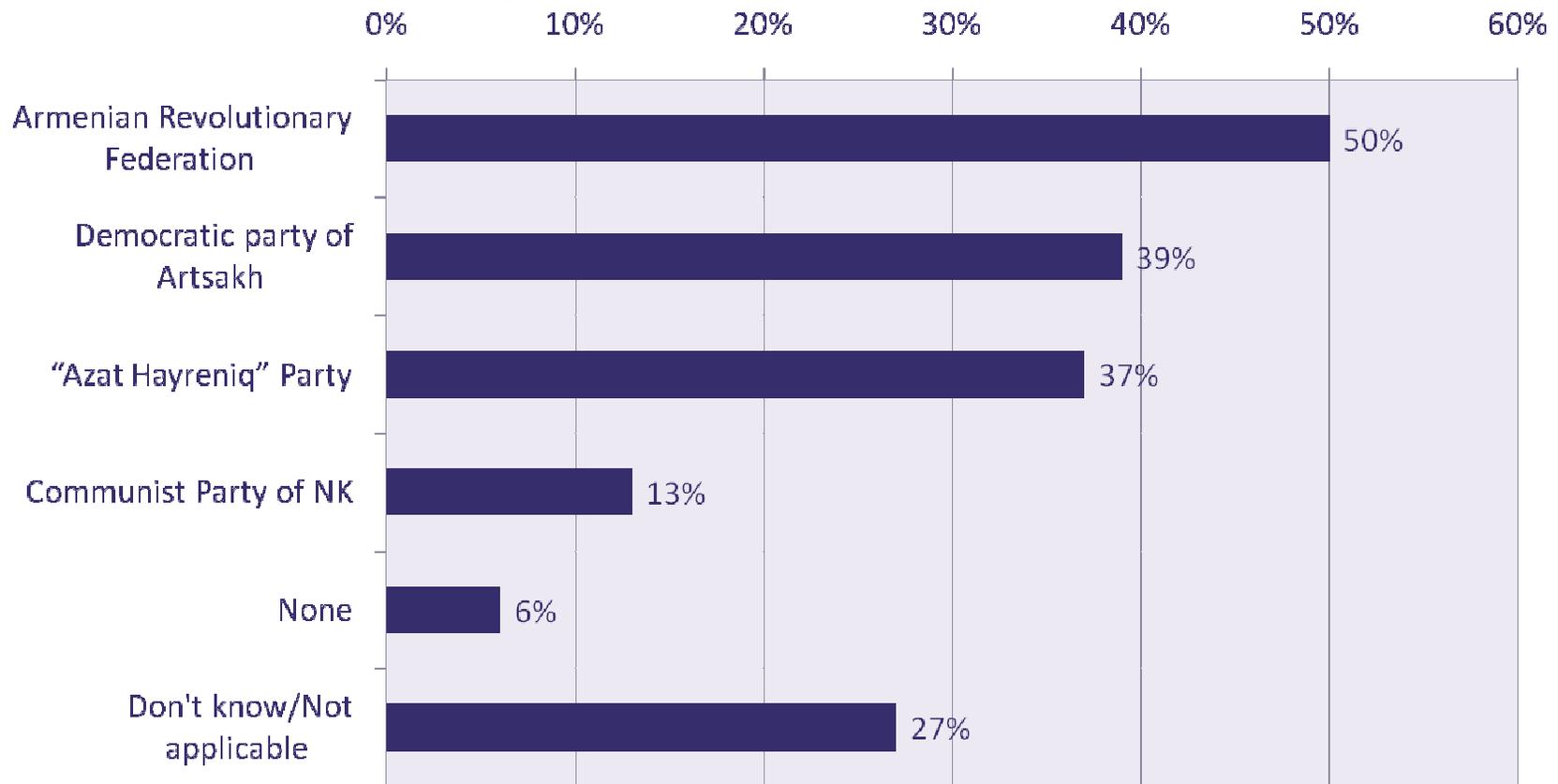
Q Please name up to 5 politicians, whose current activities you are informed about the best. *Open question*



The Armenian Revolutionary Federation is well known by half of the population. Almost four in ten NK residents also say they are well informed about the Democratic Party of Artsakh and the “Azat Hayreniq” Party.

Q Please name up to 5 parties, whose current activities you are informed about the best. **Open question**

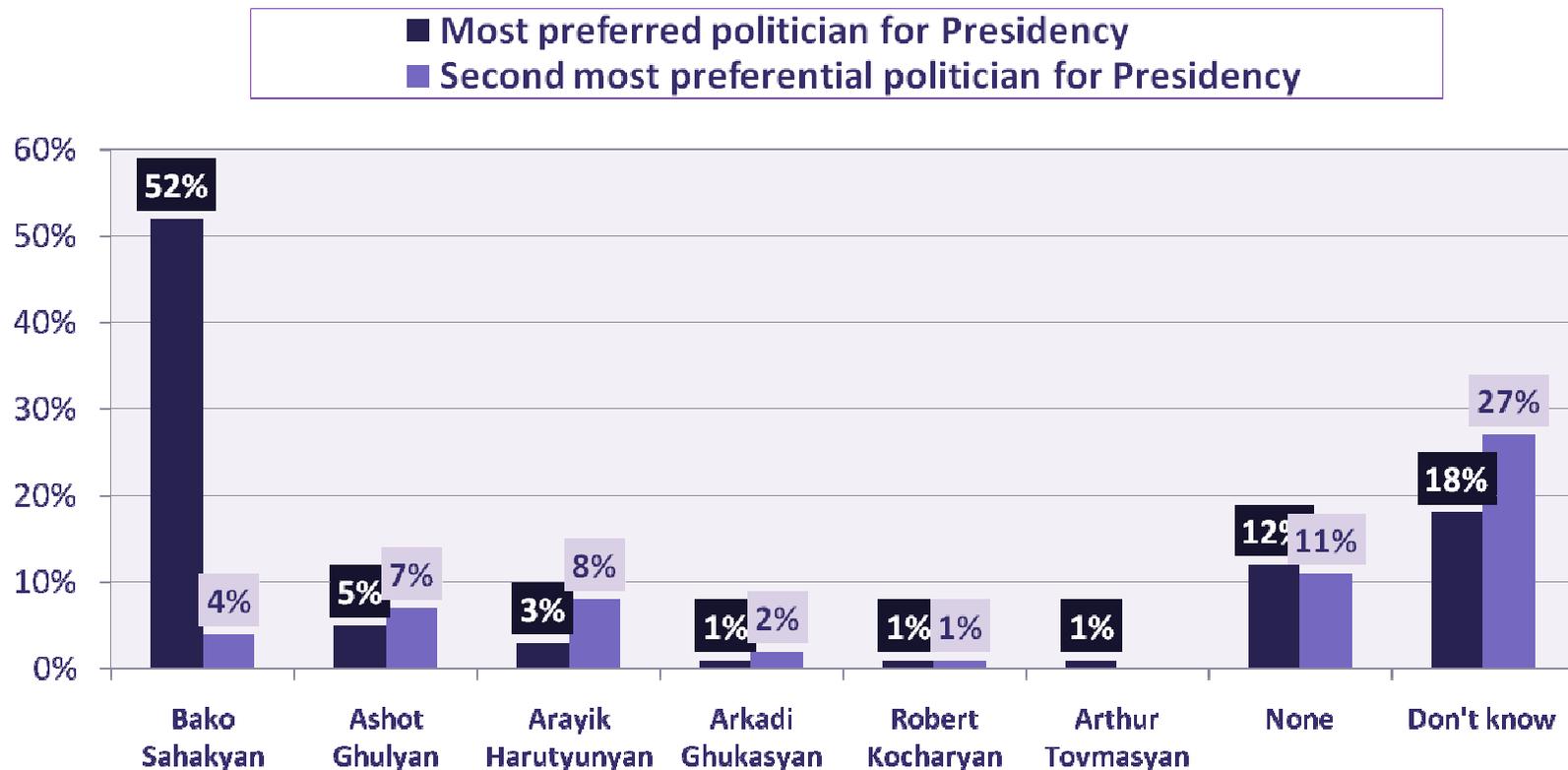
Parties people are best informed about



Bako Sahakyan is overwhelmingly the choice of people in Nagorno-Karabakh for their Presidency.

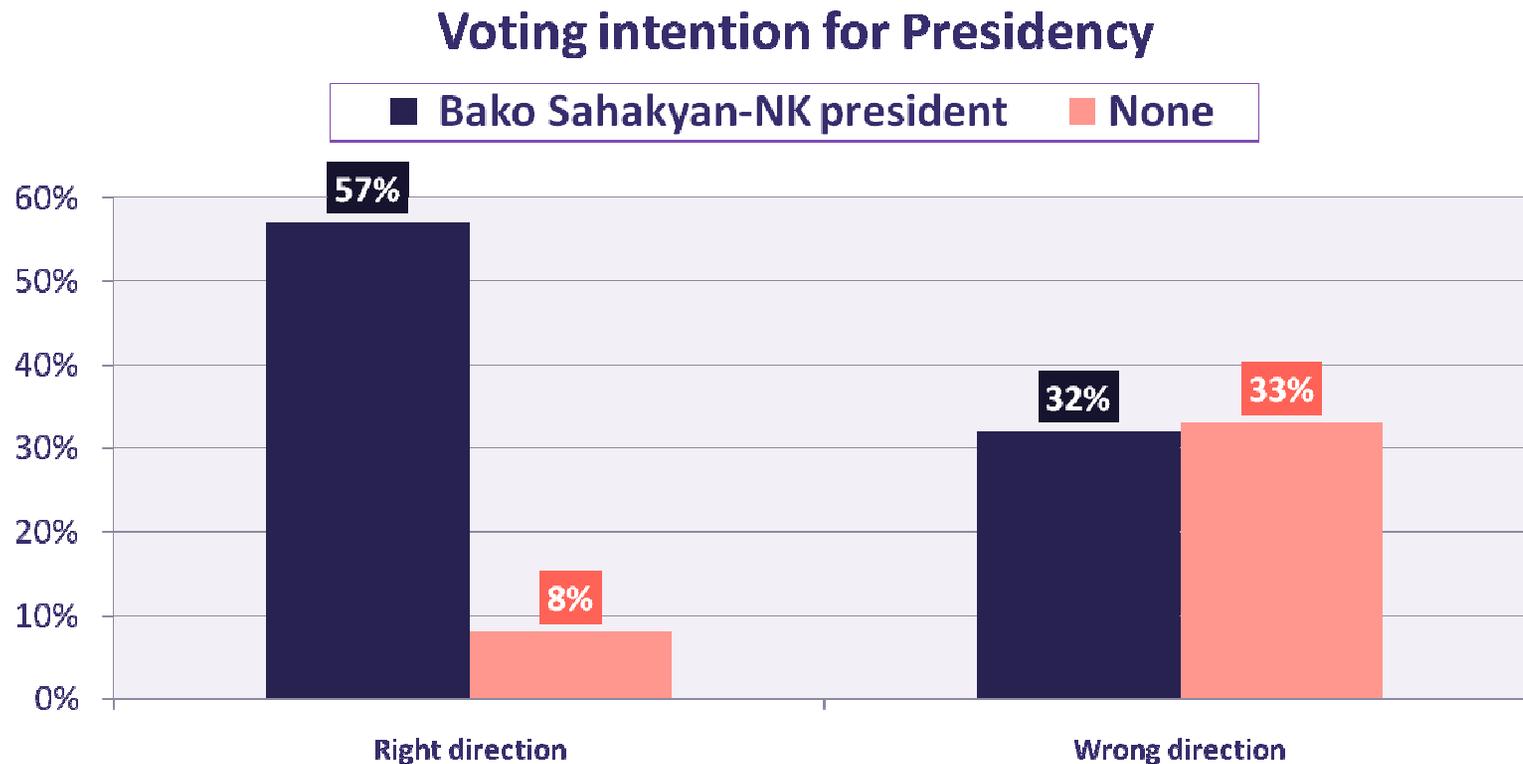
Q *If Presidential Elections were conducted next Sunday which politician would you personally vote for? Who you would vote for if your preferred politician did not participate in the elections? **Open question***

Voting intention for Presidency



People who think the country is going in the wrong direction are much less likely to support Mr Sahakyan, but a third would still vote for him.

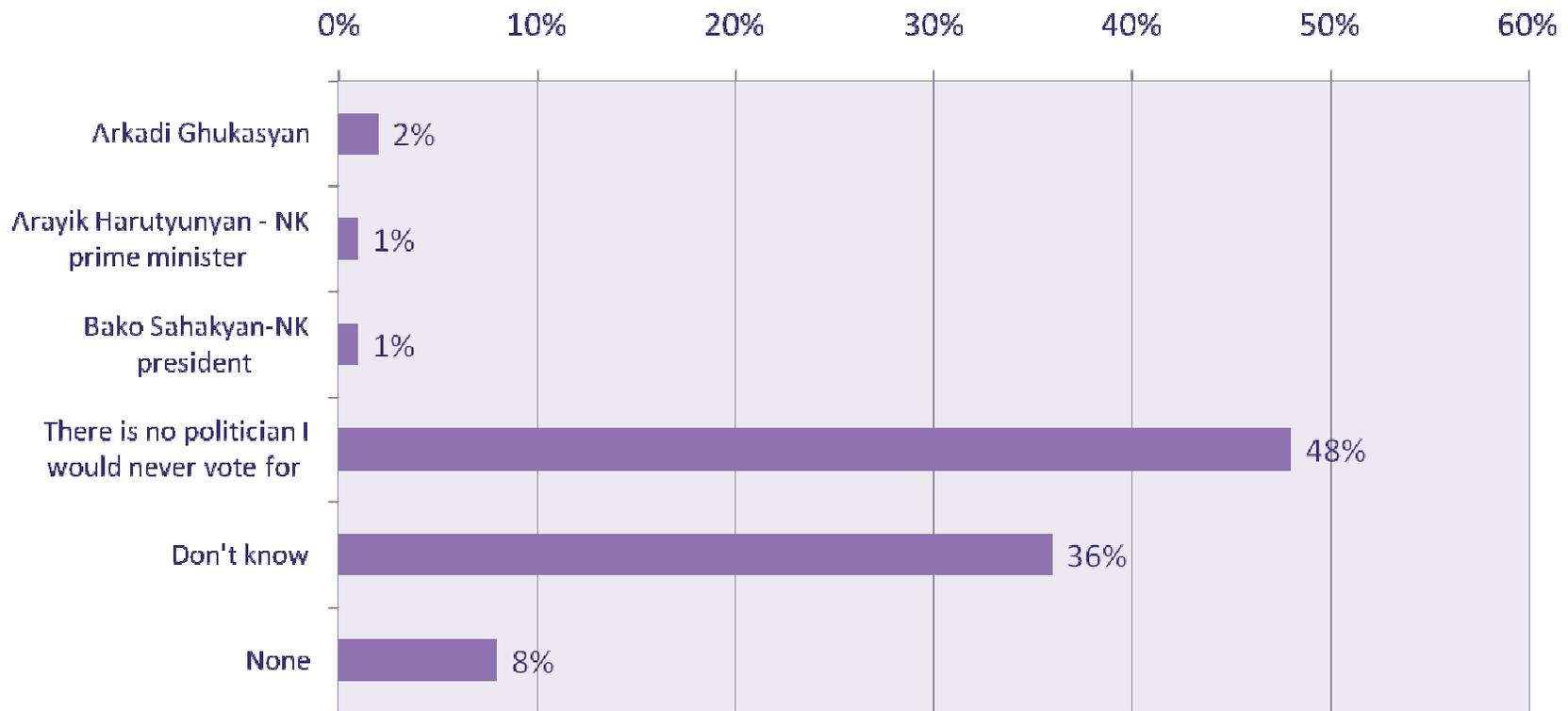
Q *If Presidential Elections were conducted next Sunday which politician would you personally vote for? Open question*



There is no politician whom more than a tiny number of people in Nagorno-Karabakh would never vote for. This is very different in Armenia, where most people have strong reservations about some politicians.

Q Which politicians would you never vote for in the elections? *Open question*

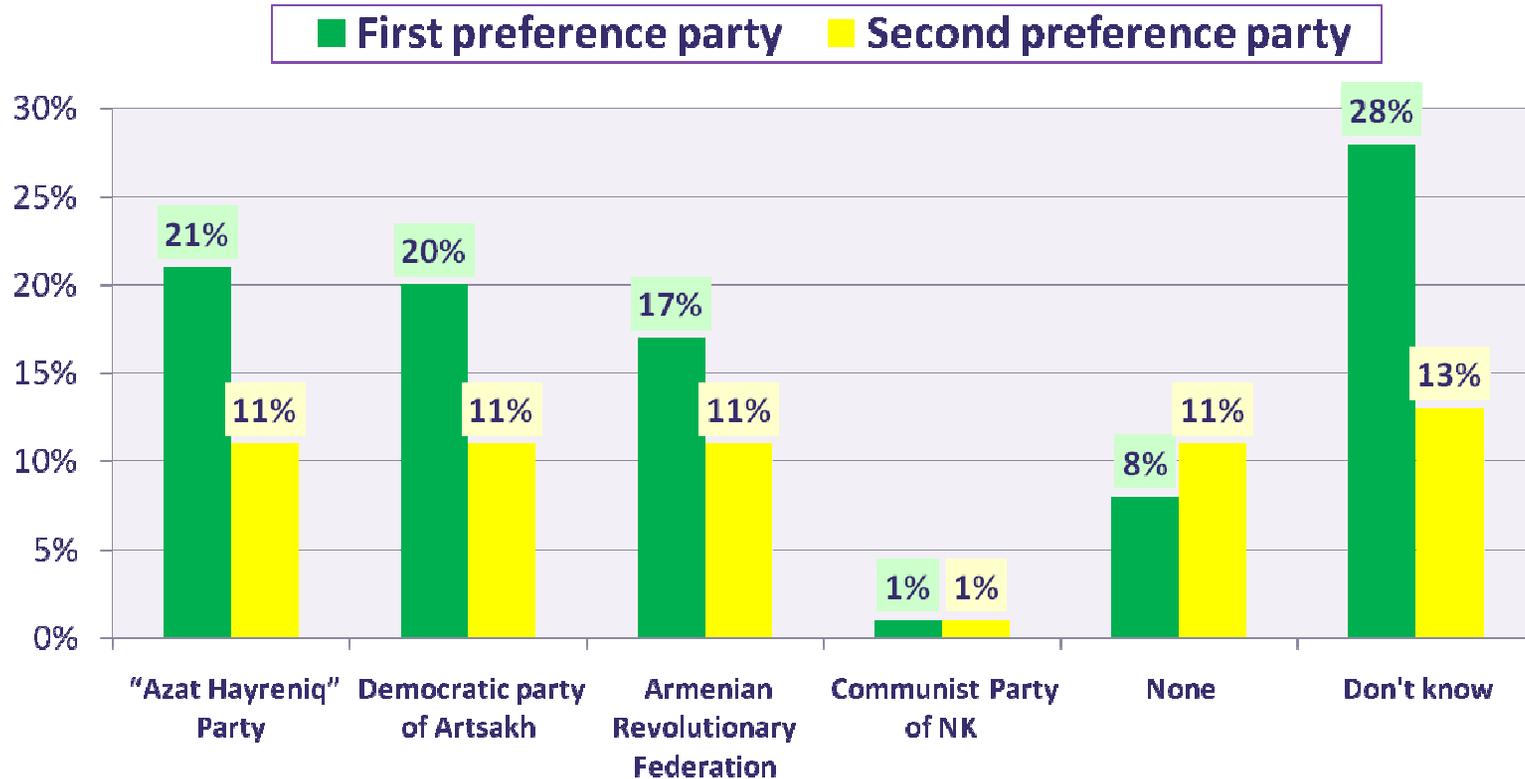
Politicians people would never vote for



Support is fairly evenly divided among the three main parties, while more than a quarter don't know who their first choice would be.

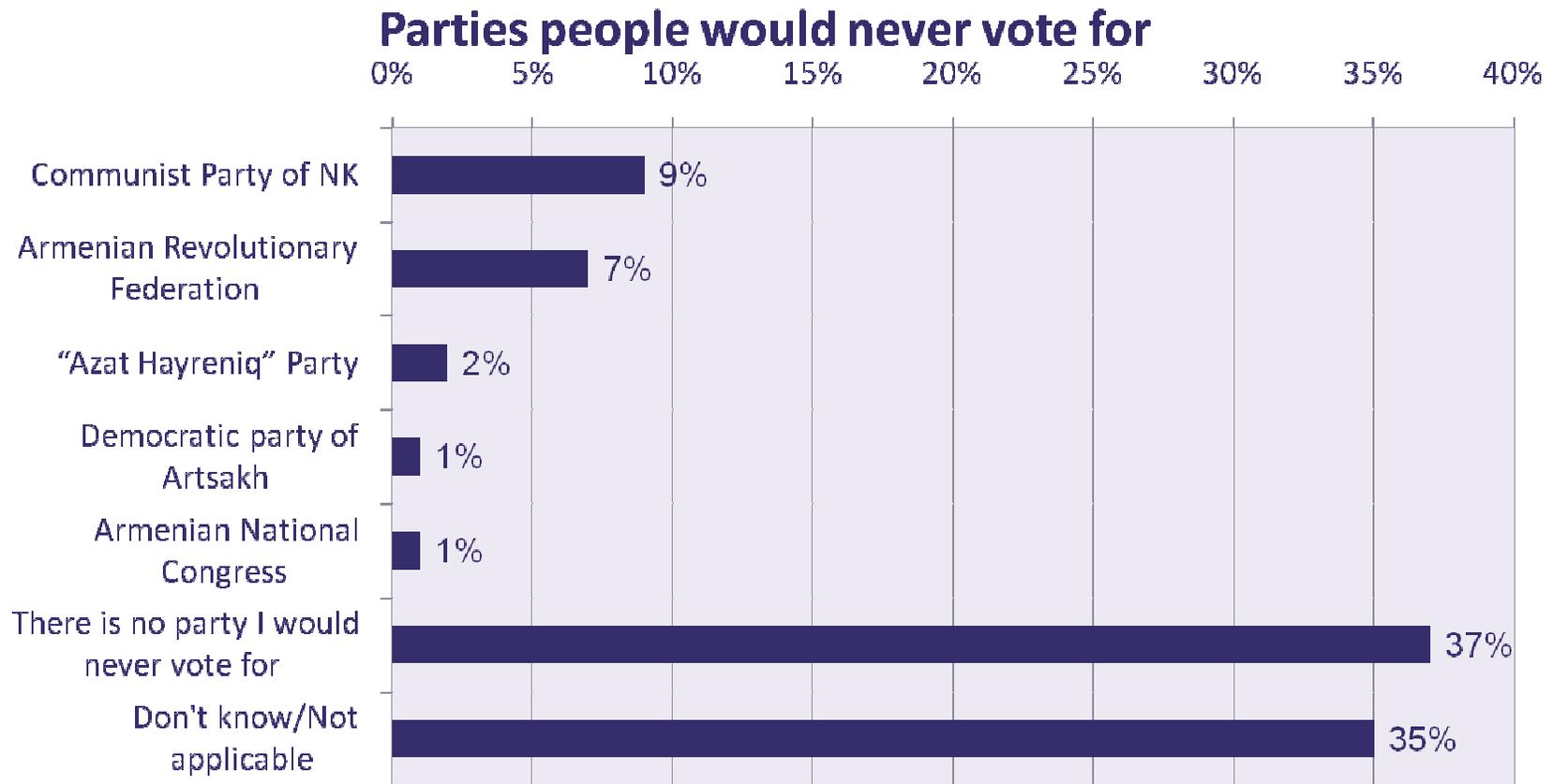
Q *If Parliamentary Elections were conducted next Sunday which party would you personally vote for? If the party that you have named does not take part in elections, who would you vote for then? **Open question***

Voting intention for Parliament



Most people say there isn't a party they would never vote for, although a significant minority wouldn't vote for the Communist Party or Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

Q Which party would you never vote for? *Open question*

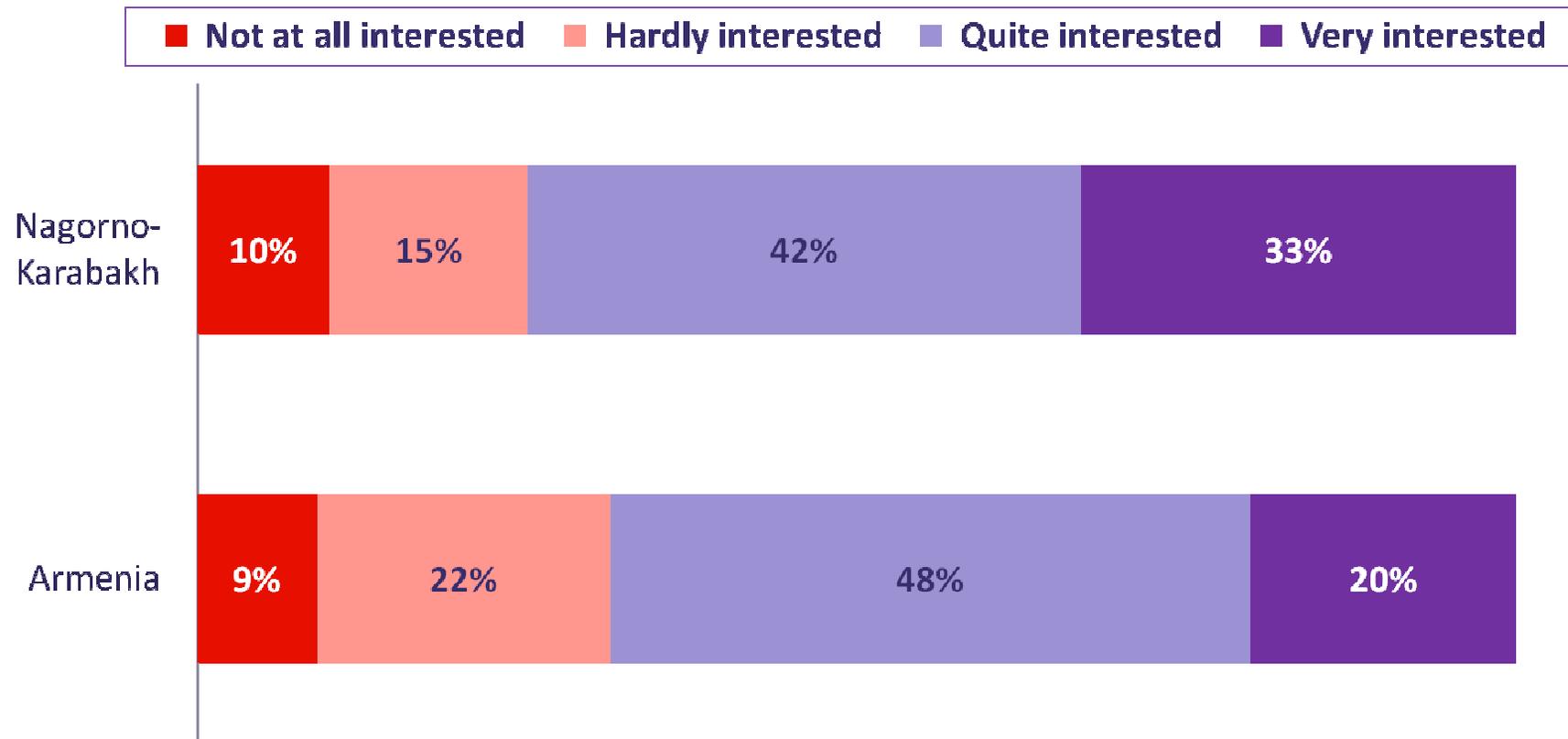


Opinions on Armenia- Turkish relations

The clear majority of people in both Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia are interested in developments in Armenian-Turkish relations.

Q Could you please tell us if you are interested in the latest developments of Armenian-Turkish relations?

Interest in developments in Armenian-Turkish relations



Key for answer options: opinions of development in Armenian-Turkish rapprochement

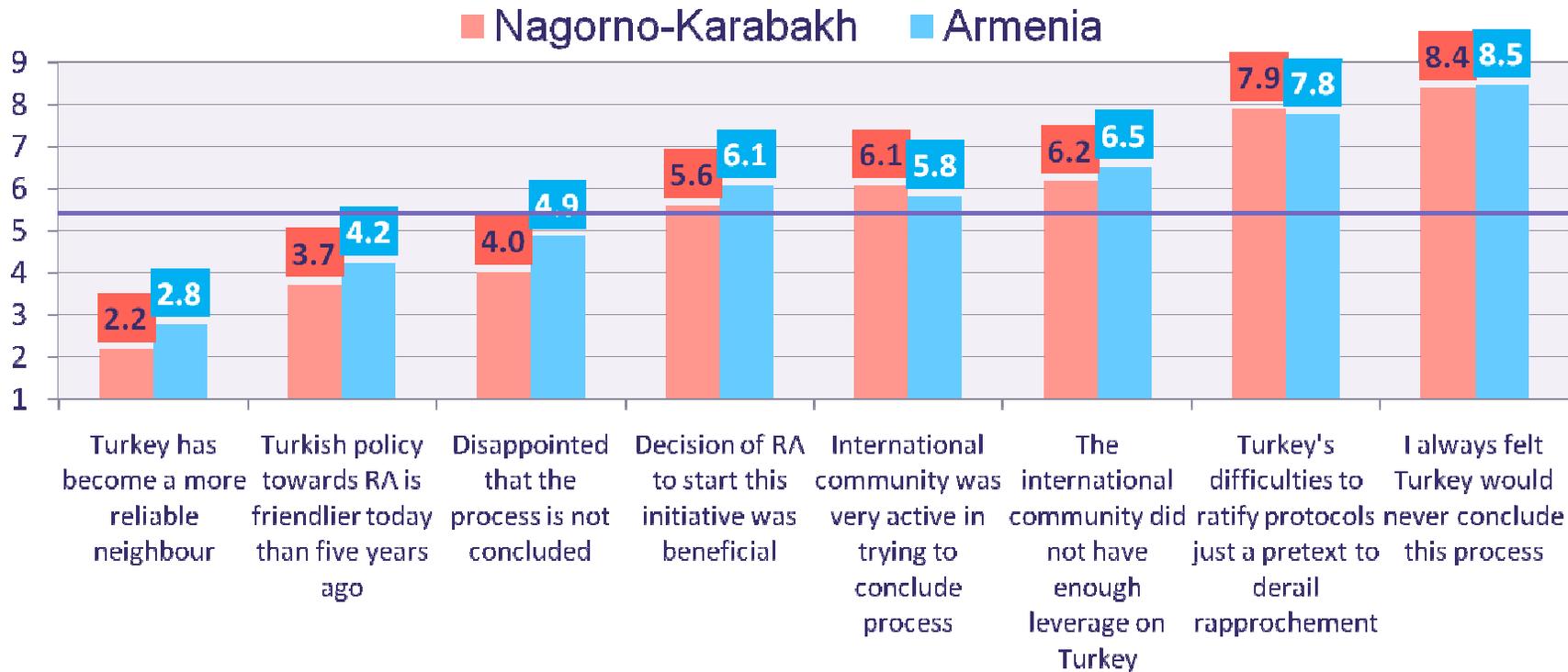
Q *To what extent do you agree with the following statements concerning the latest developments of the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement?*

| Full answer options asked of respondents | Abbreviated answer options in chart |
|--|--|
| I feel disappointed that the process is not concluded. | Disappointed that the process is not concluded |
| Despite the current situation, I think the decision of RA to start this foreign policy initiative was beneficial for our country (RA or NK). | Decision of RA to start this initiative was beneficial |
| Turkey has evolved over the last five years to become more democratic and reduce the influence of the military. With that Turkey has become a more reliable neighbour. | Turkey has become a more reliable neighbour |
| The International community was very active in trying to conclude this process. | International community was very active in trying to conclude process |
| Turkish foreign policy towards Armenia is friendlier today than five years ago. | Turkish policy towards RA is friendlier today than five years ago |
| The International community did not have enough leverage on Turkey to get the rapprochement concluded. | The international community did not have enough leverage on Turkey |
| I think that Turkey's difficulties to ratify the protocols were just a pretext to derail the rapprochement process. | Turkey's difficulties to ratify protocols just a pretext to derail rapprochement |
| I personally always had the feeling, that Turkey would never conclude this process. | I always felt Turkey would never conclude this process |

People in both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh are doubtful of Turkey's commitment to peace after the events surrounding the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement over the last 12 months.

Q To what extent do you agree with the following statements concerning the latest developments of the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement? Please evaluate by a 10 degree scale, where 1 = totally disagree and 10 = totally agree.

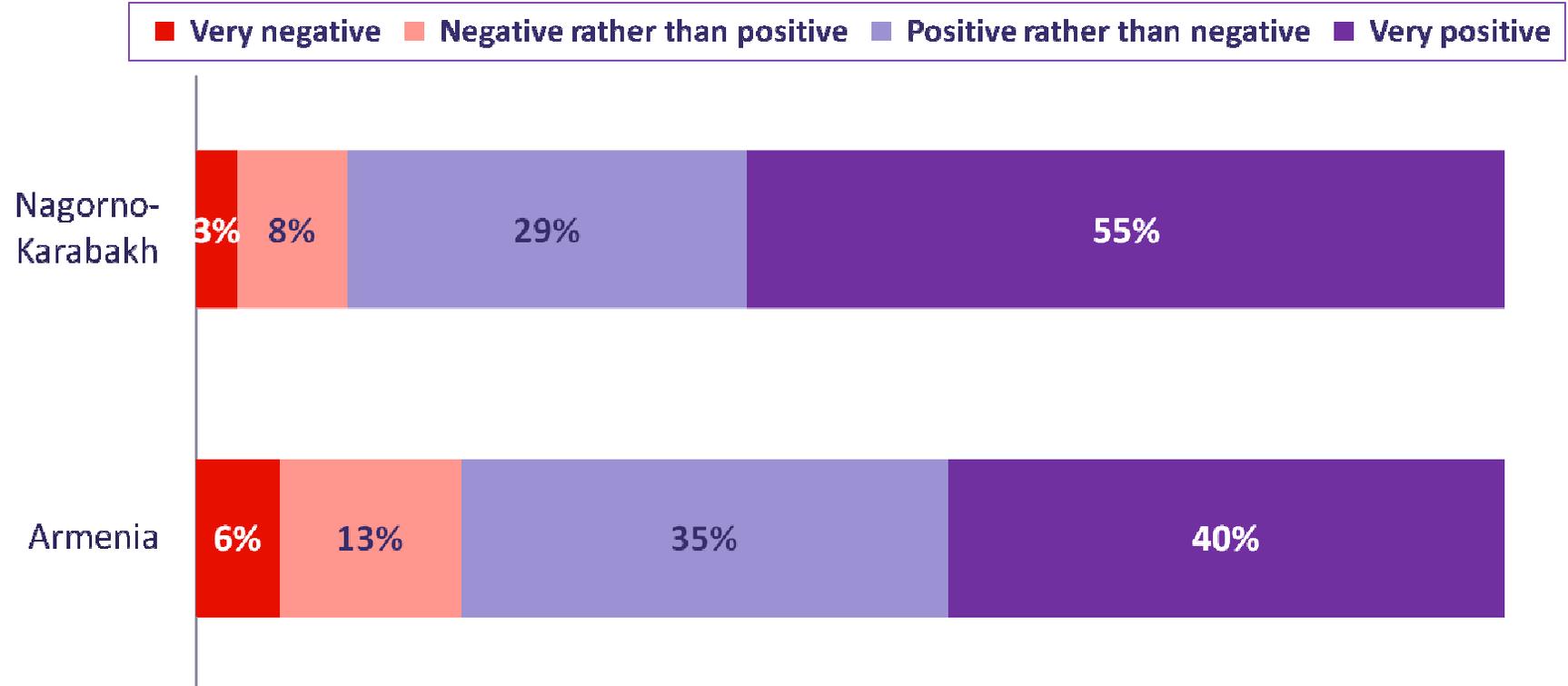
Opinions of developments in Armenia-Turkey rapprochement



People in Nagorno-Karabakh, like in Armenia, very strongly support President Sargsyan's suspension of the ratification of the Armenian-Turkish protocols.

Q How do you assess the RA President's decision to suspend the ratification of Armenian-Turkish protocols?

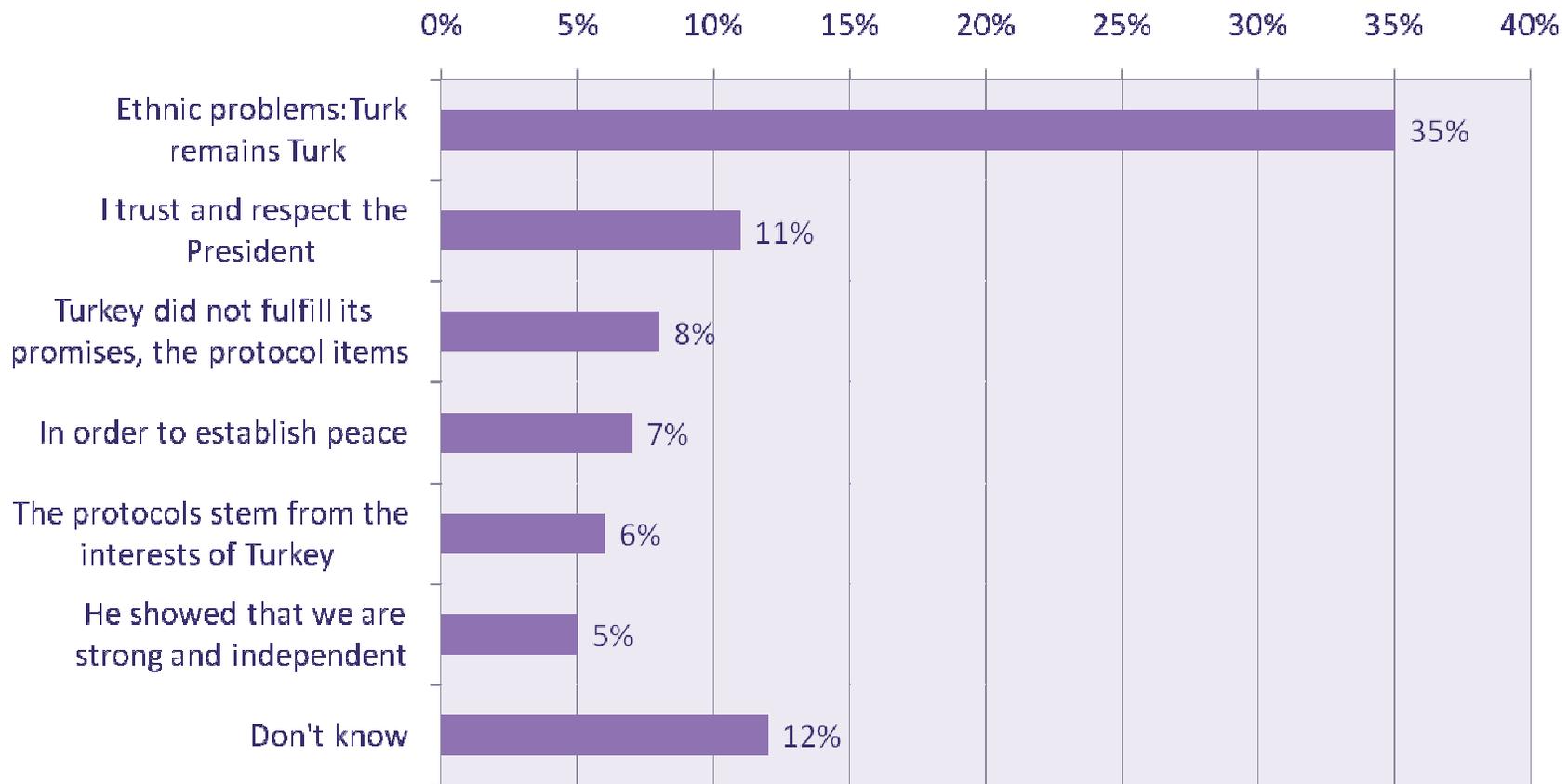
Assessment of Armenian President's suspension of ratification of Armenian-Turkish protocols



The overwhelming reason why NK residents support the suspension is that they doubt whether it is possible to successfully conclude a rapprochement with Turkey.

Q Why do you think so? Open question

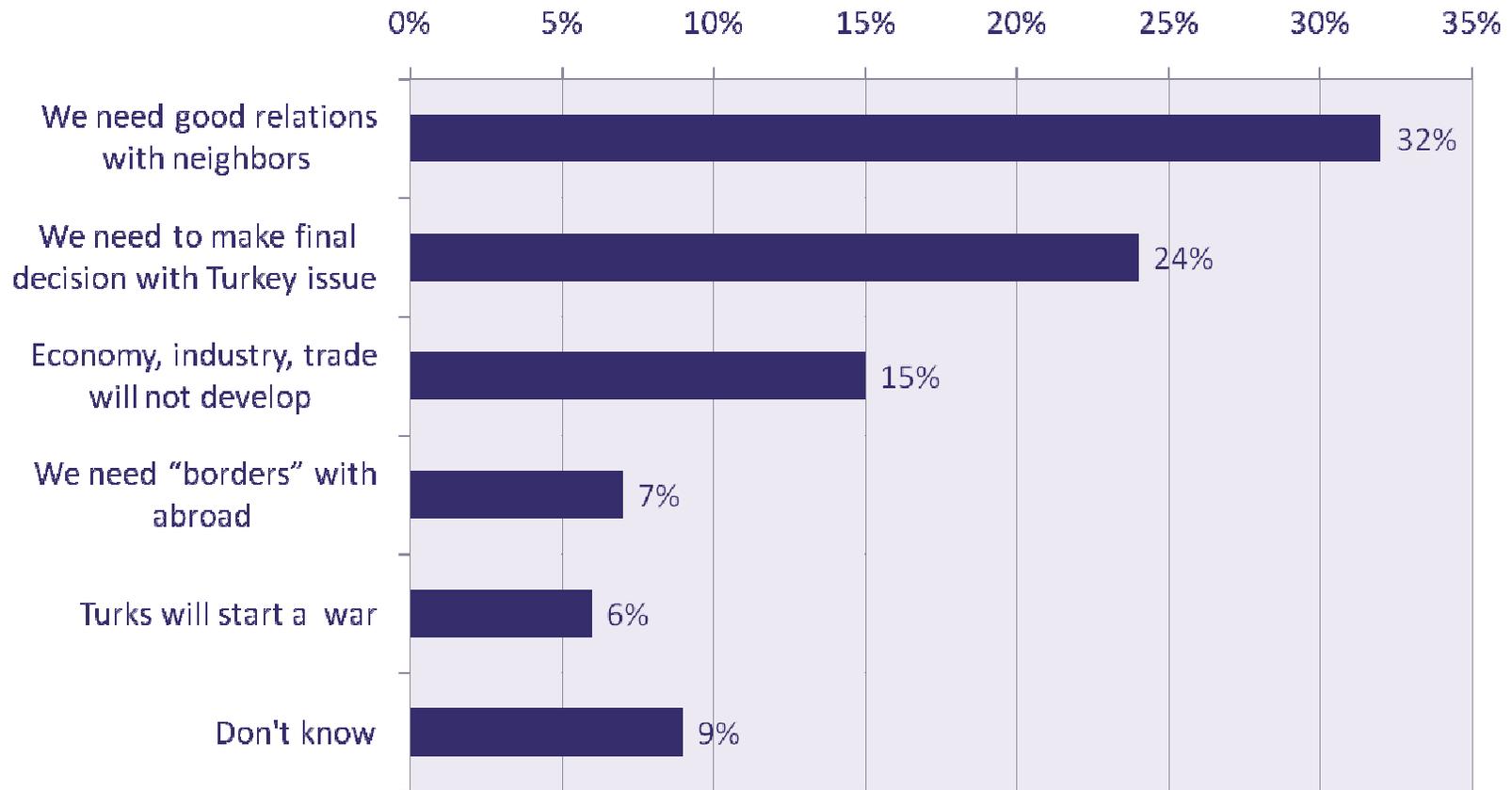
Reason for seeing suspension positively



Those who see the decision negatively primarily say that Armenia needs good relations with its neighbours and to resolve its issues with Turkey.

Q Why do you think so? *Open question*

Reason for seeing suspension negatively



Key for answer options: expectation of outcomes from potential successful rapprochement

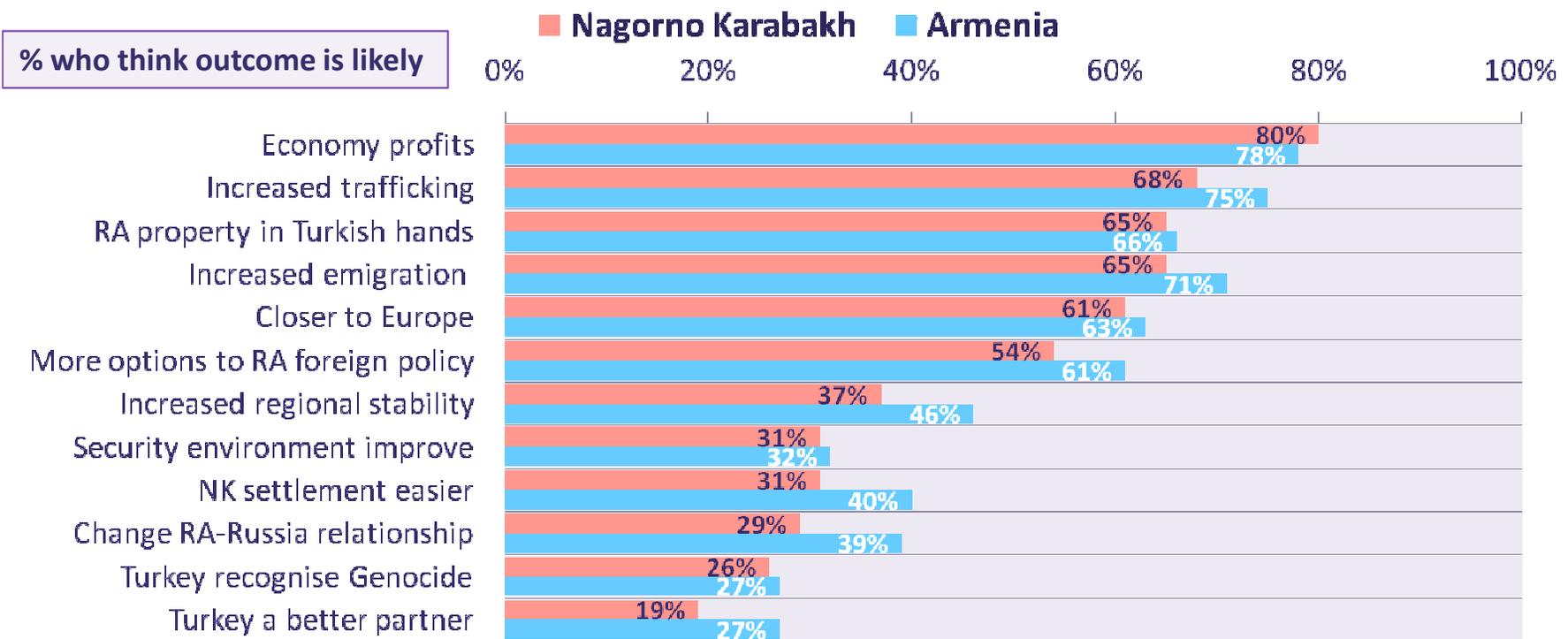
Q *If the rapprochement process still was to be concluded, how likely do you expect the following outcomes to happen*

| Full answer options asked of respondents | Abbreviated answer options in chart |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Turkey would become a better partner for Armenia in the framework of regional cooperation | Turkey a better partner |
| It would make progress in the recognition of Armenian Genocide by Turkey more likely | Turkey recognise Genocide |
| The open border with Turkey would bring Armenia closer to Europe | Closer to Europe |
| It would strongly change the Armenia's relations with Russia | Change RA-Russia relationship |
| The Armenian economy would profit from more international trade | Economy profits |
| The security environment of Armenia would improve | Security environment improve |
| It would contribute to improvement of the regional stability | Increased regional stability |
| There would be a problem with Armenian property moving into Turkish ownership | RA property in Turkish hands |
| There would be an increase in emigration | Increased emigration |
| There would be an increase in trafficking | Increased trafficking |
| It would give more options to Armenian foreign policy | More options to RA foreign policy |
| It would make the settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict easier | NK settlement easier |

NK residents and Armenians share the same hopes and concerns about a successful rapprochement. In particular they believe it would benefit the economy and bring Armenia closer to Europe but also increase trafficking, emigration and cause Armenian property to fall into Turkish hands.

Q *If the rapprochement process still was to be concluded, how likely do you expect the following outcomes to happen*

Expectation of outcomes from potential successful rapprochement

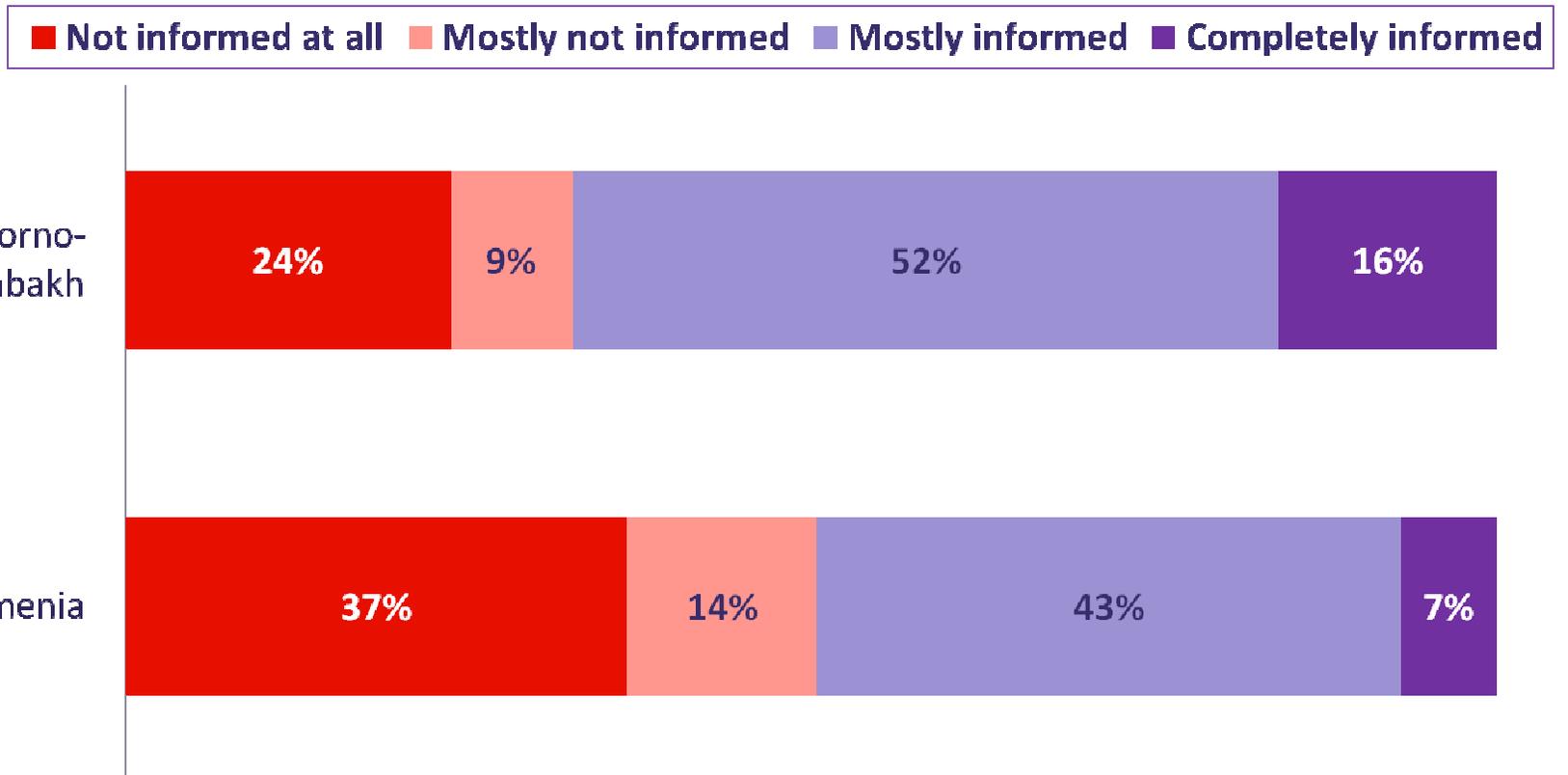


Nagorno-Karabakh

NK residents are much more informed about the current stage of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict resolution than people in Armenia.

Q Could you please tell us how well informed you are about the current stage of NK conflict resolution?

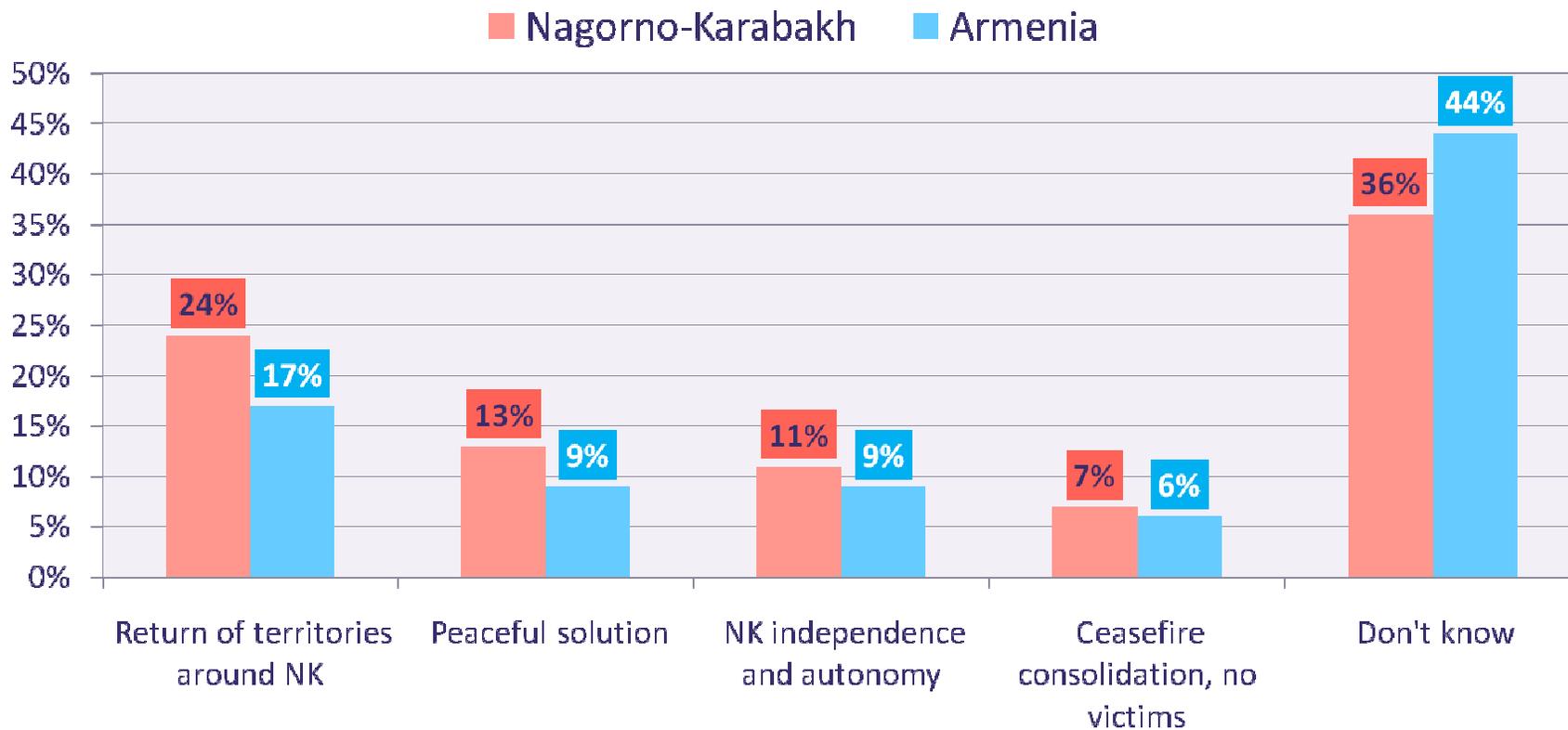
Awareness of current stage of NK conflict resolution



NK residents are more aware than people in Armenia of potential peace deal components, but a third of NK residents and almost half of people in Armenia cannot name any potential components.

Q Do you know some of the components of a potential peace deal which are currently being negotiated? *Open question*

Knowledge of potential peace deal components



Key for answer options: attitudes towards potential measures in the NK conflict resolution

Q According to the latest peace plan and negotiations, international mediators are debating the following measures for the final settlement of the NK conflict. What is your attitude towards these measures? [first two options are internationally debated, last 7 options from 'L'Aquila Declaration' of OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs]

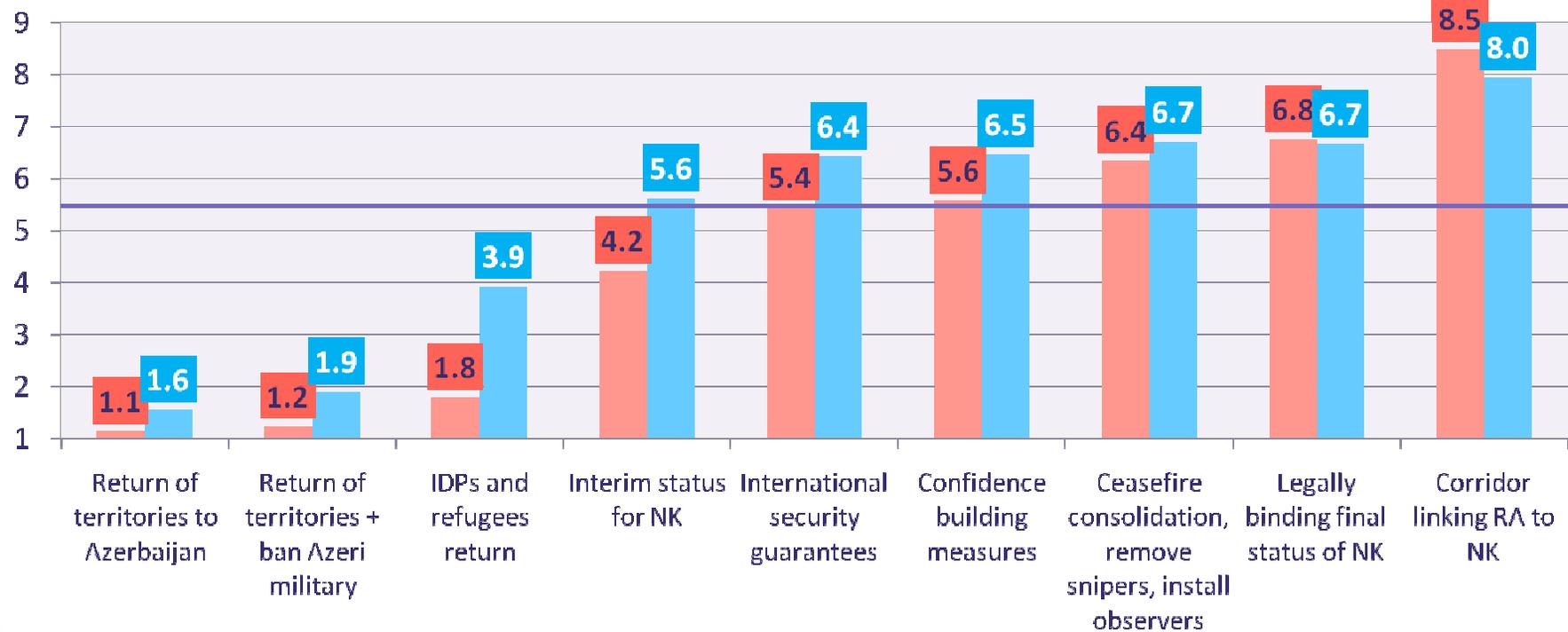
| Full answer options asked of respondents | Abbreviated answer options in chart |
|---|---|
| The implementation of confidence building measures to create a better basis for further progress in the peace negotiations | Confidence building measures |
| A ceasefire consolidation through the removal of snipers and installation of international observers along the Line of Contact | Ceasefire consolidation, remove snipers, install observers |
| International security guarantees including a peacekeeping operation (as part of a comprehensive peace deal) | International security guarantees |
| An interim status for Nagorno-Karabakh providing guarantees for security and self-governance (as part of a comprehensive peace deal) | Interim status for NK |
| Return of the territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijani control (as part of a comprehensive peace deal) | Return of territories to Azerbaijan |
| Return of the territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijani control, while banning Azerbaijani military from those territories (as part of a comprehensive peace deal) | Return of territories + ban Azeri military |
| Presence of a corridor linking RA to Nagorno-Karabakh (as part of a comprehensive peace deal) | Corridor linking RA to NK |
| The right of all internally displaced persons and refugees to return to their former places of residence, mostly in the territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh, restoration of the USSR census of 1989 (as part of a comprehensive peace deal) | IDPs and refugees return |
| Future determination of the final legal status of Nagorno-Karabakh through a legally binding expression of will (as a final step of a comprehensive peace deal) | Determination of the legal status of NK |

People in NK are much less supportive than people in RA of the return of IDPs and refugees, an interim status for NK, international security guarantees, and confidence building measures.

Q According to the latest peace plan and negotiations, international mediators are debating the following measures for the final settlement of the NK conflict. What is your attitude towards these measures? Please evaluate by a 10 degree scale where 1 = very negative and 10 = very positive.

Attitude in NK and RA towards potential peace measures

■ Nagorno-Karabakh ■ Armenia



Key for answer options: potential impact of a ceasefire consolidation

Q *Do you think that if there was a possible ceasefire consolidation, including the removal of the snipers from the line of contact and installing international observers, it would...*

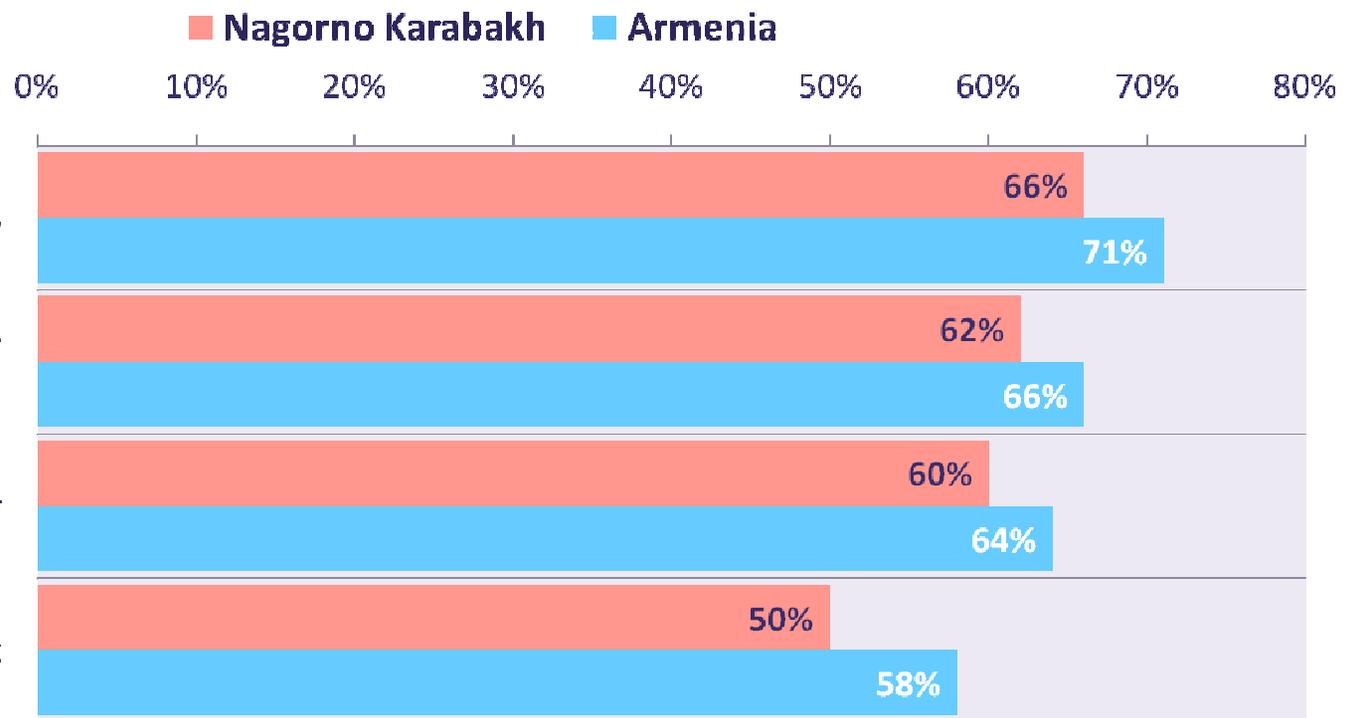
| Full answer options asked of respondents | Abbreviated answer options in charts |
|--|---|
| Reduce the risk of an outbreak of war. | Reduce risk of war |
| Reduce the number of Armenian and Azerbaijani casualties along the line of contact. | Reduce casualties |
| Make it easier to have trust building measures between the conflicting parties. | Easier to build trust |
| Make it easier for the OSCE Minsk Group to advance the negotiations for a comprehensive peace deal. | Easier to advance peace negotiations |

A clear majority of Armenians and NK residents think that a possible ceasefire consolidation would reduce casualties, make it easier to advance peace negotiations and reduce the risk of war. This is despite removing their own snipers could have been seen as a security risk and trusting international observers is not to be taken for granted.

Q *Do you think that if there was a possible ceasefire consolidation, including the removal of the snipers from the line of contact and installing international observers, it would...*

Effects of possible ceasefire consolidation

% who agree these would happen

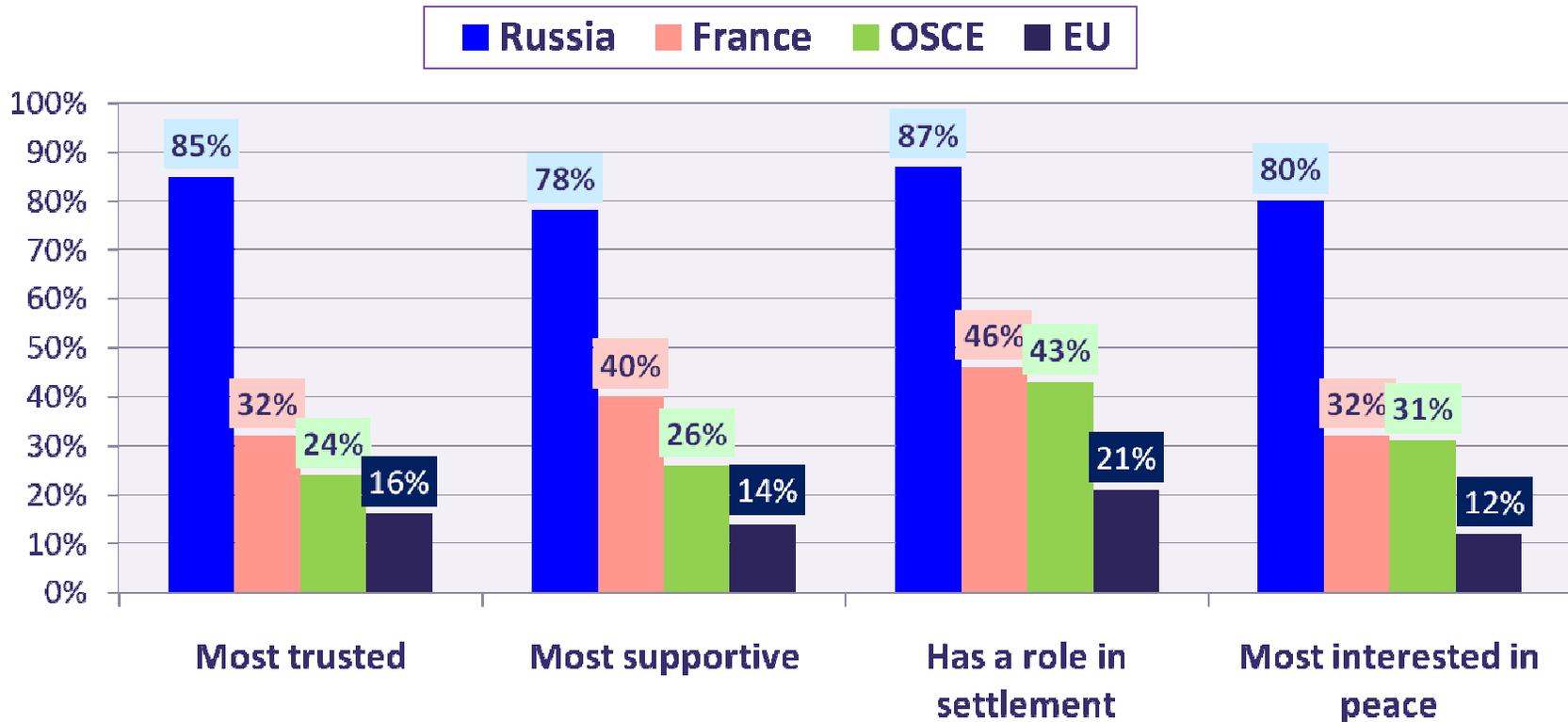


Opinions of the OSCE Minsk Group and other international organisations

Russia is by far the most highly regarded, trusted and valued country among NK residents. France, the OSCE Minsk Group and the EU are seen less positively.

- Q1 Please specify the countries and international organisations which, in your opinion, play a relevant role as mediators in the conflict settlement process at present.
- Q2 Which countries/international organisations do you trust the most?
- Q3 Which countries/international organisations are the most supportive for RA and NK?
- Q4 Which countries/international organisations are most interested in creating a peace deal & conflict settlement?

Opinions of countries & international organisations

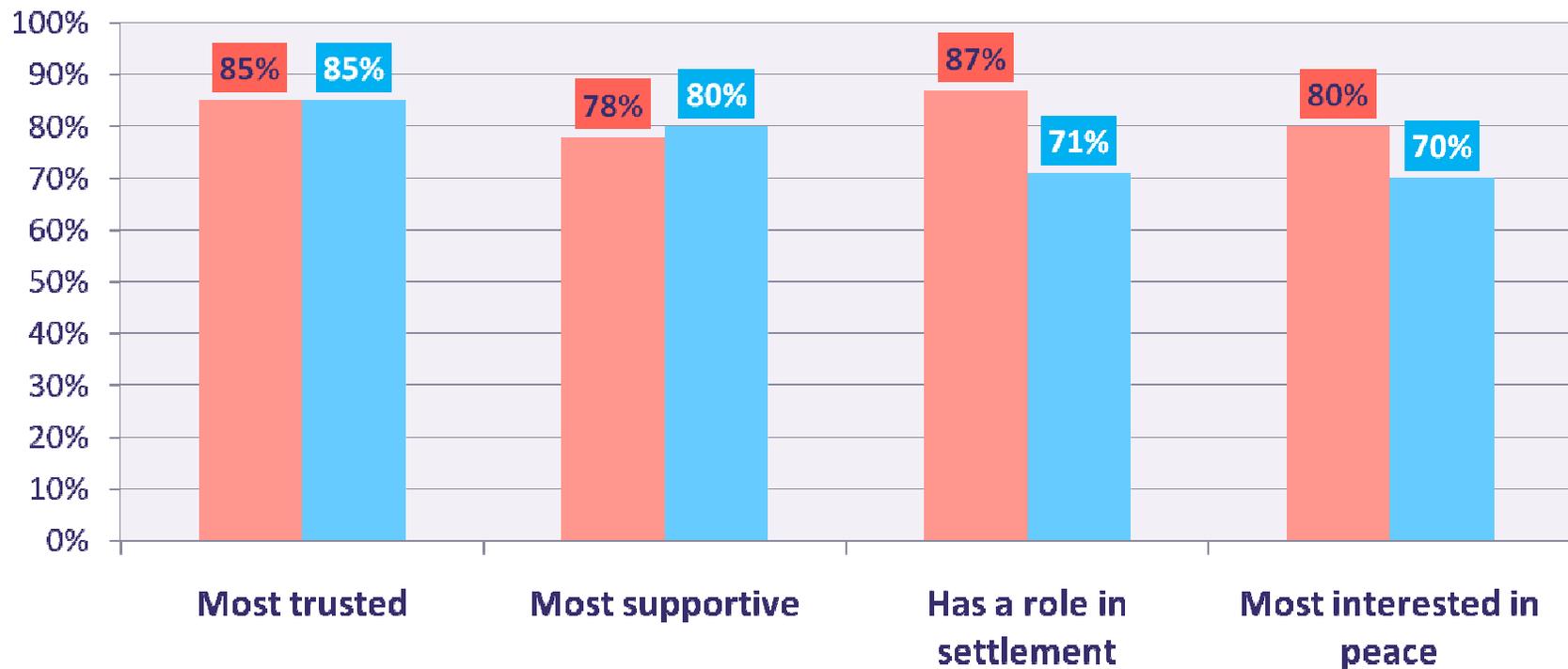


Opinions about Russia are similar in NK and RA, but more people in NK than in Armenia think that Russia has a role in the conflict settlement and is most interested in peace.

- Q1 Please specify the countries and international organisations which, in your opinion, play a relevant role as mediators in the conflict settlement process at present.
- Q2 Which countries/international organisations do you trust the most?
- Q3 Which countries/international organisations are the most supportive for RA and NK?
- Q4 Which countries/international organisations are most interested in creating a peace deal & conflict settlement?

Opinions of Russia in NK & RA

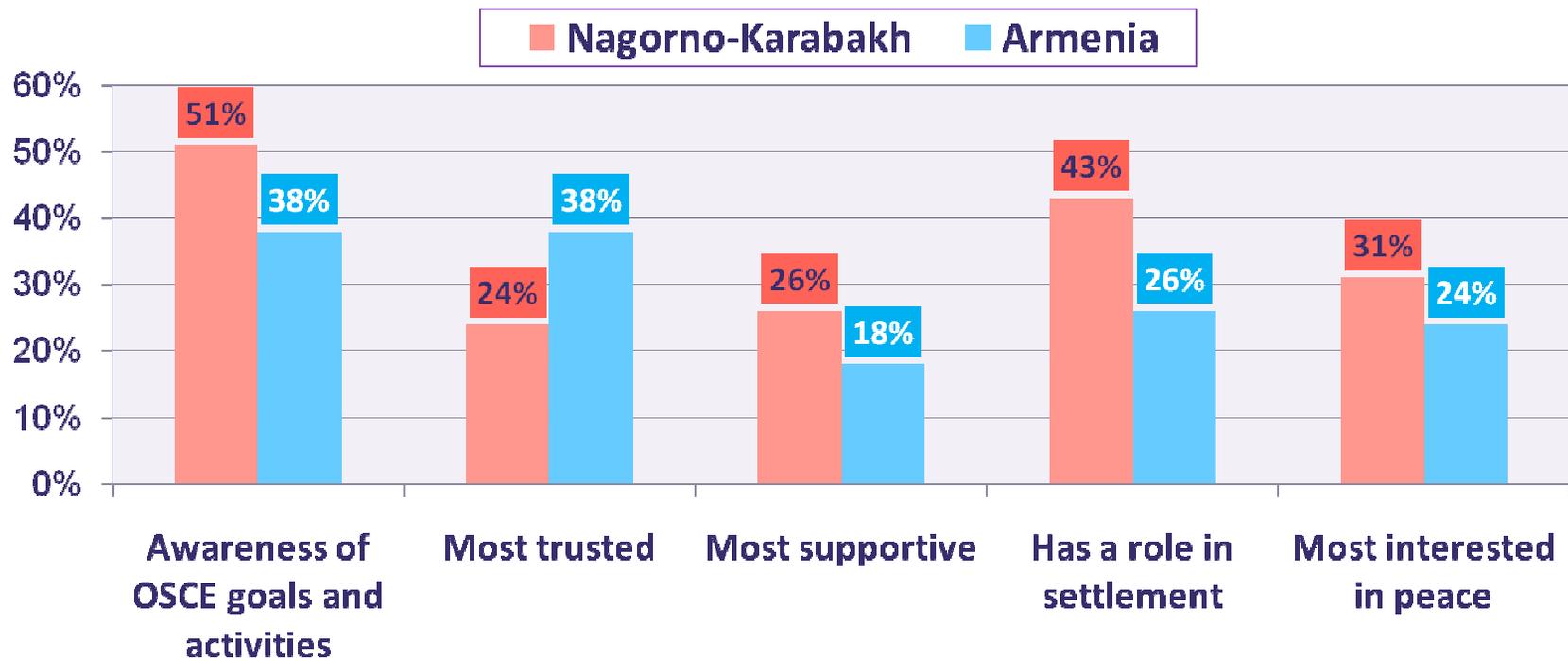
■ Nagorno-Karabakh ■ Armenia



NK residents are more informed than Armenians about the OSCE Minsk Group and think it has a bigger role in the conflict settlement process, while they trust the organisation less than Armenians do.

- Q1 How well do you feel informed about the goals and activities of OSCE Minsk Group?
- Q2 Please specify the countries and international organisations which, in your opinion, play a relevant role as mediators in the conflict settlement process at present.
- Q3 Which countries/international organisations do you trust the most?
- Q4 Which countries/international organisations are the most supportive for RA and NK?
- Q5 Which countries/international organisations are most interested in creating a peace deal & conflict settlement?

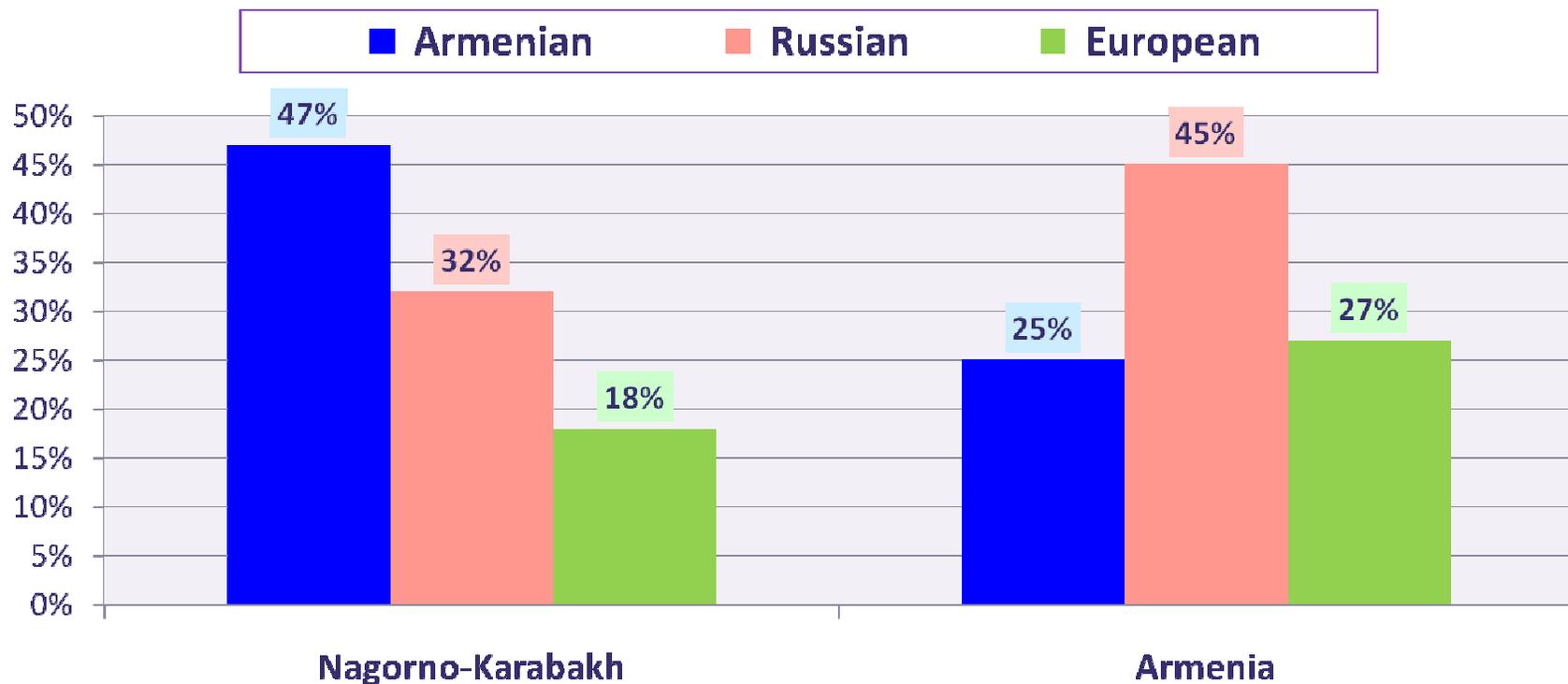
Opinions of the OSCE Minsk Group in NK & RA



Even though 'Armenian' values was not offered as an option, almost half of NK residents spontaneously said they would prefer NK to have Armenia's system of values. Younger people in both NK and RA were much more likely than older people to say they would prefer European values.

Q Which system of values would you wish your country to be closest to? [Show card with a) Russian, b) Middle Eastern / Asian, c) European options. Armenian not read out but recorded when given in answer.]

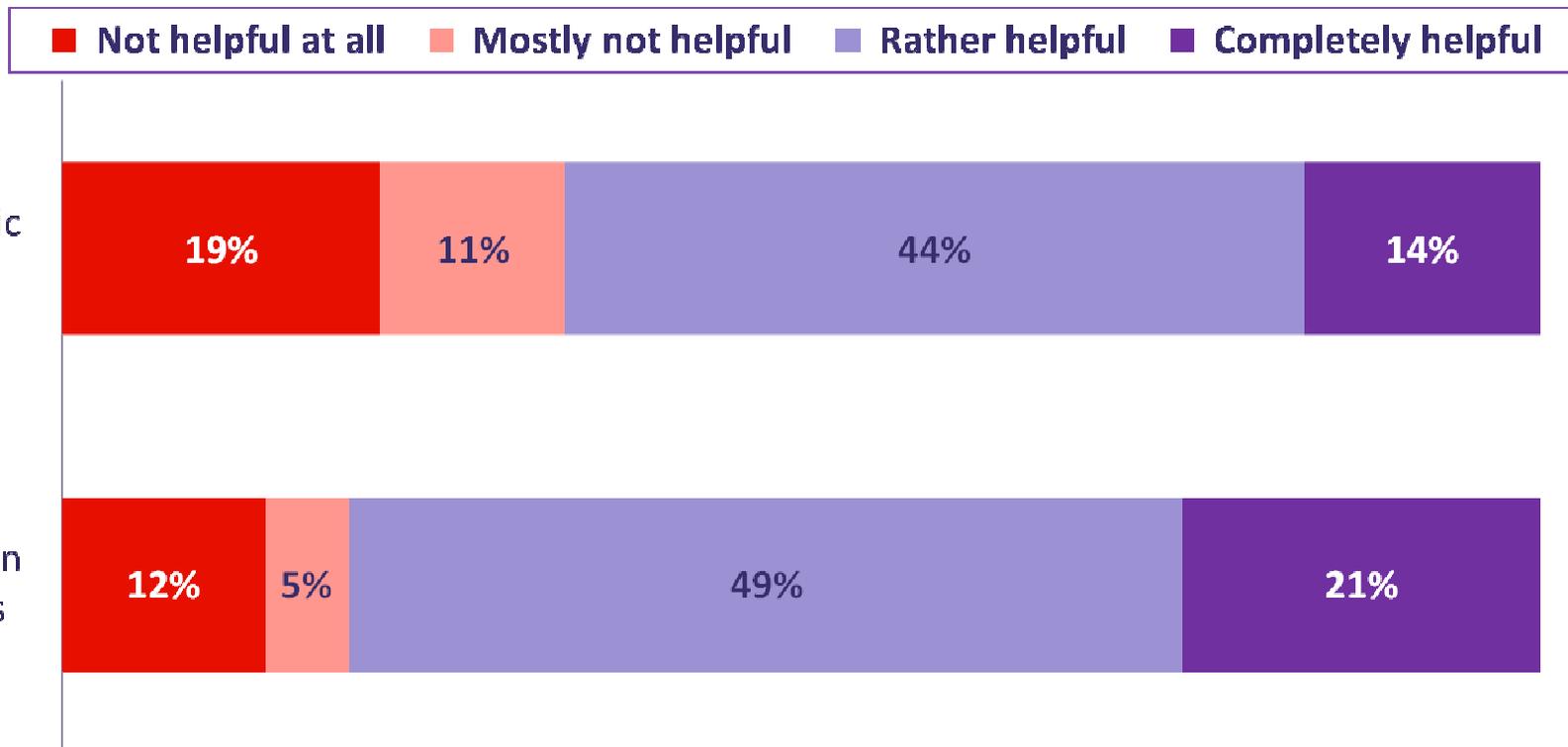
Which country's value system people wish NK / RA to be closest to



Many more Karabakhi people think that foreign NGOs can help increase confidence among conflicting parties than domestic NGOs can. Responses in Armenia were similar.

Q How helpful do you think domestic & foreign NGOs can be in increasing confidence among the conflicting parties?

How helpful domestic & foreign NGOs can be in increasing confidence among the conflicting parties



Opinions about the EU

Key for answer options: opinions of potential EU roles in the NK settlement

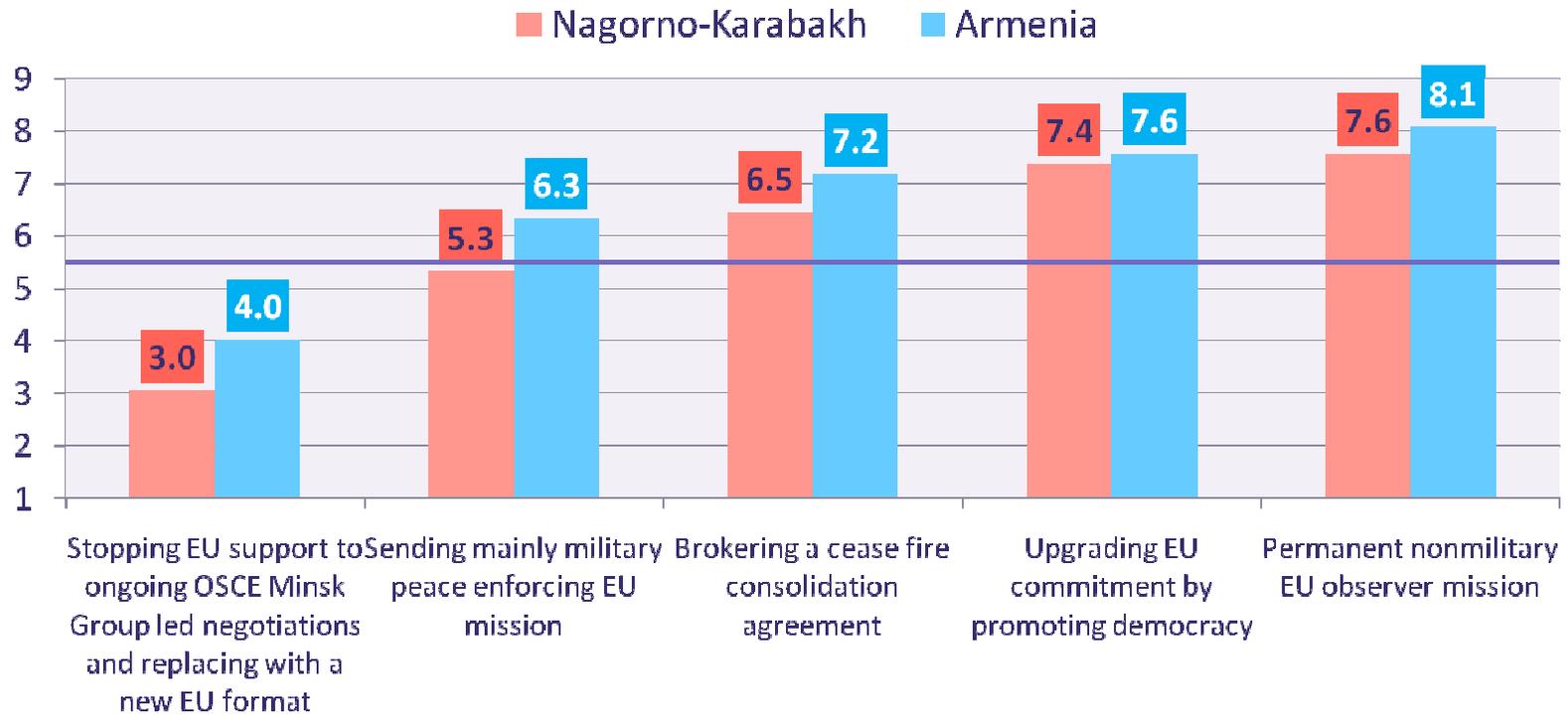
Q *In order to avoid military escalation in NK, how much would you support the following EU actions?*

| Full answer options asked of respondents | Abbreviated answer options in charts |
|--|--|
| Sending a mainly military peace enforcing EU mission to the area | Sending mainly military peace enforcing EU mission |
| Stopping the EU's support to the ongoing OSCE Minsk Group led negotiations and replacing it with a new EU format | Stopping EU support to ongoing OSCE Minsk Group led negotiations and replacing with a new EU format |
| Brokering a cease fire consolidation agreement between RA and Azerbaijan | Brokering a cease fire consolidation agreement |
| Upgrading EU commitment for the peaceful settlement of the conflict by promoting democracy in the conflict hit area | Upgrading EU commitment by promoting democracy |
| Sending a permanent non-military EU observer mission to the region in order to avoid the break out of war "by accident" | Permanent non-military EU observer mission |

People in both Armenia and NK strongly support the EU sending a permanent non-military observer mission and upgrading its commitment by promoting democracy, but oppose the EU withdrawing its support to the Minsk Group negotiations.

Q In order to avoid military escalation in NK, how much would you support the following EU actions? Please evaluate by a 10 degree scale, where 1 = not support at all and 10 = fully support

Opinions in NK & RA of potential EU roles in the NK settlement



Key for answer options: most important goal of the EU-Armenia Association Agreement negotiations.

Q *There are currently negotiations between the EU and Armenia about a new and comprehensive Association Agreement. Which of the following goals of these negotiations do you consider the most important?*

| Full answer options asked of respondents | Abbreviated answer options in charts |
|---|--|
| EU visa facilitation | EU visa facilitation |
| A free trade area without customs (import/export tax) and quota | A free trade area without customs |
| Common standards for the quality of traded goods | Standards for the quality of traded goods |
| Improved standards of democracy, human rights and rule of law | Democracy, human rights & rule of law |
| Closer political cooperation with the European Union | Closer cooperation with EU |
| More exchange opportunities in the sphere of science and education | Exchanges of science and education |
| Progress in environmental standards in Armenia | Progress in environmental standards |

Both Armenian and NK residents say that democracy, human rights & the rule of law is the most important aspect in the EU-Armenian Association Agreement negotiations. Residents of Armenia think that EU visa facilitation is more important than NK residents do.

Q *There are currently negotiations between the EU and Armenia about a new and comprehensive Association Agreement. Which of the following goals of these negotiations do you consider the most important? (Rank from 1 to 7, where 1 is the most important and 7 is the least important). NB: ranks are inverted to give an indication of importance, e.g. a ranking of 1 has a value of 7 to show it is the most important*

Which EU-Armenia Association Agreement negotiations Armenians & NK residents think are most important

