The Marketing Mix and Political Campaigns

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Abstract

Armenia had Parliamentary Elections in 2017 and 2018. According to the OSCE reports, unlike the 2017 elections, the 2018 elections had a general absence of vote-buying, pressure on the voter, and other negative phenomena (OSCE, 2017, OSCE, 2019). Along with the changes in the political environment, the election results were considerably different too as the power distribution changed in the Parliament. However, there was one party that successfully remained in its condition: The Prosperous Armenia Party (PAP) got elected as the second largest party in the Parliament both in 2017 and 2018. Considering the lack of vote-buying and other negative phenomena in the 2018 elections, the main tool that the parties were left with for boosting their votes was the pre-election campaign. Thus, a question arose: did PAP alter its campaign methods to adjust to the new political environment in the country? The main focus of this research was comparing the 2017 and 2018 campaigns to see whether there were any differences or not.

A desk study was conducted at first. The data collected were the campaign plans, candidate lists and CVs, and media coverage for both years. Then, content analysis was conducted. The results of the analysis were discussed within the scopes of the Niffenegger model. The model suggests that the 4Ps of the marketing mix can be used for developing winning campaigns. Within the scopes of this research, the model was mainly used for guidance when organizing and making sense of the data.

The main differences found between the two campaigns were in the *product* and *price*. The research also contributes to the model, by suggesting to consider the candidates as a part of the *product* when employing the model for parties and not individual candidates.

Keywords: Marketing Mix, Political Marketing, Political Campaign

Acknowledgments

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Introduction

In December 2015 constitutional referendum was held in Armenia that changed the country from semi-presidential to a parliamentary republic. In April 2017 Armenian Parliamentary Election was held. As a result, the following parties and alliances got into the Parliament (elections.am, 2017):

1. Armenian Republican Party (ARP) – 58 seats

2. Tsarukyan Alliance (Prosperous Armenia Party, Mission Party, Alliance Party) – 31 seats

3. Way Out Alliance (Civil Contract Party, Bright Armenia Party, Republic Party) – 9 seats

4. Armenian Revolutionary Federation – 7 seats

Serzh Sargsyan, who had already served his second and last term as the president of the Republic of Armenia, was willing to become the Prime Minister after the constitutional referendum. This raised the dissatisfaction of the public, and in April-May 2018 civil disobedience activities took place under the leadership of Nikol Pashinyan. On April 17, 2018, Serzh Sargsyan got elected as the Prime Minister by the Parliament, and the civil disobedience activities became more persistent and attracted more people. Serzh Sargsyan ended up resigning on April 23, 2018, and Nikol Pashinyan got elected as the Prime Minister on May 8, 2018. A temporary government was formed and later on December 9, 2018, a snap Parliamentary Election was held.

As a result, these parties and alliances got into the Parliament (elections.am, 2018):

1. My Step Alliance (Civil Contract Party (CAP), Mission Party, independent representatives of the civil society) – 88 seats

2. Prosperous Armenia Party (PAP)– 26 seats

3. Bright Armenia Party (BAP) – 18 seats

It can be seen from the results, that there was a significant change in the distribution of power in the government. The ARP (which had been in power for the past ten years) did not make it to the parliament, while CCP changed its position from a small opposition to the leading dominant party. Most of the other parties' positions also changed. What is interesting is that along with all the changes, PAP and BAP, although with no former alliances, managed to retain their positions of the second and third largest powers in the Parliament. However, PAP happens to be more successful than BAP, as it got more votes and, consequently, more seats in the Parliament.

According to the OSCE 2017 and 2019 reports, the quality of the elections was improved in 2018: in general, there was an absence of vote-buying, pressure on the civil servants, and there was more genuine competition. So, considering that there was an absence of bribes and fraud in 2018, as compared to 2017, the main tool for the parties to boost their votes in 2018 was the pre-election campaign. This idea initiated the research question for this study: **How were the election campaigns of the Prosperous Armenia Party different in 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary Elections in Armenia?** The purpose of the research was to understand whether anything was changed in the party's tactics that helped them adapt to the changed political environment in the country. If yes, then what exactly was changed?

Literature Review

Elections are a crucial part of our life: the policies we live with, the rules we should follow and the infrastructures that surround us are very much based on who are elected in the governmental positions. Different countries have differing election procedures and laws, but one thing that is common for almost all elections is political marketing during campaigns. Therefore,

it is essential to study political marketing: understand campaign strategies, how politicians choose those strategies, and how the campaigns affect election results (Steenburg, 2015).

In his study about research areas on political campaigns Steenburg studied 129 papers on the topic and came up with eight categories that political advertising research topics mostly fall in: *advancements and technology, advertisement type, branding, cognitive response, ethics and policy, cross-cultural comparisons, voter as a consumer and mix and strategy* (2015).

Within the scopes of this research, the focus was on the last category identified by Steenburg: the *mix and strategy*. The research projects in this category try to find in what ways the marketing mix is usually applied during election campaigns. The reason why *mix and strategy* was chosen was because the other pieces of literature that were found aligned particularly well with this category.

A very similar study to mine was done by Abdullaeva, where she tried to understand the main features of efficient political marketing carried out by the United Russia Party (2017). She conducted a desk study to gather the party's marketing material over the course of history and employed several theoretical models to discuss the party's political marketing activities. This is rather reasonable, as the desk study helps to collect the data and having certain theoretical models helps to collect the *relevant* data and analyze it: in this case the models act as a guide towards your destination of answering your research question. This is why I followed the same logic by conducting a desk study and then analyzing it within the scopes of a political marketing model. Because of the time limitation of my research, I discussed the case within the framework of only one model: the political marketing model of Niffenegger.

Niffenegger suggests that the concept of classical marketing mix (the 4 Ps: Product, Price, Place, Promotion) can be used for creating successful political campaigns (1989).

Table 1
The Political Marketing Process
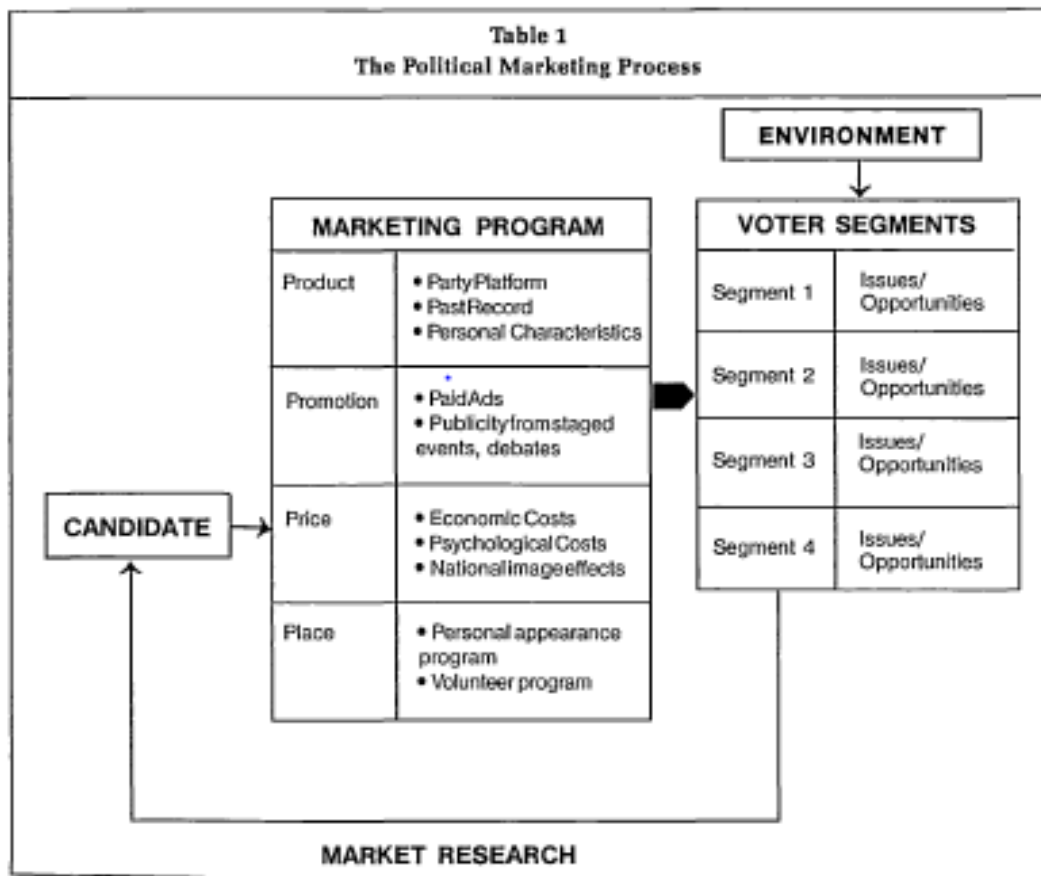
Figure 1: Visualization of the Niffenegger model

Source: Niffenegger, 1989, p. 46

According to Niffenegger, candidates should do market research first and identify the voter segments they want to reach. Then, they should use the 4 Ps to create their strategies for reaching each segment. Here is how Niffenegger explains each of the 4Ps in the political marketing context (1989):

Product

- The benefits voters will get if the candidate is elected

Price

- What costs the voters may have if the candidate is elected (e.g. decrease in wages, increase in taxes, as well as intangible costs such as low national pride)

Place

- Where the candidate meets the voters to communicate his/her messages (e.g. press-conferences, city centers, etc.)

Promotion

- The campaign, media coverage, advertising, etc.

The model, however, is discussed in the scopes of presidential elections, where the campaign should be developed for a single candidate only. In this research, the model is integrated into a different situation, i.e. parliamentary election. Instead of single candidates, the competition is among parties, comprised of many candidates. This change led to a realization that in the context of parliamentary elections the definition of the *product* should also include the candidates themselves.

Methodology

First, a desk study was conducted during which material relevant to the 4Ps of the Niffenegger model were collected. These were collected on official government websites, news websites, and social media. The desk study was followed by content analysis. The collected data were sorted into thematic groups to understand the trends and patterns in the campaigns and see how they fit in the Niffenegger model. The final comparisons between the results for 2017 and 2018 elections were meant to find the differences in the campaigns, if any, and answer the research question.

Data Collected and the Content Analysis Process

The data that were collected and analyzed were:

- Campaign plans;

- Candidate name lists and CVs;

- Media coverage (PAP generated, and non-PAP generated);

- Social media activity of the PAP.

Following the example of the literature used, all the data were analyzed with the content analysis process. For the texts and speeches, the unit of analysis was the sentence. For photos, the unit of analysis was the whole image, and for videos, the unit of analysis was the scene. Each unit of analysis (e.g. each sentence in case of texts) was condensed to very shortly express the main meaning if the unit. Then, the condensed units relating to the same idea were given the same code. The codes of similar nature were grouped into categories. The codes were also quantified to

simplify the analysis process. The content was coded by one person. Please, refer to the Appendix C for details about what is included in the codes and categories.

Campaign Plans

From the definition of the *product* in the Niffenegger model, it follows that the product is what is promised by the candidate/party. Since the promises are summarized in the campaign plans of the parties, the campaign plans for 2017 and 2018 were analyzed for identifying the ideas suitable for the *product* segment in the Niffenegger model. Here, some of the points had possible negative externalities, which were classified in the *price* segment of the model. No sampling of the campaign plan points was done: the campaign plans were analyzed fully. Here, the codes were not grouped into categories, because the codes themselves were rather different from each other and were little in amount too. Thus, grouping the codes would require the categories to be too flexible and broad and would also result in having very few categories: analyzing very few and too broad categories would not be useful.

The codes in the campaign plans from the most to the least frequently repeated were:

Table 1: Product Categories Identified From the Campaign Plan (2017 & 2018)

2017	***2018***
1. Taxes/loans	1. Sector
2. Pensions/wages	2. Foreign affairs
3. Price	3. Taxes/loans
4. Other	4. Business
5. Sector	5. Social
	6. Investment
	7. Other
	8. Price
	9. Tech
	10. Pensions/wages

You can see the details about category frequencies in Table 5 and Figure 2 in *Appendix A*. For details about the codes and categories of Campaign Plans, refer to Table 10 & Table 11 in *Appendix C*.

Media Coverage

Parties try to repeat and get the main messages and promises covered in the media. So, the media coverage was analyzed to get a better and more holistic understanding of the promises made by PAP during both elections. The following sections of media coverage were analyzed:

- Speeches/news segments;

-   Social media.

Speeches/News Segments

Six news segments were analyzed for each year: three segments generated by PAP (Kentron TV) and three not generated by PAP (Public Television Armenia). Each year's campaign was divided into three equal periods, and within each period a news segment was chosen randomly. The campaign for 2017 was from March 5 to March 31. The three periods were March 5-13, March 14-22, March 23-31. The campaign of 2018 was from November 26 to December 7. The three periods were November 26-29, November 30-December 3, December 4-7.

There was no particular need for coding the news segments since the result was too obvious. The news segments were mostly about the mass meetings of PAP and some ideas mentioned by Gagik Tsarukyan during his speeches. The product categories identified from the campaign plans were mentioned maximum once or twice in each news segment. However, there was one topic repeated over and over again, which was not included in the campaign plans. So, a new category arose, which was the *individual.* This category includes certain characteristics about the individual candidates: who they are, what they have done before, whether people trust and believe them or not. Both in Kentron TV and the Public Television Armenia news segments, *individual* was the most repeated category: in all his speeches, Gagik Tsarukyan was calling people to take part in the elections and vote for the one they trust and believe. According to him, the logic behind voting for the one people trust is making sure that the promises of the party will be realized. Considering that this idea was always mentioned among the promises of PAP, a decision was made to include the candidates in the *product* package. This is why, the candidate CVs are also analyzed as a *product* in the upcoming sections of the paper.

Besides their informative nature, the news segments from Kentron TV were rather emotional. They had 1-2 appearances of Gagik Tsarukyan hugging children in one news segment and up to 4 scenes showing people's extreme affection towards Gagik Tsarukyan.

Social Media Activity

For Social media activity, 3 websites were considered: Facebook, Instagram, YouTube.

No official Instagram account was found for 2017 and 2018 Parliamentary Elections' promotions. As for Facebook, there was no official alliance page in 2017 that was active, but there was an active PAP page in 2018. The content of the Facebook page was visual. It included photos and videos introducing the campaign plan, as well as photos and videos from mass meetings and speeches. The main codes repeated in the posts were the same as in the news segments.

YouTube was used during both years. Two types of videos were identified on YouTube during the two elections. The first type is purely informative and introduces the campaign plan step by step. These videos are comprised of texts that recite the campaign plan points, audio that reads the texts, and the picture of the alliance/party leader Gagik Tsarukyan. The second type is the news segments from the PAP-owned TV channel (Kentron TV). The characteristics of these news segments are described in the *Speeches/News Segments* above.

Candidate Name Lists and CVs

The first 30 people from each year's candidate list were selected. Then, the CVs of these 60 people were analyzed by content analysis.

You can find the cross-tabulation and visual graphs of category frequencies in Table 6 and Figures 3-14 in *Appendix A*. You can find the details about the coding process in Tables 7-9 in *Appendix C*.

Results and Discussion

After finishing the coding process, the data were organized and analyzed within the scopes of the Niffenegger model: for each P the relevant data were identified and summarized.

Product

The *product* is the pile of promises made by the party. These were identified from the campaign plans and media coverage. Since earlier a decision was made to include candidates in the product package too, the candidate CVs were also used for identifying the *product*.

The main products identified from the campaign plans are summarized in Table 1. The number and versatility of the identified categories were larger in 2018.

The media covered all the points identified in the campaign plans. The product in 2017 was more generic: the same ideas were repeated in all news segments, speeches, videos. In contrast, the product was more geographically customized the next year: in varying regions, varying points were mentioned, depending on the specific needs of the people living in that region. Also, in 2017 the major attention was on the alliance leader. On the other hand, in 2018 slightly more attention was paid to the other candidates as well.

The average candidate profiles for each year were:

Table 2: Candidate Profile cross-tabulation

	2017	2018
Party	PAP	PAP
Age	50.6 years	45.9 years
Gender	Male	Male
Army	No info	No info
Family	Married	Married
# of children	2.5	1.5
Academic degree	No	No
Management_years	11.2	10.8
Management_#	3.9	4.5
NA member_years	4	3.6
University	Armenian public	Armenian public
Profession	Other	Other
Courses abroad	No	No
Birthplace	Yerevan	Yerevan

Overall, the profiles of an average candidate were not much different in 2017 and 2018. There were only slight differences in the age, # of children and work experience.

Price

The *price* is the pile of potential negative consequences the voter may face if the party is elected. Essentially, these are the potential negative externalities of the *product.* Below are the potential *prices* identified in each year's campaign.

Table 3: Campaign Plan_price 2017

2017

Point from the campaign	Potential risk/negative externality
Tax amnesty for those who didn't pay their taxes.	This can potentially be unfair towards the ones who, despite the struggles, did pay their taxes.
Remove speedometers and red lines.	This can potentially increase the number of car crashes.
Remove the pension fund system and give the money back to the people.	Financial literacy levels are not high in Armenia, particularly in the villages. So, if people have control over their future pensions, they may not spend the finances wisely and may end up having less money when they are old.
Provide healthcare to certain groups of people in the society (e.g. soldiers).	In Armenia there is a popular custom among the doctors to personally take money from the patients. The benefits of the proposed idea may not be realized unless doctors stop the habit of personally requesting money for their services.
Make sure that no student with a good academic standing drops out of a university	Providing long-term loans for covering tuition fees can be helpful. However, we also need to make sure the student will have job

because of financial issues. Provide long-term student loans.	opportunities after graduation, so that they can pay back their loans.

Table 4: Campaign Plan_price 2018

2018

Point from the campaign	Potential risk/negative externality
• Anti-monopoly & pro-competition laws. • For official governmental purchases, local producers should be preferred over foreign ones.	These two points may hinder one another. Giving preference to some businesses over the others on a governmental level, goes against the pro-competition ideology. So, the realization of one point may disrupt the realization of the other.
Revive the traditional economies in each region, but focus on using modern technologies.	Some traditional economies may not be able to recover because of the Soviet economy system. Also, there is a risk that focusing on traditional economies only, non-traditional but potentially productive economies may be neglected.
Currently the villagers are struggling under the interest rates of their loans. Make the loan interest rates lighter and easier-to-pay for the villagers.	This can potentially be unfair towards the villagers who, despite the difficulties, paid back their loans.
Remove speedometers and red lines	Same as in 2017.

Provide healthcare to certain groups of people in the society (e.g. soldiers).	Same as in 2017.
Provide simplified loans to student with good academic standing but little financial opportunities for affording education.	Same as in 2017.

Place

Place is where the parties get to the voter in a personal way and communicate their messages. The relevant data for this section was identified from the media coverage.

Both in 2017 and 2018 the main personal appearance places were mass meetings outside.

Promotion

Promotion is "the key marketing element" used by the party (Niffenegger, 1989, p. 50).

The data relevant for this P was retrieved from the media coverage, because that was the most accessible source relevant for the *promotion.* The data showed that during both, 2017 and 2018 election campaigns, the main promotion channels were the TV (news) and YouTube. The types of videos are described in the Media Coverage section above. The main difference in the two campaigns, was the usage of Facebook: in 2017 there was no official alliance Facebook page that was doing active promotion. However, in 2018 PAP did use Facebook rather extensively.

Limitations During the Research

When trying to find news segments/articles, I came across the issue of not being able to search in archive posts of some websites (e.g. news.am, shanttv.com). Looking at more than two websites could have provided a better understanding of the media coverage patterns.

Another limitation was the lack of time for taking a bigger sample of media coverage. Maybe having a larger sample would have become a stronger basis for the media coverage understanding.

The other limitation I had, was not being able to get an interview from a PAP representative. This would have been useful for developing a more holistic apprehension of the two campaigns and the differences between them. However, the fact of not being able to get an interview despite trying different channels, is a data itself. Not being fully able to guide me towards a person with a relevant position in the party, shows that maybe there is no clear differentiation of each person's responsibilities in the party and maybe there is no one who works mainly with the campaign and the marketing of the party.

Conclusion and Future Research

To conclude, this research was a political marketing case study in Armenia. It used a theoretical model to summarize and discuss the final results. The purpose of this research was not finding relationships or seeking explanations. The research was meant to find whether there were any differences in the campaigns of the PAP between 2017 and 2018: if yes, then identify those differences. The results were summarized within the scopes of the Niffenegger model,

which integrates the 4Ps of the marketing mix for developing political campaigns. Some differences were identified, particularly in the *product, price, and promotion* segments. The research also has a contribution to the Niffenegger model: in the cases of PAP, the trustworthiness of the candidate was one of the most popular promises given to the voters. This suggested that in the context of Parliamentary Elections, the candidates should also be considered a *product.* This can be considered when using the model in similar contexts in future research.

During the research some limitations came up, such as the lack of time, lack of available resources and not succeeding in getting an interview from a party representative. In the future these limitations can be considered in advance when conducting a research of similar nature or even trying to recreate the same research.

For future research on this topic, quantitative methods can be integrated. For example, doing significance tests for the provided cross-tabulations; or diving into finding relationships and correlations between the number of votes and campaign visit geography. Also, more theoretical models can be included in the research, for a more comprehensive approach and analysis.

Another option can be adding research questions and focusing on other aspects of the 2018 election result success, such as: voter perceptions and mindset, or the effects of the competitors' behaviors on one another. Alternatively, the possible aspects of the 2018 election success for the PAP can turn into separate research projects and complement one another in creating a more comprehensive understanding of the situation.

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Appendix A

Tables and figures

Campaign Plans

Table 5: Campaign Plan cross-tabulation

Categories	frequencies		frequencies (%)	
	2017	**2018**	**2017**	**2018**
pensions/wages	3.00	1.00	20.00	2.78
taxes/loans	6.00	8.00	40.00	22.22
business	0.00	6.00	0.00	16.67
price	3.00	3.00	20.00	8.33
investment	0.00	5.00	0.00	13.89
tech	0.00	2.00	0.00	5.56
foreign affairs	0.00	8.00	0.00	22.22
social	0.00	5.00	0.00	13.89
other	2.00	4.00	13.33	11.11
sector	1.00	9.00	6.67	25.00

The figure below provides a good visualization of the category frequencies in the two campaign plans.

Figure 2: Campaign Plan_frequencies
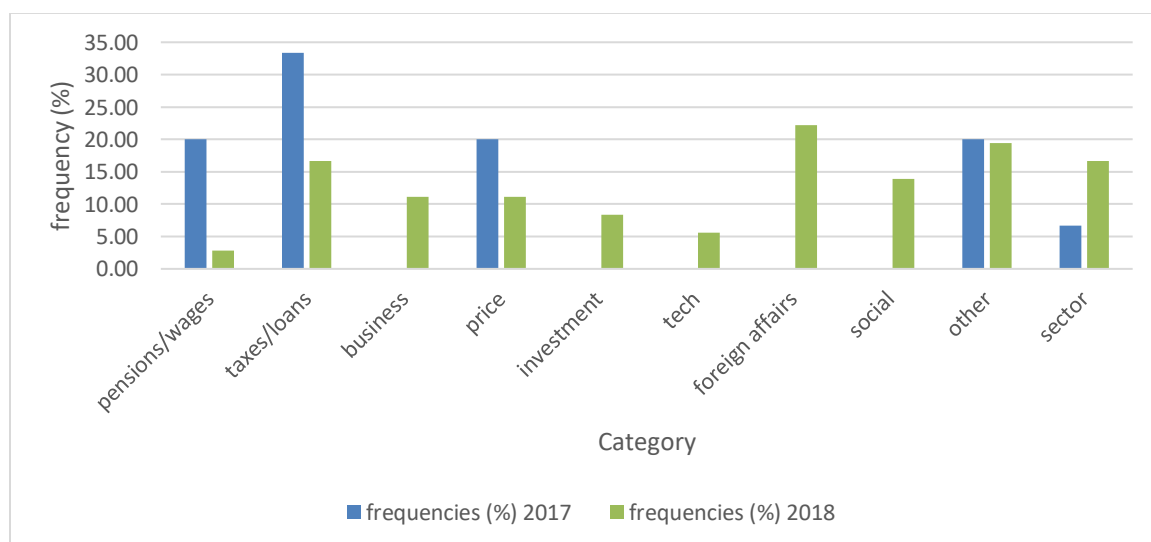
Candidate CVs

Table 6: CV cross-tabulation

		frequencies			
Category	*Code*	*2017*	*2018*	*2017 (%)*	*2018(%)*
have the CV (frequency)	yes	27.00	24.00	90.00	80.00
	no	3.00	6.00	10.00	20.00
elected (frequency)	yes	25.00	23.00	83.33	76.67
	no	5.00	7.00	16.67	23.33
party (frequency)	PAP	23.00	26.00	76.67	86.67
	no party	4.00	4.00	13.33	13.33
	ANM	1.00	-	3.33	-
	Alliance	1.00	-	3.33	-
	MP	1.00	-	3.33	-
age (min/max/mean)	min	27.00	25.00		
	max	71.00	65.00		
	mean	50.63	45.90		
gender (frequency)	male	23.00	23.00	76.67	76.67
	female	7.00	7.00	23.33	23.33
army (frequency)	no info	7.00	9.00	25.93	37.50
	armenian army	4.00	3.00	14.81	12.50
	soviet army	6.00	4.00	22.22	16.67
	didn't serve	1.00	0.00	3.70	0.00

	position in the army	2.00	3.00	7.41	12.50
	participated in war	2.00	2.00	7.41	8.33
	not relevant	7.00	7.00	25.93	29.17
# of children (min/max/mean)	min	0.00	0.00		
	max	6.00	3.00		
	mean	2.56	1.50		
family status (frequency)	married	24.00	19.00	88.89	79.17
	single	1.00	3.00	3.70	12.50
	widow	1.00	1.00	3.70	4.17
	unidentified	1.00	1.00	3.70	4.17
academic degree (frequency)	no	20.00	18.00	74.07	75.00
	yes	7.00	6.00	25.93	25.00
management_years (min/max/mean)	min	0.00	0.00		
	max	25.00	35.00		
	mean	11.27	10.89		
management_# (min/max/mean)	min	0.00	0.00		
	max	9.00	9.00		
	mean	3.96	4.50		
NA member_years (min/max/mean)	min	0.00	0.00		
	max	14.00	15.00		
	mean	4.04	3.67		
university (frequency)	public	23.00	21.00	85.19	87.50
	big private	2.00	2.00	7.41	8.33

	small private	7.00	4.00	25.93	16.67
	public abroad	1.00	1.00	3.70	4.17
	private abroad	1.00	0.00	3.70	0.00
	no university degree	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17
profession (frequency)	teacher	5.00	5.00	18.52	20.83
	economist	7.00	4.00	25.93	16.67
	politician/international relations	2.00	4.00	7.41	16.67
	lawyer	2.00	4.00	7.41	16.67
	other	13.00	12.00	48.15	50.00
	unknown	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17
courses abroad (frequency)	no	22.00	18.00	81.48	75.00
	yes	5.00	6.00	18.52	25.00
marz (frequency)	yerevan	14.00	9.00	51.85	37.50
	kotayk	3.00	3.00	11.11	12.50
	ararat	3.00	2.00	11.11	8.33
	shirak	2.00	2.00	7.41	8.33
	vayots dzor	1.00	1.00	3.70	4.17
	gegharkunik	1.00	3.00	3.70	12.50
	syunik	1.00	0.00	3.70	0.00
	lori	1.00	0.00	3.70	0.00
	armavir	0.00	2.00	0.00	8.33
	aragatsotn	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17

	abroad	1.00	1.00	3.70	4.17
village/city/town (frequency)	yerevan	14.00	9.00	51.85	37.50
	village	7.00	8.00	25.93	33.33
	town	5.00	6.00	18.52	25.00
	city abroad	1.00	1.00	3.70	4.17

The tables below represent the database that was created when coding candidate CVs.

Table 7: 2017 CV database_general demographics

# in candidate list	full name	have the CV	Elected	Party	Age	Sex	Army	# of children	Family status
1	Tsarukyan Gagik Kolya	yes	yes	PAP	61	Male	no info	6	married
2	Zaqaryan Ishkhan Serjik	yes	yes	PAP	56	Male	no info	3	married
3	Zohrabyan Naira Vahan	yes	yes	PAP	52	Female	not relevant	1	widow
4	Bostanjyan Vardan Babken	yes	yes	PAP	68	Male	no info	3	married
5	Melqumyan Miqayel Sergey	yes	yes	PAP	55	Male	soviet army	3	married
6	Zurabyan Ararat Anushavan	yes	yes	ANM	54	Male	position in the army;took part in war	2	married
7	Urikhanyan Tigran Khachatur	yes	yes	Alliance	38	Male	no info	1	married
8	Tonoyan Iveta Sasun	yes	yes	PAP	36	Female	No	0	single
9	Abrahamyan Argam Hovik	yes	yes	no party	31	Male	armenian army	2	married
10	Grigoryan Vardevan Fabricusk	yes	yes	PAP	64	Male	soviet army	4	married
11	Manukyan Artur Abraham	yes	yes	no party	35	Male	armenian army	1	married
12	Sargsyan Luiza Ashot	yes	yes	PAP	40	Female	No	2	married
13	Adamyan Samvel Frunz	yes	no	PAP	58	Male	no info	4	married
14	Manukyan Davit Andranik	yes	yes	PAP .	33	Male	armenian army	3	married
15	Enfiajyan Vahe Sargis	yes	yes	PAP	39	Male	armenian army	3	married
16	Poghosyan Karine Hamlet	yes	yes	no party	44	Female	No	2	married
17	Ghukasyan Vardan Kolya	yes	yes	no party	56	Male	no info	4	married
18	Manukyan Meliq Saribek	yes	yes	PAP	62	Male	soviet army	5	married
19	Bagratyan Sergey Papash	yes	yes	PAP	54	Male	position in the army	2	married
20	Margaryan Marina Mitush	yes	yes	PAP	60	Female	No	2	married
21	Simonyan Merujan Hamlet	yes	yes	PAP	54	Male	soviet army	2	married
22	Poghosyan Vazgen Volodya	no	no	PAP	66	Male	-	-	-
23	Azizyan Napoleon Sureni	yes	yes	PAP	71	Male	no info	3	married
24	Isayan Shaqe Roberti	yes	yes	PAP	27	Female	No	0	married
25	Davtyan Hrant Davti	no	no	PAP	47	Male	-	-	-
26	Madatyan Hrant Roberti	yes	yes	PAP	53	Male	soviet army;took part in war	6	married
27	Karapetyan Vahan Gurgeni	yes	yes	PAP	51	Male	soviet army	2	married
28	Ohanyan Aycemnik Hayki	yes	no	PAP	60	Female	No	2	married
29	Gharagyozyan Harutyun Arpiari	no	yes	PAP	58	Male	-	-	-
30	Suqiasyan Manuk Henriki	yes	no	MP	36	Male	didn't serve	1	unidentified

Table 8: 2017 CV database_experience

# in candidate list	academic degree	management (years)	management (#)	NA membership
1	no	17	6	14
2	no	25	6	4
3	no	0	0	10
4	yes	12	5	9
5	yes	6	4	5
6	no	22	6	0
7	no	6	5	5
8	no	7	3	0
9	no	2	1	0
10	yes	23	6	8
11	no	12	4	0
12	yes	0	0	0
13	no	-	-	-
14	no	0	0	0
15	yes	18	6	8
16	no	8	2	5
17	no	27	5	0
18	yes	28	2	14
19	no	29	8	0
20	yes	7	4	0
21	no	11	4	5
22	-	-	-	
23	no	20	9	8
24	no	2	1	0
25	-	-	-	
26	no	20	6	5
27	no	18	3	5
28	no	26	4	0
29	-	-	-	-
30	no	9	3	0

Table 9: 2017 CV database_university

# in candidate list	University
1	ASIPCS
2	YSU
3	Yerevan Fine Arts & Theatre Instutute
4	Yerevan Polytechnic Institute, The Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Economics
5	ASUE
6	Yerevan Agricultural Institute
7	terminated education in Brusov, Yerevan University of Management and Development of Education
8	YSU
9	YSU
10	Leninakan M. Nalbandian State Pedagogical Institute, Leningrad Lesgaft National State Institute of Physical Culture
11	YSU, Academy of the Public Administration of the RA
12	YSU
13	ASPU
14	YSU
15	Business School Yerevan, Haybusak, Institute of Economics after M. Kotanyan
16	ASPU
17	the Kirovakan Trade and Economic College, Shirak University of Economics and Management, Gyumri M. Nalbandian State Pedagogical Institute
18	Ekaterinbourg (RF) Uralian Institute of National Economy
19	YSU, YELU, Academy of State Administration of the RA
20	YSMU, Moscow Central Research Institute of Dentistry, Yerevan State Medical Academy
21	ANAU
22	-
23	YSU
24	ASEU
25	-
26	ANAU
27	Moscow All-Union Law Institute (RF)
28	Yerevan State Medical Institute
29	-
30	YSU, Academy of the Public Administration of the RA

Table 10: 2017 CV database_profession & courses abroad

# in candidate list	Profession	Courses Abroad
1	teacher of PHED & wresting	No
2	historian	No
3	theatrical expert, journalist	yes
4	cybernetics	No
5	economist	yes
6	economist	No
7	linguist, lawyer	Yes
8	journalist	No
9	lawyer	No
10	Teacher of PHED	No
11	international relations, public administration	No
12	Russian language, literature, philology	No
13	teacher	No
14	politician	No
15	economist	Yes
16	physicist, teacher	No
17	economist, teacher of history & law	No
18	economist	No
19	geological engineer, lawyer, State administration and local self-government specialist	No
20	dentist	No
21	economist, agricultural industry organizer	No
22	-	-
23	Expert in the science of Commodities	No
24	radio communications, broadcasting & TV specialist	No
25	-	-
26	agronomist	No
27	lawyer	No
28	general medicine	No
29	-	-
30	international relations	Yes

Table 11: 2017 CV database_birthplace

# in candidate list	Marz	village/city/town
1	Kotayk	village
2	Ararat	village
3	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
4	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
5	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
6	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
7	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
8	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
9	Ararat	village
10	Shirak	town
11	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
12	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
13	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
14	abroad	city abroad
15	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
16	Ararat	village
17	Shirak	town
18	Kotayk	village
19	Vayots Dzor	village
20	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
21	Syunik	city/Yerevan
22	-	-
23	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
24	Kotayk	town
25	-	-
26	Gegharkunik	village
27	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
28	Lori	town
29	-	-
30	Yerevan	city/Yerevan

Table 12: 2018 CV database_general demographics

# in candidate list	full name	have the CV	Elected	Party	Age	Gender	army	# of children	family status
1	Tsarukyan Gagik Kolya	yes	yes	PAP	62	Male	no info	6	married
2	Melqumyan Miqayel Sergeyi	yes	yes	PAP	56	Male	soviet army	3	married
3	Grigoryan Artur Grisha	yes	yes	PAP	49	Male	armenian army	2	married
4	Zohrabyan Naira Vahan	yes	yes	PAP	53	Female	not relevant	1	widow
5	Urikhanyan Tigran Khachatur	yes	yes	PAP	39	Male	no info	1	married
6	Abovyan Arman Vladimir	yes	yes	PAP	45	Male	no info	-	unidentified
7	Enfiajyan Vahe Sargis	yes	yes	PAP	40	Male	armenian army	3	married
8	Tonoyan Iveta Sasun	yes	yes	PAP	37	Female	not relevant	0	single
9	Petrosyan Gevorg Volodya	yes	yes	PAP	46	Male	position in army	3	married
10	Bagratyan Sergey Papash	yes	yes	PAP	55	Male	position in army	2	married
11	Manukyan Davit Andranik	yes	yes	PAP	34	Male	armenian army	3	married
12	Isayan Shaqe Robert	yes	yes	PAP	28	Female	not relevant	0	married
13	Tsarukyan Artyom Rafayel	yes	yes	PAP	31	Male	no info	0	single
14	Grigoryan Vardevan Fabricusk	yes	yes	PAP	65	Male	soviet army	4	married
15	Ghukasyan Vardan Kolya	yes	yes	PAP	57	Male	no info	4	married
16	Arustamyan Nora Sedrak	yes	yes	PAP	27	Female	not relevant	2	married
17	Stepanyan Tigran Vachik	yes	yes	PAP	57	Male	no info	4	married
18	Vardanyan Vardan Nahapet	yes	yes	PAP	63	Male	no info	3	married
19	Madatyan Hrant Robert	yes	yes	PAP	54	Male	soviet army;took part in war	6	married
20	Poghosyan Karine Hamlet	yes	yes	no party	45	Female	not relevant	2	married
21	Aghababyan Arayik Razmik	yes	yes	PAP	56	Male	took part in war	1	married
22	Soghomonyan Soghomon Seryoja	yes	yes	PAP	58	Male	position in army;soviet army	3	married
23	Dallaqyan Volodya Avetiq	no	no	PAP	34	Male	-	-	-
24	Khachatryan Marina Kolya	no	no	no party	37	Female	not relevant	-	-
25	Nazaryan Hakob Ashot	yes	no	PAP	39	Male	no info	3	married
26	Mnatsakanyan Grisha Jorik	no	no	PAP	47	Male	-	-	-
27	Babajanyan Varujan Sargis	no	no	no party	34	Male	-	-	-
28	Gyulinyan Venera Artavazd	no	no	PAP	56	Female	not relevant	-	-
29	Gevorgyan Kajik Nahapet	yes	yes	no party	25	Male	no info	0	single
30	Zohrabyan Zohrab Senik	no	no	PAP	48	Male	-	-	-

Table 13: 2018 CV database_experience

# in candidate list	academic degree	management (years)	management (#)	NA membership
1	no	18	6	15
2	yes	6	4	6
3	no	24	8	0
4	no	0	0	11
5	no	6	5	6
6	no	4	2	0
7	yes	19	6	9
8	no	7	3	1
9	yes	10	7	1
10	no	30	8	1
11	no	0	0	1
12	no	2	1	1
13	no	2	2	0
14	yes	23	6	4
15	no	28	5	1
16	no	0	0	1
17	no	11	2	11
18	yes	35	9	0
19	no	20	6	6
20	no	8	2	6
21	no	12	7	6
22	no	30	5	0
23	-	-	-	-
24	-	-	-	-
25	yes	14	4	1
26	-	-	-	-
27	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-
29	no	0	0	0
30	-	-	-	-

Table 14: 2018 CV database_university

# in candidate list	University
1	ASIPCS
2	ASUE
3	YSU
4	Yerevan Fine Arts & Theatre Instutute
5	terminated education in Brusov, Yerevan University of Management and Development of Education
6	Open University of Armenia (didn't graduate)
7	Business School Yerevan, Haybusak, Institute of Economics after M. Kotanyan
8	YSU
9	YSU
10	YSU, YELU, Academy of State Administration of the RA
11	YSU
12	ASEU
13	SEUA, YSU
14	Leninakan M. Nalbandian State Pedagogical Institute, Leningrad Lesgaft National State Institute of Physical Culture
15	the Kirovakan Trade and Economic College, Shirak University of Economics and Management, Gyumri M. Nalbandian State Pedagogical Institute
16	YSU
17	Armenian Agricultural Academy (currently ANAU)
18	ANAU
19	ANAU
20	ASPU
21	ASPU
22	Yerevan Veterinary-Cattle-breeding Institute
23	-
24	-
25	YSU, NAS, Haybusak
26	-
27	-
28	-
29	YSU
30	-

Table 15: 2018 CV database_profession & courses abroad

# in candidate list	profession	courses abroad
1	teacher of PHED & wrestling	no
2	economist	yes
3	lawyer	no
4	theatrical expert, journalist	yes
5	linguist, lawyer	yes
6	unknown	yes
7	economist	yes
8	journalist	no
9	lawyer	no
10	geological engineer, lawyer, State administration and local self-government specialist	no
11	politician	no
12	radio communications, broadcasting & TV specialist	no
13	computer systems, international relations	no
14	teacher of PHED	no
15	economist, teacher of history & law	no
16	linguist, cross-cultural communications, international affairs	yes
17	agronomist	no
18	economic sciences	no
19	agronomist	no
20	physicist, teacher	no
21	teacher	no
22	Engineer-technologist	no
23	-	-
24	-	-
25	theology, history, international affairs	no
26	-	-
27	-	-
28	-	-
29	economist	no
30	-	-

Table 16: 2018 CV database_birthplace

# in candidate list	Marz	village/city/town
1	Kotayk	village
2	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
3	Kotayk	village
4	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
5	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
6	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
7	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
8	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
9	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
10	Vayots Dzor	village
11	abroad	city abroad
12	Kotayk	town
13	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
14	Shirak	town
15	Shirak	town
16	Aragatsotn	town
17	Ararat	village
18	Yerevan	city/Yerevan
19	Gegharkunik	village
20	Ararat	village
21	Armavir	town
22	Gegharkunik	village
23	-	-
24	-	-
25	Gegharkunik	village
26	-	-
27	-	-
28	-	-
29	Armavir	town
30	-	-

Here are better visualizations of the CV analysis data.

Figure 3: CV analysis_have the CV & elected
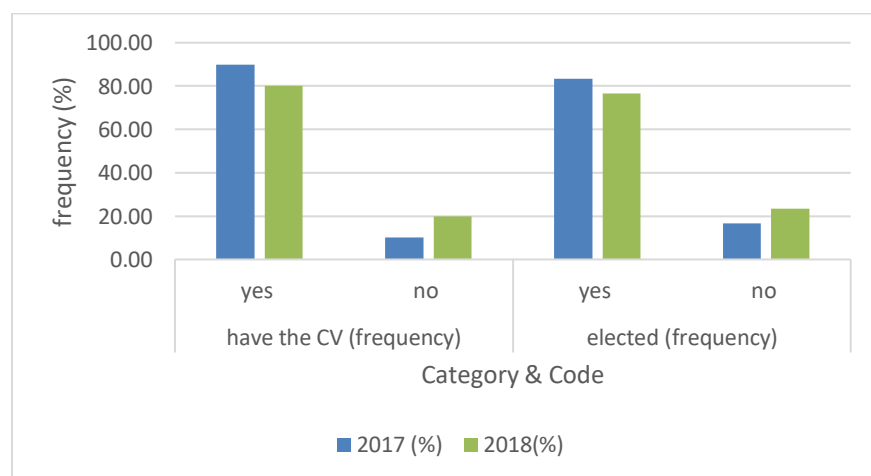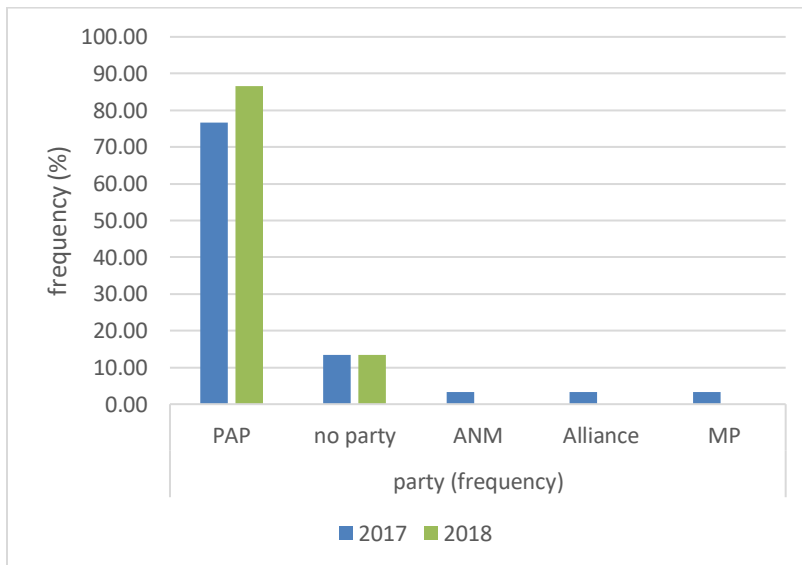
Figure 4: CV analysis_gender
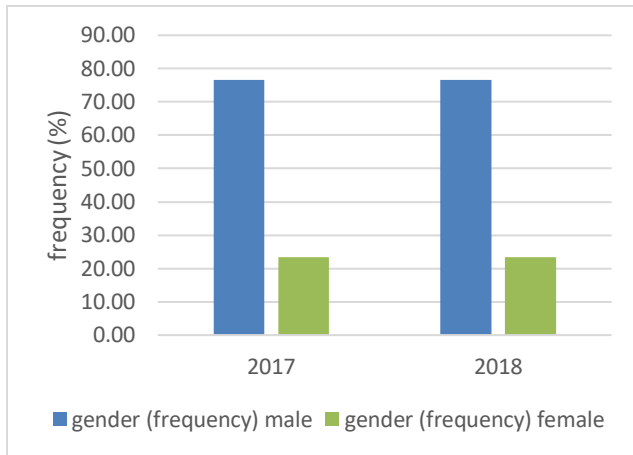
Figure 5: CV analysis_party
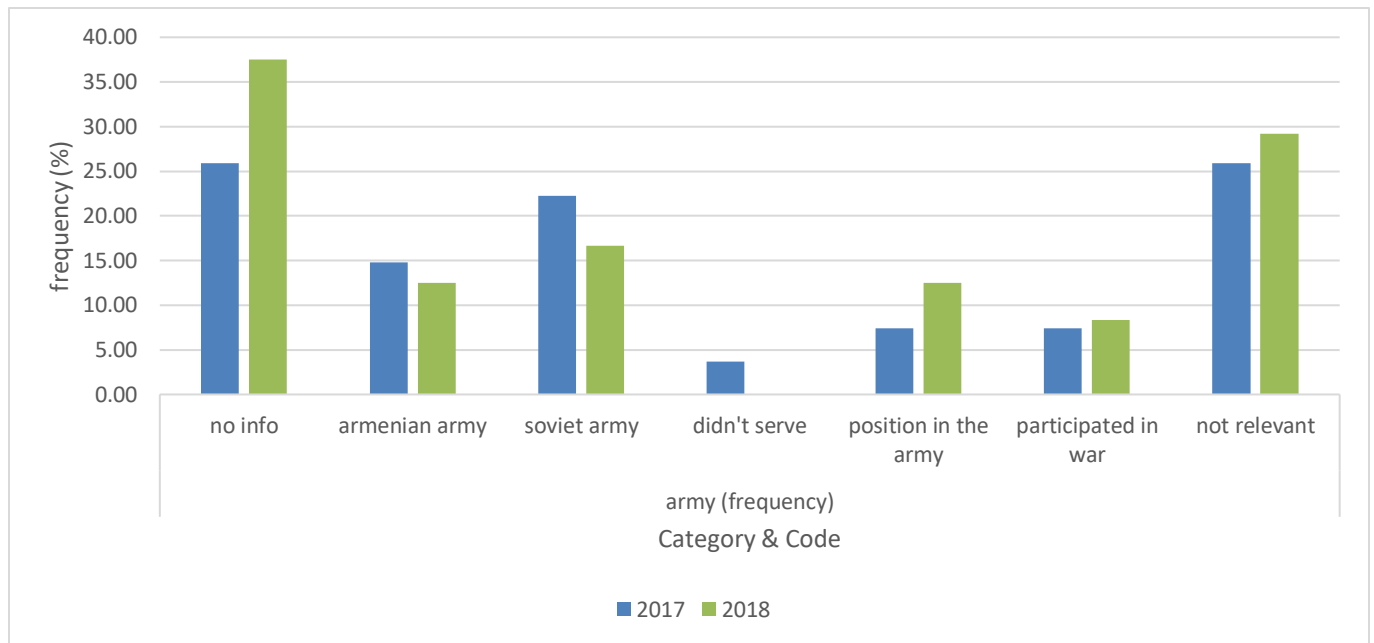
Figure 6: CV analysis_army
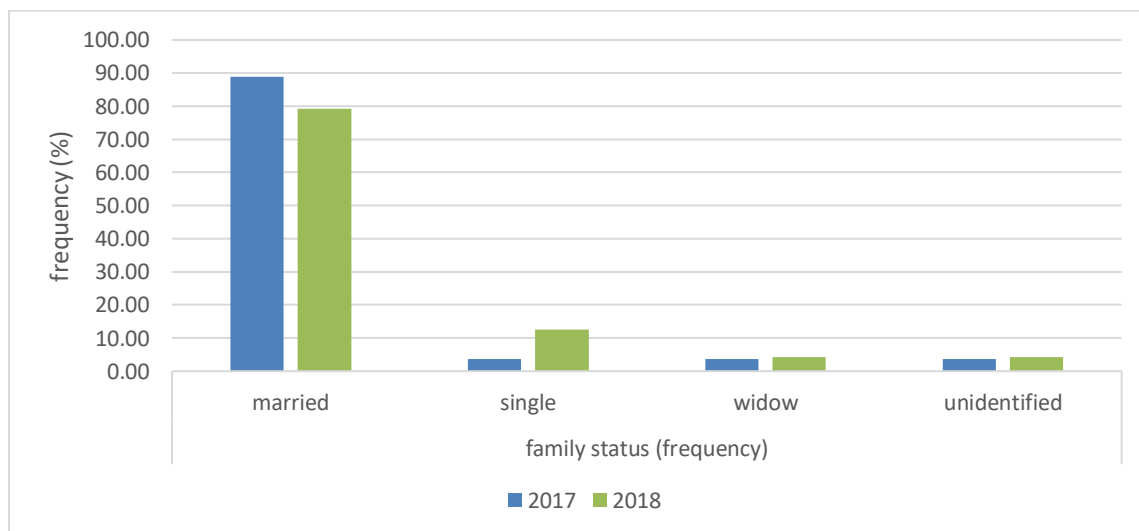

Figure 7: CV analysis_family status

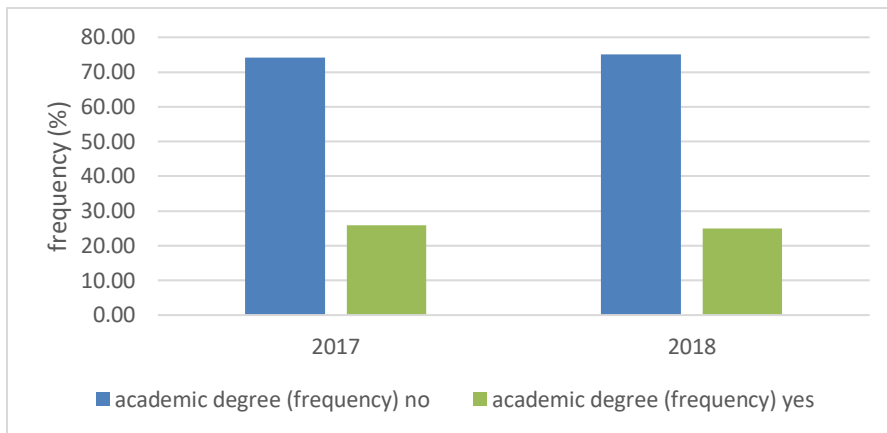*Figure 8: CV analysis_academic degree*
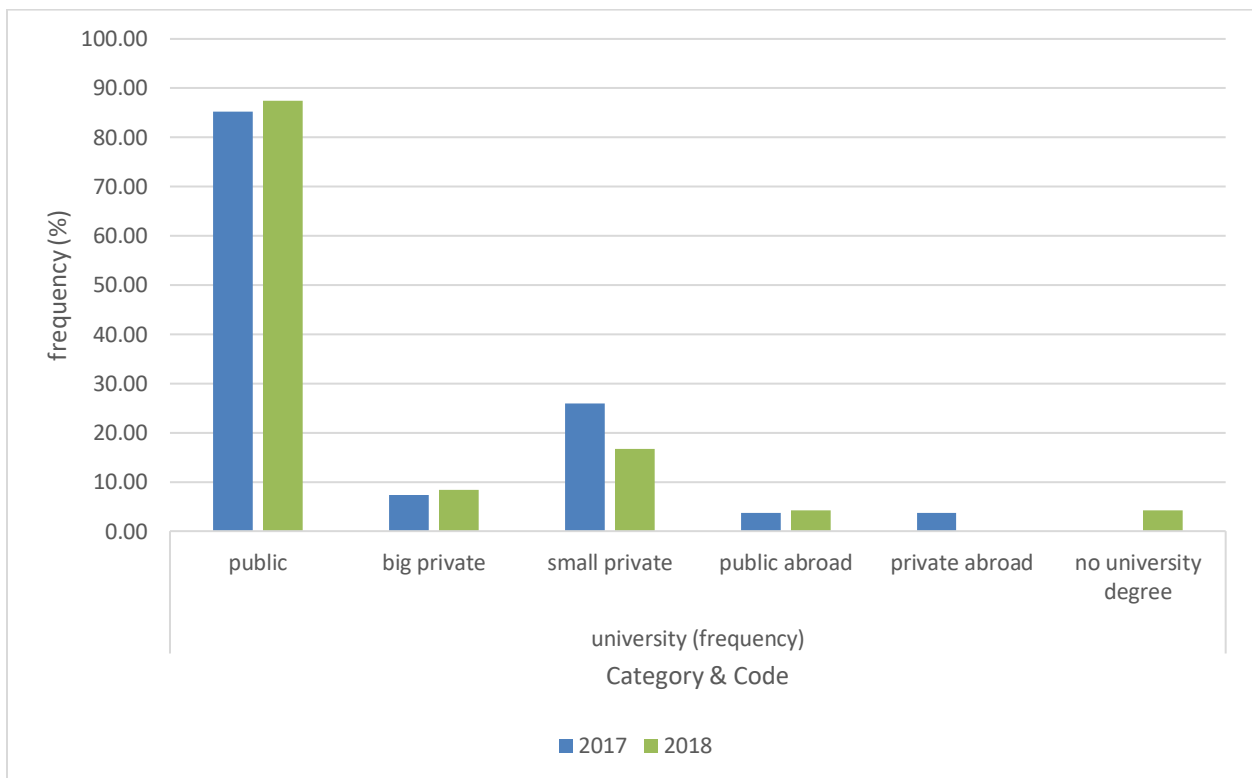

Figure 9: CV analysis_university

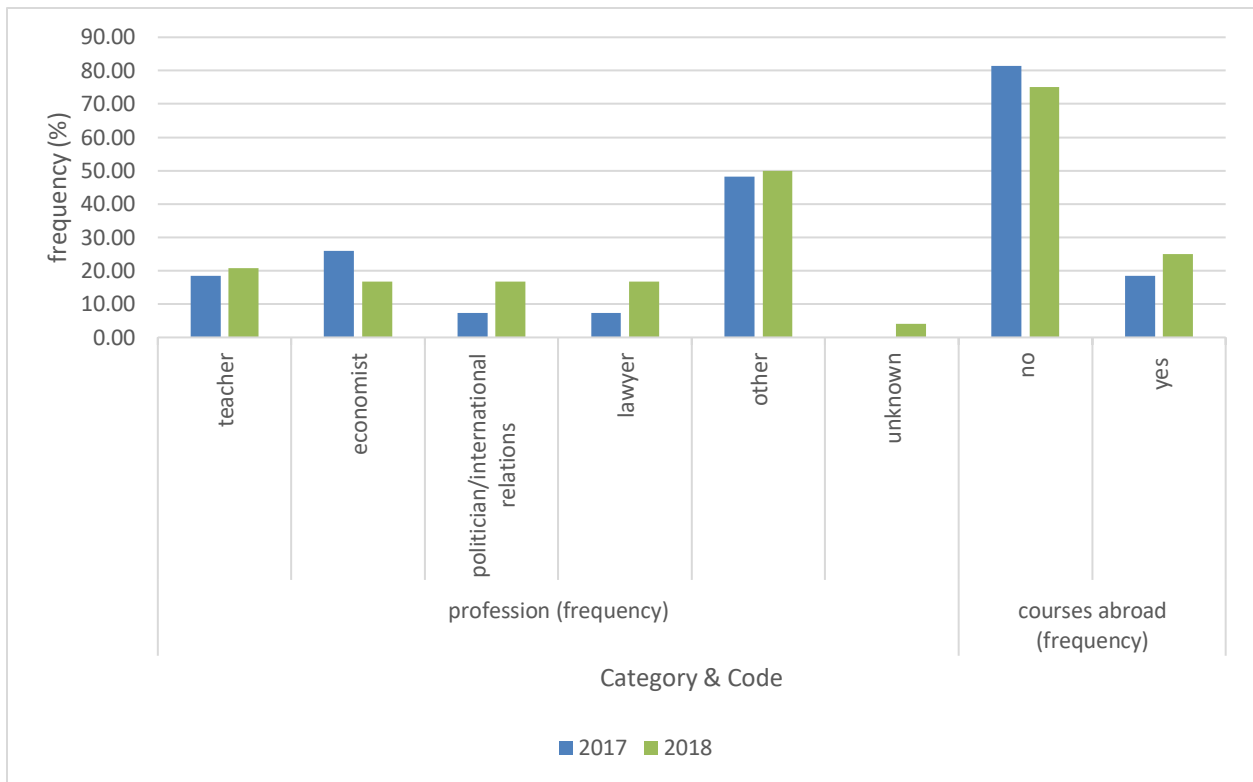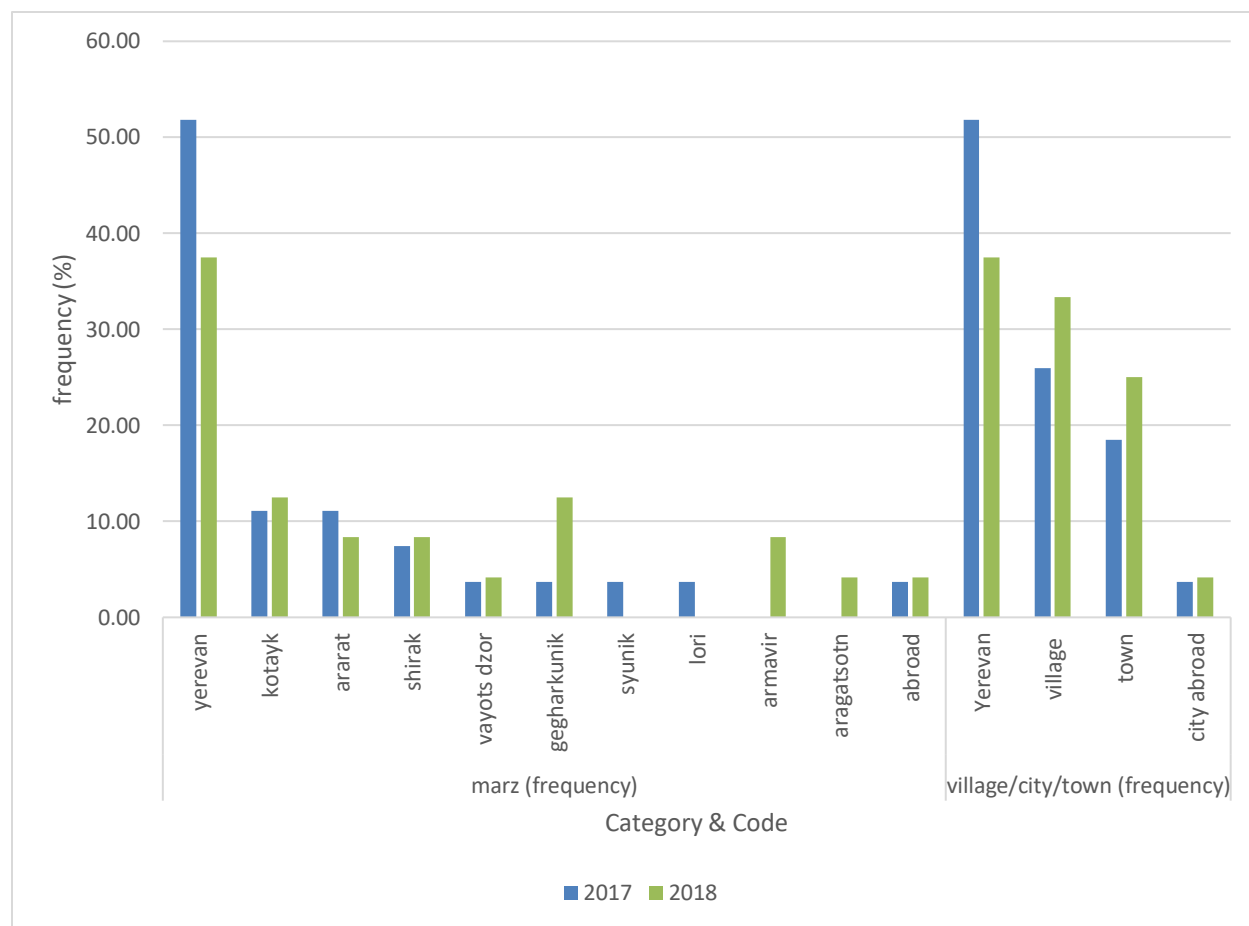*Figure 10: CV analysis_profession & courses abroad*

Figure 11: CV analysis_birthplace
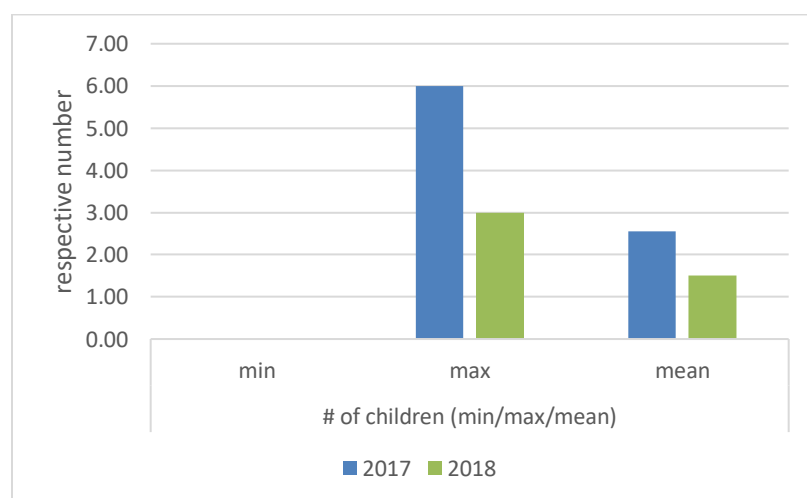

Figure 12: CV analysis_number of children

Figure 13: CV analysis_age
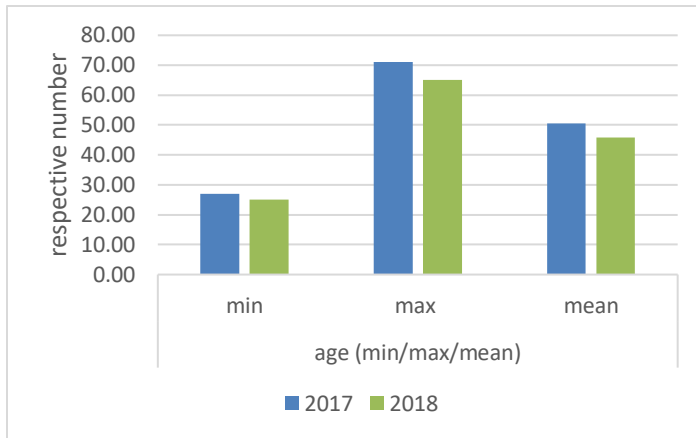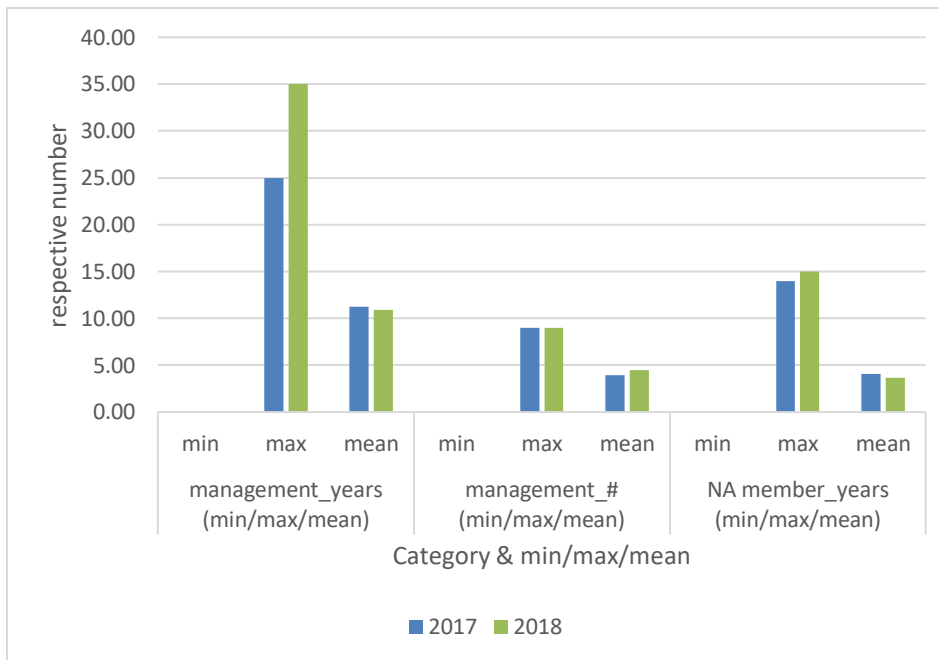

Figure 14: CV analysis_work experience

Appendix B

The data that is coded (Links)

Campaign Plan 2017: http://www.bhk.am/hy/news/«ծառուլյան»-դաշինքի-15-առաջնահերթ-

բայլերը-տեսանյութ

Campaign Plan 2018: http://bhk.am/sites/default/files/documents/BHK naxntrakan tsragir.pdf

Candidate CVs 2017:

http://parliament.am/deputies.php?lang=arm&sel=full&ord=alpha&show_session=6

Manuk Sukiasyan CV:

https://www.facebook.com/pg/manuksukiasyan.official/about/?ref=page_internal

Samvel Adamyan CV:

https://yerevan59.schoolsite.am/%D5%BF%D5%B6%D6%85%D6%80%D5%A5%D5%B6/

Vardan Bostanjyan CV: http://ysu.am/science/hy/Vardan-Bostanjyan

Candidate CVs 2018:

http://parliament.am/deputies.php?lang=arm&sel=full&ord=alpha&show_session=7

Media Coverage

2017

Kentron TV:

https://www.kentron.tv/programs/informational-political/epiketron/12975.html

https://www.kentron.tv/programs/informational-political/epiketron/13066.html

https://www.kentron.tv/programs/informational-political/epiketron/13179.html

Public Armenia TV:

http://news.1tv.am/hy/2017/03/30/%D4%BE%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%AF%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6-%D5%A4%D5%A1%D5%B7%D5%AB%D5%B6%D6%84%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4-%D5%B9%D5%A5%D5%B6-%D5%A2%D5%A1%D6%81%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4-%D4%BE%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%AF%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%AB-%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%A1%D5%BB%D5%A1%D5%A4%D6%80%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4%D5%A8-%D5%BE%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%B9%D5%A1%D5%BA%D5%A5%D5%BF%D5%AB-%D5%BA%D5%A1%D5%B7%D5%BF%D5%B8%D5%B6%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4/55224

http://news.1tv.am/hy/2017/03/16/%D4%BE%D5%A1%D5%BC%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%AF%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%AB-%D5%AD%D5%B8%D5%BD%D6%84%D5%B8%D5%BE-%D5%A4%D5%A1%D5%B7%D5%AB%D5%B6%D6%84%D5%AB-%D5%AE%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%A3%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%B5%D5%AB%D5%B6-15-%D5%AF%D5%A5%D5%BF%D5%A5%D6%80%D5%B6-%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%B1%D5%A1%D5%B4%D5%A2-%D5%A7-%D5%A3%D6%80%D5%A5%D5%AC/53709

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%D5%AC%D5%B8%D5%BC%D5%A5%D6%81%D5%AB%D5%B6%D5%A5%D6%80%D5%AB-
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https://www.youtube.com/user/bargavach

Appendix C
Coding guidelines

CVs

Table 17: CV_description of the categories

category	what the category is about
# in candidate list	the number of the candidate in the candidate list
full name	full name of the candidate
have the CV	whether the candidate's up-to-date CV was found or not
elected	whether the candidate was elected or not
party	what party the candidate belongs to
age	the age of the candidate
gender	the gender of the candidate
army	whether the candidate served in Soviet or Armenian army or not; whether army service is relevant for the candidate or not
# of children	how many children the candidate has
family status	whether the candidate is married, single, divorced, or widowed
academic degree	whether the candidate has any academic degrees
Work experience	
management (years)	how many years of management experience the candidate had previously
management (#)	how many management jobs the candidate had previously
NA member (years)	how many years of experience the candidate had previously as a member of the National Assembly
Education	
university	what university/universities the candidate studied in

profession	what profession(s) the candidate has
courses abroad	whether the person participated in any trainings/courses abroad or not if yes, then in what countries
Birthplace	
marz	what marz the candidate was born in
village/city/town	whether the candidate was born in a village, city, or town

Table 18: CV_what is included in each category

category	what's included
# in candidate list	self-explanatory
full name	name, surname, father's name
have the CV	self-explanatory
elected	self-explanatory
party	the acronyms of the party names
age	self-explanatory
gender	self-explanatory
army	service in the Soviet Army, service in the Armenian Army, having a certain military position, having participated in war (Artsakh liberation or the four-day April war), not having served at all, no information available in the CV, the service being irrelevant for the candidate (I considered the army service irrelevant for females, because it is not mandatory for them)
# of children	self-explanatory
family status	self-explanatory
academic degree	the candidate either has an academic degree or no, there is no division between the types of academic degrees
Work experience	
management (years)	the number of years the candidates had management jobs (overlapping & repeating years are counted only once)
management (#)	the number of the management jobs the candidate had before the elections of the respective year; in management jobs I included only: directors, ministers, heads, chief positions, deans, university presidents, founders, chief engineers, businessmen
NA member (years)	number of the years that the candidate was a NA member

Education	
university	only formal education institutions (including abroad), informal courses/trainings/seminars abroad are not included
profession	self-explanatory
courses abroad	courses/training/seminars abroad, no formal education abroad is included
Birthplace	
marz	the respective marz names
village/city/town	the respective region unit name of the birthplace; in Armenia only Yerevan is considered a city; if the region is not defined as a *village* in the CV, and the region is not Yerevan either, it's considered a town

Table 19: CV_codes & what they stand for

category	codes used in the category	what the specific code stands for
# in candidate list	numbers 1-30	each number represents the respective number of the candidate in the list
full name	no codes	-
have the CV	yes	self-explanatory
	no	self-explanatory
elected	yes	the candidate ended up in the NA
	no	the candidate didn't end up in the NA
party	PAP	the candidate is from the Prosperous Armenia Party
	no party	the candidate is doesn't belong to any party
	ANM	the candidate is from Armenian National Movement
	Alliance	the candidate is from Alliance
	MP	the candidate is from the Mission Party
age	Respective numbers	each number represents the respective age of the candidate in the list
gender	male	the candidate is male
	female	the candidate is female
army	no info	the candidate is male, and there is no info about his military service in his CV
	armenian army	the candidate is male & served in the Armenian army
	soviet army	the candidate is male & served in the Soviet Army
	didn't serve	the candidate is male & didn't serve
	position in the army	the candidate is male & has a military position
	participated in war	the candidate is male & participated in either in the Artsakh liberation war, the four-day April war, or both
	not relevant	the candidate is female and military service is not mandatory for her

# of children	the respective number of children	self-explanatory
family status	married	the candidate is married
	single	the candidate is single
	widow	the candidate is a widow
	unidentified	family status is not provided in the CV
academic degree	no	the candidate has no academic degree
	yes	the candidate has academic degree
management (years)	the respective number of years	the number of years the candidate had a management job before the respective election
management (#)	the respective number of jobs	the number of management jobs the candidate had before the respective election
NA member	the respective number of years	the number of years the candidate was a NA member before the respective election
university	public	the candidate graduated from a public university in Armenia
	big private	the candidate graduated from a big private university in Armenia
	small private	the candidate graduated from a small private university in Armenia
	public abroad	the candidate graduated from a public university abroad
	private abroad	the candidate graduated from a private university abroad
	no university degree	the candidate doesn't have a diploma
profession	teacher	the candidate is a teacher
	economist	the candidate is an economist
	politician/international relations	the candidate is a political scientist
	lawyer	the candidate is a lawyer
	other	the candidate's profession is none of the above
	unknown	the candidate's profession is unknown
courses abroad	no	the candidate didn't have any courses/trainings/seminars abroad
	yes	the candidate had on or more courses/trainings/seminars abroad
marz	yerevan	the candidate was born in Yerevan
	kotayk	the candidate was born in Kotayk
	ararat	the candidate was born in Ararat
	shirak	the candidate was born in Shirak
	vayots dzor	the candidate was born in Vayots Dzor
	gegharkunik	the candidate was born in Gegharkunik
	syunik	the candidate was born in Syunik
	lori	the candidate was born in Lori
	armavir	the candidate was born in Armavir
	aragatsotn	the candidate was born in Aragatsotn

	abroad	the candidate was born abroad
	Yerevan	the candidate was born in Yerevan, Armenia
	village	the candidate was born in a village
village/city/town	town	the candidate was born in a town (whether Armenia or abroad)
	city abroad	the candidate was born in a city abroad

Campaign Plans

Table 20: Campaign Plan_condensed units & the respective codes 2017

2017	
condensed unit	**code**
increase the pensions	pensions/wages
increase lowest wage	pensions/wages
get the SMEs free of taxes	taxes/interest rates
no taxes for businesses with up to 30mln income	taxes/interest rates
tax amnesty towards businesses who didn't pay their taxes	taxes/interest rates
support agriculture: loan interest ceiling	taxes/interest rates
get rid of speedometers & red lights	other
stop the pension fund system: give the money back to people & increase pensions	pensions
decrease the price for gas	price
decrease the price for electricity	price
customs system improvement	other
decrease irrigation water price	price
health system – provide insurance for certain group of people	sector (health)
tuition fees for students, provide long-term student loans	taxes/interest rates
Improve the utilization fees in the mining sector	taxes/interest rates

Table 21: Campaign Plan_condensed units & the respective codes 2018

2018	
condensed unit	**code**
increase lowest wage	pensions/wages
no taxes for businesses with up to 30mln income	taxes/interest rates, business
no monopolies, more competition	business
security system for investments	investment
decrease taxes for businesses(importers)	taxes/interest rates, business

less taxes in import for new tech	taxes/interest rates
safe environment for investments	investment
smart tech towns	tech
get back the money from private companies who didn't perform their contract responsibilities; this is to attract new investors	business, investment
continue traditional sectors in the country and focus on using modern tech	Tech, sector
make the loan system for villagers lighter, this will stop future emigration	taxes/interest rates
make the loan system lighter for the businesses	taxes/interest rates
for official budget purchases, prefer local producers over foreign ones	business
attract investments by improving relationships (signing contracts) with foreign financial institutions (especially Eurasian Economic Union)	investment
support export (especially to Arabic countries: fruits, veggies, meat)	business
get rid of speedometers & red lights	other
decrease the price for gas	price
decrease the price for electricity	price
good hotel infrastructures for improving tourism	sector
decrease irrigation water price	price
health system - remove shadow industry through certificates	health
living houses in Gyumri	social
investments for new jobs in Gyumri should be free of taxes	investment, taxes/interest rates
tuition fees for students, provide long-term student loans	taxes/interest rates
university entering exam system should be changed, to not accept low-quality students	sector (education)
government should do social housing construction programs for young families	social
take care for single-mothers, & mothers with many children	social
increase the finances given for the birth of 2nd, 3rd, etc. children	social
remove off-budget funds (արտաբյուջետային ֆոնդ)	other
invest in improving sports organizations	sector (sport)
repatriation: provide free land-areas for building house, if needed, provide cheap loans too	taxes/interest rates
review the politics towards the disabled	social
develop a transparent court system	sector (court)
increase the number of contractual servicemen, so that 18-year-old don't serve on the border	military
5% of government expenses should be towards the development of the military industry	military
NKR final goal: get NKR internationally recognized	foreign affairs
increase trade between the RA and NKR	foreign affairs
include NKR in the development of peaceful solution towards the problem	foreign affairs
continue working towards international recognition of the Armenian Genocide	foreign affairs
increase the support for the development of the borderline regions (through social & infrastructural development projects)	other
continue developing the Armenian-Russian military alliance	foreign affairs

be included in Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Eurasian Economic Union, Collective Security Treaty Organization	foreign affairs
continue to work towards integration with the EU	foreign affairs
natural development of the Armenian-Turkish relations with no preconditions	foreign affairs
review region enlargement processes & make changes if they harm the regions in any way	other
increase the resources meant for the restoration of cultural & historic monuments	sector (culture)

I agree to post my work on AUA AGBU library database.