



**ARMENIAN MEDIA  
DISCOURSE ON THE  
NATION-ARMY  
CONCEPT 2017**

Yerevan

2017



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## NATION – ARMY: FORMALLY AND INFORMALLY

In October 2016 The RA Minister of Defense officially declared of the Nation – Army Concept as the new formula for the military and political security of the country. Two months later the National Assembly in its previous convocation passed the “law on 1000 drams”<sup>1</sup> proposed within the framework of the concept, according to which 1000 drams started to be deducted from the monthly salaries of the citizens to be channeled to the foundation that provides social assistance to the military servicemen injured during the military services and the families of killed military servicemen. This introduced mandatory volunteerism was the first practical correlation of the Armenian public with the official Nation-Army and was not perceived unequivocally positively. There were critics from among citizens who participated in various civic actions for the sake of the military even before the initiative.

The next stage of official innovation within the Nation-Army concept (public discussions, adoption and enforcement of legislation) lasted for approximately three months. In October 2017 the RA Ministry of Defense presented its initiatives of the new “Law on Military Service and the Status of the Military Serviceman”, the “It’s Me” and “I am Honored” programs, as well as the amendments to the law on people who evaded the army.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of January 2018 an announcement stated of the draft of 120 conscripts within the “It’s Me” program.

**From the perspective of formality these speedy developments were dictated by the need for the introduction of all the amendments to the army legislation before Armenia transitioned to the de facto parliamentary model of governance (by April 2018). From the political and ideological perspective, though, time had long come for officially reacting to all the acute issues raised by the public after the April war in 2016 as an emphasised public demand: “eliminate corruption and legal arbitrariness for reinforcing security”, “there is money for the army, make an efficient use of state resources.”**

<sup>1</sup>The RA Law on Compensation of Damage to the Life or Health of Military Servicemen Sustained during the Protection of the RA is circulated among the public by the name of “the Law on 1000 Drams”.

<sup>2</sup> Here we mean the amendments to the Law on Citizens who Failed to Complete Compulsory Military Service through Violation of the Established Procedure, made in that period.

- **What place did Nation – Army topics occupy in the Armenian Media, what information processes were rolling out within the public discussion on the concept on the media platforms.**
- **Which specific issues and processes were most broadly discussed in that period, the standpoints of which forces and groups outlined the perceptions of the concept in online media and on TV?**
- **How did the audience react to the provisions put forth within the Nation – Army concept, how much interest did the topic of the army as a whole trigger among the audience?**

To answer these questions our Region Research Center conducted a study on the media discourse on Nation – Army in 2017, and the summary of its results is presented below.

## METHODOLOGICAL GUIDE

### Which media outlets did we monitor?

We observed 5 popular online media outlets, namely 1in.am, News.am, Aravot.am, 168.am, Tert.am.

Besides, we monitored 23 TV programmes of various genres, namely news programs (“Agenda”, “360”, “News Hour”, “Post Factum”, “Epicenter”, “Sunday Epicenter”, “The Country Today”, “Saturday Evening”, “Horizon”, “Sunday Horizon”), interviews (“Off the Agenda”, “Agenda: Interview”, “R-Evolution”, “Outline”, “Country’s Issue”, and “Perspective”), talk-shows/ TV oratory pieces (“First Pavillion”, “Formula Club”, “Armenian Firday”, “Transition with Dulyan” and “Out Loud”), and TV documentary (“Life on the Border” and “At the Posts”) by 5 TV companies of republican and satellite coverage (Public TV, Armenia TV, Kentron TV, Yerkir Media TV, and Shant TV). We monitored the Nation – Army series satellite broadcast by Public TV (Channel One).

## What topic and what issues did we research?

We studied the Armenian army as a whole. We aimed at describing not only the specific features of coverage on the public discussions regarding the Nation – Army concept launched in that time period (mostly in October – November), but also the broader information climate throughout the three-month period of our research (October 2017 – January 2018) that had emerged due to the provision of information on other issues directly related with the army.

This classification was arrived at due to a content analysis of the materials with a targeted focus on the issues raised in them:

The group of issues on Nation-Army (a total of 15 issues) were raised in the discussions on and coverage of the concept, as well as in the context of active political and civil processes developing on the occasion. These are Military service/conscription, education/deferral, security, armaments, social issues, domestic affairs, evasion from the army, corruption, public attitude to the army, healthcare, economy/supplies to the army, transparency of the army and civilian oversight of the army, migration, democratic freedoms, and the link between church and the army.

The group of non - 'Nation-Army', rather so-called background issues (a total of 10 issues) were covered beyond the context of Nation-Army concept. They were defined according to the following characteristic features:

1. **Legal** – Information on criminal cases on offenses in the Armenian army,
2. **Foreign relations** – Information on foreign military relations and military cooperation with other countries.
3. **Karabakh conflict** – Information on the military situation on the contact line of forces in Karabakh and in the border regions of Armenia, on incidents, announcements and judgments on the reduction of military tensions in the contact zone.
4. **Azerbaijani army** – information on the armaments of the opponent army, foreign military cooperation, events taking place within the army.

5. **Armies of other countries** – Information on the RF military base in Armenia and the armies of CSTO countries.
6. **Event-related News** – Information on the visits of the leadership from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Armenia, the General Headquarters, the Defense Army of the Artsakh Republic to military units, as well as inter-ministerial and other types of meetings and discussions, and information on the military exercises of the Armenian Army.
7. **Feature** – Stories about soldiers and officers currently in service at the armed forces, as well as military servicemen killed in the Karabakh war and subsequent clashes.
8. **Coverage** – Issues in army events coverage, including training issues for journalists covering military exercises and other processes.
9. **Diaspora** - Judgments about the relations between the Diaspora and the Armenian army that were voiced without reference to the Nation-Army concept.
10. **History** – Information about Armenian military art and the participation of the Armenian military in World Wars.

## How did we count? What did we define?

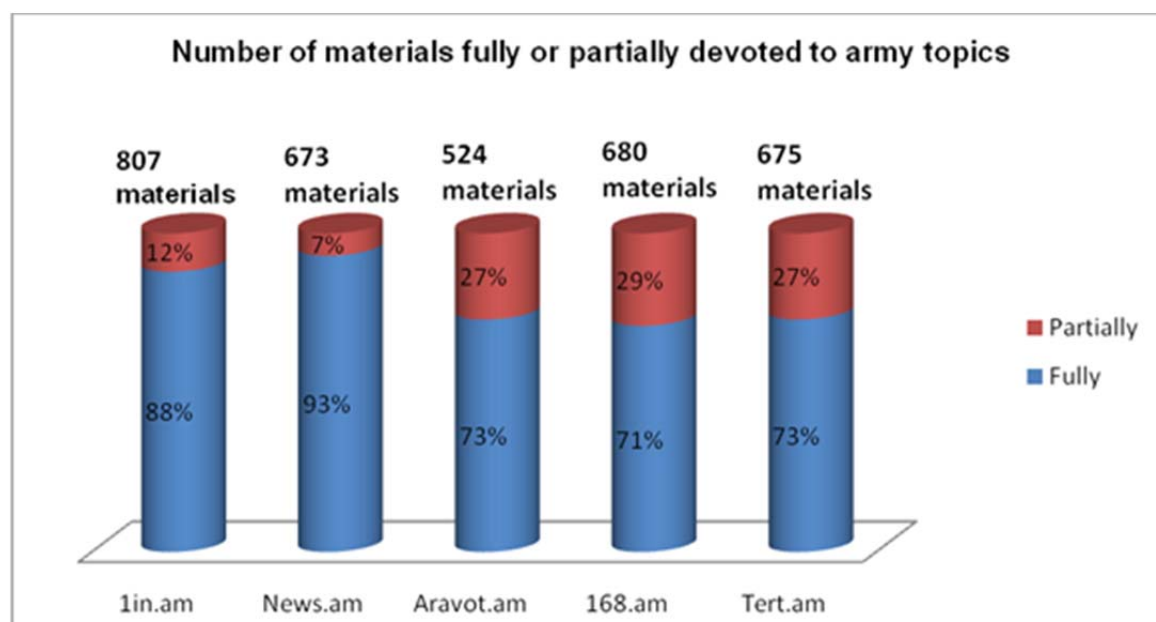
- We measured the frequency of coverage of this or that topic after the following formula: “one material/story – one or more issues”.
- We have defined the representatives of the political, social, professional and other groups speaking on the topic under study as authors of the issue. We have measured the level of their activity by the principle of “one author – one or several issues”. The number of issues raised in one material/story has been counted by the change of author and change of the sign (positive, negative or neutral) of attitude contained in the messages by the following principle: “The number of authors is equal to the number of issues, and the number of signs is equal to the number of issues”.
- We have determined the attitudinal signs of the issues coming from the direct semantics of the messages, not their contextual implications.

# RESULTS OF ARMENIAN ONLINE MEDIA AND TV MONITORING (October 10, 2017 - January 10, 2018) Summary

## THE INTENSITY OF COVERAGE OF ARMY MATTERS IN ONLINE MEDIA AND TV

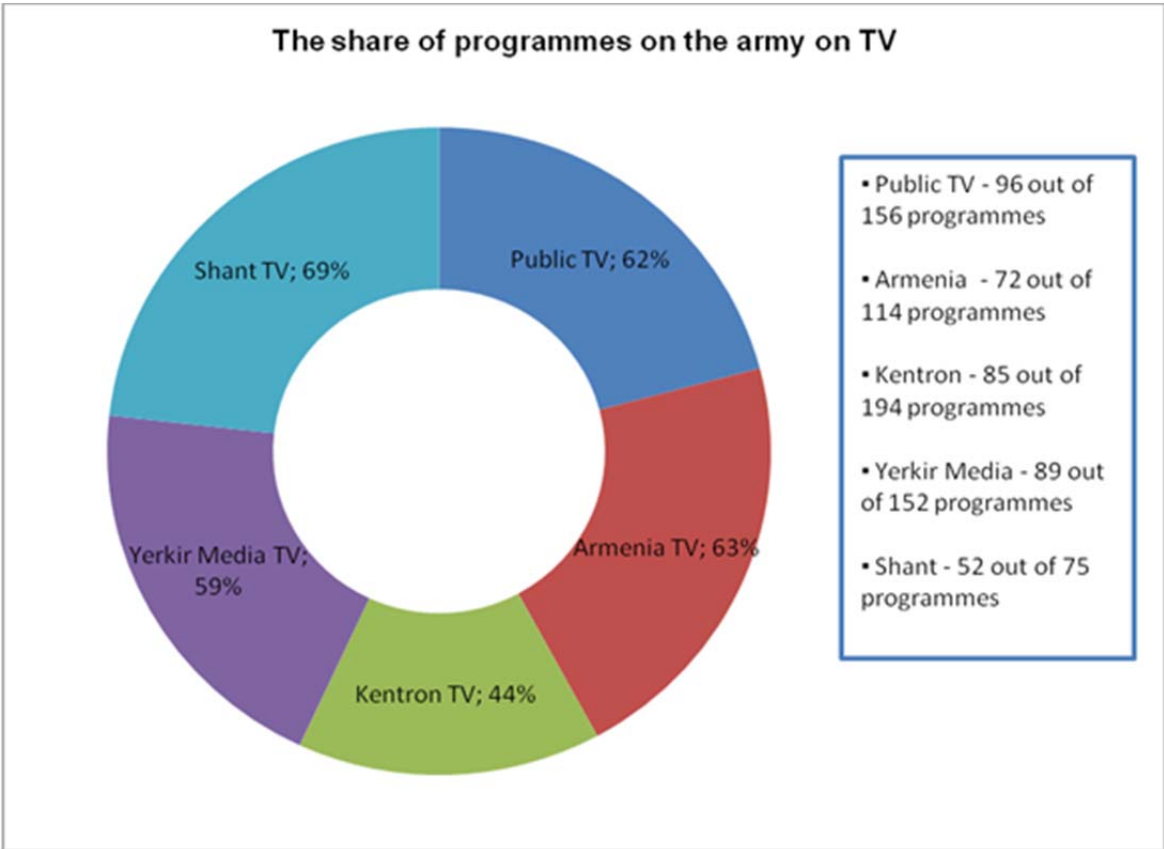
All online media outlets, however, covered the military mainly through materials fully devoted to the army. The number of materials only partially referring to the army (as a component of the general picture and situation) was significantly smaller.

The mass of materials on the army was shared with the audiences at varied intensity. At the states of active political and civil processes (the official adoption of the Nation - Army concept by the National Assembly, the speeches and debates on media platforms on this occasion, the students' actions against the change/limitation of the right to deferral and other processes deriving from it) up to 36 materials were published in online media daily.





The majority of programs we monitored at 4 out of 5 TV companies had stories on the army.





## ABOUT WHAT? SHAKING THE TABOOS ON NATION-ARMY AND THE ARMY

The rather intensive discussions in October – November 2017 shook the taboo on discussing army issues also at official level. The media platforms started to voice issues related to the army that were typical only of the Armenian social network domains before: corruption loopholes in the army and during draft, issues of supplies for the military servicemen and provision with necessary items, dislocation in more or less dangerous segments of the army, the social security for the people who participated in the wars in Karabakh, the diversified attitude to soldiers and especially to high-ranking officers, civilian oversight of the army and so on.

The media had never covered the Armenian army and its issues with such intensity before, by the way with the reactions and participation of the representatives of other ranks from the country's military department.

The information provision continued with reference to topics that seemed “off the agenda”. These topics emerged primarily because of the draft legislation initiatives within the framework of Nation – Army and did not immediately reflect the provisions fixed in those bills. For example, the topic of army evasion was addressed not only in relation to the limitation of/significant change in the right to deferral (addressing how as a tangible and pure outcome this is going to contribute to the strengthening and enhancement of the defense capacity of the army), but the general situation around social justice (ordinary people's children are taken to the army, whereas officials' children are not and if they join the army, they serve in very comfortable conditions), the social elevator (the majority of present officials have not served in the Armenian army, hence the completion of military

service shall be a precondition for promotion into public offices), corruption loopholes (protectionism, formations of fake health grounds), and the system of education and science in Armenia as a whole. The topic of army evasion was discussed even more actively at the end of October due to the Facebook statements made by former Defense Minister S. Ohanyan's wife, military doctor R. Khachatryan about a top-ranking official (his name was hinted at), referring to the latter's evasion of the army at the time of his draft whereas now this person insisted on the need for the right to deferral. Online media referred to the evasion issue multilaterally, unlike TV stations that did not take up the few notes that generated a wave of discussion on the Internet.

On the occasion of a number of speeches made at the National Assembly on this topic the press addressed the point on whether various RA officials and their sons had served in the army or not, approximately in the manner in which it published information on the financial capacity of this or that candidate during the elections. The topic of army evasion was a unique process of lustration the Minister of Defense did not overt. The certificate on his military service/non-service, the conditions and the place of service were officially published upon the inquiry of a Member of the Parliament from the oppositional YELQ alliance.

Domestic political comments were proposed in the judgments on the resignation/or possible resignation of high ranking officials in the army, in the materials about the past and present leaders of the defense system, the former and the incumbent Ministers, in the publications about the power system transformations anticipated in the Nation – Army context in 2018.

The issue of the conscription/deferral also contributed to rather intensive discussions of unprecedented scope and depth on education. There was no significant difference among the approaches of the online media and TV in this regard. As a whole, the media outlets provided a detailed discussion on all the issues of scientific development in Armenia, the deficiencies in the education system, up to mentioning that unlike Western higher educational institutions, in Armenian universities Professors deliver lectures, and PhD students conduct seminars. Whereas, the opposite is the right scenario. The students' protest-actions and hunger strikes in October – November also became an occasion for referring to domestic political struggle, civil movements, freedom of speech and other issues, too.

The apprehensions related to domestic issues and rights (this concept will lead to the militarization of the society, that the civil freedoms cannot be protected in a militarized state, the rights are subjected to obligations and so on) were voiced much more rarely, being ahead of only three/four groups of issues in online media and TV programs by number. In

online media, those topics were history, church, the Diaspora, the coverage of the army, and in TV programs, these were the coverage of the army, the Diaspora, and the armies of other countries. In both online media outlets and TV programs, the army of Azerbaijan occupies higher positions.

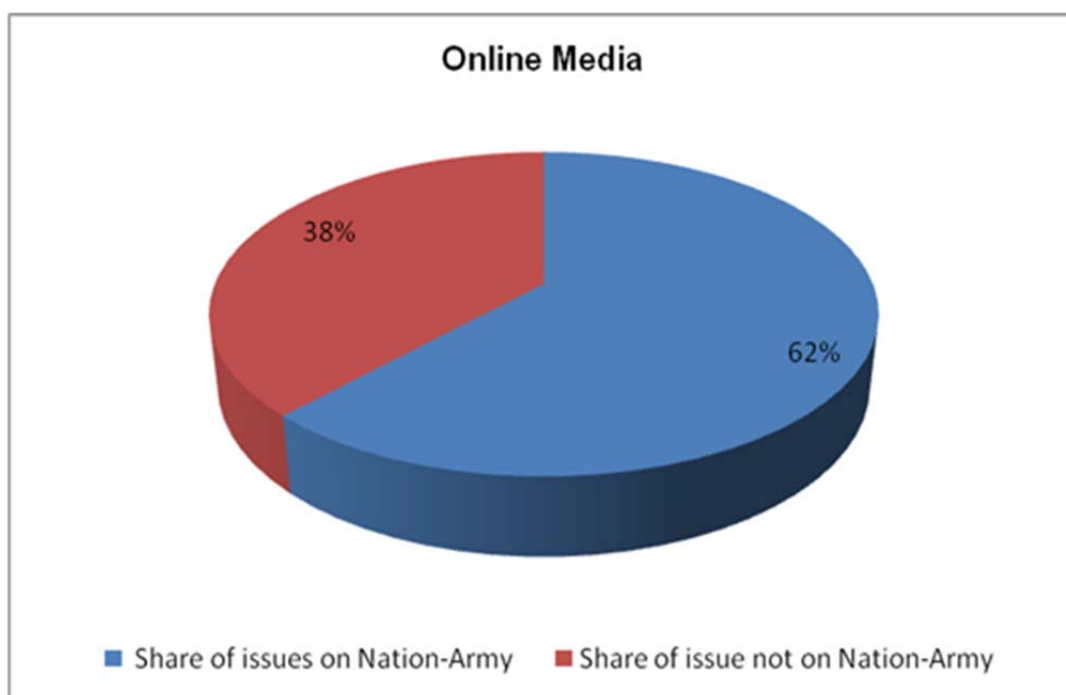
In materials about the army, conscription/draft, the issues related to the incidents and reduction of tensions on the Karabakh conflict line of contact, issues of education and security, the stories on trials and court decisions passed on offenses in the army occupied the first 5 lines in the rankings of frequency of issues raised in materials on the army. In the case of TV programs the Karabkh conflict is in the first five lines (from the above-mentioned perspective) followed by the military service and conscription, education, security, and social issues.

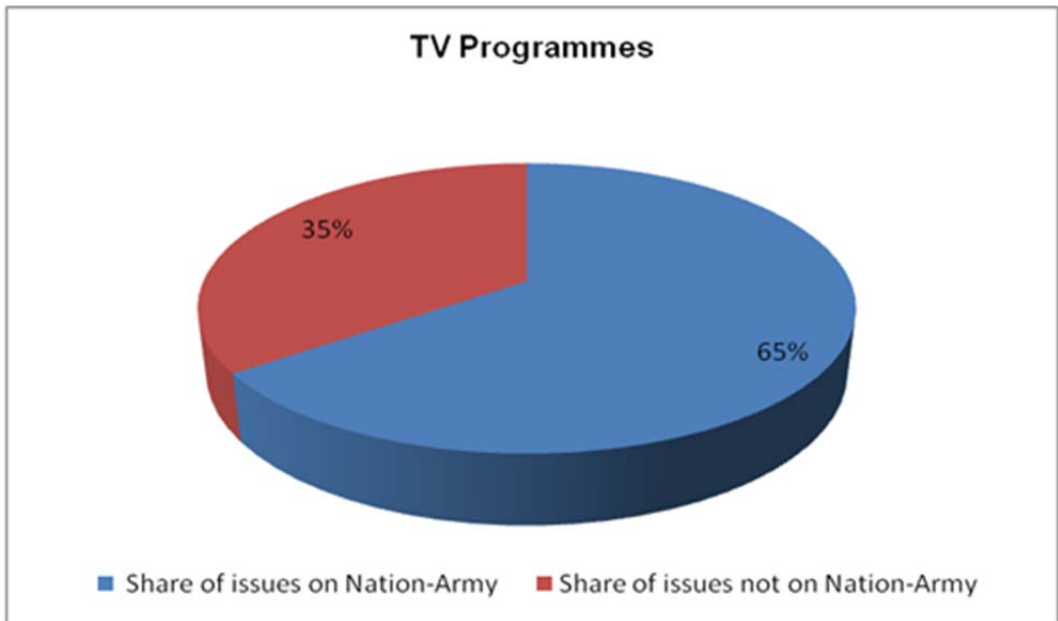
**For more details on the ratings of all issues covered in materials on the topic of the army see the APPENDIX: About what?**

## NATION – ARMY: INTENSITY AND ATTITUDE AS EXPRESSED BY SIGNS

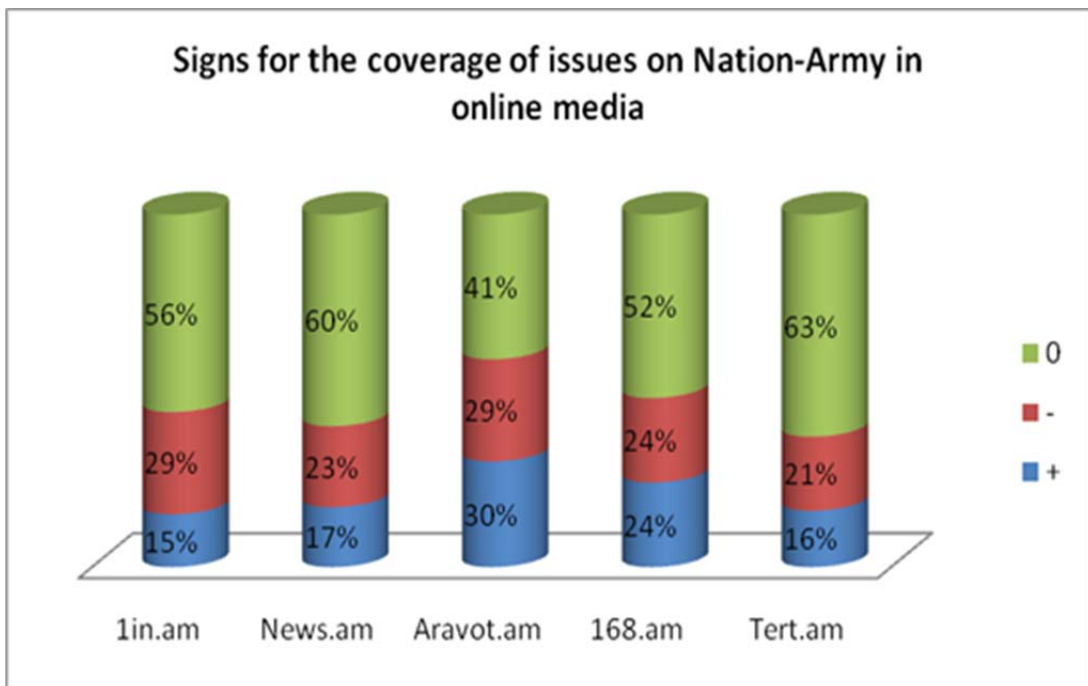
The number of issues on the topic of Nation – Army was 62% of all issues on the army in online media outlets, and 65% on TV.

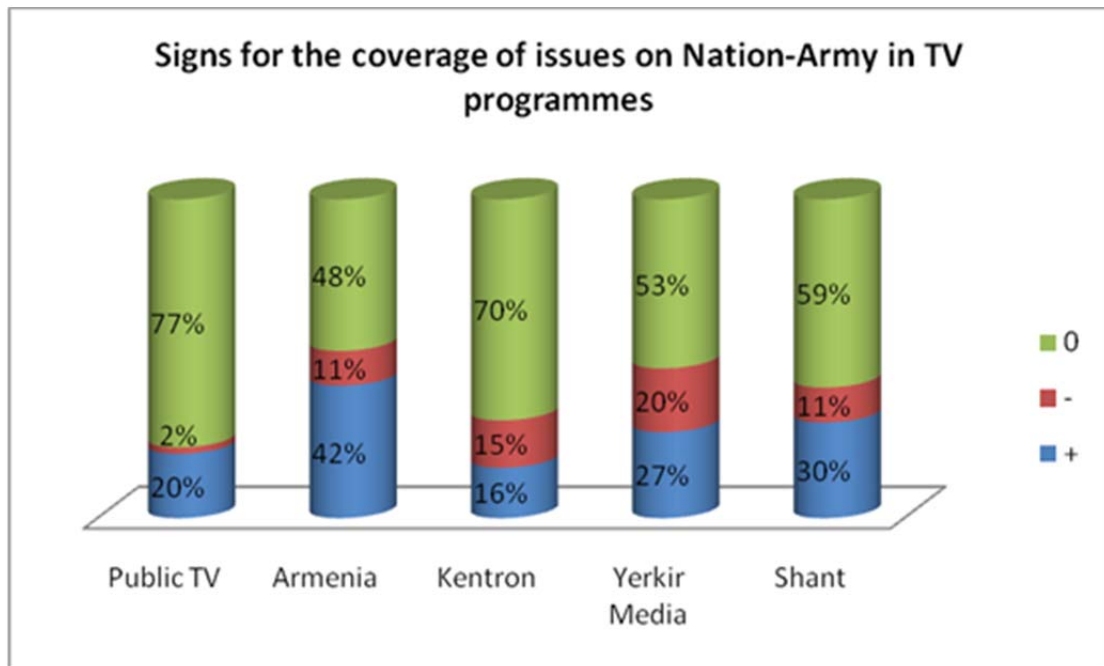
See the graphs below:





The signs indicating attitude towards the issues of Nation-Army in online media and TV programs testify that the concept was not covered from absolutely positive or absolutely negative perspectives at information provision level.





In online media and in TV programs the vast majority of materials on the army presented from neutral positions were the news reports on the army, prepared by the media outlets.



## WHO?

The representatives of the RA armed forces and state figures were significantly ahead of all the others who expressed opinions expressed by the positive sign in online media outlets and on TV. On TV their indicators would collectively add up to 1/3 of all “speaking heads” (32%). Examples may be brought from the news pieces on the day of the official adoption of the Nation-Army concept, as well as the series of interviews given to the media. In this regard the exclusive interview of the RA President Serzh Sargsyan to Armenia TV where he also referred to the issues of Nation-Army (“Formula”, December 15, 2017), and the exclusive interviews of the Minister of Defense V. Sargsyan on these very topics on Armenia TV (“R-Evolution”, October 29, 2017) and Shant TV (“Outlook”, December 23, 2017) are to be mentioned particularly.

Opinions marked by a negative sign in online media outlets belonged to the representatives of various social/professional groups or individual experts. The representatives of this group come first among those who expressed negative opinions on this or that provision of Nation-Army on TV. However, unlike online media, on TV the representatives of the non-state and non-political segments gave an approximately equal number of positive evaluations to the concept. It should be noted that in the first case the criticism of civil and professional groups on air had largely to do with the news flow of the day. Whereas those who expressed a positive opinion were the guests invited on set by the anchors for interviews.

The representatives of Parliamentary parties and factions expressed themselves on the Nation – Army from among political circles in both online media and on TV. In online media outlets their rating looks like this – RPA (5.5%), YELQ (4.5%), Tsarukyan Alliance (0.9%), ARF (0.4%). The same order is maintained on TV, too.

Unlike the situation with TV stations, in online media outlets there were more extra-Parliamentary forces that spoke about the army, namely Yerkir Tsirani Party, Free Democrats, Mission Party, National State Party, ANC.

The opinions on issues regarding the army held by only two parties (Yerkir Tsirani Party and Heritage Party) were voiced on air.

**For more details, see APPENDIX: Who? Rating of authors raising issues/questions regarding the army?**

## THE INFORMATION BACKGROUND OF NATION-ARMY

There are a few points among issues related to the army, but at first sight not the process of the adoption of the Nation-Army concept that, from propaganda perspective, served the purpose of instilling the central provisions of the concept, namely: “The army is that of ordinary citizens” and “There is a connection between the army and the people, dictated by the imperative for security”. This line is vividly expressed in, for example, each of the 12 pieces of “Life on the Border” program series. Every piece was devoted to one settlement, and three kinds of characters had a possibility to present their routine life in it: ordinary citizens, the soldiers and officers of armed forces units located in that area, and the clergy serving in those military units. The broadcasts of the “At the Posts” program series in our monitoring period also indicate the extent to which the furnishing and the infrastructure have

improved along the contact line. On the one hand, this is a program series that draws the features of military servicemen exclusively, on the other, it is first-hand feedback on the objections to the Nation-Army voiced by the military from sites. For example, against the background of heated debates on the right to deferral the “At the Posts” program series asked soldiers questions on whether the military service would really hinder them to continue their education in the future. Or against the background of debates on the provision/non-provision of deferral to the students at the religious seminary, religious freedoms and rights in the army, “At the Posts” asked the military the same question on whether it was mandatory for the military who were followers of congregations other than the Apostolic Church to participate in the prayers and so on.

The series of stories/features about the military servicemen of different ranks currently in the army contained pathetic patriotic messages by both online media and TV.



**On the whole during the adoption of the Nation-Army concept each of the so-called Nation-Army issues was perceived due to its propaganda function. For example, the information on trials for various offenses in the army and by the military servicemen which occupied a significant place throughout our study (in online media the group of these issues came the fifth, being ahead of social affairs, domestic issues, corruption, and a number of other issues that were more intensively discussed in offline parliamentary platforms) contained a message for the audience that the offenses in the army were disclosed, and the guilty were punished. The media had never before been provided with such a number of reports on offenses in the army.**



Stand-alone documentary and feature films/programs and social clips (the TV series “At the Border” on Shant, the clip on the “It’s Me” program shot by the Ministry of Defense that was broadcast by all channels ahead of the winter draft) came to complement the above-mentioned examples in the case of TV stations.

The Program series “Nation – Army” broadcast exclusively by Public TV satellite would refer to different terms related to the concept. The programs that had an average duration of 20 minutes were not about the role of the Diaspora in the military sphere or the involvement of

the Diaspora for the implementation of the concept. Instead, they focused on what the Nation – Army was from the military and political, social and psychological, national ideology perspectives, from the viewpoint of the further developments of the Karabakh conflict and a number of other angles. The Pan-Armenian Geographical Association presented this program series jointly with the Ministry of Defense.

The circulation of clips that had no relation with the army by their content, however, also contributed to the appearance of more people in military uniforms on TV. For example, one of the “Clean Armenia” social advertisements with calls for keeping the environment clean prepared within a project funded by the RA Government.

## STANDPOINTS: PRO ET CONTRA

The debates that were reflected on media platforms mostly focused on the issues of education, the right to deferral, social justice, corruption loopholes, the healthcare system, security and considerably less on issues of democratic freedoms. The justifications proposed were often inversely proportional after the following scheme: “I accept/I do not accept, it will have an adverse impact/it will not have an adverse impact, it will contribute/it will not contribute”.

The examples below are from among those sets of answers.

### Education/Science/Deferral

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■ **Pro** – The change regarding the right to referral will raise the educational level of the higher educational institutions, since “only those who want to have a higher education will enroll in higher educational institutions, and not those who make use of the educational opportunity to evade the army”.

■ **Contra**– “In fact, deferral is granted to those students who will serve as officers after graduation. That is to say, they are not going to contribute to the development of education and science. The consequences stemming from the bill will be a sharp decline of motivation to study, a reduction in the number of those who enroll in universities, emigration of schoolboys, elimination of motivation to engage in scientific activity and stay in Armenia.”



■ **Pro** – The law will contribute to a situation where “those who are really willing to do science will engage in science. There are examples of young men continuing both their education and their scientific research.” “Only 12 – 15% of those who received a scientific degree in Armenia continued their research activities. This is not in line with any international standard.”

■ **Contra** – The law will be a threat to the development of science, since “no appropriate analysis or expert opinion has been provided to prove that people return from the army and study better”, “The army changes people’s outlooks and after service that they do not want to continue their education,” “The two-year break undermines the continuity of education which is especially important in natural sciences”, “Giving an irreparable blow to the scientific thought and innovation, it will raise serious suspicions with regard to the possibility and prospects of having modern economy, education, healthcare, and defense systems in the reasonable future.”

■ **Pro** – The law will eliminate the injustice in one aspect since because of half a point difference one has to join the army, whereas the other continues his education at the university.

■ **Contra** – “It is possible to ensure justice without this law, you should not ensure justice starting from the military service, it is absurd.”

■ **Pro**– “Everyone should serve in the army, and this is the way to restore justice.”

■ **Contra** – “The consequences are unpredictable, I do not agree to the claim that the provision is targeting the restoration of social justice. This is a bill that will lead to social polarization under the slogan of social justice,” “This law does not provide any tool to ensure equality in the army. They could ensure justice without that law, if the desire were there, and tomorrow that justice is not going to be there if there is no will for it.”

### **Corruption/health/emigration** \_\_\_\_\_

■ **Pro** – The law and the change in the right to deferral will contribute to blocking the corruption loopholes, “We reduce corruption risks maintaining social justice. One law is enforced for all.”

■ **Contra** – The change in the right to deferral “will create new corruption risks in the areas of healthcare and defense,” “If there is a problem with corruption in education sphere,

why is it not solved within the same sphere, but by means of modifying the deferral system?” “The problem will be moved to another sphere – the medical and social committees, and all of a sudden it will turn out that some individuals who are healthy, have had an “age-long” diseases and will be withdrawn from military service: this is an unacceptable approach.”

■ **Pro** – “From now on the procedures for medical checkups and tests, as well as the list of diseases that are contradictory to military service, will be approved by a governmental decree instead of the procedure that is enforced currently – through the approval of the Minister of Defense.”

■ **Contra** – “The number of those who have military service deferred on medical grounds is huge, but since it is difficult to struggle there, problems arise, applicants are many, and a lot of internal corruption risks arise, hence they have taken another road.”

■ **Pro** – The law cannot contribute to emigration, “Absolutely not, because a very small segment of the society enjoys deferral, the rest of the people are covered by the mandatory term of service. Hence, I do not think that the revision of the legislation will be a significant trigger for additional emigration outflows.”

■ **Contra** – The launched process is already triggering emigration, which is a serious cause to feel worried. This law will bring about a larger wave of emigration, “The thing is that abolishing the right to deferral on education grounds which was a ‘loophole’ for many citizens to evade military service, may open up new doors to many for evading it, namely by refusing RA citizenship and becoming a citizen of another country.” “I also work as a teacher, and every September 1<sup>st</sup> I am sad to see that the parents of sons leave Armenia together with their children. It would be better for the officials to come out of their offices and interact with people.”

## Security

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■ **Pro**– “The new mechanisms and regulations will maximally contribute to ensuring proper defense, and effective management and control of the armed forces.”

■ **Contra** – “Only half of the losses in our army are caused of enemy’s actions, in the remaining cases we are dealing with inefficient management, consequences of non-statutory relations. The probability of war is inversely proportional to the efficiency of governance in Armenia. The worse the governance is, the higher the probability of war.”

■ **Pro** – “If the country is not defended, it does not matter how many scientists there are in the country. It is of no value at all. First we need to think about defense.”

■ **Contra** – “The arms should be the last resort, and should follow the power of knowledge, economic security, effective diplomacy, when these aspects are weak, the only thing left is arms.”

■ **Pro** – “All the changes have only one end goal: to reinforce our defence capacity, to improve the mechanisms of restraining the enemy, and to enhance the level of legal and social security of the military servicemen.”

■ **Contra** – “But unfortunately, the reinforcement of the army does not have to do with the introduction of new technologies, but rather the increase in the numbers of servicemen, which is dangerous by itself.”

## **Freedoms**

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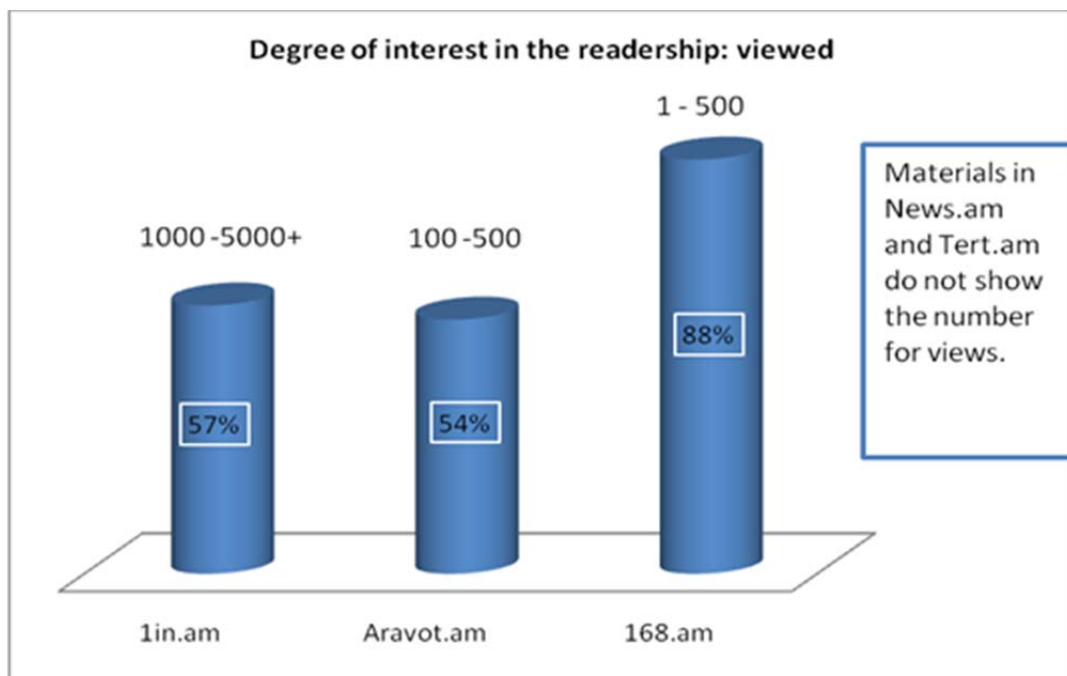
■ **Pro**– “Those who have deferred the military service on legal grounds should know clearly what they are supposed to do in the case of war. It has nothing to do with militarization.”

■ **Contra**– “This law makes the society and the country even more militarized,” “When the army and the police are top priorities in our country, one can see to what kind of a society the authorities want to build. If we want Armenia to become an Israel, you should not forget that the most important component of Israel is democracy, which you violate under the disguise of your fake patriotic pathos.”

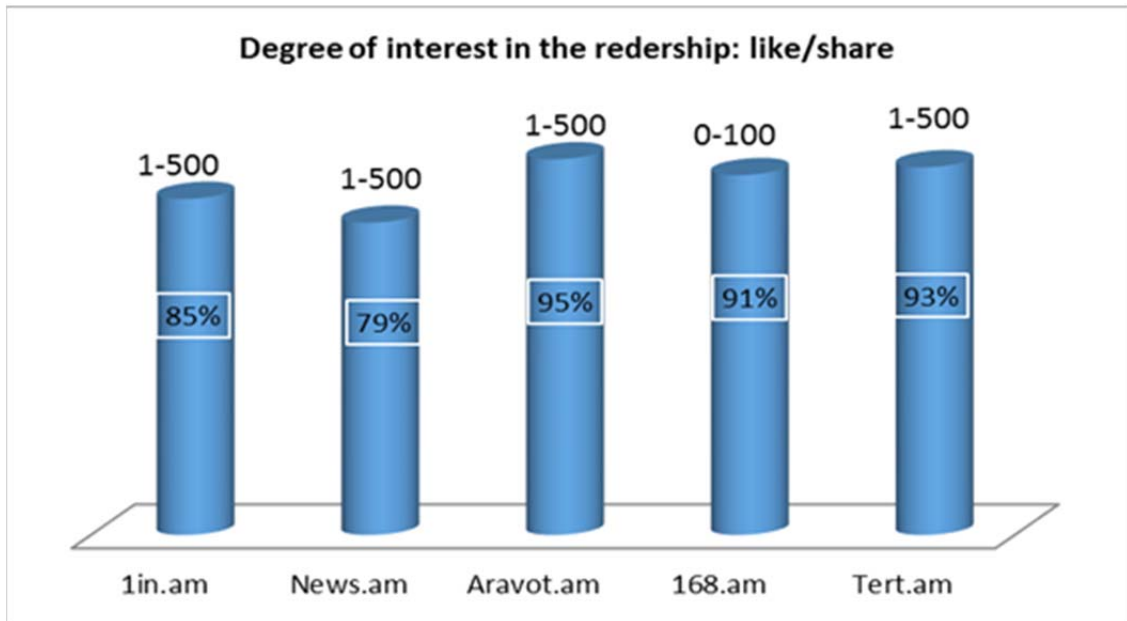
## LEVELS OF AUDIENCE'S INTEREST IN ARMY TOPICS

With only a few exceptions, the intensity of feedback and indicators of views of materials on army topics in online media were within typical range, regardless of the fact that the topic of the army was among the topics that have deserved stable attention especially in the recent years.

For example, about half of all materials on the topic of the army in 1in.am was viewed from 1000 to 5000 and more times, half of suchlike materials in Aravot.am were viewed from 100 to 500 times, the vast majority of materials in 168.am – 88% - remained within the range of 1 – 500.



The level of active feedback from the audiences was even lower. The obvious majority of materials about the army in all media outlets had a stable 1 – 500 likes/shares, and 91% of the materials in 168.am had 1 – 100 likes/shares.



A few materials of different kinds and focusing on other issues caused special attention, being read tens of times more frequently within the same period and getting a few thousand more likes than usually. For example, in 1in.am the article on the topic of the army, titled “The Opration to “Throwing Mud” on Vigen Sargsyan is Successfully Completed” (on evasion from the army), was read 160 920 times. In Aravot.am the most viewed material (“Azerbaijani military forces are bombing Barekamavan”, the topic of Karabakh conflict) had an indicator of 13647, in 168.am the most read material was “The Term for Mandatory Military Service by the Contract Signed with the DM Is About 3 Years, and the Right to Deferral Is Highly Limited” (read 12413 times, an indicator that is three times higher than the next highest number of views).<sup>3</sup>

## XXX

In fact, the Nation – Army concept was declared as a formula for improving the management in the military, ensuring closer connections between the public and the army, regulating the attitude to and relations with the army at war and at peace, regardless of the already vivid manifestations of this connection and attitude (definitely positive towards Armenian soldiers, serving in the army and standing at the border posts, and versatile towards officers or military of higher ranks) due to different circumstances and events,

<sup>3</sup>We recorded this indicator, as well as the indicators for views, likes and shares of the materials as of the next day of publication.

namely: mandatory two-year service (as a result of which the population had/has sons, nephews, friends' and acquaintances' sons conscripted to and serving in the army), an attempt to mobilize volunteers in the conditions of varied tension and duration of tense situations on the Karabakh line of contact, and practices of assisting the army in different ways.

The media discourse on Nation-Army rolled out following the track of the discussions/debates and speeches in the National Assembly, frequently, on the occasions of domestic and civil processes related to them. The Armenian authorities and the Ministry of Defense had initially spoken about the need for public discussions on the innovation and not adopting them by a “quick march”. And we are convinced that the ideological/propaganda reason behind it was the demand for it by the central provision of the Nation-Army concept – that of the unity of the army and the public. However, the unequivocal, and in some cases, critical attitude mainly came from the fact that the foci of these innovations (particularly, the programs “It’s Me” and “I’m Honored”) had more to do with not internal reforms within the army, but the pre-army (draft and right to referral, social packages after the army, etc.) and post-army stages. In other words, the declared innovations did not justify the expectations of a part of the society; they did not address the more vividly expressed and acute issues raised as a public demand after the April war – “eliminate corruption and legal arbitrariness to enhance security”, “there is money for the army, look for it more diligently, and make an efficient use of state resources.”

However, most of the substantiations in favor of the concept were formulated in accordance with the publicly raised issues. For example, “Every wasted cent is a factor that influences our capacity to buy arms and armaments. Every abuse undermines the security of the families of every single one of us” (RA Minister of Defense V. Sargsyan).

## APPENDIX

### 1 . About what? Rating of issues covered in reports on the army.

#### About what? Rating of issues covered in online media

Issues	1in.am	News.am	Aravot.am	168.am	Tert.am	Total
Service/conscription	174	180	203	125	105	787
						14,6%
Karabakh conflict	141	114	123	194	191	763
						14,2%
Education	157	129	153	86	142	667
						12,4%
Security	65	47	78	89	77	356
						6,6%
Legal	76	87	54	69	52	338
						6,3%
Foreign relations	88	51	31	78	69	317
						5,9%
Event-related News	66	51	40	47	53	257
						4,8%
Armament	55	36	28	48	64	231
						4,3%
Social issues	35	29	53	36	41	194
						3,6%
Domestic affairs	65	39	18	52	13	187
						3,5%
Draft evasion	54	34	21	35	28	172
						3,2%
Corruption	43	28	24	39	24	158

						2,9%
Public attitude to the army, ties with the army	38	27	39	29	21	154
						2,9%
Azerbaijani army	33	25	27	28	37	150
						2,8%
Healthcare	17	38	22	26	28	131
						2,4%
Economy/Supply to the army	25	32	29	15	22	123
						2,3%
The army of another country	27	13	1	34	10	85
						1,6%
Feature	11	14	25	22	9	81
						1,5%
Transparency of the army/ civilian oversight of the army	9	8	8	13	18	56
						1,0%
Migration	2	13	15	12	9	51
						0,9%
Democratic freedoms	9	9	4	16	5	43
						0,8%
History	8	0	8	5	5	26
						0,5%
Church	3	6	12	0	3	24
						0,4%
Diaspora	2	2	5	4	5	18
						0,3%
Coverage of army matters	4	1	2	1	4	12
						0,2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1207</b>	<b>1013</b>	<b>1023</b>	<b>1103</b>	<b>1035</b>	<b>5381</b>
	<b>22,4%</b>	<b>18,8%</b>	<b>19,0%</b>	<b>20,5%</b>	<b>19,2%</b>	<b>100%</b>



## About what? Rating of issues in TV programmes

Issues	Public TV					Armenia				Kentron					Yerkir Media				Shant			Total
	Agenda	360 °	Off the Agenda	Agenda: Interview	First Pavilion	News Hour	Post Factum	R-Evolution	Formula Club	Epicenter	Sunday Epicenter	Outline	Armenian Firday	Transition with Dulyan	Country Today	Saturday Night	Country's Issue	Out Loud	Horizon	Sunday Horizon	Perspective	
Karabakh conflict	85	13	9	1	1	40	6	2	2	36	2	4	2	1	46	9	1	0	20	8	3	301 17%
Service/Conscription	33	6	9	1	0	29	6	2	6	29	1	7	2	3	43	21	10	5	26	0	3	242 14%
Education	33	6	4	0	2	31	7	2	8	23	5	9	4	1	28	13	15	6	18	0	5	220 12,7 %
Security	27	1	3	0	0	22	3	3	4	8	0	8	3	0	14	7	7	1	6	1	3	121 7,0%
Social issues	22	6	4	0	7	18	6	2	2	7	0	3	0	0	15	7	2	0	8	1	4	114 6,6%
Armaments	31	6	3	0	0	10	1	2	2	7	1	3	0	0	8	8	4	0	12	0	1	99 5,7%
Public attitude to the army, ties with the army	20	5	17	0	6	3	0	0	0	9	0	1	0	0	9	2	3	0	6	0	1	82 4,7%
Foreign relations	29	0	0	2	0	6	0	2	0	3	0	2	1	1	16	4	4	0	10	0	0	80 4,6%
Event-related news	26	1	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	16	3	1	0	13	4	0	74 4,3%
Healthcare	17	2	2	0	7	1	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	0	8	1	1	0	3	0	3	53 3%
Feature	6	0	2	0	3	2	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	20	4	0	1	0	0	0	43 2,5%
Legal	6	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	8	0	1	0	0	10	3	1	0	5	1	1	42 2,5%

Azerbaijani army	10	1	1	0	0	4	2	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	5	0	0	0	8	0	5	42 2,5%
Economy/Supply to the army	9	2	4	0	0	9	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	1	4	0	1	41 2,4%
Corruption	3	0	1	0	0	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	3	0	7	3	2	0	4	0	3	40 2,3%
Transparency of the army and civilian oversight of the army	3	0	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	6	2	1	0	4	0	2	27 1,5%
Draft evasion	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	5	0	2	22 1,3%
History	6	1	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	19 1,1%
Domestic affairs	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	5	1	6	0	1	0	0	19 1,1%
Migration	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	12 0,7%
Church	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	12 0,7%
Democratic freedoms	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	4	3	0	0	1	0	0	11 0,6%
Coverage of army matters	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	2	0	0	2	11 0,6%
Diaspora	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5 0,3%
The army of another country	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	5 0,3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>38 4</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4 2</b>	<b>19 1</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>15 0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>27 5</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>15 8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>1737 100%</b>

## 2. Attitude to the topic of Nation-Army in online media and TV programmes, denoted by signs

Media outlet	+	-	0	Total
1in.am	110	221	419	750
	15%	29%	56%	100%
News.am	112	148	395	655
	17%	23%	60%	100%
Aravot.am	209	205	293	707
	30%	29%	41%	100%
168.am	151	146	324	621
	24%	24%	52%	100%
Tert.am	94	127	379	600
	16%	21%	63%	100%
Total	<b>676</b>	<b>847</b>	<b>1810</b>	<b>3333</b>
	<b>20%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>100%</b>

TV programmes		+	-	0	Total
Public TV	Agenda	43	2	167	212
		20%	1%	79%	100%
	360°	9	0	28	37
		24%	0%	76%	100%
	Off the Agenda	12	1	38	51
		24%	2%	74%	100%
	Agenda: Interview	0	0	1	1
		0%	0%	100%	100%
	First Pavilion	1	2	19	22
		5%	9%	86%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>327</b>	
	<b>20%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>100%</b>	
Armenia	News Hour	51	7	71	129
		40%	5%	55%	100%
	Post Factum	18	0	11	29
		62%	0%	38%	100%
	R-Evolution	6	3	9	18
		33%	17%	50%	100%

	Formula Club	11	12	7	30
		37%	40%	23%	100%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>206</b>
		<b>42%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Kentron</b>	Epicenter	15	14	67	96
		16%	14%	70%	100%
	Sunday Epicenter	2	4	4	10
		20%	40%	40%	100%
	Outline	6	26	9	41
		15%	63%	22%	100%
	Armenian Friday	3	5	4	12
		25%	42%	33%	100%
	Transition with Dulyan	0	1	5	6
		0%	17%	83%	100%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>69</b>
		<b>16%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Yerkir Media</b>	Country Today	46	26	82	154
		30%	17%	53%	100%
	Saturday Night	16	16	37	69
		23%	23%	54%	100%
	Country's Issue	9	13	29	51

		18%	25%	57%	100%
	Out Loud	6	3	5	14
		43%	21%	36%	100%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>27%</b>		<b>20%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>100%</b>	
<b>Shant</b>	Horizon	28	14	59	101
		28%	14%	58%	100%
	Sunday Horizon	1	0	1	2
		50%	0%	50%	100%
	Perspective	11	0	19	30
		37%	0%	63%	100%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>133</b>
		<b>30%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>279</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>605</b>	<b>1023</b>
		<b>27%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3. Who and how?

#### Who? Rating of authors in online media

Who	1in.am	News.am	Aravot.am	168.am	Tert.am	Total
Media outlet	481	343	304	377	157	1662
						30,9%
Civil and professional groups/ experts	210	107	211	195	226	949
						17,6%
Military Forces (RA Ministry of Defense, RA General Headquarters, Defense Army of Artsakh)	133	188	225	161	194	901
						16,7%
RA state figures/local self-governing bodies	94	82	124	57	144	501
						9,3%
RPA	65	53	11	104	62	295
						5,5%
Representatives of other countries	39	38	24	84	100	285
						5,3%
Ordinary citizens	89	99	37	29	29	283
						5,3%
YELQ bloc	57	59	47	40	40	243
						4,5%
Artsakh authorities	12	26	13	31	52	134
						2,5%
Tsarukyan Alliance	11	11	2	10	13	47
						0,9%
Yerkir Tsirani Party	10	2	4	6	3	25
						0,5%
ARF	3	5	4	3	7	22
						0,4%
Diaspora	0	0	11	0	0	11
						0,2%
Free Democrats	0	0	0	0	7	7
						0,1%

Mission Party	2	0	2	2	1	7
						0,1%
Nation-State Party	0	0	0	4	0	4
						0,07%
Church	1	0	2	0	0	3
						0,05%
ANC	0	0	2	0	0	2
						0,03%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1207</b>	<b>1013</b>	<b>1023</b>	<b>1103</b>	<b>1035</b>	<b>5381</b>
	<b>22,4%</b>	<b>18,8%</b>	<b>19,0%</b>	<b>20,5%</b>	<b>19,2%</b>	<b>100,0%</b>

### Who? Rating of authors in TV programmes

	Public TV					Armenia				Kentron					Yerkir Media			Shant				Total
	Agenda	360°	Off the Agenda: Interview	Agenda: Interview	First Pavilion	News Hour	Post Factum	R-Evolution	Formula Club	Epicenter	Sunday Epicenter	Outline	Armenian Friday Transition with Dulyan	Country Today	Saturday Night	Country's Issue	Out Loud	Horizon	Sunday Horizon	Perspective		
Media outlet	140	17	11	0	7	68	16	3	14	60	5	9	1	8	116	27	15	4	46	13	6	586 32,8%
Military Forces (RA Ministry of Defense, RA General Headquarters, Defense Army of Artsakh)	86	10	13	0	2	50	7	11	0	23	3	2	0	0	54	18	0	0	41	2	17	339 18,7%
Civic and professional groups/ experts	26	6	0	0	7	10	3	6	2	27	5	26	13	0	27	15	34	10	20	0	10	247 13,7%



Ordinary citizens	18	9	22	0	24	7	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	16	2	0	0	5	0	0	210 11,8%
RA state figures/local self-governing bodies	67	9	12	1	2	30	11	0	9	13	1	0	0	0	22	15	1	0	15	0	0	208 10,8%
Representatives of other countries	27	2	0	3	0	15	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	0	11	0	2	73 3,8%
RPA	9	0	3	0	0	4	0	4	5	5	0	3	1	0	17	9	0	0	3	0	3	66 2,8%
YELQ bloc	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	3	0	8	1	0	8	2	8	3	12	0	0	54 2,8%
Artsakh authorities	7	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	22 1,2%
ARF	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	14 0,75%
Tsarukyan Alliance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	13 0,7%
Heritage Party	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 0,1%
Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2 0,1%
Yerkir Tsirani Party	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1 0,05%
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>1737 100%</b>

## How? Attitude of issues' authors in online media

Who	+	-	0	Total
<b>Media outlet</b>	86	265	1311	1662
	5%	16%	79%	100%
<b>Civil and professional groups/ experts</b>	132	361	456	949
	14%	38%	48%	100%
<b>Military Forces (RA Ministry of Defense, RA General Headquarters, Defense Army of Artsakh)</b>	303	53	545	901
	34%	6%	60%	100%
<b>RA state figures/local self-governing bodies</b>	116	36	349	501
	23%	7%	70%	100%
<b>RPA</b>	92	20	183	295
	31%	7%	62%	100%
<b>Representatives of other countries</b>	43	25	217	285
	15%	9%	76%	100%
<b>Ordinary citizens</b>	35	127	121	283
	12%	45%	43%	100%
<b>YELQ bloc</b>	7	165	71	243
	3%	68%	29%	100%
<b>Artsakh authorities</b>	38	2	94	134
	28%	2%	70%	100%

## How? Attitude of issues' authors in TV programmes

Who	+	-	0	Total
Media outlet	79	45	462	586
	13%	8%	79%	100%
Military Forces (RA Ministry of Defense, RA General Headquarters, Defense Army of Artsakh)	131	16	192	339
	39%	5%	56%	100%
Civic and professional groups/experts	117	69	61	247
	47%	28%	25%	100%
Ordinary citizens	58	10	142	210
	28%	5%	67%	100%
RA state figures/local self-governing bodies	85	37	86	208
	41%	18%	41%	100%
Representatives of other countries	13	0	60	73
	18%	0%	82%	100%
RPA	29	0	37	66
	44%	0%	56%	100%
Yelq bloc	2	34	18	54
	4%	63%	33%	100%
Artsakh authorities	4	2	16	22
	18%	9%	73%	100%
ARF	7	2	5	14
	50%	14%	36%	100%
Tsarukyan Alliance	3	3	7	13
	23%	23%	54%	100%
Heritage Party	0	1	1	2
	0%	50%	50%	100%
Church	2	0	0	2
	100%	0%	0%	100%
Yerkir Tsirani Party	1	0	0	1
	100%	0%	0%	100%