

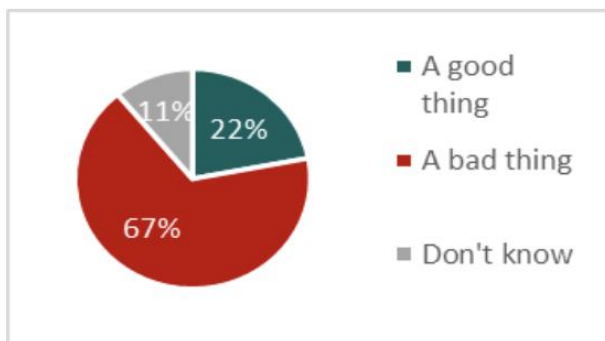
## Appendix 1.

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SECURITY OF ARMENIA AND ARTSAKH: PUBLIC PERCEPTION

The document is aimed at showing public opinion on the issues related to the security and statehood preservation issues of Armenia and Artsakh. Various polls and surveys were conducted by mutually independent organizations/groups in Armenia, Artsakh and within the Diaspora, tackling those topics. The most relevant questions and obtained statistics are presented below.

#### Armenian State and Sovereignty

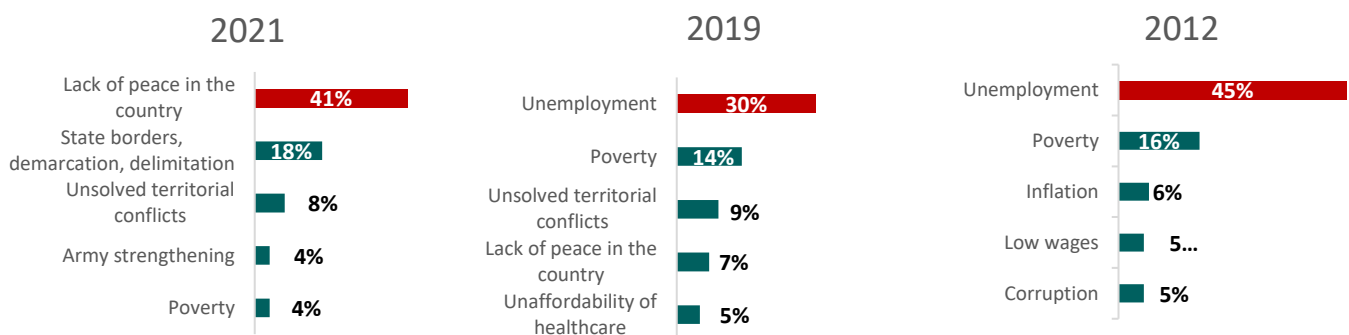
According to Caucasus Barometer (2021), 2/3 of respondents consider the dissolution of the Soviet



Union as a bad thing and more than half (56%) believes that life has become worse after the Soviet Union (mainly due to economic situation worsening (52%) and declined number of workplaces (16%)).

Was the dissolution of the Soviet Union a good thing or a bad thing for Armenia? n=1647

Historically, Armenian citizens considered unemployment the most important issue the country faced, however after the 44-day war the priorities have shifted drastically.



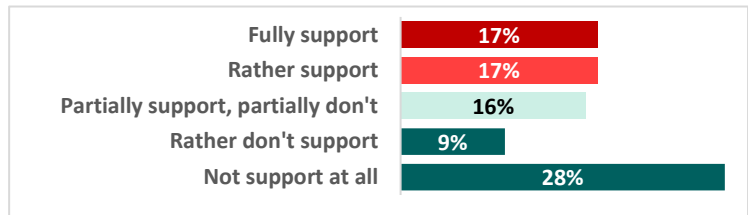
What do you think is the most important issue facing Armenia at the moment?

According to the survey (Assessment of the Socio-political Situation in Armenia) conducted by MPG on Apr-Sep 2021, “*security and defense*” was listed second on the list of the prioritized problems to be solved by the government (88% of respondents, after the “*return of the prisoners of war*” – 94%).

The Caucasus barometer also keeps track of the perceptions towards the state institutions: while *the trust towards the prime minister* ( 20%; 70%; 13% - 2017;2019;2021 respectively), *local government* (34%; 52%; 17% - 2017;2019;2021 respectively), *parliament* (12%; 30%; 14% for 2017;2019;2021 respectively), *president* (17%; 79%; 28% for 2017;2019;2021 respectively), *police* ( 29%; 51%; 18% for

2017;2019;2021 respectively) have drastically decreased after the increase observed during the 2018-2019 period, the attitude towards the army remains relatively stable (77%; 89%; 81% for 2017;2019;2021 respectively).

As regards the perception of external affairs, the question of becoming a Union state together with the Russian Federation and Belarus has a positive answer for 1/3 of the total respondents who participated in the Caucasus Barometer survey 2021.



To what extent do you support Armenia becoming a part of the Union State together with Russian Federation and Belarus?  
n=1437

### Artsakh War

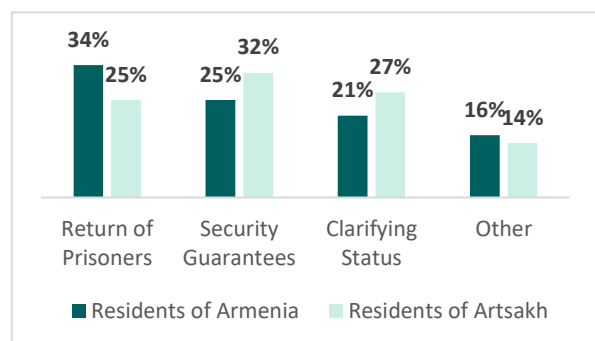
According to the Baltic Survey (conducted by the Gallup Organization in 2018) more than 63% of respondents believed that a peaceful settlement in Artsakh could be reached without military force. However, public opinion has changed its direction, and according to recent surveys:

- 36% of Armenians think that there is a risk of a new war in Karabakh, and 24% think that the war is not over - Public Perceptions in Armenia over the Settlement of Karabakh Conflict (Mar 2021, CRRC commissioned by Civilitas Foundation)
- 53% of Armenians think that there is a risk of a new war in Karabakh, and 19% think that the war is not over – Caucasus Barometer 2021.

Public opinion on the Trilateral Agreement of Nov 10, 2020, varies: nearly half of the respondents as a whole do not support the Agreement yet the vast majority of the respondents (more than 80%) generally supports the deployment of Russian peacekeepers in the conflict zone (Assessment of the Socio-political Situation in Armenia, Apr-Sep 2021).

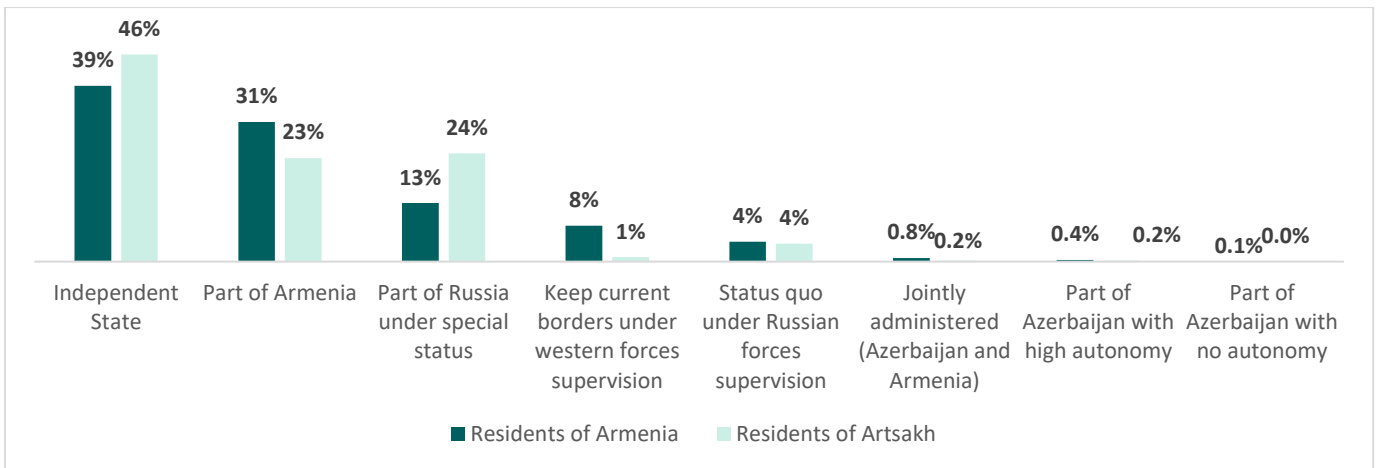
### Further Settlement of the Conflict

When asked, what should start the settlement of the Karabakh conflict, the respondents from Armenia and Artsakh provide more or less similar answers. Three areas ranked highest in both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh – *the return of prisoners of war, security guarantees, and the clarifying the status of Nagorno-Karabakh* (Public is Speaking: Telephone Survey on the Present and the Future of Artsakh Conflict-Dec 2022, CRRC commissioned by Civilitas Foundation).



In your opinion, what should start the settlement of the Artsakh conflict? (n\_ARM=1,100; n\_ARTS= 402)

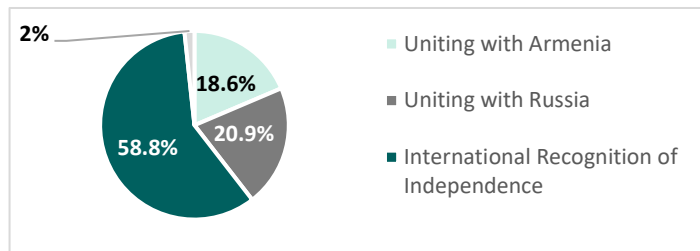
According to the same survey, the status of Artsakh at the settlement of the conflict mainly favored *the independent republic*: the second and third most chosen options are *being part of Armenia* and *being part of Russia under a special status*.



According to you, what status should Artsakh have in order for the Artsakh conflict to be finally settled? (n\_ARM=1,100; n\_ARTS= 402)

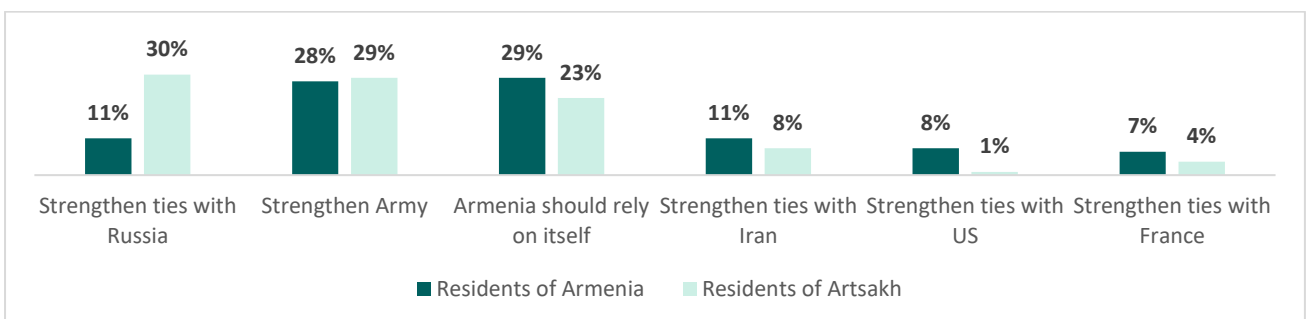
A slightly different formulation of the same question is provided in Caucasus Barometer 2021, where respondents from Armenia were asked to share whether they would accept or not the certain settling options: here, more than 90% of respondents agreed (definitely favor or accept under certain circumstances) towards having Artsakh as a formal part of Armenia, followed by having Artsakh as an independent country (80%) and having Artsakh within Russian Federation (53%).

Artsakh conflict resolution is also observed in the most recent survey conducted in Artsakh by Highgate Consultancy (Views of Artsakh residents 2, Dec 2022 – Feb 2023), where again independence is considered as a most desired option.



Which of the following options of the resolution of Artsakh conflict do you agree with?? (n=869)

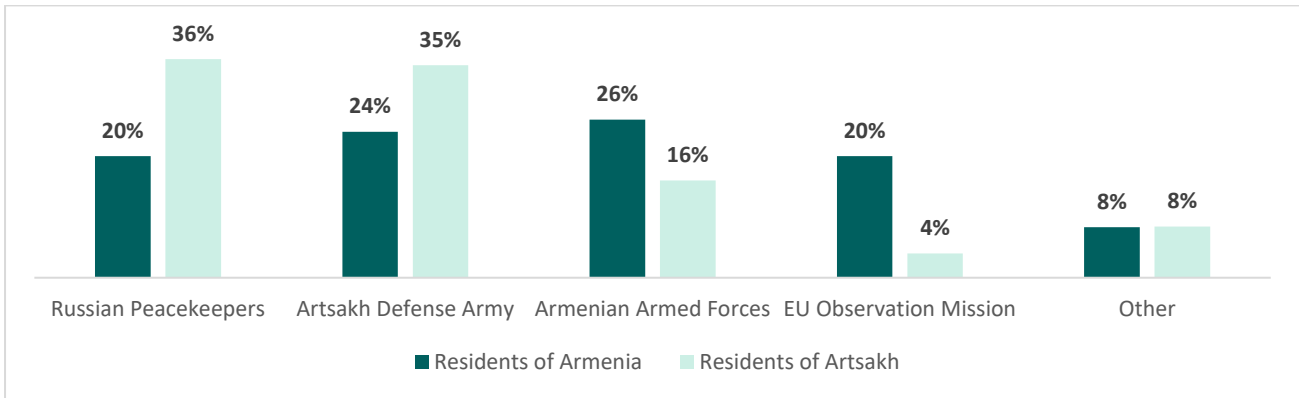
While diving deeper into the steps that Armenia should take to settle the Artsakh conflict, two of the most chosen responses in the CRRC report (Public is Speaking: Telephone Survey on the Present and the Future of Artsakh Conflict-Dec 2022, CRRC commissioned by Civitas Foundation) are *strengthening the army* and *Armenia should rely on itself*.



In your opinion, what steps should Armenia take to settle the Artsakh conflict? (n\_ARM=1,828; n\_ARTS= 669)

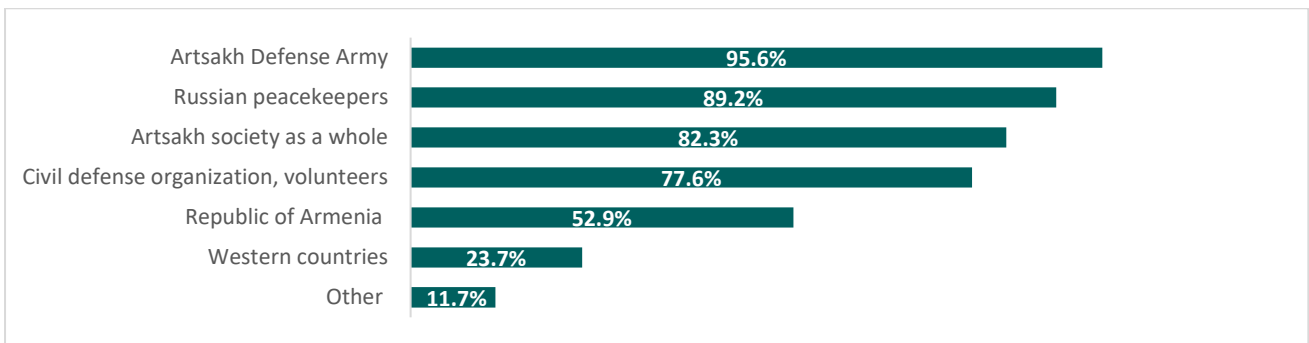
As regards the forces that ensure the security of the current borders and population of Artsakh, respondents in Armenia did not have any marked preferences among the four

options given, while Artsakh respondents were far more likely to favor Russian peacekeepers or the Artsakh Defense Army.



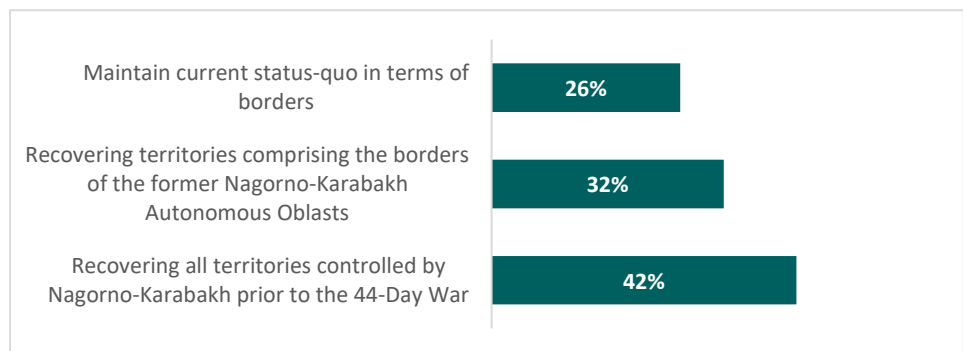
*In your opinion, which forces can best ensure the security of the current borders and population of Artsakh? (n\_ARM=1,684; n\_ARTS= 664)*

The views of Artsakh residents also frame the question of the role of the forces/bodies assuring the security of Artsakh: here the Artsakh army (96% of respondents) and Russian peacekeepers are the main guarantees of the security.



*In your opinion, do the mentioned bodies play a role in ensuring the security of Artsakh? (YES)*

And finally, according to the Caucasus Barometer 2021 more than 40% of respondents consider that the general goal of Armenia is the recovery of all territories controlled before the 44-Day War.

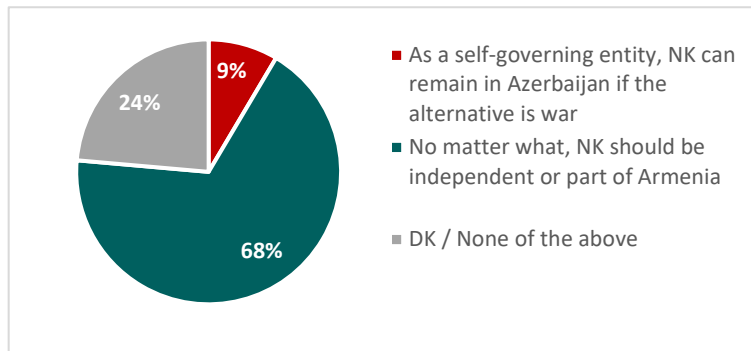


*In your opinion, what should be the general goal of Armenia in terms of the territories of Nagorno-Karabakh? n=1547*

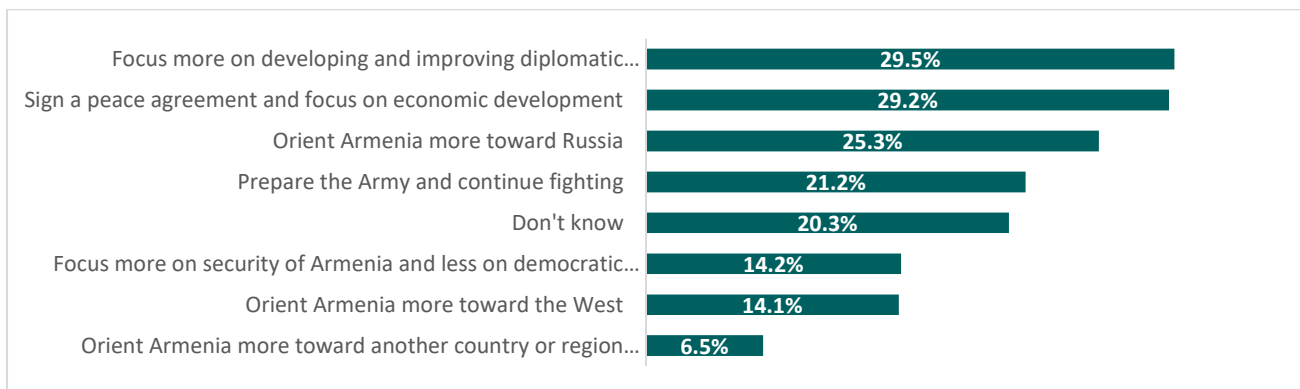
### Diaspora’s Perception

Conducted after the 44-day War, Armenia Diaspora survey 2021<sup>1</sup> added few questions related to the Artsakh war and further steps for the further settlement of the conflict.

According to the survey, 68% of total respondents consider no other option than the independence of the country or being part of Armenia. Less than 10% of respondents observe the option of being part of Azerbaijan, if the alternative is war.



As regards the expected further steps towards the settlement of the conflict, the following suggestions were made by the respondents: *Which of the following two statements, if any, are closer to your views? n=2165*



*If you were advising the Prime Minister of Armenia regarding Artsakh, what advice would you give? N=2,326*

<sup>1</sup> The geography of ADS 2021 includes Belgium, France, UK and Russia (Rostov-on-Don): official report is expected to be published in March 2023

## Reference Surveys

- Caucasus Barometer 2021-2022; CRRC - [https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Barometer-2021\\_pptx\\_ENG\\_Final\\_14%E2%80%A406%E2%80%A422.pdf](https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Barometer-2021_pptx_ENG_Final_14%E2%80%A406%E2%80%A422.pdf)
- Public is Speaking: Telephone Survey on the Present and the Future of Artsakh Conflict 2022: CRRC Armenia - [https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Public-is-Speaking\\_Research-Report\\_CRRC-Armenia\\_ENG\\_04.01.2023.pdf](https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Public-is-Speaking_Research-Report_CRRC-Armenia_ENG_04.01.2023.pdf)
- The settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict 2021: CRRC Armenia - <https://www.civilnet.am/en/news/599811/the-overwhelming-majority-of-armenians-consider-return-of-captives-the-first-step-in-karabakh-conflict-settlement/>
- Armenian Diaspora Survey 2019 - <https://www.armeniandiasporasurvey.com/2019-survey>
- Armenian Diaspora Survey 2021
- Views of Artsakh residents 2 February 2023; Highgate Consultancy
- Assessment of the socio-political situation in Armenia Sep 2021 – MPG LLC (survey consultant - Yevgeny Kopatko)