

REGIONAL PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS: 2021 ELECTIONS IN ARMENIA

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Research methodology and analysis of results

*Director of “Region” research center **Laura Baghdasaryan***

Monitoring team

Sona Kyurkchyan, Angela Chobanyan, Marine Sargsyan, Meri Sargsyan, Tigran Baghdasaryan

*Technical processing of results, calculations, tables and figures **Shoghik Stepanyan***



“Region” Research Center

www.regioncenter.info

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ELECTIONS IN THE TENSE POST-WAR SITUATION

The 20 June 2021 elections in Armenia were meant to officially formulate the attitude of the public towards the incumbent power and were supposed to contribute to the legitimate solution of the domestic crisis, caused by the 2020 Karabakh war. Besides, it sought to find the answer to the question as to who was going to deal with the future developments of the conflict.

On the eve of the elections the wave of the post-war street protests had calmed down, but public agitations and the protesting spirits had not. The processes on the ground that took place before, during and after the elections reshuffled the priorities in relation to the conflict. At that point, the issue was not confined to the safety and security of the NK population only, rather, the safety and security of the RA had come afore as a key priority.

The harsh and blackmailing rhetoric of the Azerbaijani leadership that declared various parts of Armenia as the historical lands of Azerbaijan and pledged to return there sooner or later¹ was accompanied by the “incursions of the Azerbaijani units into the sovereign territories of the Republic of Armenia since May 12.”² Before the launch of any discursive references to the demarcation and delimitation between Armenia and Azerbaijan, official Azerbaijani statements “informed” that their troops were deployed in those areas in virtue of their historical rights, because they had chosen that specific manner to restore the administrative borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan as of the Soviet times.

¹ Ilham Aliyev, “Yes, Western Zangezur is the land of our ancestors. I have already said that we are going to return there. I said this 10 years ago... We shall return and we are returning. No one can stop us.” (<http://interfax.az/view/839877>)

² The fact of encroachments on the RA sovereign territory was constantly underlined by the RA MFA and in the official statements made other official bodies ever since May, https://www.mfa.am/hy/interviews-articles-and-comments/2021/05/25/mfa_statement/10976.

Controversial announcements were made also in relation to the agreements with regard to regional (Russia – Armenia – Azerbaijan) communications.³ With reference to the clauses and formulations on unblocking regional communications, the Azerbaijani side made announcements on the opening a Zangezur corridor, while the Armenian side argued that the arrangements were about unblocking the roads, rather than the provision of a corridor.⁴

Due to the advancement of the Azerbaijani units since December 2020, the distance between the Armenian and Azerbaijani military forces in a number of border segments was critically smaller, and at one of the segment along the same line they were even standing alternately.

The attempts of reversing the Azerbaijani military forces from the RA sovereign territories⁵ by means of political interventions⁶ did not yield fruit either on the eve or right after the elections. After the elections, the clashes, resulting in the loss of lives in the border areas between Armenia and the Autonomous Republic of Nakhijevan in the Republic of Azerbaijan on July 12, and at

³ The public learnt about this from the ceasefire announcement of November 10, 2020, Clause 9 (<https://www.primeminister.am/hy/press-release/item/2020/11/10/Announcement/>)

⁴ Nikol Pashinyan, “The Republic of Armenia has never discussed, is not discussing and will not discuss anything under the logic of corridor” (<https://www.primeminister.am/hy/press-release/item/2021/05/19/Nikol-Pashinyan-meeting>)

⁵ “You are already aware that on the night of May 12, several groups representing different units of Azerbaijan’s armed forces crossed the state border of the Republic of Armenia in an attempt to take up strategic positions in the territory of the Republic of Armenia”, Nikol Pashinyan’s Speech at NA Special Sitting (May 14, <https://www.primeminister.am/en/statements-and-messages/item/2021/05/14/Nikol-Pashinyan-Speech-National-Assembly/>)

⁶ On this matter, Armenia was communicating with the leaders of the Russian Federation, France and other countries, and on May 13, Armenia initiated official consultations with CSTO, which it is a member of.

the borderline of Armenia in Gegharkunik marz on July 28, were called escalations and incidents in the statements made by the CSTO⁷ and not encroachments on the sovereign territories of the Republic of Armenia.

On the eve of and during the elections the issue of Armenian prisoners of war and civilians taken hostage still remained acute. Azerbaijan was returning them in small groups due to the mediation of Russia, the USA, and Georgia, for concessions. The last episode was marked by an exchange of Armenian prisoners of war with the minefield maps.

Parallel to this, complex geopolitical developments were taking place to adjust the new status quo in the region, along with processes in Nagorno Karabakh that related to the resolution of acute post-war humanitarian issues, and arrangements for the daily life and work of the population that returned to Nagorno Karabakh after the war.

This complex context that preceded, accompanied and followed the campaign and voting was the **main peculiarity** of the 2021 RA National Assembly elections.

The second peculiarity of these elections was the unprecedentedly large number of political forces running for election (21 parties and 4 alliances, including three parliamentary forces, all ex-presidents of Armenia with their teams, and the rest of the extraparlimentary opposition). Among them there were 17 new parties, created within a month to 2,5 years before the elections.⁸

⁷ See “Zas: The escalation in the South of the RA is a “border incident” and does not comply with the clauses of the CSTO statute” (<https://www.azatutyun.am/a/31338995.html>), The CSTO Secretariat commentary on the situation on the Armenian – Azerbaijani border that arose on July 12, (July 14, https://odkb-csto.org/news/news_odkb/kommentariy-sekretariata-odkb-o-situatsii-na-armyano-azerbaydzhanskoy-granitse-voznikshey-12-iyulya-/?sphrase_id=65198), Commentary by the CSTO Secretary General on the situation on the Armenian – Azerbaijani border (July 29, https://odkb-csto.org/news/news_odkb/kommentariy-generalnogo-sekretarya-odkb-otnositelno-obstanovki-na-armyano-azerbaydzhanskoy-granitse/)

⁸ 3 out of the 17 newly established parties ran for elections in alliance with other forces, and 14 ran by standalone lists. 8 of those new, stand alone parties were created during 1-6 months before the elections.

The third peculiarity was the extreme interest of the Armenian society, including the NK population and the representatives of the Diaspora in these elections. Prior to and in the course of the elections, the answer to the question on who was going to lead the country was perceived as a determining factor for the future developments of the conflict and the prospects of Armenia, the fate of the NK population and the situation in general. In the course of the elections, this thesis was also actively used as an effective campaign tool.

But the elections showed that the acting Prime-Minister N. Pashinyan and his Civil Contract Party succeeded in remaining in power. Whereas throughout the post-revolutionary period their tougher opponents, namely, the political teams of the ex-presidents R. Kocharyan and S. Sargsyan, turned from an extraparlimentary opposition into a parliamentary opposition, becoming the second (Armenia Alliance) and the third (“I Have Honour” alliance) forces in the National Assembly of the RA.

“Region” Research Center conducted this research on the pre-electoral processes and the references to the conflict context on the Facebook social network, taking into account all the above-stated circumstances.

WHY ON FACEBOOK?

- The COVID situation in the country did not become an obstacle to campaigning in the marzes of Armenia, holding face to face meetings with the voters. All political forces running for election, without an exception, were running a campaign on Facebook. Their Facebook pages contained livestreams, TV programs and radio broadcasts, depicting the political forces' meetings in various settlements, along with other online and purely social media campaign materials. As a result, the Facebook pages of these political forces presented a comprehensive picture of all campaigning materials, showing them in the process of the campaign or sharing the materials created by them.
- The messages of the RA expert community, NK population and Diaspora representatives, relevant for our research, were circulating on the Facebook platform, too, and mainly related to the roles of internal and external players in the conflict-specific processes and purely pre-electoral developments.
- Regardless of the recently growing skepticism against Facebook in Armenia (due to the uncontrollable circulation of hate speech, manipulative actions, etc.), this social media platform is still stably used in Armenia, as it has been traditionally perceived as a operative means of receiving information. Besides, Facebook is actively used in the periods beyond the electoral campaign by both the authorities and the opposition.

WHAT DID WE STUDY?

We focused on the specificities of the conflict-specific context, presented on the Facebook platform in the electoral campaign period.⁹

We conducted this research from three main perspectives:

- The intensity of the conflict context in relation to other pre- and post-election topics,
- The general and specific discourse characteristics within the context of the conflict (per competing political forces, per user groups),
- The attitude of the audiences to the messages delivered.

We studied a total of 92 Facebook pages, including

- 32 pages of political forces running for election (“political forces” hereafter),
- 30 pages of Armenian experts, analysts and other specialists with diverse political preferences (“RA expert group” hereafter),
- 15 pages of NK representatives (“NK group” hereafter),
- 15 pages of the Armenian Diaspora in the USA, European countries and Russia (“Diaspora group” hereafter).

⁹ The pre-election period was defined as the 24 days from May 26 to June 18. On May 26, the CEC published the list of forces running for election, and June 18 was the last day of the official campaign (June 7 – 18).

We selected the pages of political forces running for election, depending on the intensity of their activity on the social media. Thus, in some cases we studied both their official pages and the pages of the leaders/the most active representatives on Facebook, in other cases, we focused only on the official or the leaders' pages.

When forming the RA expert and Diaspora groups, we were guided by the various political preferences and whether they were dealing with the topic with their own professional stance. Besides, when selecting the members of the Diaspora group, we considered the country of residence.

In the case of the NK group, we were guided by the size and activity of the audiences.

The list of studied pages is provided in the Appendix.

WHAT AND HOW DID WE CALCULATE?/RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

- Every individual piece (a Facebook status, materials shared from the media, photo/video/pre-electoral content of other genres), posted on Facebook during the campaign period was counted as a stand alone piece.
- The content, even if it was reposted several times during the day, was considered as one piece (for example, when by the end of the day the same promo video, campaign banner, slogan, or both full text and shorter versions of an interview/speech/debate, etc. were shared several times). If the material was shared on the following day/s, it was counted as a new piece.

- The intensity of this or that topic was measured after the principle of “one piece – one and more topics.”
- We defined the representatives of political, social, professional and other groups, speaking out on the topic under research as the authors of the topic (“Who speaks?”). Their activity was measured after the principle of “one author, one and more topics.”
- The frequency of mentioning other forces and their leaders, as well as other countries and international organizations (“Who did they speak about?”) was measured by “one author – one and more topics – one mention of/reference to one and more other political forces/figures/countries/organizations.”
- The markers of others’ mentions (how/in what tone do they speak +, -, 0) were decided coming from the explicit semantics of the statements, rather than their implicature.
- The number of topics, touched upon in one piece, was calculated based on the change of their authors and according to the change of the markers in their statements (+, -, 0), after the principle of “As many authors as topics” and “as many mentions of others as markers (+, -, 0).

THE INTENSITY AND NATURE OF THE FACEBOOK CAMPAIGN

(May 26 – June 18, 2021)

The official campaign period, formally set to be 12 days (on June 7 – 18), was launched on Facebook exactly 12 days prior to the official campaign date, namely on May 26, when the CEC published the list of political forces running for election. Ever since that day, the political forces started to upload the first campaign materials on their pages, namely, their lists, slogans, promotion videos, as well as various other kinds of information related to the process.

During the 24 days of the electoral campaign, the 25 parties and alliances circulated a total of 4968 materials on all their pages, but the intensity of their activity varied.

The three forces the official pages of which posted up to 54 (Armenia Alliance), 46 (National-Democratic Axis), 42 (“I Have Honor” alliance) pieces of campaign content a day demonstrated stable intensity. This is the same amount as released by some Armenian online media dailies.

We classified the forces of medium-level intensity in the other group where we could witness a stable circulation of up to 25 pieces on their official pages a day (“Civil Contract”, “Armenian National Congress”, “Bright Armenia” parties).

The newly-established parties constituted the obvious majority of political forces that positioned themselves as stably passive in their Facebook campaign. The latter, unlike the alliances “Armenia”, “I Have Honour”, “Shirinyan-Babajanyan” and Prosperous Armenian Party (PAP) did not enjoy the support of their own online media outlets, neither did they own TV companies.

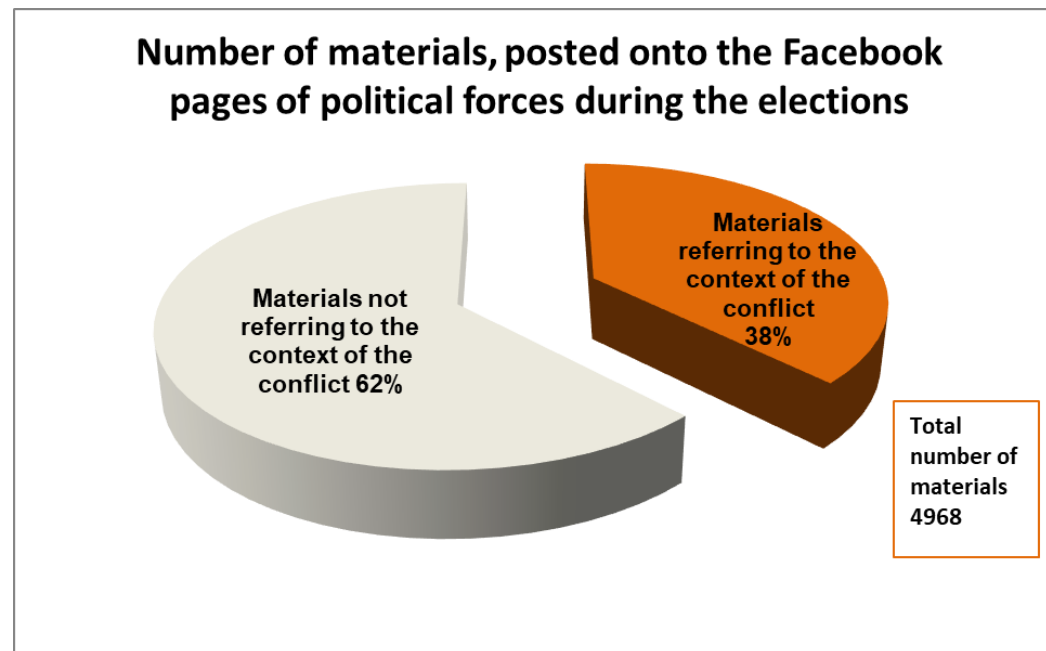
Prosperous Armenia Party that was a Parliamentary force for many years was an exception in the group of passive campaigners, since it circulated a maximum of 4 materials on its official page a day.

See the details in Appendix, Table 1.

FREQUENCY AND INTESNITY OF THE CONFLICT CONTEXT

In general, most of the circulated content was purely campaign materials devoid of any reference to the conflict.

See the graph below.



However, when considering them from the thematic and content perspective, it becomes obvious that the context of the conflict predictably prevailed over the remaining campaign discourses.

Thus, in the materials devoid of conflict context a total of 13 topics were covered making up 58% of all the topics, while the materials referring to conflict context with its 15 topics and related issues made up almost the other half of all the topics - 42%. Our particular observations show that various competing forces referred to the conflict and non-conflict contexts with varied intensity.

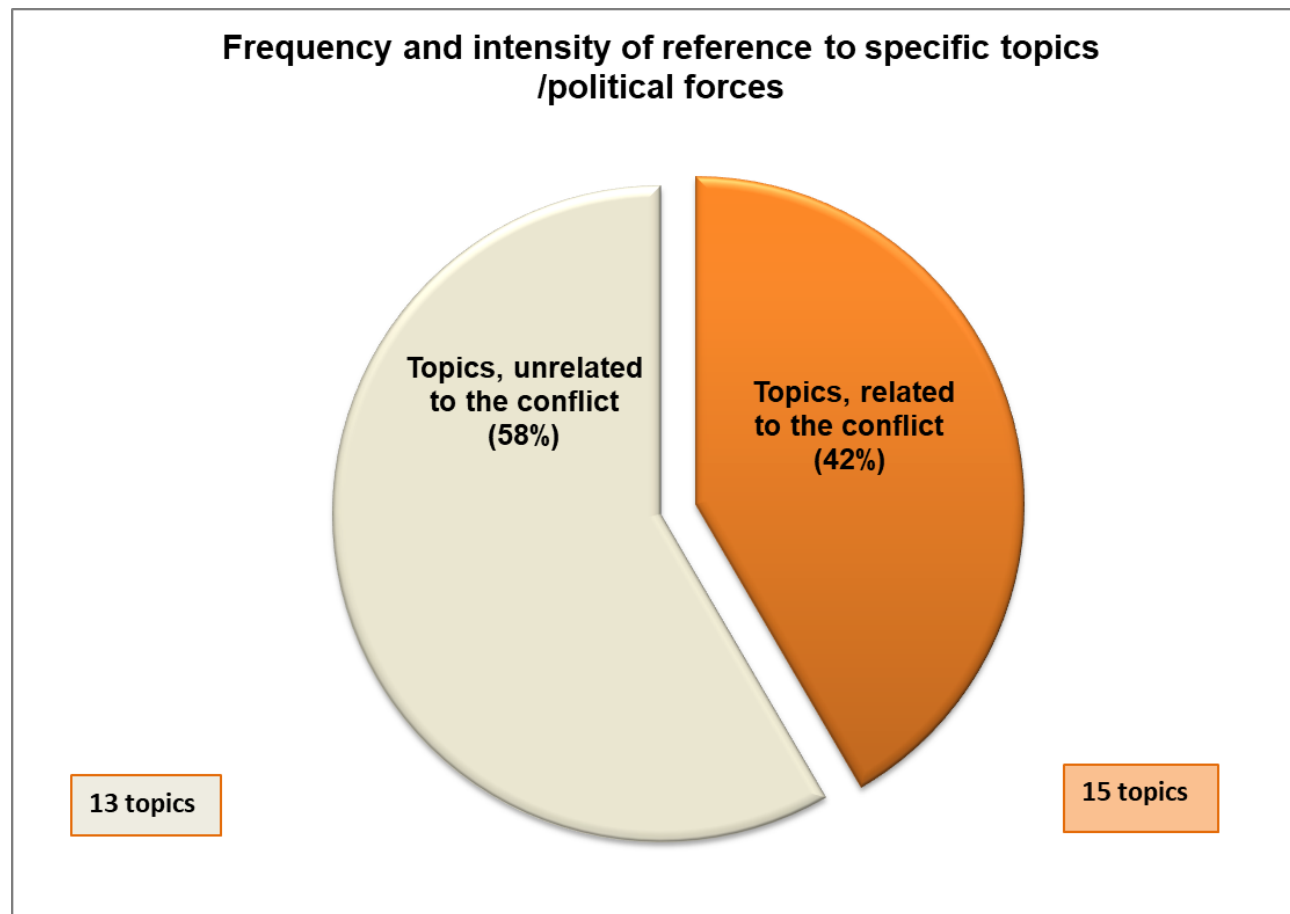
The incumbent power, as well as “Armenia” and “I have Honour” alliances that were implementing aggressive anti-campaign against the incumbent power, made mirror-like emphases in pieces that did not contain references to the conflict, mostly addressing the elections as a process, raising socio-economic issues and talking about the domestic developments/atmosphere in the country. A number of parties emphasized similar points within the non-conflict context. For “Armenian National Congress” party, apart from the specificities of the electoral campaign process, domestic issues were a priority in the non-conflict context, and Shirinyan – Babajanyan Alliance prioritized the problems in the legal system. In the case of other forces other topics and sectors were emphasized.

However, our general indicators testify that such topics as migration, corruption, environmental protection, education/science, and even healthcare against the backdrop of the pandemic were brought up significantly rarely.

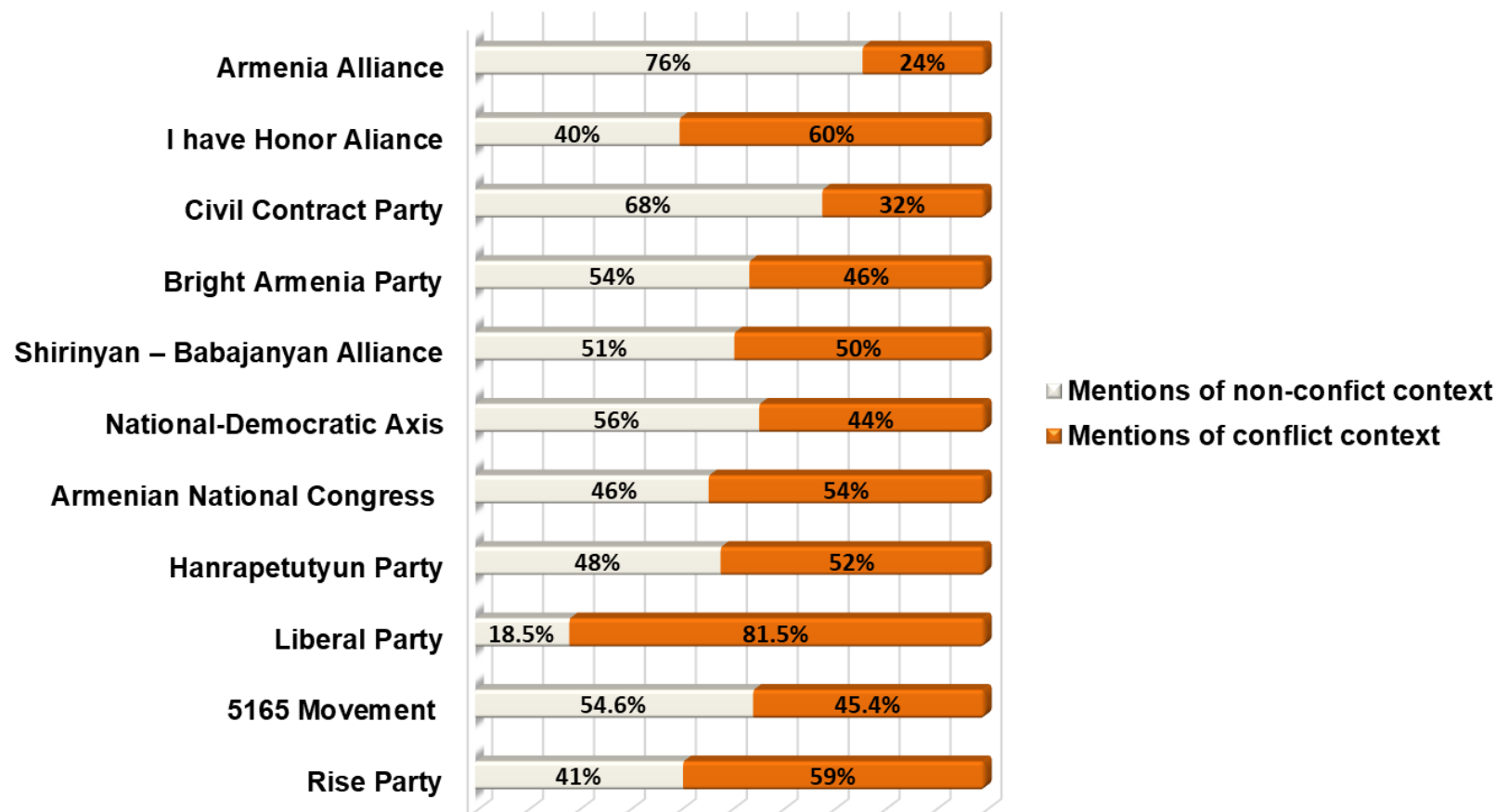
Unlike the three forces that entered the Parliament, the remaining forces referred to the conflict and non-conflict contexts with an almost proportional frequency and intensity. The Liberal Party that campaigned mainly making reference to the conflict context was an exception (81.5%).

If the opposition, which entered the parliament, participated in the elections with an ambition of coming to power, declaring that they would be able to achieve developments acceptable to the Armenian side, the motivation for the participation of other extra-parliamentary forces, according to the statements, was the situation created by the war.

For further details see the graphs below and Appendix, Table 2.



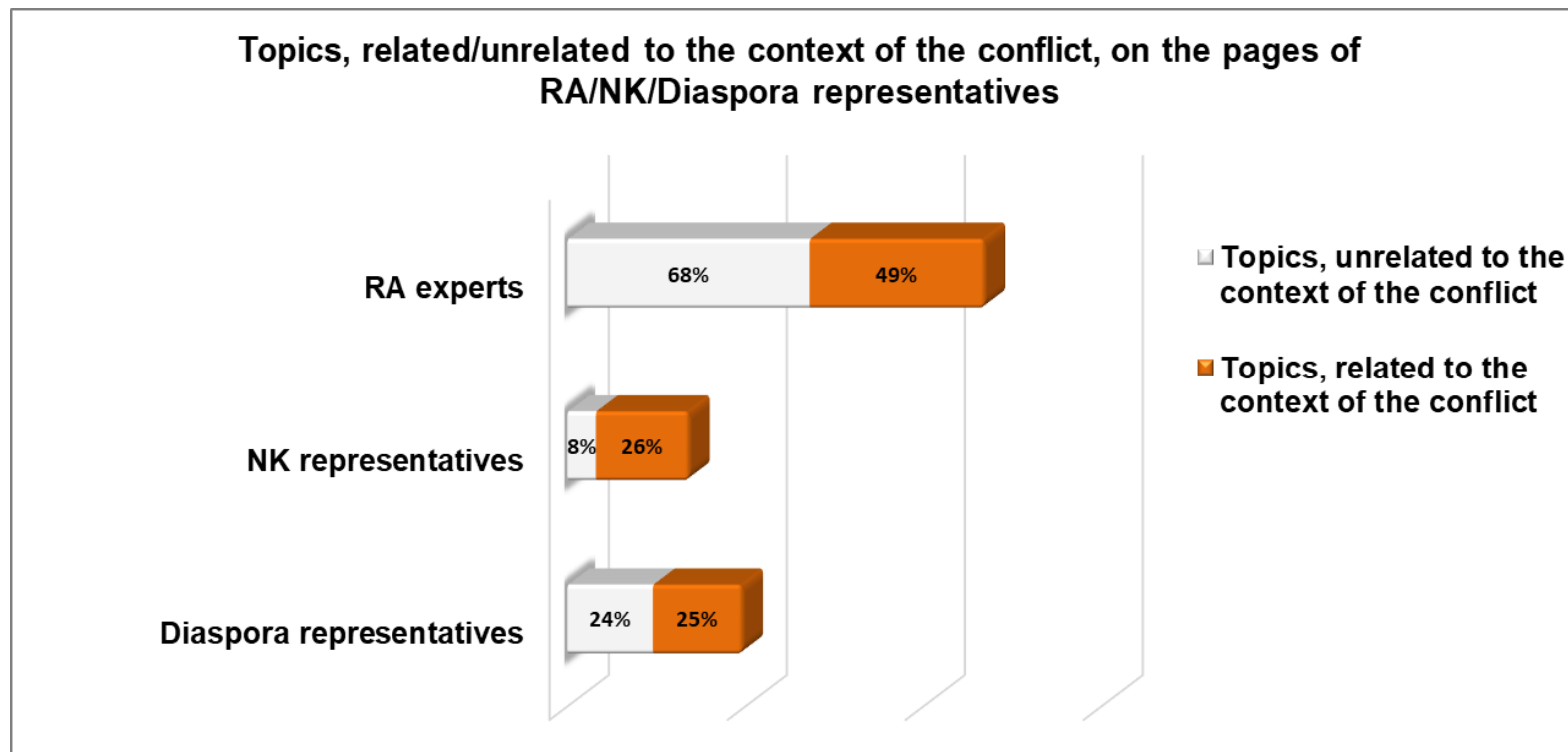
Ratio of the conflict/non-conflict contexts on the Facebook pages of political forces with higher campaign indicators



The frequency and intensity of reference to conflict and non-conflict topics in Facebook users' groups (RA experts, NK representatives and Diaspora groups) varied in a predictable manner.

The course of the elections and their potential outcome was more often in the focus of the Armenian experts' group (68%) than that of the Diaspora (24%) and NK representatives' groups (8%), whereas the context of the conflict was stressed in all three groups almost equally (we should remind that in the Armenian experts' group we had as many pages (30) as the total of Karabakh (15) and Diaspora (15) pages).

See the graph below.



WHAT TOPICS DID WE STUDY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONFLICT?

RATING OF THE TOPICS

The conflict-related events and developments, concurrent with the elections, had an essential impact on the priorities and frequencies of the topics raised during the campaign.

We identified 15 topics, as a result of the discourse analysis of the content, circulated on Facebook.¹⁰ They were circulated during the meetings of the competing political forces with the constituency, as well as in their media speeches of different formats.¹¹

In the groups of political forces and Armenian experts, Karabakh and Diaspora representatives, significant emphasis was laid on the primary challenges to security (**the most frequent topic is that of security**). Under this headline were presented the issues of security guarantees and the army, the military and political situation, the strategic allies and security systems, domestic political atmosphere and neighbours, preservation or non-preservation of the political vector, as well as the current international processes that impacted or could impact the Armenian state interests. Against the background of frequent criticism against the passive conduct of Russia, as well as the CSTO as a security system, the discussions on the foreign policy of Armenia and

¹⁰ The majority of the topics we defined (security and borders, borders and negotiations, negotiations and history of the conflict/regional communications, communications and Armenian – Azerbaijani, Armenian – Turkish reconciliation/enmity/revanche, post-war situation in NK and displaced persons) are naturally tied to each other, and this makes the thematic classification of the content quite complicated. That is the reason why we were guided by the principle of following the major foci.

¹¹ During these elections quite a large number of not only campaign interviews, but also debates of various formats took place. During the 12 days of the official campaign, series of debates with the participation of various forces on the topics of the conflict and its prospects were held on Public TV, Factor.am, Civilnet.am, Azatutyun.am, at Media Center and “Article 3” club.

Armenia's withdrawal from the present security system seemed to be the main and more common political line of thought. However, a number of political forces, namely the National-Democratic Axis, European Party of Armenia, and Free Homeland Alliance, were making unequivocal statements and claims on the need for making a foreign policy orientation shift.¹²

There were quite a few statements which emphasized that not only did Armenia, in fact, fail to have an ally, but that the only ally Armenia had was the Diaspora.

The topic of the conflict background/history¹³ (the second topic by frequency and intensity) instigated a very bitter struggle among the rival forces, promoted against the leitmotif of “whose fault is it?” This topic was more actively discussed, debated and commented on by all leaders of Armenia with no exception. Those who used to deal with the issues of conflict regulation ex officio were the ones, setting the tone for public spirits.

Though at a lesser rate, there was a discourse on the re-conceptualization of the past and the learning from mistakes, mainly undertaken by the forces that had had no authority to deal with the conflict, as well as expert groups and Diaspora representatives. This last group mainly circulated materials on the conflict-related policy pursued by the Diaspora in the past years, the spirits in different communities of the Diaspora during the war as well as other perspectives.

¹² “Armenia should escape the Russian and Turkish trap of the CSTO. We should start parallel negotiations with the European Union and NATO for membership....We are not alone, we should enter these structures together with Georgia and Ukraine...” (From the Facebook page of the European Party of Armenia, May 30, <https://www.facebook.com/ArmEuroPart>).

¹³ We have defined the background and history of the conflict as all the cases that describe the events and developments within the conflict context in the past, including those that took place during the 2020 war. This includes the participation of foreign players in various stages of the development of the conflict, the policy pursued by the leaders of Armenia, the conduct of the opposition parties, the public attitude and its perceptions.

Unlike the group of the political forces, in the other Facebook groups the topic of **borders** followed that of security.

The topic of the conflict development prospects and NK status (**the topic of negotiations**), and **prisoners of war/detained persons** was circulated equally in all groups.

The frequency of reference to **the topic on the situation in NK** in the post-war period was significantly different in the RA experts' and NK and Diaspora representatives' groups (in the group of political forces – 0,4%, and in other groups – 4%).

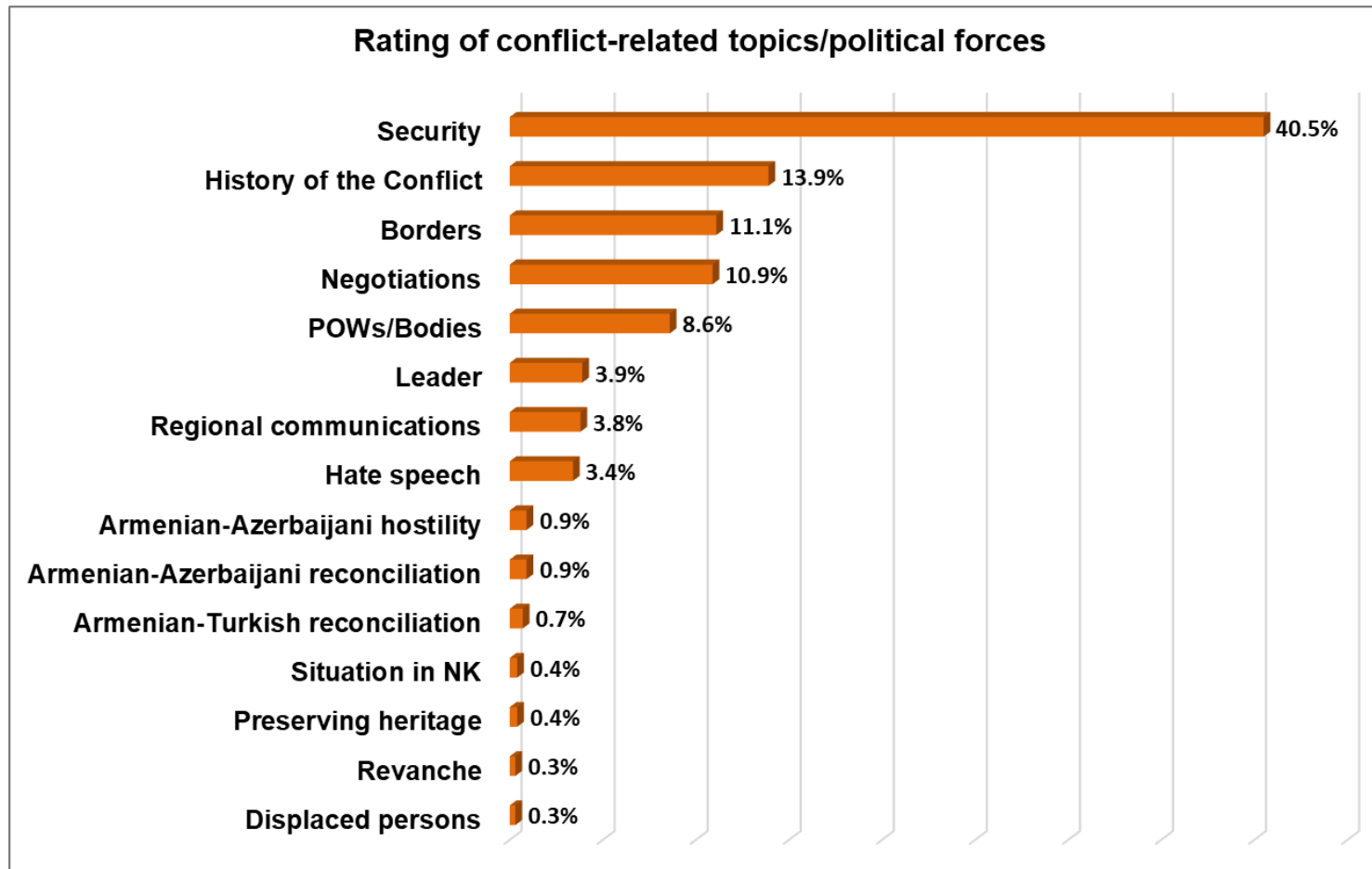
The opponent political forces almost never used the topic of **displaced** persons as a campaign tool. Levon Ter-Petrosyan made reference to this issue, claiming that everything must be done to return the displaced persons, still residing in Armenia and to organize their life in NK. Besides, R. Kocharyan and his team members, as well as some representatives of the RA experts' group supporting him, stated that the displaced persons should also have an opportunity to vote in Armenia, using their Armenian passports. And the authorities were hindering it.

During the elections the statements about harsh campaign, provocative rhetoric addressed to the rivals, internal solidarity (the topic of hate speech) exceeded by their intensity the topics of Armenian-Azerbaijani, Armenian-Turkish hostility/reconciliation and revanche. Meanwhile, in the accusations against Armenia for not fulfilling the attained agreements, the Azerbaijani official circles often spoke about the revanchist moods maturing on the Armenian side.

The topics of reconciliation/enmity/revanche were brought up significantly rarely in the three Facebook groups, too. It should be noted that reconciliation and revanche were mentioned as a possibility, which, however, belonged to the far future, whereas the claims on the enmity were made mainly with reference to the events of the past and present.¹⁴

¹⁴ "For no obvious reason the Armenian party would like to see signs of peace. But in reality, no one in our region is preparing for peace. All are undertaking military actions. The main problem is the will of political and state figures," from the Facebook page of H. Arzumanyan (NK representatives' group, <https://www.facebook.com/hrachya.arzumanian>), "Yesterday the Shushi declaration was signed, and here part of our political forces announced during the campaign that we shall definitely get Shushi back. What security situation are they putting

See the graphs below.



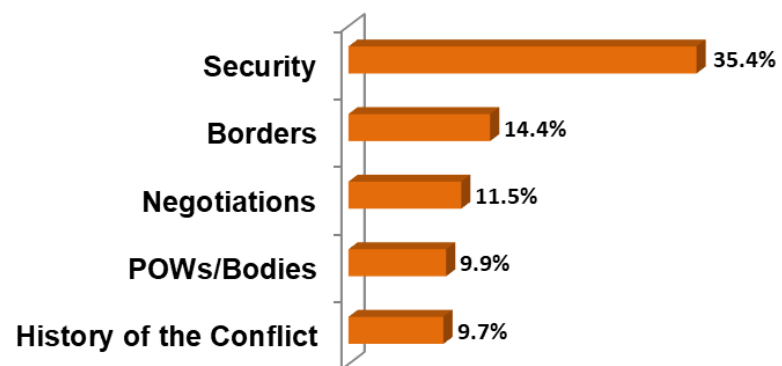
the Artsakh Armenians in with these announcements of theirs”(from ANC’s Facebook page, June 18, <https://www.facebook.com/armnatlcongress>), “What shall be done with this map (the representative of the National Agenda Party representative said during a TV debate – L.B.) that you have put up at the pavilion. We say that we are going to change this map. We are not going to agree to and allow the unblocking of communications. We are going to do everything possible to restore the area of the Republic of Armenia (meaning, including NK – L.B.)” (from the Facebook page of National Agenda Party, June 11, <https://www.facebook.com/nationalagenda.am>).

We registered some nuanced differences among the thematic emphases made in the groups of RA experts, NK and Diaspora representatives.

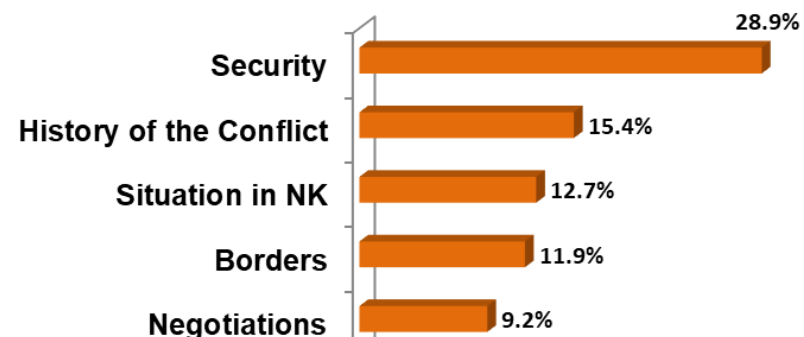
Thus, if the RA experts' and Diaspora representatives' groups were primarily concerned with the urgent matters of the present situation (security, borders, negotiations, prisoners of war), with the background and history of the conflict ranking the 4th and the 5th, the Nagorno Karabakh representatives' group, consisting also of officials, ranked the topic of conflict background and history as the second. It is true that in this case the NK representatives mainly referred to developments, relating to the last year's war and the military and political implications thereof.

See the graphs below and Appendix, Table 3.

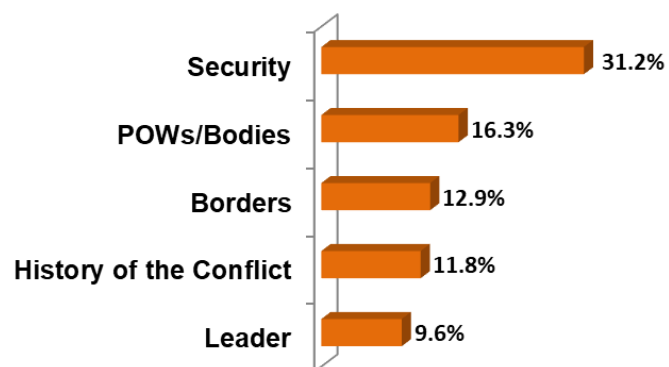
RA experts/NGO representatives



NK representatives/officials, experts, displaced persons



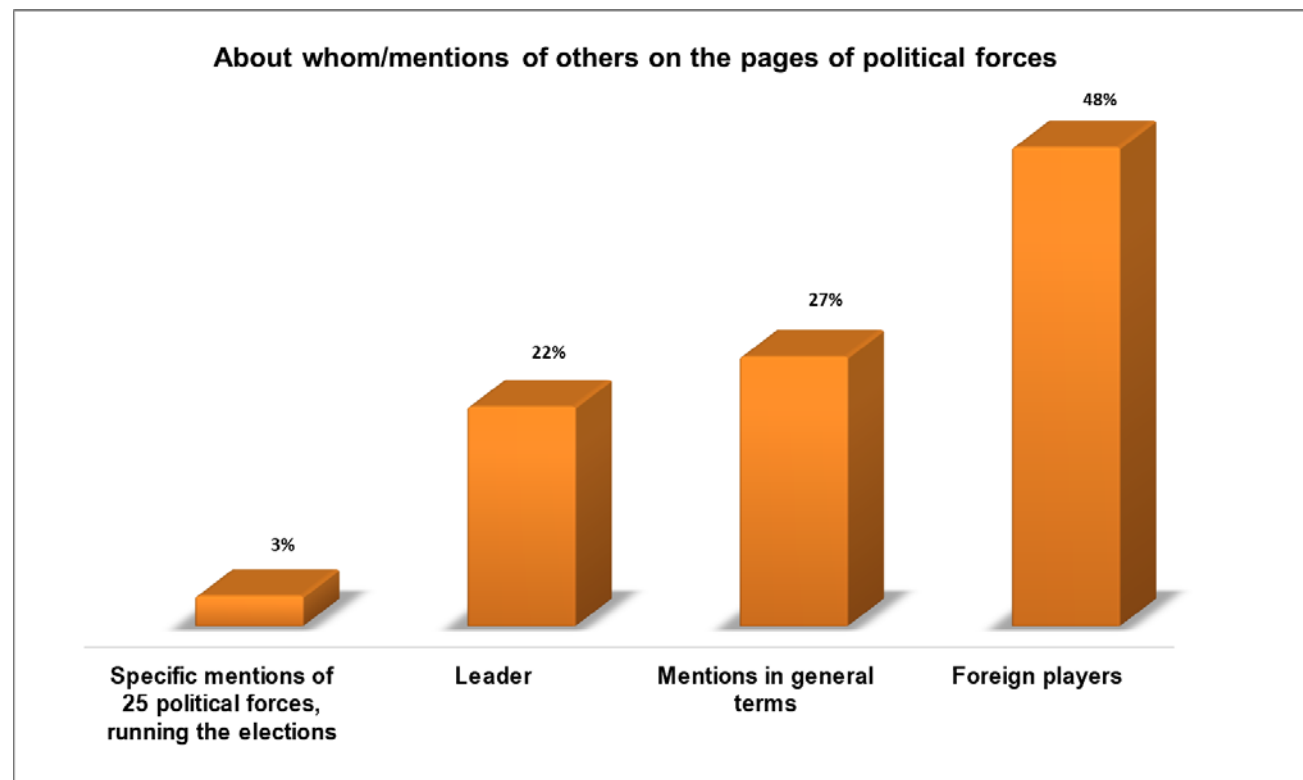
Diaspora representatives



WHO WAS REFERRED TO IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONFLICT AND HOW?

During the campaign, the competing forces mentioned the external players who had played a role in the conflict twice more than they mentioned the incumbent and former leaders of Armenia with decision-making power. The competing political forces running for election were mentioned much less frequently. In quite a few cases the political forces used the general formulations and statements made by competing forces, foreign players, as well as incumbent and former leaders (authorities, including the military leadership, ex officials, the opposition, other countries, Europe, the West, neighbours, us and so on).

See the graph below.



ABOUT THE LEADERS/HOW?

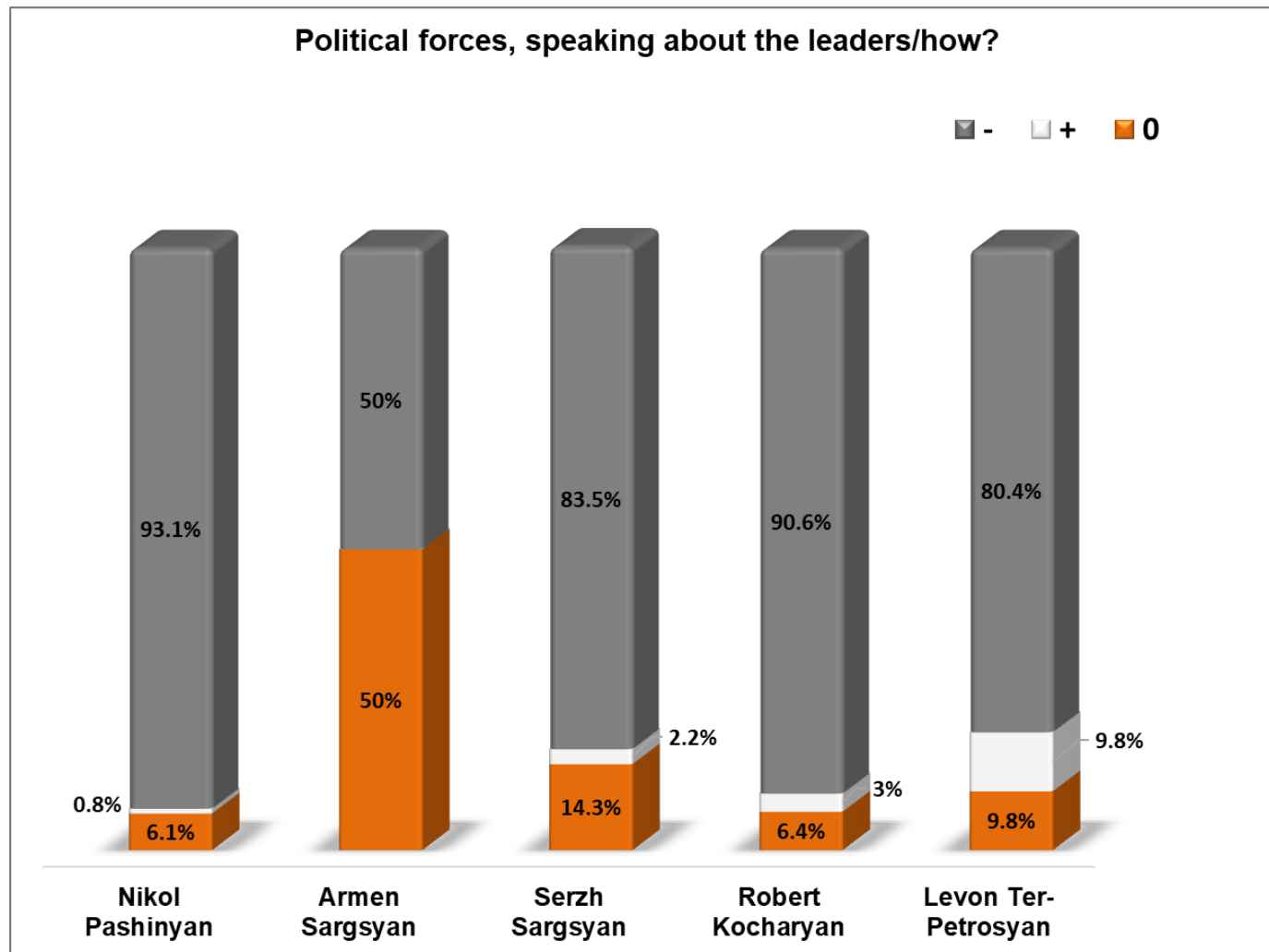
Just like during the months after the war, the pre-election stage, too, was marked with a climate of a harsh anti-campaign, frequently provocative announcements, and the use of hate speech, mainly targeting the former and the incumbent leaders of Armenia who negotiated over the conflict.

Nikol Pashinyan received the highest number of negative and fewest positive mentions. The rates of critical or supporting mentions of Robert Kocharyan were closer to those of Nikol Pashinyan. Serzh Sargsyan and Levon Ter-Petrosyan were almost equally mentioned with the negative marker (83.5% and 80.4%, respectively). However, Serzh Sargsyan, from among all former leaders, was most frequently mentioned with neutral characteristics (0) by political forces, whereas Levon Ter-Petrosyan was most frequently mentioned with positive (+) markers. The image of the incumbent RA President Armen Sargsyan, formed by the political forces, consists of an equal number of neutral (0) and negative (-) references.

It should be noted that

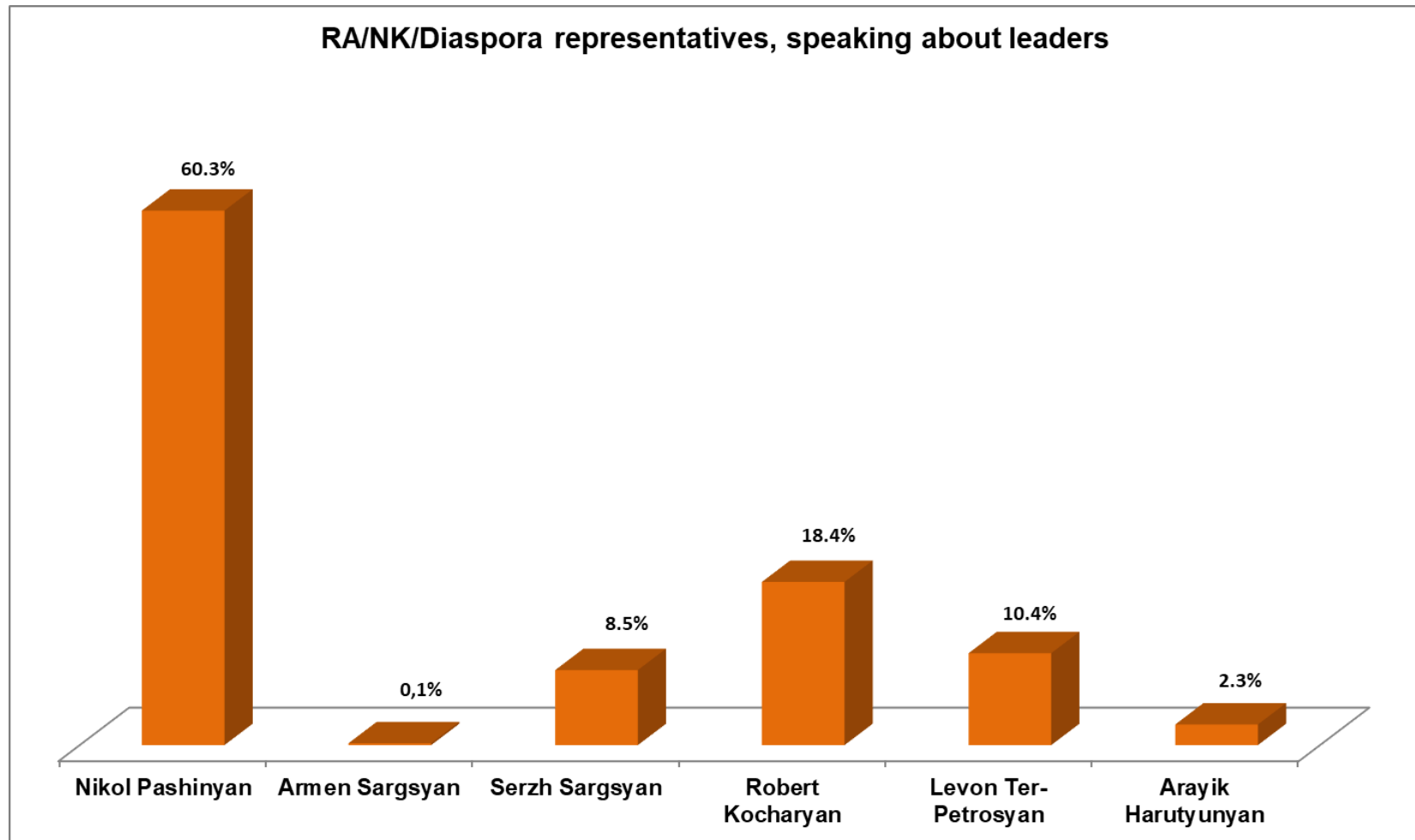
- L. Ter-Petrosyan received the highest number of negative (-) mentions (in descending order) from the “Civil Contract”, “National-Democratic Axis”, and “Hanrapetutyun” parties.
- R. Kocharyan and S. Sargsyan received the highest number of negative (-) mentions (in descending order) from the Civil Contract, Armenian National Congress, and Shirinyan – Babajanyan Alliance.
- N. Pashinyan was mentioned negatively by all forces running for election, among which “I Have Honour” alliance, Armenia Alliance and Armenian National Congress were ranked among the first three (in descending order).

See the graph below.



Nikol Pashinyan, Robert Kocharyan and Levon Ter-Petrosyan were most frequently mentioned in Facebook group materials with reference to the conflict. Unlike the indicators of Political Forces groups, in RA experts', NK and Diaspora representatives' groups the NK President Arayik Harutyunian was mentioned, too, mainly by the NK representatives.

See the graphs below.



ABOUT OTHER COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS / HOW?

The foreign actors mentioned in the context of the conflict during the campaign of the political forces are other countries and international organizations.

Among other countries, Russia was mentioned most by the competing political forces. In fact, Russia was mentioned more often than Azerbaijan and Turkey. At that, unlike all mentioned foreign players, including international organizations, Russia had stable indicators as it was mentioned by political forces in relation to all conflict-specific 15 topics, with no exception whatsoever. It was described as the country that was actually dealing with all the issues, related to the conflict.

Moreover, unlike all the mentioned foreign actors, including international organizations, Russia has been consistently mentioned by political forces in the context of the conflict in all 15 topics without exception - as a country that actually deals with all issues related to the conflict.

The general attitude expressed by the political forces and the representatives of Facebook groups was controversial. According to some assessments, Russia currently remains the main guarantor of Armenia's primary security, while others claim that it is with Russia's permission and consent that Azerbaijan and Turkey show such behavior and create new challenges.

A part of the negative mentions of Nikol Pashinyan was connected with the Armenian and Russian relations. On the one hand, Pashinyan was criticized for doing all that Russia dictated, and on the other hand, for having disrupted Armenia's relations with Russia.¹⁵

¹⁵ "The Russian Federation aspires to take away our statehood and sovereignty, and the Kremlin is a shareholder in this tension. There is a clear tendency to abort the intention of the international community to solve the issue of Artsakh within the Minsk Group mandate" (from

As a matter of fact,

- Mostly, National-Democratic Axis, Shirinyan – Babajanyan Alliance, Hanrapetutyun Party, European Party of Armenia and Free Homeland Party made negative assessments of Russia.
- “I have Honour” and “Armenia” alliances, “Armenian National Congress”, “Prosperous Armenia”, “Bright Armenia”, “Armenian Democratic Party”, “Homeland of Armenians”, “United Homeland”, “Rise” and “Citizen’s Decision” parties made exclusively positive and neutral references to Russia. These forces did not mention Russia negatively at all.

Unlike Russia, the USA and France were mentioned in the contexts of Armenia’s primary security challenges, international developments, possible negotiations over the conflict, NK status and other problems.

Iran was mentioned mainly when raising issues in relation to the border and regional communications. Georgia and China, too, were mentioned in relation to the latter topic. Besides, Georgia was mentioned in reference to the return of Armenian prisoners of war,¹⁶ as well as the relations between Georgia and Azerbaijan and Georgia and Turkey.

the FB page of Shirinyan – Babajanyan Alliance, May 27), “Lavrov’s plan entails a staged negotiation, followed by delimitation, and the isolation of the RA from the outer world under the pretext of deblocking the transportation routes” (from the Facebook page of National-Democratic Axis, <https://www.facebook.com/NatDemAxis>), “As for the CSTO, I think these are issues that need to be discussed not only with the CSTO but also via Russia – Armenia bilateral channels. Generally, there is a lot to be done on the spot... Again we are starting to find a target, Russia, in the given case. First, we need to try all we can do, just by ourselves. And no one should ever doubt whether Russia is a brotherly country to us” (from the Facebook page of David Babayan, NK Foreign Minister, May 29, <https://www.facebook.com/dvtbabayan>), “Azerbaijan may demand the withdrawal of the Russian troops, but Russia and Armenia can disagree. What is wrong? Why have they incorporated this clause in the November statement? Because the Russians do not intend to leave Karabakh. Is this bad? If the Russians leave this place, no one from the Karabakh population will stay here (in Karabakh – L.B.). They should stay here so long as it is safe for Karabahians, and we need to bring our contribution, too” (from L. Ter-Petrosyan’s interview, May 31, <https://www.facebook.com/armnatlcongress>).

¹⁶ Close to the elections (on June 12) it became known that by the mediation of the Georgian and US governments, Azerbaijan had returned 15 prisoners of war to Armenia.



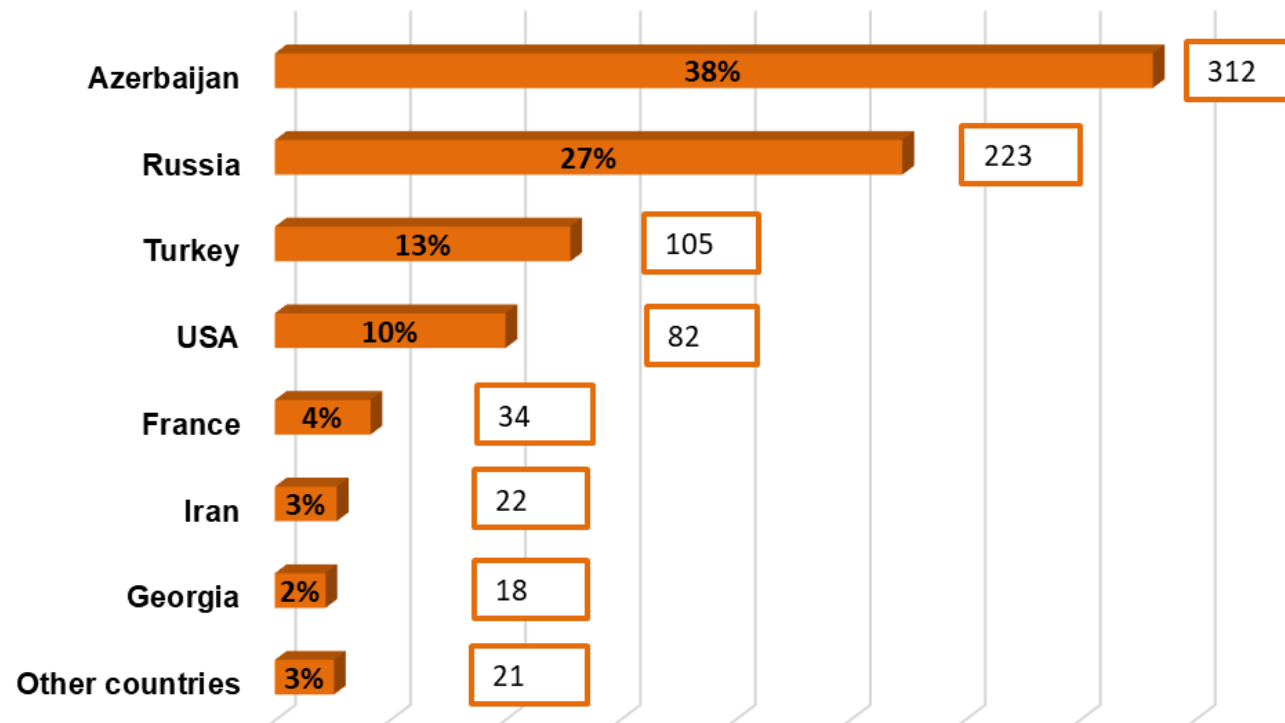
In Facebook groups the frequency of references to other countries showed quite a different picture. Azerbaijan was mentioned the most, followed by Russia and Turkey.

The references of the American Diaspora representatives to the military assistance provided to Azerbaijan, the delayed humanitarian assistance for Nagorno Karabakh and failure to condemn Azerbaijan constituted the bulk of negative mentions of the USA.¹⁷

See the graph below.

¹⁷ For example, “Where’s the urgent USAID humanitarian aid package for the Armenians of Artsakh? 100,000 Armenians were ethnically cleansed by the Azerbaijani army that received \$120,000,000 US military aid. Yet these displaced families have received less than \$5 million US humanitarian aid,” – this is what the status, accompanying the online petition organized by the Armenian National Committee of America stated, with a claim that the USA should stop providing military aid to Azerbaijan (May 26, <https://www.facebook.com/ancagrassroots>). “Blinken’s Cynicism reached South Caucasus. As soon as Blinken signaled to Aliyev that he would not bear any responsibility for his actions, even more he would get some funding, Aliyev saw the green light. The Azerbaijani forces crossed the border and took prisoners of war, publishing their photos... And instead of finding solutions to the issue via the Minsk Group and instead of dealing with the preservation of the cultural heritage, Blinker showed to Aliyev that he could get away with anything.” (May 27, <https://www.facebook.com/ancagrassroots>)

RA/NK/Diaspora representatives, speaking about other countries



International organizations – It was not a surprise that in all monitored groups from among international organizations the CSTO and the OSCE MG were mentioned most frequently. The CSTO was mentioned as an organization which the member state Armenia had expectations from in the conditions of the border tensions with Azerbaijan, and as an organization that was restricted with some protocol-specific obligations in case of encroachments on Armenia's sovereign territory. And the OSCE MG was cited as an international mission the activity of which, regardless of Azerbaijan's persistent refusals, needed to be restored to address the NK status and other issues, related to the conflict. The reinstitution of OSCE MG operations was also presented as a means to balance the intermediary efforts of Russia and Turkey. The announcements made by the OSCE MG on the immediate launch of a political process in the post-war months also had an impact on the evaluation given to the OSCE MG.

Thus, these two organizations come afore in immediate relevance to the issues of primary security of the population in Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh.

The CSTO is the only organization that received the highest number of negative mentions. According to the claims of some political forces, this is an organization the members of which had more positive relations with Azerbaijan than with the CSTO member Armenia. We found mentions of CSTO under the thematic headline of conflict background and history, too, mainly in the context of 2020 war incidents and their descriptions.

It should be noted that:

- No negative mentions (-) of the CSTO were made by Armenia Alliance, "I have Honour" alliance, and Prosperous Armenia Party.
- Positive (+) mentions of CSTO were authored by the Civil Contract and Armenia Alliance.

The tense border situation prompted more than usual references to the UN during the election, referring to it as an organization whose Security Council should be approached in case of inaction of the CSTO.

The discourse on the need for applying to the UN Security Council was quite unique in its kind. Regardless of the prevalence of straightforward claims that Armenia should apply to the UN Security Council, there was also some skepticism as to outcomes expected from such an application to the UN Security Council, given that no one was going to implement the UN SC resolution. Had the four resolutions of the UN in relation to the first war been implemented?

Hence, how could turning to the UN be beneficial, as Azerbaijan will not implement the resolutions to be adopted anyway. On the other hand, some claimed that turning to the UN SC was worthwhile since a resolution would document the situation and would provide political assessments, necessary for followup actions. That resolution could be used just as Azerbaijan did - incessantly citing the previously adopted UN SC resolutions.¹⁸

The UN was sometimes mentioned also as an organization, built on the principle of countries' legal subjectivity.¹⁹

¹⁸ "It squeezed 4 resolutions out of the UN Security Council. These 4 resolutions enabled Azerbaijan to ensure a military solution to the problem. It is due to them that every country in the world considered those 7 regions as occupied, and this gave a right to Azerbaijan to return them. Now are we eager to return our part of Hadrut back, with or without force? If we want to, then we should apply to the UN SC. The thesis that it is pointless to apply is circulated by those political forces that are servicing Russia. All the former ex-Presidents who followed this line are trying to do the same (from the Facebook page of Aram Sargsyan, the leader of Hanrapetutyun Party, May 31, <https://www.facebook.com/hanrapetutyunparty>).

¹⁹ "In relation to the announcement made by the Russian Federation Foreign Minister Lavrov: 'You are proposing not to stress the issue of the status. If you are for the legal subjectivity of nations, which the UN is based on, you should be so kind as to remain consistent in all situations. You cannot, in one case, demand a progressive attitude from the world towards one's own national interests (meaning the referendum among the Crimea's population – L.B.), and in another case, to support the reactionary attempts of the mini-sultanate to revise the results of the Armenian national and liberation struggle. The recognition of Artsakh is the key issue of the conflict.'" From the Facebook page of Moscow-based analyst S. Tsaturyan (June 9, <https://www.facebook.com/sarkis.tsaturyan>).

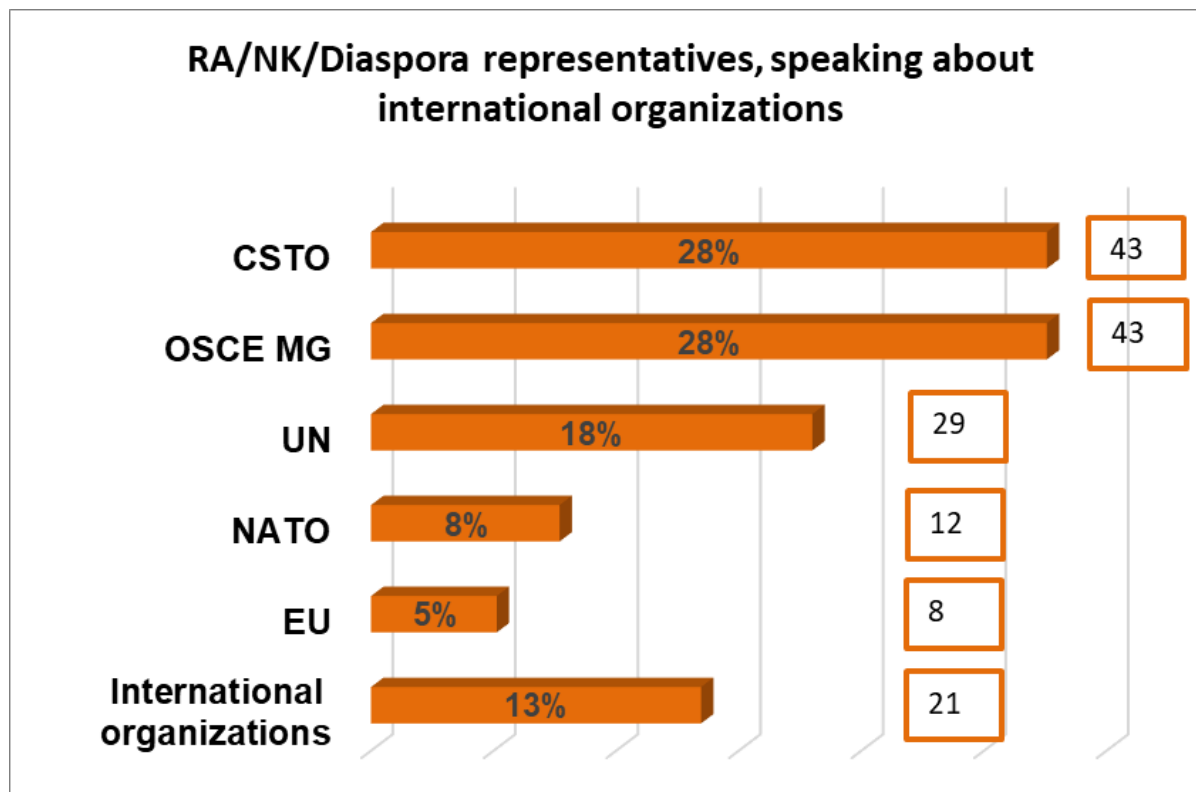
The UN has been mentioned more times than the EU, with which Armenia has an EU-Armenia Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement, and more than the EEU, of which Armenia has been a member since 2015. The expectations from European organizations and other countries were formulated in the form of pressure on Azerbaijan and imposing of sanctions²⁰.

See the graphs below, along with Appendix, Table 4.

²⁰ “And where is the international pressure, and all we see are just statements. Let them apply sanctions against the businesses of Aliyev’s family. Ten minutes later after the administration of such sanctions the prisoners of war will be released, and they will withdraw the troops from our territory, too. Do apply sanctions against Azerbaijan, dear West, we do not need statements (from the Facebook page of Edmon Marukyan, the leader of “Bright Armenia” party, June 1, <https://www.facebook.com/marukyan.edmon>).

Political forces, speaking about international organizations/how?

Organization	0 (%)	+	- (%)	Total Count
CSTO	39%	5%	56%	149
OSCE MG	65%	30%	5%	115
International organizations	87%	0%	13%	55
UN	94%	0%	2%	50
NATO	67%	33%	0%	30
EU	28%	67%	5%	18
EEU	50%	0%	50%	8



AUDIENCES' RESPONSE TO THE MATERIALS ON ISSUES, RELATED TO THE CONFLICT CONTEXT

It is known that the Facebook campaigning was mainly conditioned by the number of the Armenian users.²¹

Theoretically, the work with the potential electorate on Facebook (not only publishing your own team's opinions, advertising, but also answering users' questions) was supposed to constitute an important component of the campaign, similar to interactions and answers to the citizens' questions during face to face meetings. However, as in the previous campaigns, this time, too, the political forces mainly engaged in campaigning and anti-campaigning, often leaving the Facebook users' questions, messages, and criticism unanswered.

The numbers of "Likes" and "Followers" of the official pages of the political forces varied, and they did not have much to do with the level of their campaign activity. Thus, for example, the number of Likes and Followers of the official page of National-Democratic Axis, one of the most actively campaigning forces (to remind this force stably circulated up to 46 campaign materials a day), amounted to 30,080 on the last day of the campaign (June 18), and "Our Home is Armenia" party's indicators were four times more on the same day (namely, 122,909 Likes and Followers) whereas the campaign intensity of "Our Home is Armenia" party was maximum 3 materials a day.

The volumes of audiences, following the official pages of political forces, implementing superintensive as well as medium intensity campaigns, were smaller than those following the leaders' pages. This was the case with the pages of Nikol Pashinyan

²¹ During the elections, 1 500 000 users were signed up to Facebook, 93,3% (1 400 000) of which were citizens, aged 18 and over with a right to vote.

and his Civil Contract, Edmon Marukyan and his “Bright Armenia” party, Robert Kocharyan and his Armenia Alliance. In fact, this pattern of Facebook likes and dislikes, given to individuals, rather than teams, could be detected in other cases and examples, too.

The indicators of response to materials with reference to the conflict were even more vivid. Nikol Pashinyan, the Civil Contract leader, was the only figure, whose every conflict related material normally attracted 10 000 and more Likes/Shares/Comments.

The conflict-related content on R. Kocharyan’s and Civil Contract official pages received Like/Share/Comment within the range of 1000-10 000 per piece.

The indicators of Armenia Alliance, “I Have Honour” alliance and 11 other forces were 10 times less (100 - 1000 Likes/Shares/Comments).

The rate of reactions to the conflict related materials, published by other political forces, ranged between 0 and 100 per piece. The newly created parties, Armenian National Congress and “Bright Armenia” party belonged to this group, too.

For further details see Appendix, Table 5.

YOUTH DURING THE CAMPAIGN

The so-called “youth parties” were among the forces running for election. In these political parties the average age of the candidates was within the range of 37 – 40. Among those parties, the MP candidates aged 21 – 35 constituted a significant share. Thus, the young MP candidates, aged 21 – 35, constituted 41% of Sovereign Armenia Party list, 43% of “Civil Contract” party list, and 44,5% of “Citizen’s Decision” party list.²²

The Facebook pages of the parties, mainly represented by older candidates on their lists, testified to the enrolment of young people, too. There were campaign posts about young candidates, photos and videos, featuring them. Levon Zourabyan, the Vice President of Armenian National Congress, when summarizing the campaign led by his team (on June 18) specifically emphasized the fact that they were able to “bring to their side the youth”, who does not have a stereotypical mindset, and assessed this as an unexpectedly brilliant outcome.²³

Though the young candidates’ positions did not differ from the messages and positions of their parties whatsoever, there were forces that delegated their younger candidates to participate in various TV debates. Armenian National Congress,²⁴ Armenia

²² Find details here <https://ampop.am/armvote-2021-candidates-by-age/?fbclid=IwAR1NRHnqlzQcngMbfRgXpVMS0vQkObtIG3vrQZNPY7jzy51LoUd0zNnSIKk>

²³ “It turned out that the youth is more open to perceive facts and analysis, and the youth has become a reliable supporter for Armenian National Congress”
(<https://www.facebook.com/armnatlcongress/posts/4266838026700492>)

²⁴ See the debates on the issues, related to the conflict on Factor.am website, where Armenian National Congress young representatives debated with relatively more experienced competitors <https://factor.am/382211.html>, <https://factor.am/379434.html>

Alliance and “I Have Honour” alliance,²⁵ though with an older average age at party level, sent their younger candidates to partake in various debates. Young women from Armenian National Congress, “Bright Armenia” party, Prosperous Armenia Party, Civil Contract, Armenia Alliance and “I Have Honour” alliance²⁶ were delegated to participate in a debate on conflict topic organized by Public TV.

On the eve of the elections, a group of young people who had fought in the 2020 war established Sovereign Armenia Party. On the third day of the official campaign they posted an announcement on their Facebook page, stating that “Sovereign Armenia Party will not run a campaign when the state is facing security threats. We have come to the frontline together with our party members and military friends and we shall stand here as long as need be. Our tricolour flag will flutter over our coveted heights sooner or later.”²⁷

The attitude of the younger generation towards the perceptions of and policy over the conflict of all the previous years was described during a debate by Mikayel Nahapetyan, a representative of the “Citizen’s Decision” social-democratic party: “I am a representative of a generation that did not have the opportunity to influence the negotiation process, because it did not have any

²⁵ Hayk Mamijanyan, the leader of the ARP youth wing, was on the “I have Honour” alliance slate and participated in interviews and debates quite frequently. His page was monitored as that of a young candidate from “I have Honour” alliance. See Appendix, List of Monitored Facebook Pages.

²⁶ Public TV, Public Debate, June 9, <https://www.1tv.am/hy/video/%D5%80%D5%A1%D5%B6%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%B5%D5%AB%D5%B6-%D6%84%D5%B6%D5%B6%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%AF%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4-%D4%B1%D4%BA-%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%BF%D5%A1%D5%B0%D5%A5%D6%80%D5%A9-%D5%A8%D5%B6%D5%BF%D6%80%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%A9%D5%B5%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B6%D5%B6%D5%A5%D6%80/182313>

²⁷ From the Facebook page of Sovereign Armenia Party, <https://www.facebook.com/IHparty/posts/2903077813295531>

information, it was closed, nor did it have that authority. But our generation has twice filled in the gaps of diplomacy with its body... My generation registers that now the problem is to build a new quality state. The issue has been reformulated. They used to say - we should not live well until the Karabakh issue is resolved; we say unless we organize our life well, the Karabakh issue will not be resolved.”²⁸

CONCLUSIONS

- The snap parliamentary elections of 2020 passed quite smoothly regardless of the preceding complex, emotionally intense and painful processes for the Armenian side. The elections did provide the answer to the question as to who was going to deal with the issues of Armenia and NK conflict ex officio from then on. The toughest segment of the incumbent authorities' opposition, namely the teams of both ex-Presidents – R. Kocharyan and S. Sargsyan – returned to the Parliament. Whereas the team of the first RA President L. Ter-Petrosyan did not, even though his position on the conflict, articulated during the campaign, was not totally denied as in the past. The positive mentions of L. Ter-Petrosyan by their competitor political forces were several times more than the positive reference to the other, either incumbent or former leaders (the 9,8% rate of his positive mentions vis-à-vis 0,8% of similar references to N. Pashinyan, 2,2% to S. Sargsyan, and 3% to R. Kocharyan).

²⁸ From the Facebook page of Citizen's Decision SDP, <https://www.facebook.com/qosdp/posts/974931516610588>

- An unprecedented number of forces participated in the elections (a total of 25, including the Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary opposition, and 17 new parties that were created during the months prior to the elections). Judging by their pre-electoral announcements, they were motivated to run for election in order to receive leverage over the current situation. Besides, “it was impossible to remain indifferent of the processes taking place on the ground and do nothing about the challenges the country was facing.”
- The post-war developments and the actions of Azerbaijan towards the RA had significantly changed the perceptions of the Karabakh conflict, commonly held before the war. If before the war unleashed by Azerbaijan in 2020²⁹, the problems for the Armenian side were the primary security challenges of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and NK's de jure status, then as a result of the post-war developments the acute security challenges of Armenia were added to them. The elections were held with the obvious emphasis on Armenia's security challenges.
- The pre-election processes were unfolding through the media, on the FB social network and through face-to-face meetings with the electorate in ongoing pandemic situation. Despite the fact that a number of forces participating in the elections had their own TV channels and online media, they were the ones who carried out more intensive or medium-intensity campaign on Facebook (Armenia Alliance, I Have Honor Alliance, Shirinyan-Babajanyan Alliance). And the list of forces conducting stable passive campaign was mainly formed by the newly formed parties. The Prosperous Armenia Party with long years of Parliamentary experience belonged to the latter group, too.

²⁹ Ilham Aliyev, “We have proved that the conflict has a military solution, although the mediators argued that this was impossible. We broke the back of the Armenian invaders, smashed their heads, defeated their army. And if Armenia ever tries to show aggression, it will get an even stronger defeat” (<https://www.turan.az/ext/news/2020/12/free/politics%20news/en/130761.htm>)

- The pre-election stage was marked with an intensive and expectedly strong emphasis of the conflict context, laid not only by competing political forces, but by the three Facebook groups (RA experts/analysts, NK and Diaspora representatives), too. Moreover, the context of the conflict was almost equally circulated in the user groups of Armenia, Nagorno Karabakh and the Diaspora.
- In the so-called non-conflict specific context, there were significantly more materials related to the election and campaign processes itself (advertisements, slogans, other kinds of purely campaign materials). Among the non-conflict relevant topics, significantly less attention was paid to the economy, corruption, migration, healthcare in the midst of the pandemic, etc.
- The events and developments that took place after the war and during the elections influenced the intensity of the campaign accents and topics in the context of the conflict. Thus, in all the FB groups we researched, the topic of security prevailed with the army, RA allies, foreign policy orientations, international developments and other issues. Then the topics of the history of the conflict, borders, future negotiations, captives were discussed in different groups with different prioritization. In the group of political forces they focused more on different episodes of the history of the conflict than, for example, in the groups of RA experts and the Diaspora. The group of NK representatives, which also included the de facto officials of Nagorno Karabakh, also paid great attention to the topic of the history of the conflict. The speeches of all the former leaders of the Republic of Armenia and their teams as well as personally the acting Prime Minister N. Pashinyan's speeches, contributed to the further development of this topic. Their revelations of historical episodes were carried out through a remote sharp debate. The topic of the history of the conflict was debated mainly from the perspective "who is to blame?".

- The discourse of reconceptualizing the past and learning from mistakes was less intensive but present, and was mainly unfolded by forces that had never had any authority to deal with the conflict, as well as expert groups, and Diaspora representatives. This last group circulated materials on the policy led by the Diaspora in relation to the conflict in the past years, referring to the moods in the communities in the Diaspora communities in various countries, and addressing these issues from other perspectives, too.
- Regardless of the harsh and often provocative competition, not all topics were deployed for campaigning and competition purposes. For example, the topic of revanche could prove a preferable campaigning tool to make promises to the public that had incurred major territorial and human losses, however, it was touched upon significantly less frequently. Whereas Azerbaijan frequently made announcements and warnings on the revanchist spirits emerging in Armenia in the post-war period. In the course of the elections, the topics of the displaced persons, Armenian – Azerbaijani, Armenian – Turkish reconciliation/enmity never became tools for electoral rivalry.
- Generally, in the monitored political and non-political Facebook groups, and on NK and Diaspora representatives' platforms foreign players were more often mentioned in the context of the conflict, as compared to the references to the RA leaders. References to rival political forces were even less frequent. The thesis that it was everybody's fault was circulated less frequently, and all the leaders of the country became the target of criticism over what had happened. They were mentioned predominantly in negative terms. The indicators of negative references to N. Pashinyan and R. Kocharyan, S. Sargsyan and L. Ter-Petrosyan were commensurable.
- Russia and CSTO from among foreign players were mentioned most frequently, by the way, with prevalence of negative references as compared to others, as they were perceived as entities sharing a common security system with Armenia, however, displaying a passive stance about the conflict. It should be noted that Russia was mentioned more frequently

than Azerbaijan and Turkey. Unlike other countries and organizations, Russia was referred to in all 15 conflict-specific topics, without any exception. However, the political forces were divided into two groups, depending on their attitude to Russia. According to the claims of some forces, Russia still remains the main guarantor of Armenia's security, whereas from the perspective of others, it had already ceased to act as such.

- Regardless of the multitude of negative references to Russia and CSTO, three of the 25 political forces running for election – National-Democratic Axis, the European Party of Armenia, and Free Homeland Alliance, claimed they would change the foreign policy vectors, chosen by the country.
- France was perceived as a friendly country to Armenia which potentially has leverage over Azerbaijan and Turkey. Iran and Georgia were mentioned as countries important for Armenia. The USA was also presented as a country that had leverage over Azerbaijan and Turkey. In this sense, significantly less attention was paid to the EU.
- The CSTO's indecisiveness on the matters, related to the RA borders, contributed to the higher rates of references to the UN, by the way, much higher in number than those to the EU (which Armenia has a Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement with) or EEU (which Armenia has been a member of since 2015). UNESCO that might play a role in the preservation of the Armenian historical and cultural heritage in the territories under the control of Azerbaijan was not mentioned at all.

APPENDIX

1. List of researched Facebook pages of political forces, RA experts/NGO representatives, NK/Diaspora representatives

Political Forces

1. "Civil Contract" party -
2. Nikol Pashinyan - <https://www.facebook.com/nikol.pashinyan>
3. Armenia alliance – <https://www.facebook.com/hayastandashing>
4. Robert Kocharyan - <https://www.facebook.com/Robertkocharyan>
5. "I Have Honor" alliance – <https://www.facebook.com/pativunenk>
6. Hayk Mamijanyan - <https://www.facebook.com/hmamij>
7. Armenian National Congress - <https://www.facebook.com/armnatlcongress>
8. Levon Zourabyan - <https://www.facebook.com/LevonZourabyan>
9. Prosperous Armenia Party - <https://www.facebook.com/bhk2021>
10. Iveta Tonoyan - <https://www.facebook.com/iveta.tonoyan>
11. "Bright Armenia" party - <https://www.facebook.com/BrightArmenia>
12. Edmon Marukyan - <https://www.facebook.com/marukyan.edmon>
13. Shirinyan-Babajanyan Alliance of Democrats - <https://www.facebook.com/ShirinyanBabajanyan/>
14. Styopa Safaryan - <https://www.facebook.com/styopa.safaryan.9>
15. National-Democratic Axis - <https://www.facebook.com/NatDemAxis>
16. Hanrapetutyun Party - <https://www.facebook.com/hanrapetutyunparty>
17. Free Homeland Alliance - <https://www.facebook.com/AndriasGhukasyan>
18. "Our Home Is Armenia" party - <https://www.facebook.com/UrikhanyanTigran>
19. "Citizen's Decision" social-democratic party - <https://www.facebook.com/watch/qosdp/>
20. Homeland of Armenians Party - <https://www.facebook.com/hayochayreniq/>

21. Awakening National Christian Party - <https://www.facebook.com/groups/4700921409922371>
22. Freedom Party - <https://www.facebook.com/hrant.bagratyan>
23. Liberal Party - <https://www.facebook.com/44.samvel.babayan>
24. European Party of Armenia - <https://www.facebook.com/ArmEuroParty>
25. Democratic Party of Armenia - <https://www.facebook.com/TigranArzakantsyanOfficial>
26. National Agenda Party - <https://www.facebook.com/nationalagenda.am>
27. "5165 National Conservative Movement" party - <https://www.facebook.com/movement5165>
28. Sovereign Armenian Party - <https://www.facebook.com/IHparty>
29. Rise Party - <https://www.facebook.com/verelq.official>
30. Fair Armenia Party - <https://www.facebook.com/ardarhayastan1/> (Currently, neither this nor any other Facebook page of this party is active.)
31. United Homeland Party - <https://www.facebook.com/unitedhomeland->
32. All-Armenian National Statehood Party - <https://www.facebook.com/%D5%80-%D4%B1-%D5%8A-%D5%80%D5%A1%D5%B4%D5%A1%D5%B0%D5%A1%D5%B5%D5%AF%D5%A1%D5%AF%D5%A1%D5%B6-%D5%87%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%AA%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4-110547604438220>

RA experts/NGO representatives

1. Avetik Ishkhanyan, "Helsinki Committee of Armenia" NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100014680840236>
2. Hrant Ter-Abrahamyan, historian - <https://www.facebook.com/ustahrant>
3. Stepan Danielyan, political scientist - <https://www.facebook.com/stepan.danielyan>
4. Hrant Mikaelian, "Caucasus Institute" NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/athanat>
5. Benyamin Poghosyan, "Political Science Association of Armenia" NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/bpoghosyan>
6. Ruben Melikian, lawyer - <https://www.facebook.com/rubenmelikian>
7. Tevan Poghosyan, "International Center for Human Development" NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/tevan.poghosyan>
8. Alen Ghevondyan, professor at YSU - <https://www.facebook.com/alen.ghevondyan>

9. Suren Sargsyan, “Armenian Center for American Studies” NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/sargsyansuren>
10. David Stepanyan, political analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100001784502242>
11. Daniel Ioannisyan, “Union of Informed Citizens” NGO- <https://www.facebook.com/danioanis>
12. Hakob Badalyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/hakob.badalyan.7>
13. Tatul Hakobyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100000616638924>
14. Sossi Tatikyan, expert of international relations and security issues - <https://www.facebook.com/Sossi>
15. Anzhela Elibegova, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/anzhela.elibegova>
16. Anna Karapetyan, “Insight Analytical Center” NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/anna.karapetyan.967>
17. Taron Hovhannisyan, “Orbeli” analytical research center - <https://www.facebook.com/TAR0Nhovhannisyan>
18. Narek Minasyan, “Orbeli” analytical research center - <https://www.facebook.com/minasyan.narek>
19. Gayane Ayvazyan, researcher at Matenadaran - <https://www.facebook.com/ayvazyan.gayane>
20. Richard Giragosian, “Regional Studies Center” NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/richard.giragosian.376>
21. Hovsep Khurshudyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/hovsep.khurshudyan>
22. Naira Hayrumyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/naira.hayrumyan>
23. Anush Sedrakyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/ann.norikyan>
24. Armen Vardanyan, iranologist - <https://www.facebook.com/armen.vardanyan.7>
25. Armine Martirosyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/amartirosyan1>
26. Arshaluys Mghdesyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/arshaluys.mghdesyan>
27. Arman Melikyan, political scientist - <https://www.facebook.com/arman.melikyan.33>
28. Boris Navasardian, “Yerevan Press Club” NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/boris.navasardian>
29. Ruben Safrastyan, Institute of Oriental Studies, turkologist - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=1521791638>
30. Hayk Hovakimyan, blogger - <https://www.facebook.com/repatriarch>

NK representatives/officials, experts, displaced persons

1. Arayik Harutyunian, President of NKR - <https://www.facebook.com/ArayikHarutyunian>
2. David Babayan, NKR Foreign Minister - <https://www.facebook.com/dvtbabayan>
3. Gegham Stepanian, NKR Human Rights Ombudsman - <https://www.facebook.com/gegham.stepanian>
4. Hrachya Arzumanian, “Ashkharh” center for strategic studies NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/hrachya.arzumanian>
5. Margarita Karamyan, displaced from Hadrut, <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100012965346032>
6. Edgar Elbakean, political scientist - <https://www.facebook.com/ElbakeanEdgar>
7. Vahram Atanesyan, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100009118389831>
8. Tigran Grigoryan, political scientist - <https://www.facebook.com/tigran.grigoryan.562>
9. Gevorg Arakelyan, war participant - <https://www.facebook.com/LaKrkzhan>
10. Armine Hayrapetyan, Department for protection of historical and cultural monuments - <https://www.facebook.com/nare.eremyan.560>
11. Gagik Avanesyan, a displaced person - <https://www.facebook.com/gagik.avanesyan>
12. Gegham Baghdasaryan, “Stepanakert Press Club” NGO - <https://www.facebook.com/gegham.baghdasaryan>
13. Haik Ghazaryan, journalist - <https://www.facebook.com/haik.ghazaryan.3>
14. Nune Arakelyan, professor at the Artsakh State University - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id>
15. Tigran Petrosyan, doctor - https://www.facebook.com/doc.petrosyan?comment_id

Diaspora representatives

1. Armen Kharazian, USA, Washington, D.C., former deputy ambassador - <https://www.facebook.com/armen.kharazian>
2. Arman Grigoryan, USA, Pennsylvania, co-founder of Armenian National Congress, professor at Lehigh University - <https://www.facebook.com/arman.grigoryan.75>
3. Arsen Kharatyan, USA - <https://www.facebook.com/arsen.kharatyan>

4. Salpi Ghazarian, USA, Los Angeles, director at USC Institute of Armenian Studies - <https://www.facebook.com/salpi.ghazarian>
5. Vicken Cheterian, Switzerland, professor at Geneva university - <https://www.facebook.com/yes.vicken>
6. Ararat Ghukasyan, Spain, head of the Armenian community in Valencia - <https://www.facebook.com/ararat.ghukasyan>
7. Garo Ghazarian, USA, lawyer - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100065374698805>
8. Leonid Nersisyan, Moscow, analyst - <https://www.facebook.com/LeonidNersisyan>
9. Roman Baghdasaryan, Moscow, journalist - <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100002611105728>
10. Sarkis Tsaturyan, Moscow, editor at “Realist” journal - <https://www.facebook.com/sarkis.tsaturyan>
11. Armenian Assembly of America - <https://www.facebook.com/ArmenianAssembly>
12. Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) - <https://www.facebook.com/ancagrassroots>
13. Irina Ghulinyan-Gerz, Germany - <https://www.facebook.com/irina.ghulinyan>
14. Anna Ohanyan, USA, international relations expert, professor Stonehill - <https://www.facebook.com/anna.ohanyan.1428>
15. Aza Babayan, Moscow, journalist - <https://www.facebook.com/aza.babayan>

Table 1. The intensity of pre-election campaign on the Facebook pages of the rival forces (26.05-18.06)

Political forces/politicians	Number of all materials	Number of pre-election materials referring to the context of the conflict	Number of pre-election materials not referring to the context of the conflict	Maximum number of materials posted per day on the FB page
Civil Contract Party	204	51	153	25
	100%	25%	75%	
Nikol Pashinyan	214	75	139	21
	100%	35%	65%	
Civil Contract	418	126	292	
	100%	30%	70%	
Prosperous Armenia Party	31	4	27	4
	100%	13%	87%	
Iveta Tonoyan	17	3	14	3
	100%	18%	82%	
Prosperous Armenia	48	7	41	
	100%	15%	85%	
Bright Armenia Party	223	93	130	21
	100%	42%	58%	
Edmon Marukyan	258	112	146	28
	100%	43%	57%	
	481	205	276	

Bright Armenia	100%	43%	57%	
I Have Honor Alliance	496	287	209	42
	100%	58%	42%	
Hayk Mamijanyan	40	18	22	4
	100%	45%	55%	
I Have Honor	535	305	230	
	100%	57%	43%	
Armenia Alliance	599	160	439	54
	100%	27%	73%	
Robert Kocharyan	538	135	403	54
	100%	25%	75%	
Armenia	1137	295	842	
	100%	26%	74%	
Armenian National Congress Party	203	81	122	21
	100%	40%	60%	
Levon Zourabyan	22	18	3	5
	100%	86%	14%	
Armenian National Congress	225	99	126	
	100%	44%	56%	
National-Democratic Axis Party	468	195	173	46
	100%	42%	58%	
Shirinyan-Babajanyan Alliance of Democrats	137	73	64	12
	100%	53%	47%	
	238	91	147	24

Styopa Safaryan	100%	38%	62%	
Shirinyan-Babajanyan	375	164	211	
	100%	44%	56%	
Hanrapetutyun Party	90	33	57	10
	100%	37%	63%	
Our Home Is Armenia Party	45	17	28	3
	100%	38%	62%	
Sovereign Armenia Party	65	25	40	8
	100%	38%	62%	
Fair Armenia Party	107	37	70	15
	100%	35%	65%	
Citizen's Decision Social-Democratic Party	66	20	46	8
	100%	30%	70%	
Democratic Party of Armenia	72	26	46	15
	100%	36%	64%	
European Party of Armenia	84	31	53	22
	100%	37%	63%	
National Agenda Party	42	28	14	6
	100%	67%	33%	
Free Homeland Alliance	89	44	45	15
		49%	51%	
Liberal Party	56	44	12	7
	100%	79%	21%	
	43	28	15	5

Freedom Party	100%	65%	35%	
Awakening National Christian Party	183	35	148	25
	100%	19%	81%	
Homeland of Armenians Party	70	20	50	4
	100%	29%	71%	
United Homeland Party	66	29	37	9
	100%	44%	56%	
Rise Party	87	65	22	7
	100%	75%	25%	
5165 National Conservative Movement Party	123	35	88	25
	100%	28%	72%	
All-Armenian National Statehood Party	50	8	42	9
	100%	16%	84%	
Total	4968	1866	3102	
	100%	38%	62%	

Table 2. Rating of non-conflict-related topics on the Facebook pages of the political forces running for elections (26.05-18.06.2021)

Political forces	About what/ topics													Total
	Election process	Social and economical issues	Legal system	Rights/freedoms	Domestic politics	Migration	Corruption	Ecology	Tourism	Culture	Education	Healthcare	Church	
Civil Contract	298	108	48	42	71	0	24	1	0	1	41	11	4	649
	45,9%	16,6%	7,4%	6,5%	10,9%	0%	3,7%	0,2%	0%	0,2%	6,3%	1,7%	0,6%	100%
Prosperous Armenia	44	13	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	62
	71%	21%	0%	0%	0%	1,6%	1,6%	1,6%	0%	0%	3,2%	0%	0%	100%
Bright Armenia	370	34	0	3	18	10	16	0	2	0	14	3	0	470
	78,7%	7,2%	0%	0,6%	3,8%	2,1%	3,4%	0%	0,4%	0%	3%	0,6%	0%	100%
I Have Honor	194	42	16	5	125	5	0	2	0	6	6	7	5	413
	46,9%	10,2%	3,9%	1,2%	30,3%	1,2%	0%	0,5%	0%	1,4%	1,4%	1,7%	1,2%	100%
Armenia	529	269	103	72	246	77	27	1	22	25	59	27	37	1494
	35,4%	18%	6,9%	4,8%	16,5%	5,1%	1,8%	0,1%	1,5%	1,7%	3,9%	1,8%	2,5%	100%
Armenian National Congress	132	9	10	7	33	4	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	199
	66,3%	4,5%	5%	3,5%	16,6%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0,0%	100%
National-Democratic Axis	280	43	9	1	87	7	0	1	0	2	4	1	0	435
	64,4%	9,9%	2,1%	0,2%	20%	1,6%	0%	0,2%	0%	0,5%	0,9%	0,2%	0%	100%

Shirinyan-Babajanyan	218	21	67	0	31	0	15	6	0	4	31	10	0	403
	54,1%	5,2%	16,6%	0%	7,7%	0%	3,7%	1,5%	0%	1%	7,7%	2,5%	0%	100%
Hanrapetutyun	61	24	5	2	17	0	0	6	0	0	5	1	0	121
	50,4%	19,8%	4,1%	1,7%	14%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	4,1%	0,8%	0%	100%
Our Home Is Armenia	30	11	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	7	0	53
	56,6%	20,7%	1,9%	0%	0%	0%	3,8%	0%	0%	0%	3,8%	13,2%	0%	100%
Sovereign Armenia	45	7	14	10	20	1	10	0	0	0	2	0	1	110
	40,9%	6,4%	12,7%	9,1%	18,2%	0,9%	9,1%	0%	0%	0%	1,8%	0%	0,9%	100%
Fair Armenia	57	17	17	15	27	3	12	0	1	2	7	1	1	160
	35,6%	10,6%	10,6%	9,4%	16,9%	1,9%	7,5%	0%	0,6%	1,3%	4,4%	0,6%	0,6%	100%
Citizen's Decision	42	9	1	1	18	0	0	0	0	1	8	3	0	83
	50,6%	10,8%	1,2%	1,2%	21,7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1,2%	9,6%	3,6%	0%	100%
Democratic Party of Armenia	52	12	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	70
	74,3%	17,1%	0%	0%	1,4%	0%	0%	1,4%	0%	0%	4,3%	1,4%	0%	100%
European Party of Armenia	48	6	5	1	11	0	1	1	0	0	3	2	0	78
	61,5%	7,7%	6,4%	1,3%	14,1%	0%	1,3%	1,3%	0%	0%	3,8%	2,6%	0%	100%
National Agenda	14	10	2	4	8	0	0	1	0	0	6	1	1	47
	29,8%	21,3%	4,3%	8,5%	17%	0%	0%	2,1%	0%	0%	12,8%	2,1%	2,1%	100%
Free Homeland	51	9	1	0	1	1	6	3	0	0	2	1	0	75
	68%	12%	1,3%	0%	1,3%	1,3%	8%	4%	0%	0%	2,7%	1,3%	0%	100%
Liberal Party	17	5	2	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	32
	53,1%	15,6%	6,3%	0%	9,4%	3,1%	3,1%	0%	0%	0%	6,3%	3,1%	0%	100%
Freedom Party	16	12	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	31
	51,6%	38,7%	0%	0%	6,5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3,2%	0%	0%	100%

Awakening	147	9	8	5	16	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	23	214
	68,7%	4,2%	3,7%	2,3%	7,5%	0,5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1,4%	0,9%	10,7%	100%
Homeland of Armenians	51	8	2	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	70
	72,9%	11,4%	2,9%	0%	10%	0%	0%	1,4%	0%	0%	0%	1,4%	0%	100%
United Homeland	21	27	6	8	13	1	1	0	0	1	2	3	0	83
	25,3%	32,5%	7,2%	9,6%	15,7%	1,2%	1,2%	0%	0%	1,2%	2,4%	3,6%	0%	100%
Rise	25	13	1	1	5	0	6	4	0	1	15	4	3	78
	32,1%	16,7%	1,3%	1,3%	6,4%	0%	7,7%	5,1%	0%	1,3%	19,2%	5,1%	3,8%	100%
5165 Movement	94	7	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	12	6	0	125
	75,2%	5,6%	0%	0%	1,6%	0,8%	0%	0%	0%	2,4%	9,6%	4,8%	0%	100%
All-Armenian National Statehood	43	3	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	55
	78,2%	5,5%	3,6%	0%	3,6%	0%	1,8%	0%	0%	0%	3,6%	3,6%	0%	100%
Total	2879	728	320	177	764	113	125	29	25	46	234	95	75	5610
	51,3%	13%	5,7%	3,2%	13,6%	2%	2,2%	0,5%	0,4%	0,8%	4,2%	1,7%	1,3%	100%

Table 3. Rating of conflict-related topics on the Facebook pages of the political forces running for elections (26.05-18.06.2021)

Political forces	About what/ topics															Total
	Background and history of the conflict	Negotiations	Leader	Armenian-Azerbaijani hostility	Armenian-Azerbaijani reconciliation	Revanche	Armenian-Turkish reconciliation	Regional communications	Borders	Security.	Situation in NK	POWs/bodies	Preserving heritage	Hate speech	Displaced persons	
Civil contract	50	28	22	3	0	0	6	4	47	98	0	37	2	6	0	303
	16,5%	9,2%	7,3%	1%	0%	0%	2%	1,3%	15,5%	32,3%	0%	12,2%	0,7%	2%	0%	100%
Prosperous Armenia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	1	0	1	0	9
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	22,2%	55,6%	0%	11,1%	0%	11,1%	0%	100%
Bright Armenia	5	54	2	4	2	1	7	22	58	133	2	39	0	74	0	403
	1,2%	13,4%	0,5%	1%	0,5%	0,2%	1,7%	5,5%	14,4%	33%	0,5%	9,7%	0%	18,4%	0%	100%
I Have Honor Armenia	125	55	35	9	0	0	3	27	26	245	5	71	3	12	0	616
	20,3%	8,9%	5,7%	1,5%	0%	0%	0,5%	4,4%	4,2%	39,8%	0,8%	11,5%	0,5%	1,9%	0%	100%
Armenia	38	36	21	0	2	0	1	11	88	237	0	29	0	0	7	470
	8,1%	7,7%	4,5%	0%	0,4%	0%	0,2%	2,3%	18,7%	50,4%	0%	6,2%	0%	0%	1,5%	100%
Armenian National Congress	60	32	23	6	7	2	1	6	11	68	1	13	0	5	0	235
	25,5%	13,6%	9,8%	2,6%	3%	0,9%	0,4%	2,6%	4,7%	28,9%	0,4%	5,5%	0%	2,1%	0%	100%

National-Democratic Axis	81	12	10	2	3	0	3	33	35	149	0	13	0	4	0	345
	23,5%	3,5%	2,9%	0,6%	0,9%	0%	0,9%	9,6%	10%	43,2%	0%	3,8%	0%	1,1%	0%	100%
Shirinyan-Babajanyan	63	61	7	1	4	1	2	9	35	155	1	38	9	0	3	389
	16,2%	15,7%	1,8%	0,2%	1%	0,3%	0,5%	2,3%	9 %	39,8%	0,3%	9,8%	2,3%	0%	0,8 %	100%
Hanrapetutyun	22	16	5	2	1	0	0	9	10	45	3	16	0	0	1	130
	16,9%	12,3%	3,8%	1,5%	0,8%	0%	0%	7%	7,7%	34,6%	2,3%	12,3%	0%	0%	0,8 %	100%
Our Home is Armenia	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	7	0	2	0	1	0	22
	0%	18,2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	36,4%	31,8%	0%	9,1%	0%	4,5%	0%	100%
Sovereign Armenia	4	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	31	0	7	0	0	0	60
	6,6%	11,7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	18,3%	51,7%	0%	11,7%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Fair Armenia	7	9	3	0	2	0	3	0	17	32	2	10	0	0	2	87
	8%	10,3%	3,4%	0%	2,3%	0%	3,4%	0%	19,5%	36,8%	2,3%	11,5%	0%	0%	2,3 %	100%
Citizen's Decision	14	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	16	0	1	0	3	0	48
	29,2%	12,5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	16,6%	33,3%	0%	2,1%	0%	6,3%	0%	100%
Democratic Party of Armenia	4	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	20	0	3	2	1	0	39
	10,2%	10,2%	2,6%	2,6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	7,7%	51,3%	0%	7,7%	5,1%	2,6%	0%	100%
	4	11	1	0	0	0	0	5	4	30	0	2	0	1	0	58

European Party of Armenia	6,9%	19%	1,7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8,6%	6,9%	51,7%	0%	3,4%	0%	1,7%	0%	100%
National Agenda	7	11	7	1	1	0	0	4	16	28	0	4	0	1	0	80
	8,7%	13,7%	8,7%	1,3%	1,3%	0%	0%	5%	20%	35%	0%	5%	0%	1,3%	0%	100%
Free Homeland	2	18	0	0	1	1	0	2	6	52	0	2	0	2	0	86
	2,3%	20,9%	0%	0%	1,2%	1,2%	0%	2,3%	7%	60,5%	0%	2,3%	0%	2,3%	0%	100%
Liberal Party	32	17	1	0	2	2	0	4	8	51	0	17	0	7	0	141
	22,7%	12,1%	0,7%	0%	1,4%	1,4%	0%	2,8%	5,7%	36,2%	0%	12,1%	0%	4,9%	0%	100%
Freedom Party	3	5	4	2	0	0	3	4	10	21	0	4	0	3	0	59
	5,1%	8,5%	6,8%	3,4%	0%	0%	5,1%	6,8%	16,9%	35,6%	0%	6,8%	0%	5%	0%	100%
Awakening	17	4	2	4	1	0	0	3	5	18	0	9	0	8	0	71
	24%	5,6%	2,8%	5,6%	1,4%	0%	0%	4,2%	7%	25,4%	0%	12,7%	0%	11,3%	0%	100%
Homeland of Armenians	6	2	2	1	0	0	3	2	7	14	0	2	0	1	0	40
	15%	5%	5%	2,5%	0%	0 %	7,5%	5%	17,5%	35%	0%	5%	0%	2,5%	0%	100%
United Homeland	3	10	0	0	1	0	1	2	10	44	0	4	0	0	0	75
	4%	13,3%	0%	0%	1,3%	0%	1,3%	2,7%	13,3%	58,7%	0%	5,3%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Rise	5	16	1	1	0	0	0	1	8	74	0	6	0	1	0	113
	4,4%	14,1%	0,9%	0,9%	0%	0%	0%	0,9%	7,1%	65,5%	0%	5,3%	0%	0,9%	0%	100%
5165 Movement	4	16	8	0	0	3	4	3	10	38	0	12	0	6	0	104
	3,8%	15,4%	7,7%	0%	0%	2,9%	3,8%	2,9%	9,6%	36,5%	0%	11,5%	0%	5,8%	0%	100%
	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	13

All-Armenian National Statehood	0%	7,7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	15,4%	7,7%	69,2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Total	556	435	155	37	27	10	37	153	444	1620	14	342	16	137	13	3996
	13,9%	10,9%	3,9%	0,9%	0,7%	0,3%	0,9%	3,8%	11,1%	40,5%	0,4%	8,6%	0,4%	3,4%	0,3%	100%

Table 4. About who/how?

About who	How			Total
	0	+	-	
Authorities/general formulation	67	77	577	721
	9,3%	10,7%	80%	100%
Russia	255	102	346	703
	36,3%	14,5%	49,2%	100%
Nikol Pashinyan	40	5	608	653
	6,1%	0,8%	93,1%	100%
Azerbaijan	126	0	312	438
	28,8%	0%	71,2%	100%
We/general formulation	159	19	94	272
	58,5%	7%	34,6%	100%
Robert Kocharyan	15	7	212	234
	6,4%	3%	90,6%	100%
Turkey	83	0	137	220
	37,7%	0%	61,8%	100%
	97	89	11	197

USA	49,2%	45,2%	5,6%	100%
Ex officials/general formulation	9	17	134	160
	5,6%	10,6%	83,8%	100%
CSTO	58	8	83	149
	38,9%	5,4%	55,7%	100%
France	69	67	8	144
	47,9%	46,5%	5,6%	100%
Serzh Sargsyan	19	3	111	133
	14,3%	2,3%	83,5%	100%
OSCE MG	75	34	6	115
	65,2%	29,6%	5,2%	100%
Other countries (Great Britain, Netherlands, United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, Greece, Germany, Israel)	58	42	9	109
	53,2%	38,5%	8,3%	100%
Political forces/general formulation	5	1	88	94
	5,3%	1,1%	93,6%	100%
Levon Ter-Petrosyan	9	9	74	92
	9,8%	9,8%	80,4%	100%
Iran	66	22	3	91
	72,5%	24,2%	3,3%	100%
Georgia	40	20	7	67
	59,7%	29,9%	10,4%	100%
International organizations/ /general formulation	48	0	7	55
	87,3%	0%	12,7%	100%
UN	47	2	1	50
	94%	4%	2%	100%
Civil Contract	6	0	40	46
	13%	0%	87%	100%

Diaspora	18	26	2	46
	39,1%	56,5%	4,3%	100%
I Have Honor Alliance	7	7	27	41
	17,1%	17,1%	65,9%	100%
Opposition/general formulation	3	1	34	38
	7,9%	2,6%	89,5%	100%
NATO	20	10	0	30
	66,7%	33,3%	0%	100%
India	15	10	0	25
	60%	40%	0%	100%
Artsakh representatives	12	0	8	20
	60%	0 %	40%	100%
EU	5	12	1	18
	27,8%	66,7%	5,6%	100%
China	12	3	0	15
	80%	20%	0%	100%
Armenia Alliance	1	5	8	14
	7,1%	35,7%	57,1%	100%
Armenian National Congress	0	1	11	12
	0%	8,3%	91,7%	100%
EAEU	4	0	4	8
	50%	0%	50%	100%
National-Democratic Axis	1	1	6	8
	12,5%	12,5%	75%	100%
Bright Armenia	6	0	0	6
	100%	0%	0%	100%
Prosperous Armenia	2	0	4	6
	33,3%	0%	66,7%	100%
National Agenda	1	1	3	5
	20%	20%	60%	100%

Citizen's Decision	0	0	4	4
	0%	0%	100%	100%
United Homeland Party	0	0	3	3
	0%	0%	100%	100%
Fair Armenia Party	1	0	1	2
	50%	0%	50%	100%
Rise Party	2	0	0	2
	100%	0%	0%	100%
Liberal Party	1	0	1	2
	50%	0%	50%	100%
European Party of Armenia	0	0	2	2
	0%	0%	100%	100%
Armen Sargsyan	1	0	1	2
	50%	0%	50%	100%
5165 Movement Party	1	0	0	1
	100%	0%	0%	100%
Shirinyan-Babajanyan Alliance	1	0	0	1
	100%	0,0%	0,0%	100%
Our Home Is Armenia Party	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	100%	100%
Free Homeland Alliance	0	1	0	1
	0%	100%	0%	100%
Freedom Party	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	100%	100%
Total	1465	602	2990	5057
	29%	12%	59%	100%

Table 5. Volumes of audiences' feedback to the conflict-related materials during the election campaign

	Number of Likes/Shares/Comments per 1 post			
	0-100	101-1000	1001-10000	>10001
Political forces				
Civil Contract			+	
Nikol Pashinyan				+
Armenia Alliance		+		
Robert Kocharyan			+	
I Have Honor Alliance		+		
Hayk Mamijanyan		+		
Armenian National Congress	+			
Levon Zourabyan		+		
Prosperous Armenia		+		
Iveta Tonoyan		+		
Bright Armenia	+			
Edmon Marukyan		+		
Shirinyan-Babajanyan		+		
Styopa Safaryan			+	
Our Home Is Armenia		+		
Free Homeland Alliance	+			
Homeland of Armenians Party		+		
Awakening	+			
Citizen's Decision		+		

National-Democratic Axis		+		
5165 Movement		+		
Freedom Party		+		
Liberal Party		+		
Rise Party	+			
Democratic Party of Armenia	+			
National Agenda	+			
European Party of Armenia	+			
Hanrapetutyun		+		
United Homeland	+			
Sovereign Armenia		+		
Fair Armenia	+			
All-Armenian National Statehood Party	+			