

Arthur Atanesyan  
Artur Mkrtichyan

## **The Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of the War in Ukraine in the Perceptions of Armenian Youth\***

### **Abstract**

This study was conducted between October 2022 and January 2023, aiming to elucidate and highlight changes in the political perceptions, concerns, assessments, and aspirations of Armenia's youth. The main objectives of the study were to discover the concerns of Armenia's youth regarding the expansion of the war in Ukraine, to find out the potential effects of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and the war in Ukraine on the region of South Caucasus, and on Armenia's security, and to assess the changes that the war has brought about in the lives of Armenia's youth and society. Armenia's youth holds two distinct perspectives on the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. The first group perceives the conflict primarily as a geographical issue, representing another historical phase of global division and a struggle for dominance among superpowers and alliances. This viewpoint considers certain post-Soviet countries, including Ukraine and Armenia, and some Arab nations like Syria, to be undergoing a modern geographic transformation. In this context, the 2020 Karabakh War has also been viewed. Russia, the West (NATO, EU, USA), and Turkey compete to exert influence over these countries. From this standpoint, the war in Ukraine is viewed as a battleground, showcasing the broader Russia-West conflict. Conversely, the second group attributes the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and war to the personal qualities, aspirations, approaches, and issues of the leaders of Russia and Ukraine.

---

\* The work is a part of the sociological study on „Armenia's Youth Perceptions of Russia's War in Ukraine and its Possible Consequences”, conducted in 2022 in cooperation with Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Armenia), and supported by the Yerevan State University in frames of the research project „Fake News: Mechanisms of Circulation and Consumption on Social Network Sites” (2022-2024).

**Keywords:** War in Ukraine, Russia, Armenia, Karabakh Conflict, the West, security, confrontation, public perceptions.

## Introduction

Even though Armenia has embarked on the path of democratization, it is struggling to face security challenges and find its place in geopolitical processes resulting from the confrontation between Russia and the West. The deteriorating political environment in the post-Soviet space, along with threats from Azerbaijani-Turkish cooperation, inevitably impacts Armenia's society and has a transformative influence on the country's social consciousness.

In the last decade, especially during the past five years, Armenia has faced unprecedented turbulence and challenges. In 2018, the „Velvet Revolution”<sup>1</sup> opened opportunities for further democratic reforms and enhanced security and prosperity. However, subsequent actions by the revolutionary elites led to a decline in the security system, demography, and freedoms, as well as a distrust of state institutions<sup>2</sup>. The revolutionary slogans transformed into aggressive political populism<sup>3</sup>.

The second Karabakh war, initiated by Azerbaijan on 27 IX 2020 (also known as the 44-day war), resulted in the defeat of the armed forces of the unrecognized Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, territorial losses, and increased insecurity<sup>4</sup>.

The war coincided with the covid-19 pandemic, adding an extra burden on Armenian society compared to other nations.

Armenian society had already experienced an unprecedented cooperation with the West (the EU, the USA), and Russia as a unique model of balancing strategic interests from both poles, called complementarism<sup>5</sup>. However, the war in

<sup>1</sup> A.В. Атанесян, „Бархатная революция” в Армении: потенциал, достижения и риски политико- протестной активности, „Polis. Political Studies” 2018, no. 6, pp. 80-98; B. Krzysztan, *Unique or modular? Armenian Velvet Revolution in comparative approach*, „Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” 18(2020), no. 3, pp. 143-171.

<sup>2</sup> *Caucasus Barometer 2021-2022*, CRRC Armenia, [https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Barometer-2021\\_pptx\\_ENG\\_Final\\_14%E2%80%A406%E2%80%A422.pdf](https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Barometer-2021_pptx_ENG_Final_14%E2%80%A406%E2%80%A422.pdf) (30 VI 2023).

<sup>3</sup> E. Vardanyan, *Populism in Armenia*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Tbilisi 2021 (in Arm.), <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/georgien/18252.pdf> (30 VI 2023).

<sup>4</sup> L. Hayrapetyan, *The Nagorno-Karabakh war of 2020 and the change of the regional status quo*, „Przegląd Politologiczny” 2022, no. 1, pp. 83-97; M.H. Yavuz, V. Huseynov, *The Second Karabakh War: Russia vs. Turkey?* „Middle East Policy” 2020, no. 27, pp. 103-118; Zh. Amirkhanyan, *A Failure to Innovate: The Second Nagorno-Karabakh War*, „Parameters”, 2020, no. 52(1), pp. 119-134.

<sup>5</sup> S. Minasyan, *Multi-Vectorism in the Foreign Policy of Post-Soviet Eurasian States*, „Demokratizatsiya” 2012, no. 20 (3), pp. 268-273.

Ukraine presented a challenge to maintaining complementarism in the changing security environment of the European and Russian neighborhoods, amid deepening trends of globalizing confrontation. Nonetheless, this unique experience enables the Armenian society to carefully assess a wider scope of regional issues, contributing to a cautious and wise position on global confrontation that can help prevent disasters. Consequently, the studies of public perceptions on foreign political processes and turbulences in Armenian society are particularly interesting and valuable.

During a sociological survey conducted among Armenia's youth in 2015, the following opinion was expressed in various forms:

Russia is not a country that strives towards economic progress, and we have much greater development capabilities if we strive towards Europe. Smart young people strive towards Europe. We simply have some economic and political issues; we can take from each country what we need.

Of course, events since 2015 have significantly changed the perception of Armenia's youth. Understanding their perceptions of the reasons, nature, participants, interests, and possible and actual consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (including Russia's war) can contribute to building parallels between this conflict and other modern conflicts, as well as facilitating multilateral conflict analysis and forecasts.

The findings of the study paint an interesting picture of Armenia's youth, demonstrating the transformations taking place in their worldview. Hence, this study could lay the groundwork for future analysis for both Armenian and foreign researchers.

## **Research methodology**

A sociological study was conducted in Armenia from October 2022 to January 2023 to explore the geopolitical orientation and opinions of Armenia's youth concerning the war in Ukraine. The study aimed to address various issues through focus group discussions with young individuals aged 18 to 35 residing in all provinces of Armenia. The research was carried out by the Faculty of Sociology at Yerevan State University, in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation office in Armenia, and the Socies expert center.

A total of 198 young people participated in six focus-group discussions in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia (including 45 participants), and 18 focus-group discussions in regional cities and villages (including 153 participants). This paper presents the results of the study conducted in the regions of Armenia and

compares them with the discussions held in Yerevan when specific differences were identified<sup>6</sup>.

The focus group discussions aimed to:

- 1) Present the ideas of youth regarding the dynamics of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, including the direct and indirect parties involved, its causes, and the interests of the participants.
- 2) Assess the youth's concerns regarding the potential expansion of the war in Ukraine.
- 3) Explore the perceptions of youth regarding other countries as „friends” or „enemies” of Armenia, with a focus on the positions of Russia and Ukraine, and understand the reasons behind their attitudes.
- 4) Evaluate the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, particularly the war in Ukraine, on the lives of youth and society, including its effects on Armenia's economy, people's lifestyle, and the influx of Russians and Ukrainians who moved to Armenia during the war.
- 5) Examine the opinions of youth about the possible impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict on the security of Armenia and its influence on the current state of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.
- 6) Determine Armenia's position in the Ukrainian conflict according to the youth, including the reasons behind its stance, whom Armenia should support and why, Armenia's interests, and the necessary actions it should take. The views of the participants regarding whom they would support are also explored.

The focus group discussions were conducted using questionnaires. The participants were informed about the research purpose, objectives, the organizations involved, their rights as participants, and the protection of their privacy concerning opinions and answers.

The analysis of the focus group discussions with youth residing in the provinces is presented based on subgroups of residents from provincial cities and villages. The similarity in opinions between young people living in cities and villages of Armenia's provinces can be attributed to the universal impact of key events on residents throughout the country. The „Velvet Revolution” in 2018 led to changes in the central and local governance, and in 2020, residents from all provinces of Armenia participated in the Karabakh War, with their relatives and friends directly or indirectly involved in the conflict and affected by its consequences.

---

<sup>6</sup> For the results of the study conducted in Yerevan, please see: A. Atanesyan, A. Mkrtichyan, *Youth Perceptions of the War in Ukraine and its Possible Consequences (On the Case of Armenian Youth in Yerevan)*, „Journal of Sociology: Bulletin of Yerevan University” 2023, vol. 14, no. 1 (37), pp. 7-28.

Differences in opinions between residents of cities and villages primarily concern those who moved to Armenia during the 2022 Russian war in Ukraine. Urban residents, especially in Yerevan, have firsthand experience with the newcomers, while opinions of some provincial residents are based on second-hand information from their relatives living in urban areas about the „Russians” (a generalized, stereotypical term used by local population in Armenia while talking about Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian newcomers who relocated to Armenia during the war).

Throughout the analysis, any significant differences in the views of urban and rural residents will be highlighted and supported with quotes from the opinions of the young participants.

## **Results and discussion**

### **1) Reasons of the War in Ukraine**

Discussing the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and especially the reasons for Russia's 2022 war in Ukraine, young people residing in cities in Armenia's provinces mentioned the following reasons:

- a) Russia's desire to strengthen its borders, returning part of the past Soviet Republics under its influence;
- b) Russia's attempt to stop NATO expansion, including Western policy to include Ukraine in anti-Russian activity;
- c) Russia's response to threats (NATO's fleet approaching Russian borders, US laboratories being created in Ukraine and covert activities were mentioned);
- d) Ukraine's pro-European policy;
- e) the personal provocation factor of Ukraine's president;
- f) the attempts by Russian president Putin to revive Russia's global heavyweight role and importance;
- g) Putin's „demented” ambitions.

The dynamic of focus-group discussions demonstrated individualized and systematic approaches to explaining the reasons for Russia's war in Ukraine. Individualized explanations emphasized the roles of Russian president Putin and Ukrainian president Zelensky. During discussions, there were attempts to both justify and criticize, and disparage both leaders. While in the case of Russia Putin's coordinated plans of a strategic nature were being mentioned (restoration of the Soviet Union, prevention of NATO's future expansion, strengthening the domain of influence etc.), Zelensky's actions are defined by anti-Russian and pro-Western sentiments.

The war was started by Russia, but the reason was Ukraine's, especially Zelensky's orientation towards the West, the desire to become a NATO member, his statements. In that context, Russia's actions as a superpower are logical. *Female, 18-25 group, Hrazdan*

In my opinion, everything comes from the president, I believe Zelensky is planted and works for the West on purpose, if there was someone more pro-Russian in his stead, I believe it wouldn't have got to this. *Male, 18-35 age group, Vayk*

In one of the group discussions the conflict between Russia and Ukraine was compared to the separation between North and South Korea, the same nation, but freedom on one side and an atmosphere of fear on the other. In a different discussion, the emphasis on the Russians and Ukrainians being one nation in two states was compared to Armenians in Armenia and in Nagorno-Karabakh, and Russia's war in Ukraine was seen as a result of an artificially created separation.

The motivation of the Ukrainian population, their participation in the draft and Russia, where thousands deserted, were even convicted. People strive for freedom of speech, life, thought, and rights. Same thing with North and South Korea. *Male, 26-35 group, Ijevan*

As if Armenians and Karabakhis had a conflict, same thing there. *Female, 18-25 group, Hrazdan*

Just as Armenians pay the blood price holding their ground, the same way there, I think, Ukrainians hold theirs. *Female, 26-35 age group, Alashkert vil.*

One abovementioned explanations stood out, explaining that this conflict is between Russia and Western powers, while Ukraine's territory is simply a battlefield. That explanation was the most widespread.

Russia was feeling that its borders are being approached, and attempted to strike preemptively, rather than waiting for it to get to its border and only waking up then. *Female, 18-25 group, Goris*

When we say that there is a third side, Turkey, and Azerbaijan are small figures, compared to the USA-Russia conflict we have here, this isn't even NATO-Russia, it's USA vs Russia, and there is a third country hidden here: China, which strives to enter Europe by any means, while USA isn't interested in Europe being independent, USA needs a Europe that depends on it. *Male, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

## 2) Direct and indirect participants of the conflict

Russia on one side and Ukraine on the other were obviously mentioned as the direct participants of the conflict. The latter is supported by NATO states (USA, United Kingdom, Poland, and Germany) while France still attempts at taking as neutral a stance as possible. It was also frequently mentioned in group discussions that NATO, the EU, and the United Kingdom are the direct participants of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict while the conflict is taking place in a USA vs Russia, West vs East format, in Ukrainian and other territories.

While the Western factor in Russia's war in Ukraine, according to young people is the most active and the most important one (both positively and negatively), the most active participants on NATO's side are the USA and the United Kingdom, the most passive is the European Union. According to young people's perception, the EU is controlled by US and UK's political agenda, while also suffering from Russia's war in Ukraine and also having a hard time overcoming its own problems.

They (Ukraine) want to break free from Russia. There is such sentiment in Armenia, to reject Russia, get into Europe, all warm and fancy... But as we can see Europe isn't even warm. Winter is coming soon, and Europe's situation will...  
*Female, 26-35 age group, Vayk*

As of right now Europe doesn't have gas because they have applied sanctions to Russia, while Russia was the main gas supplier to Europe. This means that the people will now have to face reality: how to stay warm during winter?..  
*Male, 18-25 age group, Getashen vil.*

Turkey is believed to be an indirect side to Russia's war in Ukraine, standing at Russia's side. An opinion was sounded that Ukraine's victory can be advantageous for Turkey in the context of implementing its pan-Turkism (pan-Turanism) plans.

If Ukraine wins this war, for example, takes some territories from Russia, Turkey will benefit from that, to realize its plan (Pan-Turkism).  
*Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

Azerbaijan is the child of Turkey. What Turkey does, Azerbaijan does the same.  
*Female, 18-25 age group, Hrazdan*

Azerbaijan and Turkey will benefit from Ukraine's victory, Russia is, in quotes, on Armenia's side, and when Russia grows weak, Azerbaijan and Turkey will be able to apply force on Armenia, but if it's the opposite, and Russia wins, Russia may become the dominant country.  
*Male, 18-35 age group, Vayk*

It is also mentioned that the issue of Crimea is more important for Turkey, as it belonged to Turkey at some point. Turkey desires for Crimea to join Ukraine (it's mentioned that it's the goal Turkey pursues by helping the Ukrainian side with weapons) and if Crimea joins Ukraine, then Turkey will have open access to Crimea, for example, deploying Turkish peacekeepers in and strengthening Turkish strategic presence in the peninsula.

According to the opinion of the majority of province-resident youth, it was impossible to avoid Russia's war in Ukraine, just like the Karabakh War was impossible to avoid, this is where global interests collide. At the same time, it was possible to avoid the 2022 Russia's war in Ukraine if the leaders of Russia and Ukraine would compromise, while, according to some young people, Russia would continue to cooperate with the EU and the USA.

### 3) The course of the war and possible developments

Young people believe that Russia's war in Ukraine will last for a while, probably in a different format, because, according to the majority opinion, it is a global conflict between Russia, the West (primarily the USA) and other countries for spheres of influence.

For me, it's a very anxious situation brewing, as Russia is essentially facing defeat in Ukraine, and Russia doesn't like defeats, it has nuclear weapons that it can use against Europe and Ukraine. And Russia's interest is to keep its domain of influence and to have as much influence as possible. *Male, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

I feel that Russia is a country that won't be stopped by anyone. *Male, 18-25 age group, Goris*

During the discussions, the abrupt decline in trust towards international security organizations was obvious.

If in the past we would say that the UN must defend human rights, we believed that, we saw that it's not being done in practice, I simply don't trust anymore. They exist only for themselves, not for the people. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

According to young people, NATO or the Russia-based Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) will not participate directly in the war. NATO will not participate because that organization is already indirectly participating on Ukraine's



side, and the CSTO cannot participate, because „it has expired as an institution a long time ago”<sup>7</sup> (*Female, 18-35 age group, Gyumri*).

As for the possibility of a Third World War, according to the majority of the youths' opinion, it has already started and is ongoing in various regions of the world, on military, economic and informational levels. They also believe that the possibility of deploying nuclear weapons by Russia would be higher if Russia begins to lose the conventional war.

We are permanently used to believing that a World War is wide scale, but why are we ignoring that the Third World War is already happening, there are hybrid wars, and I believe that this war will not bring to involvement, but rather institutional decay. *Female, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

What else the Third World War is supposed to be like? There is war all around. *Female, 26-35 age group, Alashkert vil.*

If Russia feels that it's losing the struggle against Ukraine, while as of right now it's fighting not just against Ukraine, but against the whole world, therefore if Russia starts to lose in the war with Ukraine, it won't lose, it will use nuclear weapons. *Male, 18-25 age group, Getashen vil.*

#### **4) Armenia's friends and enemies in the context of the war in Ukraine**

In all discussions with the youth residing in urban provinces the opinion that „Armenia has no allies” was underlined. This opinion was based on the notion that no state is ready to significantly assist Armenia, matching their approach and actions to Armenian interests. Any pro-Armenia policy conducted by another state is motivated by that county's self-interest.

Because despite the fact that we're a small country, we have a great significance for these large countries, Iran, USA, Russia, Turkey, everyone wants to have influence here. Everyone has the same desire, their own state's interests, because we know that there are no friends etc. there is simply interest. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

---

<sup>7</sup> This position is common for the Armenian society, especially after the 2020 Karabakh war when two applies of the government of Armenia to CSTO for assistance did not receive any sufficient response, see: А.Е. Мкртчян, А.В. Атанесян, *Армения между Россией и Западом: внешнеполитические приоритеты в общественном мнении*, „Социологические исследования” 2022, no. 12, pp. 95-96.

First of all, we need to be allies, the country mustn't be weak internally in governance, financial, national and principal aspects. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

Azerbaijan and Turkey were mentioned in the first place as Armenia's enemies, followed by their ally Pakistan, and Israel, which supported Azerbaijan before the 2020 Karabakh War, supplying weapons and military technology and provided diplomatic support during the war. In some discussions it was mentioned that Georgia is not being friendly towards Armenia too, viewing Armenia as an ally of its enemy, Russia, while being significantly economically dependent on Turkey.

Well, if your only friendly state can close something for you during wartime, for me they automatically start to become a state that can betray you first, rather than, let's say, an enemy. *Female, 18-25 age group, Armavir*

Despite the mismatch between the actions of the countries friendly to Armenia and young people's expectations, Russia, France, Iran, and, in some cases, Greece (as an enemy of Turkey) were mentioned as friendly states. This opinion reflects results of the nationwide surveys demonstrating that 47% of the Armenian society still perceives Russia as a friendly state; among friendly states are France (84%), Iran (45%), and USA (38%)<sup>8</sup>. The main emphasis on Russia as an ally of Armenia during province-based discussions is *disappointment*. Recently people in Armenia have grown disappointed in Russia, especially during and after the 2020 Karabakh War.

For the first time people are confident that the idea that if not for the Russians, then the Turks would have come and eaten us, well, that's not an option anymore, because we can see that it's not the Russians. It's for the first time that all the people of Armenia do something like that, that Russians are not a guarantee, and we need other guarantees, and it's the first case when even pro-Russian people are expressing themselves, saying that there is no salvation in the Russians. Second: it's the first time that people in Armenia are saying that it would be good if the Russian army leaves Armenia, this idea is also being discussed by a wider audience, and we know, speech, when unrestricted, becomes reality. *Male, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

Naming Russia as Armenia's „friend in quotes”, discussion participants still specified the inevitability of a strategic relationship with Russia.

---

<sup>8</sup> А.В. Атанесян, А.Е. Мкртчян, *Россия как союзник: динамика восприятия в армянском обществе до и после карабахской войны 2020 года*, „Polis. Political Studies” 2023, no. 2, p. 16.

We have a greater inclination towards Europe, and that's exactly what created the issue, despite the fact that we had the war in 2020. Russia had a great effect and tried to bring back the inclination towards Russia. We're in this region and it would be the right thing to have an inclination towards Russia. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

We're not openly saying it's bad, but internally it is very bad. We are showing the world as if Russia is our friend and ally, but everyone understands that's not true. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

Evaluating Russia's role in Armenia's security aspects, especially in the context of the 2020 Karabakh War, many youths mentioned the CSTO, all comments about which are critical.

Armenia was simply a member for the CSTO, when it sees that the USA is trying to find some interest here, it comes quickly. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

CSTO, it simply exists, it doesn't do anything. *Female, 18-25 age group, Hrazdan*

Armenia has a serious chance; the West has come to Armenia. We need to leave the CSTO, it's not fighting for Armenia, nor is it doing anything else. *Male, 26-35 age group, Ijevan*

In discussions in the provinces there were also attempts at acknowledging the importance of Russia's role in Armenia's security issues, but compared to the criticism directed at Russia, there weren't many of them.

The 44-day war happened, right? In the end, it was stopped with their [Russia's] intervention, now if even they weren't there, what situation would we be in, what would we do?. *Male, 18-25 age group, Getashen vil.*

Armenia's cooperation with Iran and the positive influence of that state was particularly mentioned in the province of Syunik but also mentioned in all other group discussions.

Economically Iran is our best ally, because it is currently important for Syunik, but it's not even preparing for any activity in the military sphere, even if it deployed it's forces on the border next to Meghri, it didn't do so for Armenia, it did so to hold its own borders, in the end, it's a Muslim country, as much as it's supporting us, Islam and Christianity don't have much to do with each other today, while not on the surface, they have an internal conflict with one another. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

It is interesting to note that during the discussions Iran's role was emphasized more than that of France's. Even though the latter is viewed as traditionally friendly state but which needs to be more proactive and supportive of Armenia.

France may be feeding us croissants on paper, but in reality, it isn't doing anything for us apart from giving statements. But de facto it was Iran and India that assisted us during the 44-day war, because before we purchased weapons from the latter, there were very serious talks about a road through India and Iran, towards Europe, and the only ally these two states were seeing was Armenia, hinting, that we will help you, Armenia. *Male, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

In my opinion France is the ally because during the 44-day war and during this last war it was reacting quite well. But it's not just reacting that's needed it's a bit more.... *Female, 18 -25 age group, Armavir*

During discussions it was mentioned, that India could be Armenia's ally because it can gain access to Europe via a trade route through Armenia. Apart from that, India has a conflict with Pakistan, therefore the development of military, political and economic relations between the Islamic states of Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Pakistan is not in India's interests. Also, according to participants in the discussions, Armenia is getting ready to purchase weapons from India.

It was also mentioned that political cooperation with China is not absolute, as there are Turkic language speaking nations residing within China, who can play a dominant role in some issues.

The USA tries to establish a relationship with Armenia based on certain interests but is hindered by Armenia's relationship with Russia.

The USA had its own interests, of course, when coming here before the war they offered many projects, smart livestock building projects, intensive garden projects, but they were rejected by Armenia because it's under Russia's auspice, so to say. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

## 5) Changes in Armenia as a result of the war in Ukraine

Both Yerevan and province residents primarily noted the growth of rent prices, which, according to young people, is not only because of the strong flow of immigrants to Armenia during Russia's war in Ukraine but also because of Armenian landlords raising rental prices.

Unfortunately, there are people who benefit from the situation, evicting Armenians and renting to Russians at a very high price. What about our problem of

self-preservation that we have? Russians are here temporarily, even if they stay here for 10 years, they're still going back to their country. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

Province-resident youth is less bothered by the growth of rent in their cities rather than in Yerevan, where most universities are located, and being students, province-resident young people have now encountered unprecedented difficulties renting in Yerevan.

For example, a student going to study to Yerevan from a village had to pay 50-70 thousand drams back then, now they have to pay more than 200000, Russians can pay that much, so how are our students going to pay that much?. *Male, 18-35 age group, Getashen vil.*

Another issue mentioned was the competitive advantages of the immigrants (stereotypically generalized and referred to as „the Russians”) in Armenia's limited employment market, as a consequence of which Armenians lose their jobs in favor of the immigrants. At the same time, it was mentioned that it's the immigrants themselves that create jobs and take them (IT, service industry in particular) or occupy a sector of the market that was vacant and isn't attractive to locals.

Talking to friends, many are complaining that restaurants started hiring Russians whose Russian is much better and they service their customers better, so an Armenian, who spoke worse Russian and had a job, is being replaced by someone who speaks better Russian to push their business forward. *Female, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

I haven't visited Yerevan for a while, I rarely go there, but I have acquaintances, and I found out that there are service sector jobs that people I know rejected, while Russians take these jobs with pleasure. *Male, 18-35 age group, Vayk*

The observations of the young people on the integration process of those who moved to Armenia during Russia's war in Ukraine are interesting. In particular, it was mentioned that the newcomers are trying to adapt to the new circumstances, creating their own cultural space and spending time with each other, rather than with local Armenians.

In Vanadzor there was a unique pub, it belonged to one of our friends, they sold it last year for completely different reasons and as a result a Russian-Ukrainian couple bought it, and now, if you go to that pub, 95 percent of people are Russian-speaking, the atmosphere changed completely. They come every Friday and

party. They created their community that way and are trying to integrate on their own, but not among people. *Female, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

Young people who participated in the discussions rated this approach rather negatively, essentially not taking into account the fact that at least the first generation of Armenians who moved to Russia and other countries prefer to follow the same principle of residing and spending time with relatives and compatriots, not even just compatriots, but rather people from their own province<sup>9</sup>.

Financial investments and the created economic possibilities were mentioned as a positive effect of the large influx of „Russians” into Armenia.

I believe this is very good, the more people come the better it will be. If it doesn't influence your sovereignty, let them come, they are right to do so, and you shouldn't see it negatively, they come and establish businesses, even if they come to do menial labor, it develops the economy, it's a human resource. *Male, 26-35 age group, Jrvej vil.*

For example, it affected our family very well, I'm being sincere, my brother is a Russian citizen and his family lives there he owns a hardware store and as now Russians cannot leave Russia, they do construction work, he already bought approximately half a hectare of land, he's now building a store on it, it's very good for us. *Male, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

It is also interesting that of non-Yerevan urban-resident youth have more fears about arriving foreigners „changing our culture” than Yerevan-resident youth<sup>10</sup>. It is noticeable that when talking about those who moved to Armenia during Russia's war in Ukraine, part of the province residents have an indirect perception of them: they have heard about them from others or have seen them when visiting Yerevan. At the same time, the fears of province-residents towards the immigrants are obviously stereotypical, often unverified, and strongly emotional.

For example, I visited Yerevan several days ago and saw a huge lot of Russians in town. I had the impression I'm in Russia and not in Armenia, and it affects your emotional state when you see more Russians in your country than Armenians. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

<sup>9</sup> See, for example: *Armenians Around the World: Migration and Transnationality*, ed. A. Mkrtichyan, Frankfurt am Main 2015.

<sup>10</sup> A.В. Атанесян, „Русские релоканты” в восприятии молодежи Армении, „Социологические исследования” 2023, no. 6, pp. 112-122.

I was walking in Yerevan recently and at some point, I heard people speaking Armenian, I'm being sincere, I was so happy, it made me so happy. *Female, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

While the discussion participants from Yerevan split into two groups, with the majority seeing Russians and Ukrainians who moved to Yerevan during Russia's war in Ukraine as interesting carriers of alternative culture, well-mannered and often exemplary in behavior, the province youth shares the opinion and the fears of the minority of Yerevan-residents that the immigrants are a threat to the Armenian lifestyle, culture, and traditions. During the discussions, the looks and behavior of immigrants were frequently mentioned, them being significantly different from locals and them not finding a place in Armenians' (province residents in this case) habits and perceptions of morality.

We were going to a store, some girl was going there, wearing short shorts, a cigarette in her hand, she has already left an impression on everyone... she put out her cigarette and entered the store.... *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

The possible negative effect of the immigrants on Armenian children is mentioned in particular. It is interesting to notice that the „the children” argument is frequently used by young people from the 18-25 age group, which seems, should be less concerned by the effect on children than other age groups.

Now we are judging and we're saying that nothing good is going to come out of it, but 10 years later we will consider it to be normal for our 14-year-old children to be using drugs and living an underage sex life. *Female 18-25 age group, Goris*

The freedom-loving youths will fall for it; oversight will weaken and it will be much harder to properly raise our young generation. *Female 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

There were fewer positive or realistic opinions.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, you can't keep your borders closed to another nation, another culture, it's even embarrassing. *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

Also, during discussions in the provinces it was mentioned that the „Russians” who moved to Armenia during Russia's war in Ukraine have had a somewhat positive effect of publicizing and promoting Armenian cultural sites becoming known. They actively visit cultural sites, participate in events, cover them on social media and advocate for Armenia (26-35 age group, Vayk).

Some participants are concerned that the influx of Russians into Armenia can have future impact on Armenia's political system. They believe that if that influx continues it can contribute to the inclusion of Russian businessmen or politicians in government agencies. One of the participants was concerned that Russians' arriving in Armenia can result in „putting Armenia in the same situation in which Ukraine is right now” in the future.

For me there is a scary fact related to the Russian migrants, they arrived, they're living for themselves, they're not living at my expense, but a lot of these people coming here and their involvement in our political life can be catastrophic in several years in my opinion, they will be able to have a political representation, for example in the National Assembly and other places. *Female, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

## **6) Armenia's security, interests and necessary position towards the war in Ukraine**

According to the opinion of province-resident youth, Russia's actions in Ukraine are justified as Russia is „struggling as a superpower against Western powers engorging on its borders”. Ukraine's actions are justified by people struggling for „their land”, „their homes”, so that „their subsequent generations have a place to live”.

Drawing a parallel between the Russian-Ukrainian war and the Karabakh conflict, some of the province-resident youth have compared Armenia to Ukraine in the structure of these two conflicts. According to young people's opinion, both are defending their territory, while Azerbaijan and Russia are playing the role of aggressors. There was also a different opinion, according to which the reasons for starting the war are different for Russia and Azerbaijan. In Russia's case, it was to prevent the expansion of the West and Ukraine from joining the enemy camp, while in the case of Azerbaijan; it was to conquer historic Armenian land.

Russia attacked Ukraine, despite everything, just like Azerbaijan attacked Armenia. Donetsk, Luhansk, etc., were on the line, here it's Artsakh<sup>11</sup>. This means that logic and morality say we should be at Ukraine's side, but can we? In that case, Russia will put pressure on us (gas, military base, electricity). *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

---

<sup>11</sup> The Armenian name of Karabakh.



They are different from each other; I think the problem is that Ukraine is moving towards Europe. In our case it's a territorial problem, Azerbaijan always wanted to take Karabakh territory... *Female, 26-35 age group, Vayk*

Armenia's position on Russia's war in Ukraine is „as neutral as possible, and must be neutral". According to young people Russia remains Armenia's ally, which, according to the presented opinions, is a mostly objectively defined reality, which is not dependent on Armenians' desires.

It can be said that Armenia's whole economy is in Russia's hand, and a very complicated process must be done if we want to strive towards the USA. *Male, 18-35 age group, Goris*

Between two evils, Russia is better. *Female, 18-35 age group, Gyumri*

The collective opinion of both Yerevan-resident and province-resident youth is that it is necessary to not interfere and avoid picking sides in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. According to discussions, Armenia is doing exactly that, and, despite alignment with Russia, Armenia has taken an essentially neutral stance.

In some places when there is a vote to apply sanctions against Russia, or doing something for Ukraine, Armenia is amongst the three-four countries to abstain from voting. This means that we can say that it's not that pro-Russian. *Male, 18-25 age group, Armavir*

On one side, according to young people, Armenia can be perceived as Russia's ally in Russia's war in Ukraine, as a result of which it could be sanctioned by Western countries. At the same time, if not for the war in Ukraine, Russia would have been freer, and would probably take a more pro-Armenian stance in the Karabakh conflict. Also, while not assisting Russia, Armenia shouldn't interfere at all.

There is a sad fact, that the world perceives Armenia as a region under Russia's auspices, and whatever happens, we won't be supported as much as Ukraine. *Female, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

At the moment of the end of the war Russia will calm down and will be able to make a decision for our nation. *Female, 18-25, Gyumri*

If we consider it from the viewpoint of humanitarian values, we should obviously support Ukraine. But if we consider it from the viewpoint of our present-day political, military and security situation, it seems that while we shouldn't support

Russia, at least we shouldn't go support the other side. *Male, 18-25 age group, Armavir*

Province-resident youth mentioned that Azerbaijan and Turkey are using Russia's war in Ukraine, reaping benefits as mediators and taking advantage of Russia's preoccupation in the war and its possible weakening.

Now Azerbaijan is waiting for Russia to weaken to attack again, using the convenience of the moment. *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

In September, when the Syunik events<sup>12</sup> began, it was a heavy time for Russia and Ukraine, and we saw the enemy use that, I think that isn't in our interest, because Turkey and Azerbaijan always activate in the period when they see the Russians busy with their region and they launch small attacks. *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

There is not only compassion and indifference towards Ukraine, but also a negative attitude, defined by Ukraine's pro-Azerbaijan policy during and after the 2020 Karabakh War<sup>13</sup>. It was mentioned that Ukraine supplied Azerbaijan with weapons and ammunition<sup>14</sup> and congratulated Azerbaijan on its „Victory”. Meanwhile, according to young people, Armenia's official attitude towards Ukraine is not just neutral, but even supportive in some aspects.

During the 44-day war Ukraine wasn't talking about anything, wasn't talking about Karabakh, assisted Turkey and Azerbaijan. But during this war [Russia's war in Ukraine – editor's note], I don't know why, Artsakh gathered aid and sent it to Ukraine... *Female, 18-25 age group, Goris*

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the attack of the units of the Armed Forces of Azerbaijan on the territory of the Republic of Armenia on 13 IX 2022. See: *As a result of the Azerbaijani attack on September 13, 29 people went missing*, „Azatutyun”, 19 X 2022 (in Arm.), <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/32091450.html> (30 VI 2023).

<sup>13</sup> Ukraine and Azerbaijan represent each other as allies in both Karabakh and Ukrainian wars, which also serves as background for critical public perceptions on Ukraine in Armenia. See, for example: *Azerbaijan is Ukraine's only strategic ally in the South Caucasus*, „Eureport”, 20 VII 2022, <https://www.eureporter.co/world/azerbaijan-world/2022/07/20/azerbaijan-is-ukraines-only-strategic-ally-in-the-south-caucasus/> (30 VI 2023); D. Kirichenko, *Why Ukraine Supports Azerbaijan on Nagorno-Karabakh*, „The National Interest”, 21 II 2023, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-ukraine-supports-azerbaijan-nagorno-karabakh-206234> (30 VI 2023).

<sup>14</sup> Public opinion in Armenia on this issue was influenced by Mass Media information claiming that Ukraine was providing weapons to Azerbaijan to fight Armenia during the 2020 Karabakh War. However, regarding the alleged use of chemical weaponry, such information was later proved to be fake. See: *Disinfo: Ukraine Sold Chemical Weapons to Azerbaijan for The Karabakh War*, „EU vs. Disinfo”, 29 XII 2020, <https://euvsdisinfo.eu/report/ukraine-sold-chemical-weapons-to-azerbaijan-for-the-karabakh-war> (30 VI 2023).

Then it became clear they're not at our side... They were confessing their love to Azerbaijan. *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

There was a time when same Ukraine openly... the rain of phosphorus that came down on Qubatlu<sup>15</sup> was openly provided by Ukraine. If Armenia would have a pro-Ukrainian stance today, it would be somewhat absurd, the people won't take it well. *Female, 26-35 age group, Martuni*

It was mentioned that Armenians have become desensitized and indifferent after the 2020 Karabakh War and the losses it incurred, which is why they are more indifferent towards Russia's war in Ukraine now rather than picking a side. Young people's opinions reflect dissatisfaction with the indifference of international community's toward Armenia's problems. From a justice point of view, one should act toward others the same way they have acted toward them. In that sense, understanding the suffering and the difficulties of the Ukrainian side, province-resident youth finds that the Ukrainian side was uninterested in the suffering of Karabakh residents during the Karabakh War, explaining the reciprocated indifference.

The people around me are indifferent, which can be explained by the fact that when we were in a war, they didn't care. Now the Armenian society is showing the same treatment. *Female, 18-25 age groups, Gyumri*

We saw worse things than Ukraine did. When we had a war, no one cared about our 18-year-old kids, while almost the whole world is at Ukraine's side. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

## 7) Young people's forecasts about the future

Just as the Yerevan resident, province resident youth's perception of Armenia's future and the perspective of the processes happening in the region is undefined and mostly pessimistic. They speak of positive developments as of hope and of negative ones based on facts and the current situation.

In reality we have dreams and those are national dreams to return life to its natural flow. *Male, 26-35 age group, Vanadzor*

As for the results of the war in Ukraine, the aforementioned positive results are more probable if Russia wins the war rather than loses it, in the opinion of

---

<sup>15</sup> A city in Karabakh attacked and then occupied by Azerbaijani army during the 2020 Karabakh War.

both city residents and village residents, in case of Russia's defeat Armenia will be defenseless.

Russia's defeat will weaken Armenia as it is currently under Russia's influence, and in the case of the latter's defeat Turkey will be more daring in starting a war because the world will not be afraid of Russia anymore. Azerbaijan and Turkey will speed up the beginning of the implementation of their idea of their Great Turan project. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

The Russian-Ukrainian war is bad for Armenia because if Russia could do something for Armenia, now it cannot because it's in a war, this is why we don't need this war at all. *Male, 18-25 age group, Getashen vil.*

If there is no Russia, there won't be an Armenia. *Female, 18-25 age group, Hrazdan*

It is not in our interest if Russia weakens. If Russia weakens, our situation will get worse by the day. *Female, 26-35 age group, Alashkert vil.*

According to province-resident youth, the development of the current situation can result in more difficulties and problems. One of the worst results observed for Armenia in that event is loss of statehood, and mass emigration as a result of Turkish-Azerbaijani aggression. It is important to note, that everyone perceived the opening of the Turkish-Azerbaijani „corridor” through Armenia's territory – presented under road unblocking in the trilateral agreement on 9 XI 2020<sup>16</sup> – as a threat, as a result of which it is conceivable that all of Nagorno-Karabakh ending up as part of Azerbaijan, the separation of Syunik and Vayots Dzor provinces from Armenia, and loss of Armenian's statehood.

Azerbaijan's military actions are mostly directed at us providing the corridor so that we are belittled and submit and provide the corridor, when we provide the corridor, we'll lose the connection with Iran, we will lose three of our main towns, Goris, Kapan, and Meghri will automatically go to them. *Male, 18-35 age group, Vayk*

Worst scenario is if Armenia is not on the map anymore, Armenians will scatter around the world as a diaspora, but if that territory is gone, who needs the diaspora? *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

---

<sup>16</sup> *Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation, 10 XI 2020, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/64384> (30 VI 2023).*

My concern is that we're about to lose Armenia, the war essentially took place in three stages. The first stage was us losing a certain part of Artsakh, second is them constantly firing at us like that, forcing us out, so that whoever is capable leaves the country, the third is us slowly being surrounded, slowly losing our land, now even Martuni is a frontline (Gegharkunik province), this is the Pan-Turkism project. *Male, 18-35 age group, Getashen vil.*

The security and existence of the Armenian-populated province of Nagorno-Karabakh is directly related to the presence of Russian peacekeepers in that region<sup>17</sup>. One of the scenarios, concerning the youth is the future of Nagorno-Karabakh after the expiration of the service term of the peacekeepers [in 2025]. During the discussion, young people expressed their desire that Nagorno-Karabakh's population could become part of Russia after the end of the peacekeepers' mission.

The agreement was signed with the border guard forces and it expires in 5 years, which creates a negative perspective. *Female, 18-25 age group, Gyumri*

The province resident-youth does not express any hope for a positive future with intervention and assistance by Western countries, explaining it with both historical precedence and the current reality.

British ships didn't come to Armenian mountains. *Female, 26-35 age group, Gyumri*

For example, some people say that Russia supports Armenia, some people say that it did steps that are bad for Armenia. It may come to the USA coming in at some point and being our friend, an ally country, but in my opinion, one day it will do even worse things to us than Russia did. *Male, 18-25 age group, Getashen vil.*

Despite the mostly pessimistic expectations of the future and its uncertainty, province-resident youth believe in their own strength and have a certain drive to recover from the losses of the 2020 Karabakh War. They feel obligated to those who gave their life defending their homeland. Young people who participated in the discussions mentioned that it is necessary to be optimistic, and expect positive expectations and changes.

---

<sup>17</sup> M. Mihalka, *NagornoKarabakh and Russian peacekeeping: Prospects for a second Dayton*, „International Peacekeeping” 1996, no. 3(3), pp. 16-32.

## Conclusion

Armenia's youth perceives the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, including the war in Ukraine, based on several influencing factors, including:

- 1) **Geostrategic Perspective:** Armenia's youth can be divided into two groups based on their perception of the conflict. For one group, the conflict is viewed as a regional representation of the ongoing division of the world, representing a struggle between superpowers and alliances vying for spheres of influence. Some post-Soviet countries (particularly Ukraine and Armenia) and certain Arab nations (such as Syria) are seen as undergoing a modern geographic transformation. Meanwhile, Russia, the West (NATO, EU, USA), and Turkey compete to expand their respective spheres of influence. From this viewpoint, the war in Ukraine is viewed as a battleground, reflecting the broader Russia-West conflict.
- 2) **Personal Attributes Perspective:** The other group attributes the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and war to the personal qualities, aspirations, approaches, and issues of the leaders of Russia and Ukraine.

In general, Armenia's youth believe that Armenia should maintain a neutral stance on Russia's war in Ukraine, irrespective of its alliance obligations, the nature of the conflict, or its manifestations. However, their opinions on the immediate parties of the conflict – Russia and Ukraine – are ambivalent and influenced by Moscow and Kiev's positions during the 2020 Karabakh War. Disappointment with Russia, Armenia's strategic partner, is linked to the Armenian side's defeat in the war, while negative feelings towards Ukraine stem from its support towards Azerbaijan and Turkey, and vice versa. Despite these sentiments, the generalized opinion of Armenian youth supports the preservation of neutrality in the current situation, considering both subjective and objective factors.

Armenia's youth mostly hold pessimistic views on the potential developments of the war in Ukraine and overall forecasts. The new security threats that emerged after the 2020 Karabakh War, coupled with subsequent events, appear challenging to overcome. The instability of the European and Russian neighborhoods and the possibility of the crisis spreading globally create difficult conditions for Armenians. When seeking a relatively stable side to align with, young people express concerns about the destabilization of Russia and the escalation of the conflict not only with Ukraine but also with all countries in the expanding North Atlantic Alliance. Additionally, sanctions against Russia affect EU countries, possibly pushing Armenia further down on the EU's agenda. Furthermore, Armenia's youth worries about the strengthening of Turkey and Azerbaijan, which contributes to the prolonged nature of the war in Ukraine. Turkey and Azerbaijan play both

sides in the conflict, benefiting from Russia and Ukraine while advancing their strategic goals to establish a security system in the South Caucasus in their favor.

## Abstrakt

Arthur Atanesyan, Artur Mkrtichyan

### Przyczyny, dynamika i konsekwencje wojny na Ukrainie w percepcji młodzieży ormiańskiej

Badania przeprowadzono w okresie od października 2022 r. do stycznia 2023 r., a ich celem było wyjaśnienie i podkreślenie zmian w politycznym postrzeganiu, obawach, ocenach i aspiracjach młodzieży w Armenii. Głównymi celami badania było poznanie obaw młodzieży Armenii w związku z ekspansją wojny na Ukrainie, poznanie potencjalnych skutków konfliktu rosyjsko-ukraińskiego i wojny na Ukrainie dla regionu Kaukazu Południowego oraz dla bezpieczeństwa Armenii oraz ocena zmian, jakie wojna przyniosła w życiu młodzieży i społeczeństwa Armenii. Młodzież Armenii ma dwa różne spojrzenia na konflikt rosyjsko-ukraiński. Pierwsza grupa postrzega konflikt przede wszystkim jako kwestię geograficzną, reprezentującą kolejną historyczną fazę globalnego podziału i walki o dominację pomiędzy mocarstwami i sojuszami. Z tego punktu widzenia niektóre kraje poradzieckie, w tym Ukraina i Armenia, a także niektóre kraje arabskie, takie jak Syria, przechodzą nowoczesną transformację geograficzną. W tym kontekście postrzegano także wojnę karabaską w 2020 r. Rosja, Zachód (NATO, UE, USA) i Turcja rywalizują o wpływy w tych krajach. Z tego punktu widzenia wojnę na Ukrainie postrzega się jako pole bitwy ukazujące szerszy konflikt Rosja-Zachód. Z innej strony, druga grupa przypisuje konflikt i wojnę rosyjsko-ukraińską osobistym cechom, aspiracjom, postawom i problemom przywódców Rosji i Ukrainy.

**Słowa kluczowe:** wojna na Ukrainie, Rosja, Armenia, konflikt karabaski, Zachód, bezpieczeństwo, konfrontacja, percepcja społeczna

## References

- Amirkhanyan, Zh., *A Failure to Innovate: The Second Nagorno-Karabakh War*, „Parameters” 2020, no. 52(1).
- Armenians Around the World: Migration and Transnationality*, ed. A. Mkrtichyan, Frankfurt am Main 2015.
- As a result of the Azerbaijani attack on September 13, 29 people went missing*, „Azatutyun”, 19 X 2022, <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/32091450.html>.
- Atanesyan, A.V., „Barkhatnaya revolyutsiya” v Armenii: potentsial, dostizheniya i riski politiko- protestnoy aktivnosti, „Polis. Political Studies” 2018, no. 6.
- Atanesyan, A.V., „Russkiye relokanty” v vospriyatii molodezhi Armenii, „Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya” 2023, no. 6.
- Atanesyan, A. & Mkrtichyan, A., *Youth Perceptions of the War in Ukraine and its Possible Consequences (On the Case of Armenian Youth in Yerevan)*, „Journal of Sociology: Bulletin of Yerevan University” 2023, vol. 14, no. 1 (37).
- Atanesyan, A.V. & Mkrtichyan, A. Ye., *Rossiia kak soyuznik: dinamika vospriyatiya v armyanskom obshchestve do i posle karabakhskoy voyny 2020 goda*, „Polis. Political Studies” 2023, no. 2.
- Azerbaijan is Ukraine’s only strategic ally in the South Caucasus*, „Eureporter”, 20 VII 2022, <https://www.eureporter.co/world/azerbaijan-world/2022/07/20/azerbaijan-is-ukraines-only-strategic-ally-in-the-south-caucasus/>.
- Caucasus Barometer 2021-2022*, CRRC Armenia, [https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Barometer-2021\\_pptx\\_ENG\\_Final\\_14%E2%80%A406%E2%80%A422.pdf](https://www.crrc.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Barometer-2021_pptx_ENG_Final_14%E2%80%A406%E2%80%A422.pdf).
- Disinfo: Ukraine Sold Chemical Weapons to Azerbaijan for The Karabakh War*, „EU vs. Disinfo”, 29 XII 2020, <https://euvsdisinfo.eu/report/ukraine-sold-chemical-weapons-to-azerbaijan-for-the-karabakh-war>.
- Hayrapetyan, L., *The Nagorno-Karabakh war of 2020 and the change of the regional status quo*, „Przegląd Politologiczny” 2022, no. 1.
- Kirichenko, D., *Why Ukraine Supports Azerbaijan on Nagorno-Karabakh*, „The National Interest”, 21 II 2023, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-ukraine-supports-azerbaijan-nagorno-karabakh-206234>.
- Krzysztań, B., *Unique or modular? Armenian Velvet Revolution in comparative approach*, „Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” 2020, no. 18 (3).
- Mihalka, M., *NagornoKarabakh and Russian peacekeeping: Prospects for a second Dayton*, „International Peacekeeping” 1996, no. 3 (3).
- Minasyan, S., *Multi-Vectorism in the Foreign Policy of Post-Soviet Eurasian States*, „Demokratizatsiya” 2012, no. 20 (3).
- Mkrtichyan, A. Ye. & Atanesyan, A.V., *Armeniya mezhdru Rossiiyey i Zapadom: vneshnepoliticheskiye prioritety v obshchestvennom mnenii*, „Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya” 2022, no. 12.



*Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and President of the Russian Federation*, 10 XI 2020, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/64384>.

Vardanyan, E., *Populism in Armenia*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Tbilisi, 2021 (in Arm.), <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/georgien/18252.pdf>.

Yavuz, M.H. & Huseynov, V., *The Second Karabakh War: Russia vs. Turkey?*, „Middle East Policy” 2020, no. 27.

**Arthur Atanesyan** – dr hab. politologii, profesor, kierownik Katedry Socjologii Stosowanej na Wydziale Socjologicznym Państwowego Uniwersytetu Erywańskiego. ORCID: 0000-0001-8458-2447

**Artur Mkrtichyan** – dr hab. filozofii, profesor, dziekan Wydziału Socjologicznego Państwowego Uniwersytetu Erywańskiego. ORCID: 0000-0002-7891-7068