

Nikol Pashinyan's Use of Social Media and its Influence
on the Armenian People

by

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Abstract

The study aims to better understand the communication process of Prime Minister of Armenia, Nikol Pashinyan through the use of Facebook. It examines a selected number of his Facebook status reports posted from January to April of 2020. Facebook status reports that are short updates, texts that give information to the public without carrying other content, such as photos and videos and allow interaction with the public by giving space to comment and start discussions. In the framework of the study, the status reports were analyzed through applying the traditional Aristotelian rhetorical criticism to understand the indirect messages and motivations behind posting each of the texts. A selected number of comments written in response to the Facebook status reports were analyzed to better understand the reaction of the Armenian people. The study found an extensive presence of the three modes of persuasion in each of the succinctly written and rather short status reports of Pashinyan. Another key significant finding is that there is a growing number of people in recent times who are not in favor of his actions and are expressing their views, primarily in the form of criticism. The study concluded that his social media page is based on the one-way-communication model that is used to persuade the public and convince that he is a trustworthy leader.

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Introduction

Social media is increasingly having a unique influence on how the political landscape functions in the world. It is a quite different arena that differs in many ways from traditional media outlets. Politicians are relying upon social media platforms, for instance, Facebook, for fulfilling different objectives. Facebook is a multi-faceted tool that is quite beneficial for politicians from many aspects, including gaining the trust of the public, and it also giving space for direct communication (Svensson, 2011). Initially, the importance of utilizing different social media platforms in politics became more evident when Barack Obama, former President of the United States, best utilized the online platforms for reaching his political goals (Kazemian, B. and Hashemi, S., 2014). Another turning point was the pivotal role of such online communication channels during the Arab Spring, which was largely a result of the online mobilization of protesters (Karolak, 2013). As in several other countries, in Armenia as well the presence and the influence of social media in politics are growing day by day. Given the advancement of technologies, there is an increasing number of Armenian politicians are considering it an essential media tool for establishing contact with Armenians both in Armenia and in the diaspora (Melikian, 2019).

One of the most notable Armenian politicians on social media who is quite active amongst the Armenian politicians and has the most followers is Nikol Pashinyan. He has been serving as the Prime Minister of the country since May 8, 2018, when he won the votes of the parliamentarians. Nikol Pashinyan has been actively present in the political arena of Armenia since its independence in 1991 (Odabashian, Manoukian & Witman, 2018). His increased use of social media not only attracted not only the interest of Armenians but it also started attracting international foreign attention (Demytrie, 2018). Currently, he is in the stage when the people are

actively seeking the results of his actions. In other words, he is in a trial period where he needs to prove the effectiveness of the governmental policies that he is leading as the expectations of the Armenian people is quite high after all these years following the oligarchic regimes (MacFarquhar, 2018).

This study aims to better understand the communication of Nikol Pashinyan in the social media platform of Facebook and whether or not he is succeeding in that regard. Facebook was chosen, as compared to other social media platforms, he has the largest number of followers on Facebook. He also posts more on Facebook and is relatively more active there. To better understand his motives, a rhetorical criticism is conducted to find the indirect messages of his social media content and examine his motives, particularly through analyzing his rhetoric and language.

Rhetorical criticism is one of the four major approaches to textual analysis. It is a systematic way that assists with describing, examining, interpreting, and assessing persuasion in a given text. There are different methods of applying rhetorical criticism. A primary one is the traditional Rhetorical Criticism, also known as the neo-Aristotelian criticism. Traditional Rhetorical Criticism examines a given artifact concentrating per its logical, motivational, and ethical elements, namely through the three modes of Aristotelian persuasion that are logos, pathos, and ethos (Enos, 2006). First, logos is about gaining the trust of a given target audience by bringing evidence in different forms, such as facts and statistics (Yarbrough, 2005). Second, pathos is about winning the hearts of the given target audience by using a variety of emotional and motivational appeals in the message. Finally, ethos is about gaining personal credibility from the target audience by establishing authority or by having appealing moral values (Yarbrough, 2005). Furthermore, within the framework of this method, other critical elements concerning the

artifact, such as tone, audience, organization, delivery, structure, and use of language, are also taken into consideration. Overall, this approach aims to understand the methodology underlying the message construction of a persuasive text and its effect on the audience (Enos, 2006).

Politicians are having a direct influence on the Armenian people whether they realize it or not. However, it seems that the majority of Armenians still are not fully aware of the power this state-of-the-art tool particularly in terms of politics as it is not much studied or discussed among the Armenian public. Therefore, it is critical to know the underlying incentives, motivations, and reasons for the Armenian politicians growing use of social media and the impact that it is having on the public opinion.

Until now very few large-scale research has been conducted on the Armenian politicians' use of social media given that the dependence of politicians on social media is a new phenomenon for Armenians. This research project may serve as another starting point for other researchers in the field who might also become interested particularly in Armenian politicians' use of social media and how it might differ from the use of politicians of other countries.

Background

Armenia, a landlocked country, has both political advantages and disadvantages. For sentence, it has a large diaspora living outside of Armenia that help the country in many aspects and contributes to enhancing partnerships with countries and organizations outside of Armenia. However, after regaining its independence from the Soviet Union, in 1991, the country became a victim of the ruling oligarchic system of government for almost twenty-five years (Odabashian, Manoukian & Witman, 2018). The Armenian people were desperate from the difficult economic and social conditions of the country. Moreover, the long-standing turbulent relations with its two

neighbors, Turkey and Azerbaijan, has made it difficult for Armenia to develop from many aspects.

In April 2018, an unprecedented peaceful revolution took place in Armenia, the elader of which was Nikol Pashinyan who was a member of the parliament at the time and a long-time opposition activist (Odabashian, Manoukian & Witman, 2018). Through mobilizing the people through his social media channels, Pashinyan succeeded in organizing a peaceful revolution that aimed at falling down the widely disliked oligarchic regime of Armenia that was led by former President Serzh Sargsyan (MacFarquhar, 2018). Pashinyan, who was at the time of independence, was an ally of the former President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, was an active oppositionist who did not enjoy much widespread support. However, the success of the Velvet Revolution turned the course in favor of him as he helped the people in achieving the impossible, namely the collapse of the ruling oligarchy (MacFarquhar, 2018). He was granted the position of Prime Minister of Armenia right after the resignation of Serzh Sargsyan in April 2018. He formed his government with the promise of making transparent decisions resulting in the betterment of the Armenian people and the country. He also promised to return the stolen resources, primarily financial from the government to the people by forcefully taking it from the oligarchs (Demytrie, 2018). The Armenian people in the past two years have quite high expectations from him and his government and are waiting for reforms and improvements in the country and its political system (MacFarquhar, 2018). It is also important to note that his alliance, known as 'My Step' has the highest number of seats in the parliament currently, and is considered the leading one (France24, 2018).

He is one of the most active Armenian politicians on Facebook and posts a large number of posts on his page daily. He not only posts different types of content such as photos, videos and

Facebook status reports but also uses livestreaming. His social media activities range from informing the Armenian people about the day-to-day actions of the government to telling about his visits and showcasing his facilities (Odabashian, Manoukian & Witman, 2018). It is meaningful to examine this communication process of Pashinyan through Facebook as it is important and quite stimulating to understand his motivations and objectives behind the heavy use of Facebook as well as the influence he is having on the public in this regard.

Literature Review

There were only a few systematic scholarly studies found on the social media use of Armenian politicians, particularly the use of social media of Nikol Pashinyan. However, there is extensive existing literature on the use of social media of foreign politicians. Furthermore, such studies that are listed below served as sources that helped develop the initial framework of the study.

Gaining the trust of the people is an important element when it comes to politicians and their actions. In their study of the establishment of political trust through different media platforms Gunn Enli and Linda Therese Rosenberg, Gunn Enli and Linda Therese Rosenberg discuss the link between both media and political trust and how social media with its advantages and power is replacing traditional mainstream media channels as it is proving itself as a more effective tool for politicians to build trust (2018). They further examine on the bases of what people evaluate politicians to be genuine, trustworthy, and answer the question of which communication platforms people see politicians honest and authentic. A key finding of their study is that people perceive politicians to be more authentic in social media platforms or opinion pieces (G. Enli & L. and Th. Rosenberg., 2018). This is critical in analyzing the social media account of a politician as honesty is a primary trick that politicians use to win the hearts of the people, and it

is the case in the post Velvet revolution Armenia as well. Another finding of theirs is that populist leaders prove to be more authentic, particularly on their social media pages (G. Enli & L. and Th. Rosenberg., 2018). This finding is again quite relevant to the research as being part of the people, and their desires and concerns are a primary philosophy that Armenian politicians are following. Another finding of their study is that young voters, who are suspicious of politicians and their actions, have a more positive and trustful view towards the utilization of social media by politicians (G. Enli & L. and Th. Rosenberg., 2018). However, this finding is limited in its application to the current study as many of the active followers of Armenian politicians are not the youth exclusively.

Jacob Svensson, in his work, touches upon another important angle of political communication, which is how politicians use social media for deliberative democracy, particularly through their social media pages. It is important to consider the application of deliberative democracy in the study as well because social media gives space for critical discussions, especially in its comments section, and this is a feature that most Armenians use by giving critical comments to one another, opening discussions, and so forth. The study further suggests that politicians prefer social networking sites more than traditional media, as according to his findings, social media gives politicians more space for influencing the people compared to traditional media (Svensson, 2011). Indeed, social media gives politicians a unique opportunity to directly communicate with their constituencies, and, in turn, to better influence their opinions and actions. The author points out that politicians not only use the internet to gain more votes or for better communication with their constituency but also “to better express themselves and negotiate their political personas” (Svensson, 2011). This is yet another important point that needs to be considered in the research as Armenian politicians are heavily emphasizing their

character and public image for attracting the people, namely through the Aristotelian ethos and are influencing their thoughts, and that is particularly expressed in their use of social media.

Social media platforms play a significant role in shaping public opinion and encouraging political participation. In their study, Sounman Hong and Daniel Nadler, discuss how social media influence public opinion and active political participation by citizens (2011). The focus of their study is on how American politicians utilize social media platforms for their advantages, specifically Twitter and, in turn, how social media platforms help politicians in generating public support. The authors also discuss the dependence of politicians on social media channels (Hong, S., & Nadler, D., 2011). When discussing their impact on politics, the authors bring concise summaries of similar previous studies and their findings, and in that regard, this article serves as a reliable reference for the research (Hong, S., & Nadler, D., 2011). Considering the influence of social media in terms of shaping public opinion is significant as public opinion shapes the political discourse of the country. Furthermore, public opinion is a quite abstract concept and therefore measuring it for any purpose is a quite challenging task.

Echo chambers, also known as political bubbles, are instrumental in shaping public opinion. However, oftentimes, they only result in negative consequences, such as in the emergence of political polarization or extremism as they reaffirm the biased views of the people many of whom unconsciously appear in those chambers. In other words, they discourage people from looking at different sources of information and constructing their healthy opinions accordingly. In their systematic study of the connection between social media and the emergence of echo chambers, Gregory Eady, along with several scholars, discuss and provide a thorough analysis of how social media contributes greatly to the creation of such chambers, namely absorbing and sharing facts that matches only with the ideologies of the readers (Eady, G., Nagler, J., Guess,

A.L., Zilinsky, J., & Tucker, J.A., 2019). Their analysis not only incorporates important findings of previous studies but is also based on an innovative approach. They conclude that there is no “evidence supporting a strong characterization of “echo chambers” in which the majority of people’s sources of news are mutually exclusive and from opposite poles” (p. 18). Nevertheless, in any case, it is important to consider the possible negative outcomes of an action before it is too late as the authors also point out.

Social media platforms have a unique feature that facilitates the process of sending tailored messages to their target audiences, through the medium they assist in creating, for instance. This is especially important for politicians as politicians need to enhance the number of their constituencies or mobilize their existing supporters. Sebastian Stier, in his study, along with other scholars, try to understand how politicians construct tailored messages, which match the peculiarities of different social media platforms. They emphasize that social media an interactive channel of communication helps politicians convey tailored messages that match the preferences of the public they are concerned with (S. Stier. A. Bleier. H. Lietz & M. Strohmaier., 2018). Parallels can be drawn in the research between this important function of social media platforms and the previous article on the emergence of echo chambers on social media as this function greatly contributes to the creation of political bubbles. Based on their study, the authors conclude that “politicians use Facebook and Twitter for different purposes”, which implies that they use differently constructed messages for different platforms (2018). This is an important distinction that needs to be considered when analyzing the messages of any Armenian politician as well.

In their study of the speeches of Barack Obama, Bahram Kazemian and Somayyeh Hashemi, examine persuasive devices used in his language and rhetoric through a Systemic Functional Linguistics and conducting a discourse analysis of his prominent 2012 speeches and

try to arrive at an understanding of how power is conveyed through language and rhetoric (2014). They come to the conclusion that the speeches of Obama are prepared by a skillful orator who has written a tailored and carefully crafted speeches that are well-planned and include a variety of rhetorical techniques and strategies that are utilized throughout the speeches (Kazemian B. and Hashemi S. 2014). The scholars continue their discussion by stating that (2014):

The tendency and priority to apply more nominalization, passivization and modal verbs by the political orator in Mr. Obama's speeches are the vital reasons for making his language powerful, impressive, persuasive and ambiguous as well.

Such finding suggests the importance of distinguishing deliberate and unintentional political messages from one another.

Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

A rhetorical criticism of a selected number of the Facebook status reports of Nikol Pashinyan based on the traditional Aristotelian method was conducted. The analyzed artifacts were directly taken from the Facebook page of the Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan. The chosen status reports do not have a complementary photo or other visual or audio content and were all written in first person, namely, by Pashinyan himself. The main research question of the project is the following:

What does Nikol Pashinyan want to achieve with his use of social media, particularly Facebook?

The goal of this main question is to understand what the present-day Prime Minister of Armenia, Nikol Pashinyan, is striving to achieve through his use of social media, specifically

Facebook. To understand the incentives and reasons behind his use of social media a selected number of his Facebook status reports from January to April of 2020 were analyzed rhetorically. In terms of using logos, the use of facts and statistics were examined. In terms of ethos, the use of the three classes of ethos that are eunio, phrotesis, and arête were examined respectively. Finally, in terms of pathos, the use of emotional appeals are considered. To summarize the results, the frequency of occurrence of each of the rhetorical components were counted each in its own category. To answer the question, a number of sub-questions follow the research:

RQ1: Which rhetorical appeals is Nikol Pashinyan is using as techniques to influence the people in his written Facebook status reports?

This question aims to unfold the presence of the three primary three elements of the Aristotelian rhetorical analysis that are ethos, pathos and logos, which are considered rhetorical techniques in their own right. The first is about gaining credibility from a given audience through demonstrating to have a good character, authority, and trustworthiness. The second is about using emotions to persuade the public and make them believe in a given information by using emotions. Finally, the third is about bringing logical evidence to appeal to the public and gain their trust. Furthermore, this question also takes into consideration other rhetorical techniques that become evident in style and tone.

RQ2: What are the incentives behind his Facebook status reports?

This question tries to find the indirect rhetorical messages, which are indirectly implied, in each of the selected Facebook status reports that become apparent when examining a given status report in terms of the use of statistics and facts in logos, emotional appeals in pathos, and eunoia, arête and phronesis in ethos. Eunoia demonstrates the willingness of a speaker to help his

audience out of concern for them. Arete is about considering the presence of moral virtue in decision-making and demonstrating the importance of goodness towards the audience. Phronesis is not only being clever in decision-making but also having the willingness to make good choices for the targeted audience rather than bad ones.

RQ3: What is the reaction of the Armenian people?

As the constituencies of the politicians are important to consider the research will also answer this question by examining a selected number of comments written in response to his Facebook status reports.

Methodology

Coding was conducted following elements from the method used by Bahram Kazemian and Somayyeh Hashemi in their study of the rhetoric of the speeches of Barack Obama (2014). A total of 24 of his Facebook status reports were examined in the framework of the research. Additionally, the comments of 8 of those status reports were examined and were selected based on the most number of reactions received. As such 24 comments were analyzed. His Facebook status reports fell into different categories of rhetorical criticism that are tone, style of language and structure, audience, use of ethos, pathos and logos and their respective subcategories. His status reports are solely written in the Armenian language and the target audience are the Armenian people who live in Armenia and in the diaspora as well.

Analysis and Results

Findings from RQ1: Which rhetorical appeals is Nikol Pashinyan is using as techniques to influence the people in his written Facebook status reports?

As demonstrated in table 1, there are elements of ethos, pathos and logos in each of the selected Facebook status reports. However, Pashinyan relied the most on his use of ethos. An extensive use of ethos that is about gaining credibility from the target audience of himself and his appointed governmental bodies explains the fact that he is striving to demonstrate that he and his government are worthy of their positions and are serving for the good of the Armenian people. Namely, he is putting a considerable amount of effort to convince the public that he is an outstanding leader with good moral character and is worthy of praise as his and the actions of his government are speaking. Furthermore, his considerable use of ethos is another testament that he truly cares about building trust with the Armenians and this way increase the number of citizens who follow and admire him and his actions.

As indicated in table 1, Pashinyan solely uses a semi-formal style of language and structure of his written pieces, namely the status reports. For instance, there are no citations or formal ways of addressing the Armenian people in the beginning of each text of the status report. However, there is no use of slang or other colloquial language and are without exaggerated terminology and in a quite informal style without any formalities. The Facebook status reports are written rather in friendly and direct manner and his tone is positive and friendly. Another feature of his status reports that is important to note that all of his Facebook status reports are written in first person as to demonstrate that he is addressing his target audience himself. These are factors that show that he wants the audience to believe that he is a leader that identifies himself as part of the audience, the Armenian people. Namely, he and his government understand their concerns, needs, and desires of the people and thus they are a group of public officials that can be trusted as they consider themselves equal with the public.

Moreover, in ethos, people are more likely to believe a person who share similarities with them. That is why Pashinyan is trying to write in the same manner as any other Armenian citizen would write to convince that he is the same as any other citizen.

Another tactic as shown in the table indicates that all of his posts are on a positive note perhaps not to give the public space to question the deeds of the government and not to leave any negative mark on his actions.

Findings from RQ2: What are the incentives behind his Facebook status reports?

As table 1 suggests, when it comes to ethos, phronesis is the category of ethos that dominates in the Facebook status reports of Pashinyan. It is about having the ability to make decisions that would result in positive results for the people rather than negative ones. Through the use of phronesis, he wants to convey to the Armenians all of the actions that and the government that he is leading has taken and are still initiating in their capacities through their righteous decisions that are only resulting in positive changes for them. In other words, as people who are in charge of the country have the choice of not taking good action actions but take those that serve their personal interests only. However, they are taking the ones that are for the good of the people which signifies their righteousness and establishes their credibility. Through the use of eunoia, he is building a rapport through being friendly and showing his willingness to help and expressing care and concern.

In this following Facebook report status, he is informing the people about another positive action taken by the government resulting in the good of the Armenian people, in this case, officers and senior non-commissioned officers who are an important part of the Armenian

society. It is critical to note that he is starting the report by indicating ‘Fact number 37/2’, namely, he is emphasizing another positive fact related to the government.

Fact number 37/2 - The government has adopted a decision giving officers and senior non-commissioned officers the opportunity to get preferential mortgage loans from January 1, 2020. Buy an apartment from the primary market at a real interest rate of 0% (after payment of income tax) from the secondary market at a maximum interest rate of 9%, 3% of which will be subsidized from the state budget. In both cases, the 10% down payment on the value of the apartment will be paid from the state budget. Happy holiday to the Armenian victorious, glorious army (Pashinyan, 2020).

Here, he is also emphasizing the fact that he and his government are not only skillful in decision-making but are also preferring to initiate actions resulting in the best of public interest. That is the use of *phronesis*, a category of *ethos*. He wants to show that he is someone who cares and values those who have served and are still serving in the army. This text also indirectly shows that he and his government are concerned about the good of the public and are willing to make positive changes, and that is *eunoia*, another category of *ethos*. Additionally, there is an extensive use of facts and statistics in the text that add to his credibility. Furthermore, he ends the status report with yet another positive note as he refers to the victorious army, expresses gratitude, and, in turn, appeals to the emotions, namely the *pathos* of the Armenian people. Moreover, such an example from his status reports demonstrates that every single sentence in his reports takes advantage of the three modes of persuasion and there is no phrase that does not serve a purpose.

As indicated in the table, he is mostly instilling hope in the public as he promised to get the country of the crumbling situation that it was in for over twenty five years before the Velvet Revolution due to the ruling oligarchy and their damaging system of governance. He is also expressing his gratitude towards citizens and other important segments of the population such as soldiers and public officials. In the following status reports, he is obviously striving to instill hope in the audience, the Armenian people by referring to the positive results of the actions taken by the government that he is leading.

Abundant snow increases our expectations for a favorable economic year. 2020 will be a fruitful year and not only in the agricultural sense :) (Pashinyan, 2020).

This is an example of his use of pathos that would appeal to the emotions of the Armenians by promising upcoming worthwhile economic changes and demonstrate that he too wants the good for the people. However, he is not inviting people to the discussion by a call to action in the text. Even though he promised building a vibrant democratic society (Demytrie, 2018).

By using statistics and facts, he is striving to demonstrate to the Armenian people that he and his government are fair in their actions as they are taking all the necessary steps to develop the country and he is succeeding in persuading the people as the successful results of their actions indicate.

Table 1. Frequency and Percentage of Rhetorical Components

Coding Category		Frequency	Percentage
Logos	# of use	18/24	75%

	Use of statistics	14/18	77.70%
	Use of facts	5/18	27.70%
Pathos	# of use	9/24	37.50%
	Instilling hope	9/9	100%
	Expressing gratitude	3/9	33.30%
Ethos	# of use	23/24	95.80%
	Eunoia	12/23	52.10%
	Arete	6/23	26%
	Phronesis	18/23	78.20%
	# of positive	24/24	100%
Tone	# of negative	0/24	0%
	# of neutral	0/24	0%
Noting the positive outcomes from the actions of the government	# of repetition	20/24	83.30%
Audience	Armenian people	24/24	100%
Language style	semi-formal	24/24	100%
Stucture style	Informal	24/24	100%

Findings from Q3: What is the reaction of the Armenian people?

As table 2 demonstrates, in recent times there are more people who have a positive attitude towards him and the government than negative ones. However, it is important to note that the difference between the ones with a positive and the ones with a negative attitude is not much. This, in turn, might signify that not everyone in the country are fully supportive of his actions and there is also a segment of the Armenian public that is already questioning his actions.

Those who portrayed negative stance are mainly criticizing his and the actions of the government. While those who have a positive outlook towards him are showing support, defending him when others are expressing discontent and are giving advice on his actions.

Table 2. Frequency and Percentages of Positive and Negative Comments

Coding Category		Frequency	Percentage
Responses from Pashinyan		0	0%
Reactions from Pashinyan		0	0%
	# of positive attitude towards him	14/24	54.10%
	Showing support	5/14	35.70%
	Defending him	4/14	28.50%
	Giving him advice	4/14	28.50%
Comments	# of negative attitude towards him	11/24	45.80%

	Criticizing him	11/11	100%
	# of neutral attitude towards him	0/24	0%

It is interesting to note that through the Facebook status reports he is not inviting citizens for commenting and opening discussions and is not responding or reacting to their comments. Instead, he is stating the positive outcomes of the actions of the government that he is leading as the tables indicate.

Discussion and Conclusion

The model of social media use used by Nikol Pashinyan is a unique and effective one that can be adopted by other politicians to influence their constituencies. The research also shows that what Nikol Pashinyan has been doing was deliberate use of state-of-the-art persuasion tools that match with his intentions. He posts more than three times per day which further suggests that most probably a communications team is responsible for the actions and content on his page as he has a tight and extensive schedule with numerous responsibilities as the head of the government. Therefore, he personally would not be able to spend much time on writing succinctly written and carefully crafted and tailored Facebook status reports and posting various types of extensive content on his Facebook page.

A noticeable finding was the extensive presence of the three modes of persuasion in each of the succinctly written and rather short Facebook status reports of Pashinyan. The purpose of utilizing each of those modes of persuasion was even more intriguing to examine. Parallels can be drawn between this finding and the finding of Bahram Kazemian and Somayyeh Hashemi that

suggests that the speeches of Barack Obama were well-prepared written communication pieces that included various rhetorical strategies (2014). Ethos was the most prevalent amongst the three in his Facebook status reports which once again suggests that he is more concerned about showing his possession of a trustworthy character as a politician and noting the successful results of his strategic actions that would only add to his credibility as a leader.

A significant finding is that there is an increasing number of people in recent times who are not in favor of his actions and are expressing their views, mainly in the form of criticism in the comments section of each of his Facebook status reports. There is a noticeable shift when it comes to how people viewed him at the beginning of his career as a Prime Minister and how they are viewing him in a new more negative light in recent times. However, people are still trying to find the good side of his actions and are trying not to readily lose hope. The majority does not want to look at him and his actions from another perspective, but once they do so the political discourse surrounding him might gradually change.

Another possible significant finding is the way that his social media page is based on the one-way-communication model that is used once again only to persuade the public and convince that he is a trustworthy leader. This once again brings back to the idea of political trust and how politicians pay serious attention to the element of establishing trust in their communication that the study of Gunn Enli and Linda Therese Rosenberg suggested (2018). Moreover, it speaks about how politicians are preferring social media over traditional media channels for building trust with the public as their study finds (G. Enli & L. Th. Rosenberg, 2018). It is allowing them to directly influence a given society without the interference of any professional, as in the case of traditional media platforms. He is known to be a populist leader who listens to the needs, concerns, and suggestions of the public. However, in reference to the study of Jacob Svensson,

Pashinyan apparently does not use social media for deliberate democracy, namely for making democracy prevail in Armenia as his written Facebook status reports do not have any signs of inviting the people into discussions on or off social media (2011). Additionally, he did not reply to any of the noticeable comments that were selected to be analyzed in this study or to any other comment made for the selected Facebook status reports. The fact that he is not inviting people to discussion and participation in the existing political discourse suggests that he is more concerned about building his public image and trust with Armenians more than contributing to the reinforcement of democracy in the country.

The ways in which Nikol Pashinyan is having an influence on the Armenian people through making use of social media is quite obvious for many. However, instead of using it as a device to create discussions with the public his page is more serving as a public relations tool for establishing a notable public image and trust with the Armenians.

This research project had certain limitations. An important one of which was the limitation of time. Approximately two-and a half month time was given to conduct the research as a result of which it was not possible to analyze more than twenty four of the Facebook status reports of Nikol Pashinyan. Namely, it was not possible to examine a larger sample of posts from the Facebook page of Nikol Pashinyan and carry out a more comprehensive large-scale research of the content of his page and arrive at a comprehensive understanding of his social media actions. Such a study would have included the analyses of other content on his Facebook page such as videos and photos.

Another limitation of the study was the absence of research done on how Armenian politicians use social media and for what reasons. Not any formal research has been done on how Armenian politicians in general shape Armenian politics through the use of their social media

outlets. Namely, there is a lack of literature not only about how politicians in Armenia use the media for serving their interests but also what persuasive tools they use in their language. Such research and literature would have guided the research on what to consider and what not to consider when analyzing their social media behavior.

One other limitation was the lack of available literature where researchers conduct rhetorical criticism to understand the social media behavior of politicians or any other important figures. This particularly was challenging in the process of designing the methodological framework of the study.

In spite of the limitations, the study is the first research project done on how Armenian politicians make use of social media and influence the Armenian people. Thus, the study will serve as a starting point for analyzing the discourse as well as the use of social media of Armenian politicians and their influence on the public respectively.

Another worthwhile research to consider is how he utilized social media during the Velvet Revolution to gather and mobilize the Armenian people not only on Facebook but also in the streets. It might also be worthwhile to compare his social media behavior with foreign politicians or other Armenian politicians, find differences and similarities and shed new light upon the new digital reality of the Armenian politics.

Another study related to the emergence of echo chambers in his social media posts might be significant and the examination of both negative and positive effects of them. Furthermore, it may be extremely effective to inform the public in Armenia particularly about the existence of political bubbles and their negative implications through creating a campaign that also highlights the importance of looking critically at different sources that belong to different worldviews and

form opinions accordingly. After analyzing the existence of political bubbles in Armenian reality and based on the findings, it would be quite effective to suggest the creation of such a campaign for Armenians.

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▪ Appendices

Appendix A

Coding Sheet 1

Frequency of Rhetorical Components (Logos, Pathos and Ethos along with language style and the structure style of the Facebook status reports)	
<p>1. According to the results of 2019, the production industry is growing by 12%. Moreover, for the first time since 2008, it is the first in the structure of GDP among all sectors of the economy, providing 12.1% of the weight means that the production potential of our country is being restored and developed. The fastest growth in the Armenian economy was registered in the field of housing and public catering services 27.2%, which is a result of high growth in the tourism sector. The second highest sector growth was recorded by financial and insurance services 22%, which gives hope for further reduction of interest rates on loans.</p>	<p>2. Yesterday, in the government, we discussed the events that took place in the army this year. Several important decisions were made, including decisions regarding personnel. Given this background, I consider it necessary to emphasize that, in 2019, we had a historical minimum of deaths in the army. Our task is to maintain this dynamic. For this, however, I consider it important to exclude the anxious atmosphere regarding the army. There is no such army-society division in Armenia. We are one body, one family, one organism. And we will win. Glory to the glorious Armenian army.</p>
<p>3. Abundant snow increases our expectations for a favorable economic year. 2020 will be a fruitful year and not only in the agricultural sense :)</p>	<p>4. I dedicate this poem to the victory of the proud Citizen of the Republic of Armenia, April 5. Referendum. I say yes to the revolution. There is no turning back to the lukewarm past. Looking at his tomorrow with a smile. The people are united, united. I say yes to justice. No thugs to avoid. To give a worthy answer to the crime. And to compensate for the terrible horror. I say yes to freedom. I won with my own hands because Many years of conspiracy. The value hardly taken away from me Yes, I say to New Armenia. Happy, powerful, sovereign, free. And to my people, I say family. And to my homeland, home, I say yes to the revolution. There is no turning back to the lukewarm past. Looking at my future with a smile. The people are big, proud, united.</p>
<p>5. The central bank made a purchase of \$ 15 million from the foreign exchange market today. Thus, the volume of dollars bought from the market this year reached 20 million. This proves that the large inflow of foreign currency to Armenia continues. This means that we have started a good economic year. Doukhov :)</p>	<p>6. Fact number 37/2 - The government has adopted a decision giving officers and senior non-commissioned officers the opportunity to get preferential mortgage loans from January 1, 2020. Buy an apartment from the primary market at a real interest rate of 0% (after payment of income tax) from the secondary market at a maximum interest rate of 9%, 3% of which will be subsidized from the state budget! In both cases, the 10% down payment on the value of the apartment will be paid from the state budget. Happy holiday to the Armenian victorious, glorious army.</p>
<p>7. Since May 2018, the salaries or pensions or benefits of more than 1 million people in Armenia have increased.</p>	<p>8. Dear compatriots, do you remember that when I assumed the position of Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, I published about my vision that Armenia should be a high-tech, industrial country, which should have an export-oriented economy? Now, according to the results of 2019, 1. The manufacturing industry has grown by 12%, becoming the leading branch of the economy in terms of 12-12% of GDP. For information, Mining is not included in this number. It's just about the manufacturing industry. 2. Exports of goods and services from Armenia increased by 10.3% in 2019. At the same time, exports of medium-tech goods increased by 26.9%, and exports of high-tech goods - by 13.5% 3. Tourism, which is also considered an export, as it is used by foreign citizens, increased by 14.7% and as a result, the fastest growing branch of the economy was housing and catering services, growing by 27.2% compared to 2018.</p>
<p>9. Today I signed a very memorable document. I have offered the President of the Republic of Armenia to grant citizenship to our 105-year-old compatriot according to his application having Italian citizenship. Every Armenian in the world must have RA citizenship. Proud citizen of the Republic of Armenia.</p>	<p>10. In the afternoon, I announced that Wizz Air will operate two weekly flights a week from Yerevan to Larnaca, Cyprus. An hour ago, it became known that on June 1, Ryanair will also launch a flight from Yerevan to Cyprus, to the city of Paphos. At the moment, the ticket to Paphos costs 18,5 euros, to Larnaca - 40 euros.</p>
<p>11. From March 20 to date, Armenian banks have revised the terms of loans for 96,838 individuals and 3,395 legal entities. In the case of the vast majority of revised loans, banks have granted credit leave, sometimes for several months. The volume of revised loans is about 200 billion drams.</p>	<p>12. Something unprecedented has happened in the history of Armenia. Women have been appointed to the position of head of the police department and head of the department. In particular, Police Lieutenant Colonel Meline Yeghshatyan has been appointed Head of the Gugark Police Department, and Captain Zhanna Shahnazaryan has been appointed Head of the Tsakhkadzor Police Department. This is in line with our government's policy of increasing women's involvement in all areas of public life. I wish good luck to Meline Yeghshatyan and Zhanna Shahnazaryan.</p>

	It will not be easy. But I believe that many women will be inspired by their example, and men will become more responsible.
<p>13. In February, we also had brilliant economic indicators. But today we only record these indicators as proof of the competitiveness and justification of our policy.</p> <p>We are now clearly in a state of decline, and we need to apply other development scenarios to the coronavirus and post coronavirus. They need to be more ambitious.</p> <p>We need to double our GDP over the next five years. It was not possible to achieve such a result in the previous scenario. The crisis, while creating current problems, also opens up new opportunities, great opportunities.</p> <p>Below are the figures for the first two months of this year.</p> <p>February</p> <p>Growth of economic activity - 9.2%</p> <p>Industry growth - 9.7%</p> <p>Construction growth - 25%</p> <p>Service growth - 3.5%</p> <p>Trade turnover growth - 10%</p> <p>Increase in electricity production - 1.2%</p> <p>Export growth - 7.6%</p> <p>January-February</p> <p>Economic activity growth - 8.7%</p> <p>Industrial growth - 15.3%</p> <p>Construction growth - 5.8 percent</p> <p>Trade turnover growth - 6.3%</p> <p>Growth of services - 11.2%</p> <p>Increase in electricity production - 23.1%</p> <p>Export growth - 8.8%</p>	<p>14. Dear people, let me say something but keep it between us.</p> <p>We declare all our transparent, open, coronavirus cases within an hour.</p> <p>But are we sure that all the countries of the world are saying their numbers correctly? This is the case when our transparency can work against us. And the world can perceive us as a coronavirus threat, although in reality, we are the safest.</p> <p>I'm not saying this to prepare the ground for hiding cases. That is out of the question, we will not do it. I say to let you know that we also have such risks.</p>
<p>15. Dear compatriots, I am taking a vacation, and I am fully involved in the April 5 'Yes' referendum campaign.</p> <p>Today, on March 10, I will be in the Syunik region from the morning.</p> <p>I kindly invite all the residents of Meghri to meet at 11.40 in the area in front of the Meghri community hall.</p> <p>I kindly invite all the people of Kajaran to meet at 13.20 in the fountain square.</p> <p>I kindly invite all Kapan residents to the meeting at 16.00 in the square in front of the regional administration.</p> <p>The last meeting of March 10 will be in Tegh village, at 18.00, near the village municipality. I invite all the locals with love.</p>	<p>16. In just five hours, within the framework of the 8th anti-crisis measure adopted by the government, 1 billion Armenian drams were distributed among 14,685 beneficiaries through the digital platform.</p> <p>About 95 thousand beneficiaries will benefit from this program. The number of beneficiaries should not be confused with the number of individuals using the program, which is 124,402 people.</p> <p>In fact, so many families receive support. I would like to emphasize that this only within the framework of the 8th event.</p>
<p>17. As of yesterday, 2 billion 353 million Armenian drams of economic and social assistance was distributed to legal entities and individuals within the framework of 9 measures adopted by the government.</p>	<p>18. As of today, Armenian banks and credit organizations have provided credit to 320,000 individuals in the amount of 12 billion drams (as of April 9, 290,000 people, 9.3 billion drams), 6600 legal entities were also granted credit loans in the amount of 28 billion drams (as of April 9, 5300 legal entities in the amount of 15 billion drams).</p>
<p>19. As part of the 11th anti-crisis event held today, about 222 thousand subscribers will receive support up to 7500 AMD for utility bills for natural gas and electricity.</p> <p>Up to 600 thousand citizens are beneficiaries of the event.</p>	<p>20. Surprising as it may seem, today the Central Bank bought \$ 8.1 million from the foreign exchange market.</p> <p>There is no other explanation than the government's confidence in the anti-crisis policy of the financial market.</p> <p>People trust our policy, people trust money.</p>
<p>21. According to the government's anti-crisis programs, 12 billion 300 million drams have been distributed so far.</p> <p>So far, 4,576 businesses have received economic assistance, 11,444 families received social assistance.</p> <p>The number of people receiving social assistance will double on Monday.</p>	<p>22. The rapid reaction of the financial market is direct proof of the effectiveness of the government's anti-crisis measures.</p> <p>Money strengthens stability, deposits, and loans increase, and the liquidity of banks also increases. (Doukhov).</p>
<p>23. Within the framework of anti-crisis measures adopted by the government, economic and social assistance of 10 billion 700 million drams has been distributed at the moment.</p>	<p>24. As of today, about 290 thousand citizens of the Republic of Armenia have been granted credit leave in the amount of 9.3 billion drams.</p> <p>Credit leave was also given to 5300 legal entities in the amount of 15.4 billion drams.</p>

.... (highlight) = use of logos ... (highlight) = use of pathos ... (highlight) = use of ethos

█ (underline) = semi-informal language style black (text font color) = informal style

Coding Sheet 2

Frequency of Rhetorical Components (Logos, Pathos and Ethos) along with their categories (use of facts, statistics, euonia, arête, phronesis, instilling hope, expressing gratitude)

<p>1. According to the results of 2019, the production industry is growing by 12%. Moreover, for the first time since 2008, it is the first in the structure of GDP among all sectors of the economy, providing 12.1% of the weight means that the production potential of our country is being restored and developed. The fastest growth in the Armenian economy was registered in the field of housing and public catering services 27.2%, which is a result of high growth in the tourism sector. The second highest sector growth was recorded by financial and insurance services 22%, which gives hope for further reduction of interest rates on loans.</p>	<p>2. Yesterday, in the government, we discussed the events that took place in the army this year. Several important decisions were made, including decisions regarding personnel. Given this background, I consider it necessary to emphasize that, in 2019, we had a historical minimum of deaths in the army. Our task is to maintain this dynamic. For this, however, I consider it important to exclude the anxious atmosphere regarding the army. There is no such army-society division in Armenia. We are one body, one family, one organism. And we will win. Glory to the glorious Armenian army.</p>
<p>3. Abundant snow increases our expectations for a favorable economic year. 2020 will be a fruitful year and not only in the agricultural sense :)</p>	<p>4. I dedicate this poem to the victory of the proud Citizen of the Republic of Armenia, April 5. Referendum: I say yes to the revolution, There is no turning back to the lukewarm past: Looking at his tomorrow with a smile, The people are united, united, I say yes to justice, No thugs to avoid, To give a worthy answer to the crime And to compensate for the terrible horror. I say yes to freedom. I won with my own hands because Many years of conspiracy, The value hardly taken away from me Yes, I say to New Armenia, Happy, powerful, sovereign, free. And to my people, I say family, And to my homeland, home. I say yes to the revolution, There is no turning back to the lukewarm past, Looking at my future with a smile, The people are big, proud, united.</p>
<p>5. The central bank made a purchase of \$ 15 million from the foreign exchange market today. Thus, the volume of dollars bought from the market this year reached 20 million. This proves that the large inflow of foreign currency to Armenia continues. This means that we have started a good economic year. Doukhov :)</p>	<p>6. Fact number 37/2 - The government has adopted a decision giving officers and senior non-commissioned officers the opportunity to get preferential mortgage loans from January 1, 2020. Buy an apartment from the primary market at a real interest rate of 0% (after payment of income tax) from the secondary market at a maximum interest rate of 9%, 3% of which will be subsidized from the state budget. In both cases, the 10% down payment on the value of the apartment will be paid from the state budget. Happy holiday to the Armenian victorious, glorious army.</p>
<p>7. Since May 2018, the salaries or pensions or benefits of more than 1 million people in Armenia have increased.</p>	<p>8. Dear compatriots, do you remember that when I assumed the position of Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, I published about my vision that Armenia should be a high-tech, industrial country, which should have an export-oriented economy? Now, according to the results of 2019, 1. The manufacturing industry has grown by 12%, becoming the leading branch of the economy in terms of 12-12% of GDP. For information, Mining is not included in this number. It's just about the manufacturing industry, 2. Exports of goods and services from Armenia increased by 10.3% in 2019. At the same time, exports of medium-tech goods increased by 26.9%, and exports of high-tech goods - by 13.5% 3. Tourism, which is also considered an export, as it is used by foreign citizens, increased by 14.7% and as a result, the fastest growing branch of the economy was housing and catering services, growing by 27.2% compared to 2018.</p>
<p>9. Today I signed a very memorable document. I have offered the President of the Republic of Armenia to grant citizenship to our 105-year-old compatriot, according to his application having Italian citizenship. Every Armenian in the world must have RA citizenship. Proud citizen of the Republic of Armenia.</p>	<p>10. In the afternoon, I announced that Wizz Air will operate two weekly flights a week from Yerevan to Larnaca, Cyprus. An hour ago, it became known that on June 1, Ryanair will also launch a flight from Yerevan to Cyprus, to the city of Paphos. At the moment, the ticket to Paphos costs 18.5 euros, to Larnaca - 40 euros.</p>
<p>11. From March 20 to date, Armenian banks have revised the terms of loans for 96,838 individuals and 3,395 legal entities. In the case of the vast majority of revised loans, banks have granted credit leave, sometimes for several months. The volume of revised loans is about 200 billion drams.</p>	<p>12. Something unprecedented has happened in the history of Armenia. Women have been appointed to the position of head of the police department and head of the department. In particular, Police Lieutenant Colonel Meline Yeghshatyan has been appointed Head of the Gugark Police Department, and Captain Zhanna Shahnazaryan has been appointed Head of the Tsakhkadzor Police Department. This is in line with our government's policy of increasing women's involvement in all areas of public life. I wish good luck to Meline Yeghshatyan and Zhanna Shahnazaryan. It will not be easy. But I believe that many women will be inspired by their example, and men will become more responsible.</p>
<p>13. In February, we also had brilliant economic indicators. But today we only record these indicators as proof of the competitiveness and justification of our policy. We are now clearly in a state of decline, and we need to apply other development scenarios to the coronavirus and post coronavirus. They need to be more ambitious.</p>	<p>14. Dear people, let me say something but keep it between us. We declare all our transparent, open, coronavirus cases within an hour. But are we sure that all the countries of the world are saying their numbers correctly? This is the case when our transparency can work against us. And the world can perceive us as a coronavirus threat, although in reality, we are the safest.</p>

<p>We need to double our GDP over the next five years. It was not possible to achieve such a result in the previous scenario. The crisis, while creating current problems, also opens up new opportunities, great opportunities. Below are the figures for the first two months of this year.</p> <p>February</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growth of economic activity - 9.2% Industry growth - 9.7% Construction growth - 25% Service growth - 3.5% Trade turnover growth - 10% Increase in electricity production - 1.2% Export growth - 7.6% <p>January-February</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic activity growth - 8.7% Industrial growth - 15.3% Construction growth - 5.8 percent Trade turnover growth - 6.3% Growth of services - 11.2% Increase in electricity production - 23.1% Export growth - 8.8% 	<p>I'm not saying this to prepare the ground for hiding cases. That is out of the question, we will not do it. I say to let you know that we also have such risks.</p>
<p>15. Dear compatriots, I am taking a vacation, and I am fully involved in the April 5 'Yes' referendum campaign.</p> <p>Today, on March 10, I will be in the Syunik region from the morning.</p> <p>I kindly invite all the residents of Meghri to meet at 11.40 in the area in front of the Meghri community hall.</p> <p>I kindly invite all the people of Kajaran to meet at 13.20 in the fountain square.</p> <p>I kindly invite all Kapan residents to the meeting at 16.00 in the square in front of the regional administration.</p> <p>The last meeting of March 10 will be in Tegh village, at 18.00, near the village municipality. I invite all the locals with love.</p>	<p>16. In just five hours, within the framework of the 8th anti-crisis measure adopted by the government, 1 billion Armenian drams were distributed among 14,685 beneficiaries through the digital platform.</p> <p>About 95 thousand beneficiaries will benefit from this program. The number of beneficiaries should not be confused with the number of individuals using the program, which is 124,402 people.</p> <p>In fact, so many families receive support. I would like to emphasize that this only within the framework of the 8th event.</p>
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..... = use of statistics [logos]

..... = use of arête [ethos]

..... = instilling hope [pathos]

..... = use of eunoia [ethos]

..... = use of phronesis [ethos]

..... = expressing gratitude [pathos]

..... = use of facts [logos]

Coding Sheet 3

Frequency of Rhetorical Components (Tone and Repetition [Noting the positive outcomes from the actions of the government]) and the audience [Armenian people])	
<p>1. According to the results of 2019, the production industry is growing by 12%. Moreover, for the first time since 2008, it is the first in the structure of GDP among all sectors of the economy, providing 12.1% of the weight means that the production potential of our country is being restored and developed. The fastest growth in the Armenian economy was registered in the field of housing and public catering services 27.2%, which is a result of high growth in the tourism sector. The second highest sector growth was recorded by financial and insurance services 22%, which gives hope for further reduction of interest rates on loans.</p>	<p>2. Yesterday, in the government, we discussed the events that took place in the army this year. Several important decisions were made, including decisions regarding personnel. Given this background, I consider it necessary to emphasize that, in 2019, we had a historical minimum of deaths in the army. Our task is to maintain this dynamic. For this, however, I consider it important to exclude the anxious atmosphere regarding the army. There is no such army-society division in Armenia. We are one body, one family, one organism. And we will win. Glory to the glorious Armenian army.</p>
<p>3. Abundant snow increases our expectations for a favorable economic year. 2020 will be a fruitful year and not only in the agricultural sense :)</p>	<p>4. I dedicate this poem to the victory of the proud Citizen of the Republic of Armenia, April 5. Referendum: I say yes to the revolution, There is no turning back to the lukewarm past: Looking at his tomorrow with a smile, The people are united, united. I say yes to justice, No thugs to avoid, To give a worthy answer to the crime And to compensate for the terrible horror. I say yes to freedom. I won with my own hands because Many years of conspiracy, The value hardly taken away from me Yes, I say to New Armenia, Happy, powerful, sovereign, free. And to my people, I say family, And to my homeland, home. I say yes to the revolution, There is no turning back to the lukewarm past, Looking at my future with a smile, The people are big, proud, united.</p>
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<p>9. Today I signed a very memorable document. I have offered the President of the Republic of Armenia to grant citizenship to our 105-year-old compatriot, according to his application having Italian citizenship. Every Armenian in the world must have RA citizenship. Proud citizen of the Republic of Armenia.</p>	<p>10. In the afternoon, I announced that Wizz Air will operate two weekly flights a week from Yerevan to Larnaca, Cyprus. An hour ago, it became known that on June 1, Ryanair will also launch a flight from Yerevan to Cyprus, to the city of Paphos. At the moment, the ticket to Paphos costs 18.5 euros, to Larnaca - 40 euros.</p>
<p>11. From March 20 to date, Armenian banks have revised the terms of loans for 96,838 individuals and 3,395 legal entities. In the case of the vast majority of revised loans, banks have granted credit leave, sometimes for several months. The volume of revised loans is about 200 billion drams.</p>	<p>12. Something unprecedented has happened in the history of Armenia. Women have been appointed to the position of head of the police department and head of the department. In particular, Police Lieutenant Colonel Meline Yeghshatyan has been appointed Head of the Gugark Police Department, and Captain Zhanna Shahnazaryan has been appointed Head of the Tsakhkadzor Police Department. This is in line with our government's policy of increasing women's involvement in all areas of public life. I wish good luck to Meline Yeghshatyan and Zhanna Shahnazaryan. It will not be easy. But I believe that many women will be inspired by their example, and men will become more responsible.</p>
<p>13. In February, we also had brilliant economic indicators. But today we only record these indicators as proof of the competitiveness and justification of our policy. We are now clearly in a state of decline, and we need to apply other</p>	<p>14. Dear people, let me say something but keep it between us. We declare all our transparent, open, coronavirus cases within an hour. But are we sure that all the countries of the world are saying their numbers correctly? This is the case when our transparency can work against us. And the world can perceive us as a</p>

<p>development scenarios to the coronavirus and post coronavirus. They need to be more ambitious. We need to double our GDP over the next five years. It was not possible to achieve such a result in the previous scenario. The crisis, while creating current problems, also opens up new opportunities, great opportunities. Below are the figures for the first two months of this year. February Growth of economic activity - 9.2% Industry growth - 9.7% Construction growth - 25% Service growth - 3.5% Trade turnover growth - 10% Increase in electricity production - 1.2% Export growth - 7.6% January-February Economic activity growth - 8.7% Industrial growth - 15.3% Construction growth - 5.8 percent Trade turnover growth - 6.3% Growth of services - 11.2% Increase in electricity production - 23.1% Export growth - 8.8%</p>	<p>coronavirus threat, although in reality, we are the safest. I'm not saying this to prepare the ground for hiding cases. That is out of the question, we will not do it. I say to let you know that we also have such risks.</p>
<p>15. Dear compatriots, I am taking a vacation, and I am fully involved in the April 5 'Yes' referendum campaign. Today, on March 10, I will be in the Syunik region from the morning. I kindly invite all the residents of Meghri to meet at 11.40 in the area in front of the Meghri community hall. I kindly invite all the people of Kajaran to meet at 13.20 in the fountain square. I kindly invite all Kapan residents to the meeting at 16.00 in the square in front of the regional administration. The last meeting of March 10 will be in Tegah village, at 18.00, near the village municipality. I invite all the locals with love.</p>	<p>16. In just five hours, within the framework of the 8th anti-crisis measure adopted by the government, 1 billion Armenian drams were distributed among 14,685 beneficiaries through the digital platform. About 95 thousand beneficiaries will benefit from this program. The number of beneficiaries should not be confused with the number of individuals using the program, which is 124,402 people. In fact, so many families receive support. I would like to emphasize that this only within the framework of the 8th event.</p>
<p>17. As of yesterday, 2 billion 353 million Armenian drams of economic and social assistance was distributed to legal entities and individuals within the framework of 9 measures adopted by the government.</p>	<p>18. As of today, Armenian banks and credit organizations have provided credit to 320,000 individuals in the amount of 12 billion drams (as of April 9, 290,000 people, 9.3 billion drams). 6600 legal entities were also granted credit loans in the amount of 28 billion drams (as of April 9, 5300 legal entities in the amount of 15 billion drams).</p>
<p>19. As part of the 11th anti-crisis event held today, about 222 thousand subscribers will receive support up to 7500 AMD for utility bills for natural gas and electricity. Up to 600 thousand citizens are beneficiaries of the event.</p>	<p>20. Surprising as it may seem, today the Central Bank bought \$ 8.1 million from the foreign exchange market. There is no other explanation than the government's confidence in the anti-crisis policy of the financial market. People trust our policy, people trust money.</p>
<p>21. According to the government's anti-crisis programs, 12 billion 300 million drams have been distributed so far. So far, 4,578 businesses have received economic assistance. 11,444 families received social assistance. The number of people receiving social assistance will double on Monday.</p>	<p>22. The rapid reaction of the financial market is direct proof of the effectiveness of the government's anti-crisis measures. Money strengthens stability, deposits, and loans increase, and the liquidity of banks also increases. (Doukhov).</p>
<p>23. Within the framework of anti-crisis measures adopted by the government, economic and social assistance of 10 billion 700 million drams has been distributed at the moment.</p>	<p>24. As of today, about 290 thousand citizens of the Republic of Armenia have been granted credit leave in the amount of 9.3 billion drams. Credit leave was also given to 5300 legal entities in the amount of 15.4 billion drams.</p>

..... (underline) = noting the positive outcomes from the actions of the government

..... (highlight) = positive tone (highlight) = negative tone

..... (highlight) = neutral tone

Black color text font = Armenian people [audience]

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

Frequency of Positive and Negative Comments along with the Nature of the Reaction [showing support, defending him, giving him advice, criticizing him]	
THANK YOU, Mr. PASHINYAN	Dear Mr. Pashinyan, The terms of the village loans on TV and social networks do not correspond to the reality in the banks. Please don't let the victims, the miserable villagers, who have already suffered and is trying to get a loan, be deceived again.
Is 90% of Armenia insecure? Who said that? Please just go to City Supermarkets one day and you will see how cool it is! Let people complain. You should have lived during Serzh's time for the people to be massacred.	After all, what do the government's anti-crisis measures have to do with the dram's exchange rate? The Central Bank has been injecting about \$ 40 million from its reserves for several days now. This is the reason for the dram's stabilization, which unfortunately will be very short.
Well, Nicole. The nation is dying, and what are you talking about? Why are you posting such messages now? Do you want to mitigate something? but it will not work. We are already disappointed with you.	If you see that the fakes have not been hit by a coronavirus, put the rest of them in the cupboard and send them to Italy, and you will escape from the dangerous and malicious viruses.
At the moment, the people are not interested in the indicators you have presented, because the people are facing a bigger problem. Solve the current problem we are in, and given that we will still be in crisis. It would be better to solve the financial problems, for example, to postpone the expenses, to provide financial support to the employees on a daily wage basis. The rest is not so interesting at the moment.	Instead of all this, it is better to go home and deal with your family's issues so that your underage girl does not sit behind the wheel of the car anymore.
Come on complainers, I, also live on rent, I have children, loans like you, payments. Be patient, it will be good. Why are you so complaining? If the Prime Minister fires on the spot, you will find something else and complain.	No, Mr. Prime Minister, inform everyone that so many people understand how much their irresponsible behavior and attitude can harm our country.. dear people, take the state of emergency seriously, for the sake of me, my family, and the health of my relatives and friends. I demand that from each of you.
Mr. Pashinyan, the important thing is to live in a way that we won't have deaths and work on raising the immunity of patients. If we don't have deaths, we will be the FIRST WORLD OF THE WORLD to defeat this virus!! I'm sure that WE WON'T. WE ARE A STRONG NATION!	The important thing is that we know that we are just.
Yes, it is not a state, it has turned out to be a Switzerland. Growth is recorded in every sector, and after reading the comments, you realize that the sectors of EMPTINESS AND BACKWARDNESS have increased by 90%. : D:	As time goes on, the country is getting stronger and stronger, the law is being established and people are even more convinced that they are finally the owners of their rights and the country. Let's take a step and finally close the door on April 5 on the 20th anniversary of EVIL.
Mr. Prime Minister, in the case of so many indicators of economic growth, why is it not possible to provide proud citizens with at least a minimum pension and salary? After all, you promised that.	#FromTheSeriesOfLies There are 1 million registered employees in Armenia, yes, we did not oppose your salaries and your salary increases, from 1000 to assuming an increase of 10,000 drams., there is some weather in the money, at the same time with the rise in prices.
Assess the percentage and inflation. Calculate and see what percentage has dropped. It's not all bluffing. Don't say what percentage has dropped. You are deceiving the people by concealing some important part of this all and revealing other information that you want them to know, so that they won't guess what is actually happening behind the scenes. You shouldn't write this at least so that those who understand you won't know.	Ok, but then, what?)) From 1998 to 2018, the salaries, benefits, pensions of all citizens of the Republic of Armenia have increased.. It's a process that has always happened. This is called manipulation and is very low quality.
Dear Prime Minister, when will you finally reach the interest rate of credit organizations and banks and the question of people's homelessness, that they take loans for having money for food, and, at the same time, we can't pay for forced housing?	Dear Prime Minister, I am convinced that this year there will be a flow of investments and an unprecedented growth of economic development. We are by your side with joy..
Dear Prime Minister, the people are telling you and demanding, WITH Courage:	The first and last fact. Forget about the velvet and get to work. We need a strong leader. That velvet did not and will not bring anything. The country is in debts. Whoever does what he wants, whoever has what he wants. If you want Armenia to move forward, then you have to be strong. That democracy will play out in a few years. Now we need a strong prime minister for the rule of law to prevail in the country.
Mr. Pashinyan, there is the decision, but the banks are unaware of that decision and do not provide money. Please pay attention to this.	And let the families who live simply stay homeless?? Is this what you want?? And such families will find their way to exile.. Armenia without Armenians.. bravo NIKOL PASHINYAN

... (underline) = positive reactions

... (underline) = neutral reactions

... (underline) = negative reactions

... (highlight) = showing support

... (highlight) = defending him

... (highlight) = giving him advice

... (highlight) = criticizing him
