

Country: Armenia

Year: 1991

Head of government: Gagik Garushi Harutyunyan

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies G.G. Harutyunyan as non-party. Lentz (1994: 46) writes that “he was the former chairman of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. In 1990, he resigned from the Communist Party to join the Nationalist opposition”. Adalian (2010: 354) suggests Harutyunyan as rightist, writing that he was “an advocate of the decentralization and liberalization of the Soviet economy”.

Year: 1992

Head of government: Khosrov Meliki Harutyunyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies K.M. Harutyunyan as non-party. The National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia (2019) identifies Harutyunyan as the chairman of the Christian-Democratic Union of Armenia CDUA and, later, as a member of the Republican Party of Armenia. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.”

Years: 1993-1995

Head of government: Hrant Ararati Bagratyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Center for Cultural Diplomacy Studies (2018) identifies Bagratyan’s party as Pan-Armenian National Movement (*Hayots Hamazgain Sharzhum—HHSh/PANM*). World Statesmen identifies HHSh as centrist: “HHSh = Hayots Hamazgayin Sharzhum (Pan-Armenian National Movement, liberal, liberal nationalist, centrist, anti-communist, 20 Feb 1988-23 Feb 2013)”. Suny (1994: xxxiv) confirms HHSh to be centrist, writing that “Ter-Petrosian’s centrist Armenian Pan-National Movement, had lost ground to the right and the left because Armenians were losing patience with economic hardship”. Perspective Monde (2019), however,

identifies Bagratyan's ideology as rightist. Adalian (2010: 203) writes that Bagratyan was an "ardent reformist" and a "vocal critic of policies of economic centralization". Danielyan (2007) identifies Bagratyan as rightist, writing that "Armenia is the most centralized state in the region," said Hrant Bagratian, a liberal economist who served as prime minister in 1993-1996." Radio Liberty (1997) writes that "[former prime minister Hrant Bagratyan] told the paper he intends to found a new liberal political party named Azatutyun (Freedom). The party's founding congress, he said, is May 29. Bagratyan told 'Menk' that his new party will have a 'modern liberal ideology,' and will represent the interests of property owners and producers." News.am (2017) writes that "the Freedom party headed by former Prime Minister Hrant Bagratyan will run for the upcoming parliamentary elections with the Free Democrats party. He made a statement about it on his Facebook page. The parties Free Democrats and Freedom announce, that they will run for April 2 National Assembly elections in a block to bring real political and economic changes in Armenia. ... The pre-election economic program section is authored by Hrant Bagratyan, leader of the Freedom party." From the Free Democrats party manifesto: "The social market is a system in which the state creates institutions that regulate the games of market forces without dictating their will. This European economic model presupposes the implementation of state policy in the following directions:

- Guarantee of private property, protection of economic freedom, elimination of bureaucratic barriers for entrepreneurs, protection of small and medium-sized businesses, creation of favorable conditions for investment, elimination of monopolies, protection of the competitive environment, full legal protection, creation of insurance systems, poverty reduction, abrupt social stratification. Job creation, increase of population incomes, work on improving the quality of education, healthcare, expanding accessibility, protection of national natural and cultural wealth from careless privatization.
- The results of the social market will be the establishment of a state of universal welfare in accordance with European standards, the formation of a strong middle class, the establishment of effective social assistance, education and health systems that meet the requirements of the 21st century, and the addition of economically developed countries." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader's party as "Right" (3.204) in 1995.

Year: 1996

Head of government: Armen Vardani Sargsyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Sargsyan as non-party. Not enough information to code ideology. Radio Free Europe (2018) identifies Sargsyan's party

as the Republican Party of Armenia (*Hayastani Hanrapetakan Kusaktsutyun - HHK*), writing that “Armenia’s outgoing president (and leader of the Republican Party) Serzh Sarkisian named Armen Sarkisian as the Party’s choice to succeed him”. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.”

Year: 1997

Head of government: Robert Sedraki Kocharyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the world (2015: 69) identifies Robert Kocharyan as non-party. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Kocharyan as non-party. Rulers (2019) writes that Kocharyan “tackled issues of corruption and intensified efforts to institutionalize a free-market economy”. Darden (2009:187) identifies Kocharyan as rightist, writing that “several government respondents also noted that Prime Minister Robert Kocharyan’s personal view was that Armenia need to conduct rapid liberal reforms to build an economy strong enough to fund the defense spending needed to protect itself from the resource-rich Azerbaijan. ... In support of this, these respondents cited the formation of a team of young liberal officials from the Finance Minister and the National Bank who were planning to pursue rapid market-liberal reforms.” Danielyan (2003) writes that “The Kocharian camp, in turn, has tried to blunt criticism by promoting nationalism within its version of economic history. “We wanted to have a state which is undergoing development, and we now have it despite continuing to be blockaded by our [external] enemies,” said Vahan Hovannisian, a leader of the pro-presidential Armenian Revolutionary Federation, at the February 13 rally. Hovannisian's emphasis on growth fits Kocharian's electoral platform. The platform promises to keep up the pace of economic growth within the 8-12 percent range while “further strengthening of the foundations of liberal economics and property rights.”

Year: 1998

Head of government: Armen Razmiki Darbinyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Darbinyan as non-party. The Encyclopedia of World Political Systems indicates that “Darbinyan, formerly the finance minister, was committed to market-centered economic reform and to further

privatization”. Radio Free Europe (2019) writes that “Darbinyan is known as a pro-Western reformer who supports radical market reforms and a quicker pace of privatization”.

Years: 1999

Head of government: Aram Zaveni Sargsyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2018) identifies Aram Sargsyan’s party as HHK. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sargsyan’s ideology as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party ideology as “Center-right” (0.872) in 1999.

Years: 2000-2006

Head of government: Andranik Nakhapeti Margaryan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 71) identifies Margaryan’s party as HHK. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Margaryan’s ideology as rightist. World Statesman (2019) identifies the party as Republican Party of Armenia (HHK), and describes the party as “national conservative, republican”. European Party Monitor (2020) identifies HHK as rightist, writing that “The RPA is conservative in its values, but rather neo-liberal in its economic policies. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party ideology as “Center-right” (1.486) in 2003.

Years: 2007

Head of government: Serzh Azati Sargsyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 71) identifies Serzh Sargsyan’s party as HHK. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s

ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sargsyan’s ideology as rightist. World Statesman (2019) identifies the party as Republican Party of Armenia (HHK), and describes the party as “national conservative, republican”. European Party Monitor (2020) identifies HHK as rightist, writing that “The RPA is conservative in its values, but rather neo-liberal in its economic policies. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party ideology as “Right” (1.758) in 2007.

Years: 2008-2013

Head of government: Tigran Sureni Sargsyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sargsyan’s party as HHK. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.” World Statesman (2019) identifies the party as Republican Party of Armenia (HHK), and describes the party as “national conservative, republican”. European Party Monitor (2020) identifies HHK as rightist, writing that “The RPA is conservative in its values, but rather neo-liberal in its economic policies. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party ideology as “Right” (1.758) in 2007 and “Right” (1.761) in 2012.

Years: 2014-2015

Head of government: Hovik Abrahamyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 74) identifies Hovik Abrahamyan’s party as HHK. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Abrahamyan’s ideology as rightist. World Statesman (2019) identifies the party as Republican Party of Armenia (HHK), and describes the party as “national conservative, republican”. European Party Monitor

(2020) identifies HHK as rightist, writing that “The RPA is conservative in its values, but rather neo-liberal in its economic policies. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party ideology as “Right” (1.761) in 2012.

Years: 2016-2017

Head of government: Karen Vilhelmi Karapetyan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Public Radio of Armenia (2016) identifies Karapetyan’s party as HHK. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 73) identifies HHK’s ideology as rightist: “The coalition of the left-leaning HZhK and the center-right HHK necessitated a “vague” campaign platform.” Tigran Sargsyan (2011) confirms that HHK is rightist: “As a right-wing political party, the Republican Party of Armenia has applied for an observer’s status within the European People’s Party.” World Statesman (2019) identifies the party as Republican Party of Armenia (HHK), and describes the party as “national conservative, republican”. European Party Monitor (2020) identifies HHK as rightist, writing that “The RPA is conservative in its values, but rather neo-liberal in its economic policies. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader’s party ideology as “Right” (1.761) in 2012 and “Center-right” (1.455) in 2017. DPI has no information on HHK.

Years: 2018-2020

Head of government: Nikol Pashinyan

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2019: 80) identifies Pashinyan’s party as KP (Civil Contract or *Kaghakatsiakan Paymanagir*). Political Handbook of the World (2019: 80) identifies KP’s ideology as rightist, writing that “the KP was created in 2015 as a liberal, pro-European grouping that espoused an anticorruption message.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Pashinyan’s ideology as centrist. World Statesmen (2021) identifies Pashinyan’s party as KP, and KP’s ideology as centrist, writing that it is “centrist, liberal, pro-European.” Franz (2019) identifies Pashinyan as a centrist, writing that “Politically Pashinyan is often described as a centrist, a business-friendly liberal. The prime minister himself, like many politicians, eschews labels.” BBC (2018) identifies Pashinyan’s party as centrist, writing that “Final official results show that the centrist My Step Alliance, which includes Mr Pashinyan's Civil Contract Party, won 70.4% of the vote.” Interfax (2019) writes, “‘The goal and mission of the Armenian government is to carry out an economic revolution in the country. Just as with political revolution, individual efforts are the main and most important instrument for us,’ Pashinyan said. . . ‘Our

principle set of tools should be focused on encouraging the citizens, encouraging the people to work, act, be involved in economic activities. . . the Armenian government gives priority to protection of employees' rights and plans to take consistent steps toward this.” Terzyan (2020) quotes Pashinyan as saying, “The government is “only a partner and should not be seen as a giver of work” (Eurasianet, 2019a),” and writes, “In the speech [Pashinyan] gave to introduce the program, Pashinyan said that “poverty is in people’s minds” (Eurasianet, 2019a). . . It follows that any possible failure of the new government would be people’s failure to overcome “poverty in their minds.”” Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Civil Contract in 2020. DPI has no information on Civil Contract. Mints (2021) identifies the “My Step Alliance” as affiliated with Pashinyan. DPI identifies My Step Alliance as centrist.

#### References:

- Ademmer, Esther. *Russias Impact on EU Policy Transfer to the Post-Soviet Space: The Contested Neighborhood*. London; New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Adalian, Rouben Paul. *Historical Dictionary of Armenia*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010.
- "Armenia." In *Political Handbook of the World 2015*, edited by Thomas Lansford, 68-77. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015.  
[http://library.cqpress.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/phw/phw2015\\_Armenia](http://library.cqpress.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/phw/phw2015_Armenia).
- “Armenia election: PM Nikol Pashinyan wins by landslide.” BBC News.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-46502681>.
- "ARMENIA; Pashinyan: Armenia Needs Economic Revolution." 2019. *Interfax : Russia & CIS Presidential Bulletin*, May 06. <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/docview/2220313416?accountid=14657>.
- Brambor, Thomas, Johannes Lindvall, and Annika Stjernquist. 2017. *The Ideology of Heads of Government, 1870-2012*. Version 1.5. Department of Political Science, Lund University.
- Cahoon, Ben. “Armenia.” *World Statesmen*. Accessed December 28, 2018.  
<http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Armenia.html>.
- Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2018. *Database of Political Institutions (DPI2017)*. Inter-American Development Bank. Numbers for Development.
- Danielyan, Emil. 2003. “Armenia's Kocharian stresses the positive as campaign crests.” Eurasianet. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/46f2584019.html>.
- Danielyan, Emil. 2007. “Armenian Economy Again Ranked Most Liberal in CIS.” Eurasianet.
- Darden, Keith. 2009. *Economic Liberalism and Its Rivals: The Formation of*

- International Institutions Among the Post-Soviet States*. Cambridge University Press.
- European Party Monitor. 2020. "Republican Party of Armenia." European Party Monitor. KU Leuven.
- Franz, Felix. 2019. "Peaceful Revolutionary: Can Armenia's Prisoner-Turned-Prime Minister Govern?" The Christian Science Monitor. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2019/0219/Peaceful-revolutionary-Can-Armenia-s-prisoner-turned-prime-minister-govern>
- Free Democrats. 2019. "Program." Free Democrats Party Website. [http://www.fdp.am/en/?page\\_id=3432](http://www.fdp.am/en/?page_id=3432).
- Ghazanchyan, Siranush. "PM Karen Karapetyan to Join the Republican Party of Armenia." Public Radio of Armenia, November 24, 2016. <http://old.armradio.am/en/2016/11/24/pm-karen-karapetyan-to-join-the-republican-party-of-armenia/>.
- Lansford, Thomas. 2019. Armenia. In: Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019. Washington: 74-84.
- Mattes, Michaela, Leeds, Brett, and Naoko Matsumura. 2016. Measuring change in source of leader support: The CHISOLS dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2): 259-267.
- Mints, A. Aleksandrovich , Howe, . G. Melvyn , Suny, . Ronald Grigor and Dowsett, Charles James Frank. 2021. "Armenia." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, April 6, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Armenia>.
- National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia. 2019. <http://www.parliament.am/deputies.php?ID=1178&lang=eng&sel=details>
- News.am. 2017. "Hrant Bagratyan to run for elections with Free Democrats." Armenian News-NEWS. <https://news.am/eng/news/373399.html>.
- Pashinyan Nikol. 2019. "Exclusive Interview: Nikol Pashinyan." Global Capital. <https://www.globalcapital.com/article/b1hlpx7bqh1yfb/exclusive-interview-nikol-pashinyan>.
- Perspective Monde. 2019. "Armenia". <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=ARM&ani=1945&moi=1&anf=2019&mof=7>
- "Prof. Dr. Hrant Bagratyan." Center for Cultural Diplomacy Studies. Accessed January 5, 2019. <http://www.ccds-berlin.de/index.php?hrant-bagratyan>.
- Radio Free Europe. 2019. "Armenia Parliamentary Majority Nominates Ex-PM for President". RFE/RL
- Radio Free Europe. 1997. "Armenia: Ex-Prime Minister Plans Political Comeback." RFE/RL.
- Rulers. 2019. "Index Kl-Ky." [www.rulers.org/indexk3.html](http://www.rulers.org/indexk3.html)
- Sargsyan, Tigran. "Tigran Sargsyan Attends Expanded Session of EPP Group



Bureau.” The Government of the Republic of Armenia, September 23, 2011.  
<http://www.gov.am/en/news/item/5865/>.

Suny, Ronald G. *Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Country Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1994.

Terzyan, Aram. (2020, April 15). Post-Soviet Revolutions and Post-Revolution Discourses: Explaining the Construction of Political Identities in Post-Rose Revolution Georgia and Post-Velvet Revolution Armenia. *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, 20(1). Retrieved from  
<http://sjps.fsvucm.sk/index.php/sjps/article/view/107>

World Statesmen. 2019. <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Armenia.html>