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Institutionalization of Country Communication Regimes in the Context of State Foreign Policy Interests (the Case of the Republic of Armenia)

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Relevance of the research topic. The relevance of this dissertation research is determined by the state of contemporary international relations and the key role of states as foreign policy actors, by the nature of global communication and its local institutionalization within country communication regimes, and by the geopolitical dilemma that the Republic of Armenia has faced in the 21st century in the context of its foreign policy priorities. The Russian Federation, engaged in shaping a multipolar world order, is interested in building a constructive and pragmatic dialogue based on a friendly rather than a confrontational tone. Relations with the countries of the near abroad, as Russia's closest neighbors, play a special role owing to historical ties as well as to pressing issues of security and the protection of national interests. The partnership with the Republic of Armenia, rooted in a shared past and reinforced by economic and military-political integration in bilateral and multilateral formats, is currently undergoing reassessment and revision. Consequently, preserving the friendliness of communications between the two countries in the new configuration and preventing the emergence of potential hotbeds of tension in the South Caucasus are of particular relevance for the Russian Federation on its current foreign policy agenda.

Contemporary international relations are marked by a high degree of geopolitical instability accompanied by a crisis of liberal international institutions, and in these conditions there is a return to the categories of political realism. In foreign policy, national interests formulated in strategic documents reflect a vision of the most pressing issues, including existential issues related to a state's secure existence. These priorities are the driving force and the determinant of foreign policy. They also exist within the liberal-institutional world order; however, concepts are increasingly being substituted: under the banner of collective security and integration, the most influential players in the international arena promote and push through their own interests, thereby creating a new form of dependence among states.

Within this paradigm, the realization and promotion of national interests is hampered: they meet resistance from other actors, depending on those actors'

political will, which determines whether a threat to their own interests exists. As a result, states seek new technologies for promoting their foreign policy priorities as alternatives to the use of force, which is formally restricted by the UN Charter. One of the least regulated spheres remains that of information and communication exchange, which at the present stage consists of a set of localized country communication regimes that interact with one another but are autonomous to varying degrees and rest on different principles, norms and values. Freedom of regulation and the ineffectiveness of international control make it possible to use the information and communication space as a field for promoting one's own interests, up to the spread of disinformation, information confrontation and cognitive warfare. These phenomena attest to states' interest in this sphere, which raises the question of the instruments of influence over the information and communication space that could serve both to promote interests and to defend sovereignty and counter external influence. The priority of information policy and of building effective communication to advance foreign policy interests and ensure national security is reflected in the documents of a number of states. The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, approved by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 229 of 31 March 2023, is no exception.

The country communication regime as a phenomenon emerges within state borders and, at the present stage, serves the local institutionalization of communication. Although its main function is to order communications within the country, the integral nature of this sphere affects a number of issues in the foreign policy dimension of public life: the conduct of diplomacy, the resolution of global contradictions, and the reduction of tensions. Therefore, the country communication regime, shaped by internal and external factors, has considerable potential for promoting foreign policy interests, yet so far it has been studied only fragmentarily.

The Republic of Armenia, in its current iteration as the Third Republic, is a young state that has inherited a broad range of issues related to national security and the search for identity in the 21st century. In the context of the multi-vector policy proclaimed in the 2020 National Security Strategy, which currently takes the form

of a choice between the Euro-Atlantic and the Eurasian paths of development, the Republic's communication regime has become an instrument of geopolitical confrontation. Active rivalry is being waged, in particular, for the sympathies of the population, which is open to the influence of various actors because a country communication regime aligned with the declared political course is taking shape. In practice, one can observe a polarization of views and public opinion driven by external forces, which in the long run leads to more open confrontation between domestic supporters of the two integration models. For this reason, the communication regime of the Republic of Armenia is of interest for the analysis of the state's foreign policy. **The main problem this research addresses** is that, on the one hand, small states such as the Republic of Armenia seek to preserve their international agency, a multi-vector foreign policy, and the ability to convey their own narratives at home and abroad. On the other hand, intensifying geopolitical competition and information warfare turn their communication spaces into targets of external influence and information pressure. Adapting communication regimes to these conditions creates a contradiction between the desire of the incumbent authorities to keep socio-political communications in the country manageable by means of communication regimes and, at the same time, to fit these regimes into foreign policy goals and objectives by opening their information space to the activities of foreign policy actors. The institutionalization of a country communication regime under such conditions has become the subject of this research.

Degree of elaboration of the problem. An analysis of theoretical work on the issues under study makes it possible to identify several groups of research relevant to this dissertation.

1. Research on global communication and its institutionalization. This research was conducted mainly after the end of the Second World War as a result of the intensification of globalization processes. In addition to the classic works of W. Lippmann and H. Lasswell on techniques of mass propaganda, which remain relevant today, the researchers whose work has shaped the modern understanding of

theories of global communication include H. Schiller, J. Galtung, J. Habermas, A. Gramsci, T. Adorno, H. Marcuse, M. Horkheimer and others. Special mention should be made of S. MacBride as head of the UNESCO commission and of its members, who collected and analyzed the main problems of global communication, as well as of the Tunisian Minister of Information M. Masmoudi, one of the initiators of the Non-Aligned Movement summits that placed on the agenda the question of creating a new world communication order, a question that remains relevant to this day. In the 1990s, communication research continued and supplemented existing work with studies of technological aspects (the use of the Internet and other information and communication technologies) and their impact on the economic and cultural spheres of society. The authors of these approaches include M. Castells, A. Toffler, M. McLuhan, A. Appadurai and K. Ohmae. At the present stage, given the intensified debates on communication regulation, information security, cyberwarfare, fake news, strategic communications, transnational media systems, platform policy and external information influence, addressed in the works of foreign scholars K. Hallahan, T. Gillespie, T. Poell, M. de Waal and J. van Dijck, R. Gorwa, M. Mueller, A. Bradford, J. Pohle and T. Thiel, T. Flew and S. Waisbord, A. Miskimmon, B. O'Loughlin and L. Roselle, H. Farrell and A. Newman, as well as of Russian researchers S.V. Bogdanov, D.P. Gavra, E.S. Zinovieva, M.A. Konarovsky, A.V. Donchenko and A.V. Ordin, and S.M. Boyko, there is a growing demand for research on international political communications and their connection with the foreign policy interests and priorities of states.

2. Research on communication regimes. The issues of communication regimes are studied in greatest detail at the National Research Institute for the Development of Communications (NICRUS). The theoretical aspects of the concept of communication regimes have been developed by V.V. Komleva and V.I. Gasumyanov. These authors defined the concept of the "country communication regime", identified the types of communication regimes and the specifics of their manageability, developed a methodology for monitoring country communication regimes in post-Soviet countries, and publish annual comparative studies of the

degree of friendliness of communication regimes. International, regional and country-level aspects of communication regimes have been studied by V.V. Komleva, N.P. Gribin, K.K. Begalinova, R.R. Nazarov, A.N. Ospanova, A.S. Turgunbaeva, E.G. Cheremenina, T.V. Kotyukova, N.G. Smolik, D.S. Aivazyan, G.A. Pogosyan, A.B. Krylov, V.V. Krivopuskov, O.I. Lazorkina, N.M. Mezhevich, I.I. Kalacheva, S.G. Rogalsky, A.G. Stoppe, A.G. Kochura, P.A. Barakhvostov, V.V. Vorotnikov, V.V. Volkov, A.D. Starikov, V.V. Voronov, Yu.P. Tikhonov, R.A. Tatarov, I. Lezhe, D.A. Abazov, N.A. Skvortsova, Yu.R. Sheveleva, A.A. Khidirbegishvili, A.A. Khotivrishvili and M.E. Zvonova. These studies convincingly demonstrate the importance of communication regimes for the study of international relations and regional processes and show that countries' communication regimes can be transformed under the influence not only of domestic political factors but also of foreign policy priorities.

3. Research on political regimes. As the studies of the above-mentioned authors show, a communication regime is closely connected with a country's political regime. The features of the political regime are projected onto the communication regime. To a certain extent, the communication regime is an instrument of political power. It was therefore important to understand the communicative nature of the political regime as presented in the works of A.P. Tsygankov, M. Duverger, G. Almond, G. Powell, H. Lasswell and D. Easton.

4. Contemporary political science research on the Republic of Armenia as an object and subject of international relations. This research is important for a deeper understanding of the context of our study, namely the Republic of Armenia. As the basis for analyzing the foreign policy of the Republic of Armenia, the dissertation draws on the works and materials of experts specializing in this country and its relations with Russia and the CIS countries: A.B. Krylov, A.G. Areshev, S.M. Markedonov, G.A. Pogosyan, A.V. Safaryan, Zh.S. Manukyan and S.M. Minasyan. An analysis of their works made it possible to better understand the links between foreign and domestic political processes in Armenia and the research topic.

Working hypothesis of the research. Amid intensifying geopolitical competition in the South Caucasus and the efforts of the region's countries to preserve their international agency and multi-vector policies, the communication regime becomes an instrument for realizing foreign policy interests: it conveys certain narratives at home and abroad, transforms the structure of information channels, and establishes new rules for domestic and cross-country communications. It is assumed that under current conditions the communication regime of the Republic of Armenia is constructed by the ruling elite on the basis of its ideas about an ideal model of foreign policy communication and is institutionalized within the framework of political realism. In this case, discursive and structural-functional changes outpace their legal and regulatory consolidation. As a result, a time gap arises between a change in foreign policy priorities, its reflection in the communication space, and the institutionalization of a new communication order.

Object of the research – the country communication regime as an international political phenomenon.

Subject of the research – the institutionalization of the communication regime of the Republic of Armenia under the influence of the country's foreign policy priorities.

Aim of the research – is to identify the specific features of the institutionalization of country communication regimes under the influence of a country's foreign policy priorities (the case of the Republic of Armenia).

Research objectives:

- to determine the theoretical and methodological foundations for the study of the country communication regime in international political science;
- to analyze the process and factors of the institutionalization of country communication regimes in the context of the fragmentation of the global communication space;
- to determine the role and place of the country communication regime as an international political phenomenon;

- to identify the mechanisms of the institutionalization and transformation of the communication regime in Armenia;
- to identify the specific features of the structural-functional transformation of the media field of the Republic of Armenia under the influence of its foreign policy priorities;
- to determine the dynamics and specific features of the representations of Russia and other foreign countries in Armenia's communication regime.

Theoretical and methodological basis of the research. The research employed the systemic, dialectical, structural-functional and institutional approaches. Its theoretical foundation comprises the realist and constructivist approaches, M. Weber's concept of "ideal types", K. Deutsch's theory of communication, the concepts of the free and balanced flow of information, a number of theories of global communication, in particular dependency theory (H. Schiller), the structural theory of imperialism (J. Galtung), the theory of hegemony (A. Gramsci), the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (M. Horkheimer, H. Marcuse, T. Adorno) and the concept of the "global village" (M. McLuhan), as well as concepts of political regimes (A.P. Tsygankov, M. Duverger, G. Almond, G. Powell, H. Lasswell, D. Easton) and of communication regimes (V.V. Komleva, V.I. Gasumyanov, N.P. Gribin and others).

The research used general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction and analogy, as well as political science methods: discourse analysis, content analysis of documents and media materials, and an expert survey conducted through structured in-depth interviews.

The legal and regulatory basis of the research comprised the following documents:

1) legal acts regulating international relations: the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order; the Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War; the Agreement

between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on Cooperation in the Field of Mass Communications; the Agreement on the Establishment of the Interstate Television and Radio Company;

2) the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia;

3) state strategies and concepts of foreign policy and information security:

- *Republic of Armenia:* the National Security Strategies of the Republic of Armenia of 2007 and 2020;
- *Russian Federation:* the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation, the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, the Concept of the Humanitarian Policy of the Russian Federation Abroad, the Information Security Doctrine of the Russian Federation;
- *Foreign states:* the National Security Strategy of the United States, the National Strategic Review of the French Republic;

4) legal acts regulating the content of information and communication channels:

- *Republic of Armenia:* the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On Public Organizations", the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On Mass Media", the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On Freedom of Information", the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On Language", the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On Audiovisual Media";
- *European Union:* the European Media Freedom Act, the EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive;

5) sectoral legal acts regulating communications in specific spheres:

- *Republic of Armenia:* the Electoral Code of the Republic of Armenia, the Law of the Republic of Armenia "On the Ratification of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 17 July 1998 and the Adoption of the Declaration 'On the Recognition of the Retroactive Jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court by the Republic of Armenia' on the Basis of Paragraph 3 of Article 12 of the Statute";
- *Russian Federation:* the Federal Law "On the Procedure for Foreign Investments in Business Entities of Strategic Importance for Ensuring

National Defense and State Security", the Federal Law "On Foreign Investments in the Russian Federation".

The empirical basis of the research comprised:

- Analytical reports and notes of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO), of authors of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), of the National Research Institute for the Development of Communications (NICRUS) and of the Network Research Institute (formerly the Noravank Foundation), monographs on Armenia, and dissertations on Armenia's foreign policy;
- Materials of public authorities (the Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, the Office of the High Commissioner for Diaspora Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the EEAS), of international and intergovernmental organizations (UNESCO, the UN) and of non-governmental organizations (the European Journalism Centre, Internews, the Region Research Center and others);
- Materials of public speeches and of publications in the media and on digital platforms;
- Materials of studies of the communication regimes of post-Soviet countries conducted by the National Research Institute for the Development of Communications in 2021–2025 (secondary analysis);
- Materials of expert interviews conducted by the author in Armenia (November 2024, see Appendix 1);
- Materials obtained using Medialogia, an automated real-time media and social media monitoring and analysis system (see Appendices 4, 5);
- Materials of a content analysis of representations in N. Pashinyan's public speeches and in the media (Appendices 6–8);
- Statistical data publicly available on the website of the Statistical Committee of the Republic of Armenia and in the surveys of MPG – Gallup International Armenia.

Research area. The topic and content of the dissertation correspond to the passport of scientific specialty 5.5.4 International Relations, Global and Regional Studies, in particular to:

Clause 2. "Subjects of international relations. Activities of state and non-state actors. Formal and informal institutions in international relations and in world politics. Formation and implementation of foreign policy strategies, concepts and doctrines";

Clause 17. "Information, cognitive, bio- and other new technologies in international relations and world politics".

Scientific novelty of the research. The scientific novelty of the dissertation consists in the following:

- the theoretical and methodological foundations for studying the country communication regime as an international political phenomenon have been refined; such study requires a combination of the institutional, structural-functional, systemic and constructivist approaches; developing the original concept, the interdependence of the internal and external contours of the regime has been substantiated, which makes it possible to examine the relationship between the internal regulation of the regime and the foreign policy activities of states;
- the author's interpretation of the relationship between the fragmentation of the global communication space and the institutionalization of country communication regimes has been proposed; this relationship stems from the contradiction between the connectedness of the international and national communication spaces and the desire of states to establish their own rules of communication; according to this interpretation, in the absence of an established world communication order, the country regime serves as the basic unit of the global communication space, and regimes of other levels are derived from it;
- the place of the country communication regime in the system of international relations has been determined both as an object of competition and of external

actors' influence on the domestic mechanism of communication regulation and as an instrument for legitimizing the foreign policy orientations and decisions of ruling elites; ways of using the regime in foreign policy and a system of criteria of its external dependence have been proposed;

- using the case of the Republic of Armenia, a set of mechanisms for the institutionalization and transformation of the country communication regime under changing foreign policy priorities has been identified; the transformation has been shown to be uneven, with discursive changes running ahead of normative and strategic ones;
- the specific features of the structural-functional transformation of Armenia's media field under the influence of foreign policy priorities have been identified, in particular changes in the functional, discursive, channel and resource structure of the media with the organizational core of the media system remaining relatively stable;
- a temporal gap has been identified between changes in official and media discourse, on the one hand, and their reflection in public perception and regulatory documents, on the other. It has been established that changes first occur in official and media discourse and only later are reflected in public perception and regulatory documents;
- the divergent dynamics of the representations of Russia, the EU, the USA, Turkey and Azerbaijan in Armenia's communication regime over 2018–2025 have been identified, which made it possible to establish that changes in their images depend on the transformation of foreign policy interests as interpreted by the ruling elite.

Provisions submitted for defense and possessing scientific novelty.

1. The country communication regime as an object of international political science research is an institutionalized order of organizing communications within a state and in its interaction with the external environment. Its structure includes formal and informal norms, narratives, actors, the distribution of communication resources, access to information dissemination channels, mechanisms of control and

sanctions, as well as modes of external communication. The essence of the communication regime as an international political phenomenon lies in the interdependence of its contours: the external contour is not only a sphere in which friendliness is assessed but also a channel through which the state's foreign policy priorities and the influence of external actors reshape the internal contour of the regime. An international political science analysis of the country communication regime combines the institutional, constructivist, structural-functional and systemic approaches with the theory of political realism, since this phenomenon is simultaneously linked to state regulation, interests, the formation of political representations, and the interaction of internal and external actors *(corresponds to clause 17 of the passport of the scientific specialty)*.

2. The institutionalization of country communication regimes results from the contradictory impact of globalization, digitalization, the fragmentation of the world communication space, and national interests. Transnational connectedness and the development of digital platforms expand the opportunities for international communication but at the same time increase states' dependence on global information infrastructures and sharpen disputes over the rules for regulating them and over acceptable narratives. Under these conditions, states seek to localize and legally enshrine their own principles of organizing communications, thereby forming national communication regimes. Thus, the fragmentation of the global communication space becomes a factor in the institutionalization of relatively autonomous country communication regimes that retain their links with the external contour. The significance of this relationship for the development of the scientific category of the country communication regime is that it explains why, in the absence of an established world communication order, it is the country regime that becomes the basic unit of the global communication space, from which regional sub-regimes and the regimes of integration associations and spheres of influence are derived *(corresponds to clause 2 of the passport of the scientific specialty)*.

3. The country communication regime is an international political phenomenon because it links the internal organization of communications with the realization of

the state's foreign policy priorities. It influences how the foreign policy agenda is shaped and interpreted and how it is conveyed at home and abroad, by regulating the composition of actors, access to communication channels, the distribution of resources (including funding), and the content of discourse. At the same time, the communication regime may be a target of influence by external actors (foreign states, international organizations, digital platforms, news agencies, NGOs, etc.). This duality is revealed in the proposed ways of using the regime in foreign policy (influencing foreign regimes, for states with leadership potential; adapting their own regime, for states with limited resources) and in the system of criteria of its external dependence (historical and cultural, legal and regulatory, political, financial and economic), which show that adapting the regime to foreign policy priorities simultaneously creates opportunities for external influence on it. Therefore, its construction is part of the competition for political influence and for the interpretation of international processes, and part of the process of legitimizing the foreign policy decisions of the ruling elite *(corresponds to clauses 2 and 17 of the passport of the scientific specialty)*.

4. The transformation of Armenia's country communication regime is carried out through the mechanisms of strategizing, international legal institutionalization, administrative and regulatory influence, selective restriction of actors' access, changes in the roles of domestic actors, sectoral differentiation of regulation, and informal institutionalization. Armenia's country communication regime is characterized by changes in its structural-functional and discursive components that outpace changes in its normative and strategic foundations. When foreign policy priorities change, the composition and positions of the regime's actors, their access to resources, and the content of representations change most rapidly, whereas formal norms and strategic documents change more slowly. This allows us to speak of the institutional unevenness of the regime and of the increased dependence of interstate communications on situational political decisions, individual events, and the ruling elite's interpretations of these events. Ultimately, Armenia's communication regime

is one of the instruments for legitimizing the foreign policy course of the ruling elite *(corresponds to clauses 2 and 17 of the passport of the scientific specialty)*.

5. The structural-functional transformation of Armenia's media field under the influence of foreign policy priorities proceeds along several parameters: channel, organizational, resource, functional and discursive. The most dynamic changes are associated with the redistribution of resources (including funding) and audiences among media outlets, changes in their functional roles, the adaptation of the narratives they convey to foreign policy priorities, and the migration of audiences to the media's digital resources. While the core of influential media structures remains relatively stable, their positions in the communication regime, the nature of their interaction with domestic and external actors, and the content of the narratives and representations they reproduce are changing. Thus, the state's foreign policy priorities are one of the significant factors in the transformation of the functional and discursive structure of the media field *(corresponds to clauses 2 and 17 of the passport of the scientific specialty)*.

6. Representations of Russia and other foreign countries in Armenia's communication regime are dynamic and multilevel, and the official, media, public and expert discourses only partly coincide. In 2018–2025, the change in Armenia's foreign policy course was accompanied by a transformation of the images of Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, the EU and the USA, but the speed and substantive direction of these changes differ among the political elite, the media, and expert and public opinion. New representations are initially consolidated mainly in official rhetoric and loyal communication channels, whereas their normative institutionalization and public perception lag behind. This allows us to speak of a temporal gap between the discursive, public and normative-institutional transformation of the representations of foreign policy actors and processes. Armenia's communication regime displays the following features in its representations of foreign countries: the discursive image of Russia is shifting from ally to partner and object of criticism, that of the EU towards an economic and integration benchmark, and that of the USA towards a political and military-political partner. Representations of Turkey and Azerbaijan,

with some differences, are on the whole moving from persistently negative towards a neutral official discourse *(corresponds to clauses 2 and 17 of the passport of the scientific specialty)*.

Theoretical significance of the research. The results of the dissertation contribute to the development of political science theory and the theory of international relations; in particular:

- the comprehension of the institutional foundations of international relations has been expanded by introducing the country communication regime as an analytical tool linking a state's internal organization of communication with the implementation of its foreign policy;
- the comprehension of country communication regimes as international political phenomena has been refined;
- the comprehension of the mechanisms of external influence in international relations has been developed, namely, it has been substantiated that not only political institutions and elites but also countries' communication regimes can be objects of competition;
- an approach to analyzing states situated in a field of competition between different centers of power has been developed and tested on the basis of the concept of the country communication regime;
- a contribution has been made to the development of the constructivist component of international relations theory by identifying the specific features of how representations of foreign states are formed in the domestic communication space under the influence of the dynamics of the country's foreign policy priorities;
- the mechanism of the temporal desynchronization of the communication regime under changing foreign policy priorities has been identified, which provides grounds for understanding foreign policy reorientation as a multilevel and uneven process.

Practical significance of the research. The research materials can be used:

- by analytical units of state institutions as a basis for assessing information and communication processes when developing international strategies and implementing the Foreign Policy Concept, the Information Policy Strategy, and the Concept of the Humanitarian Policy of the Russian Federation Abroad. In particular, the system of criteria of the external dependence of a communication regime (Table 2) and the identified temporal gap can serve as a rationale for the early detection of foreign policy shifts on the basis of changes in official and media discourses that precede their normative consolidation. Subsequently, the results obtained can be applied in developing strategies and tactics to prevent country communication regimes from becoming dependent on the foreign policy interests of states;
- by researchers in further theoretical studies of international relations regimes and of the correlation between domestic and foreign policy processes;
- by educational institutions in training specialists in the fields of "Political Science", "International Relations", "Regional Studies", and "State and Municipal Administration".

The validity and reliability of the research results are ensured by a well-reasoned choice of methodological approaches to the dissertation research, a consistent presentation of the material, scientifically grounded argumentation of the conclusions formulated by the author; the use of a comprehensive legal and regulatory framework and of various documents, materials and other sources; the application of generally accepted methods of political research appropriate to the aim of the study; representative results of the content analysis; verification of the proposals developed; correlation of theoretical conclusions with empirical data; and the implementation of the research results in practice.

Approbation of the research. The main provisions of the research were presented for broad discussion and scientific debate at round tables and at international and Russian conferences (the 7th International Conference "Russia and the World. Dialogues-2023" (May 2023); the 8th International Conference "Russia and the World. Dialogues-2024" (May 2024); the 9th International Conference

"Russia and the World. Dialogues-2025" (May 2025); the Second International Scientific and Practical Conference "Science for Public Administration in Russia", section "States in Search of Identity: Images, Ideas and Strategies" (November 2025)).

The results of the dissertation were tested and applied by the author in the course of an international research project, the annual monitoring of the friendliness of the communication regimes of post-Soviet countries, conducted by the National Research Institute for the Development of Communications (NICRUS) together with partner research organizations abroad.

Interim results of the research have been published in scientific journals including indexed in leading peer-reviewed periodicals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission (VAK), with a total volume of 8.31 printed sheets.

In journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission (VAK)

1. Tikhonov, Yu. P. The Fourth Republic as an evolution of Armenia's identity model in the context of foreign policy processes / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Social and Political Sciences. – 2026. – Vol. 16. – No. 2. – P. 42–47. – EDN QAMFEL.
2. Tikhonov, Yu. P. Armenia's communication regime amid the transformation of its foreign policy course: the role of discourses / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Russia & World: Scientific Dialogue. – 2025. – No. 4(18). – P. 102–117. – DOI 10.53658/RW2025-4-4(18)-102-117. – EDN HXWXOL.
3. Tikhonov, Yu. P. The country communication regime as a means of influencing the information sovereignty of a state / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Political Science Issues. – 2025. – Vol. 15, No. 6(118). – P. 2118–2128. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2025.118.6.021. – EDN LCPNRQ.
4. Tikhonov, Yu. P. Features of the country communication regime of the Republic of Armenia in the context of its foreign policy interests / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Eurasian Union: Issues of International Relations. – 2025. – Vol. 14, No. 5(70). – P. 1292–1300. – DOI 10.35775/PSI.2025.70.5.016. – EDN JBGCKS.

5. Tikhonov, Yu. P. The formation of Ukraine's dependent communication regime: the role of the USA / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Russia & World: Scientific Dialogue. – 2022. – No. 3(5). – P. 108–119. – DOI 10.53658/RW2022-2-3(5)-108-119. – EDN NHJPJT.
6. Tikhonov, Yu. P. Analytics. Dialogue of civilizations / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Russia & World: Scientific Dialogue. – 2022. – No. 1(3). – P. 212–215. – EDN VYWSZR.

In other publications

7. Tikhonov, Yu. P. The projection of the state of Russian-Armenian relations onto the country communication regime of the Republic of Armenia / Yu. P. Tikhonov // Russia and the World: Dialogues – 2025. Strategies: Proceedings of the 9th International Scientific and Practical Conference, Moscow, May 22–23, 2025. – Moscow: National Institute for Research and Development of Projects in the Field of Inter-National, Interfaith, Interethnic, Intercultural and Inter-Country Communications, 2025. – P. 203–212. – EDN XTDNEW.
8. Tikhonov, Yu. P. Country communication regimes and their role in the realization of states' foreign policy interests / Yu. P. Tikhonov. / Russia and the World: Dialogues – 2023. Goals and Values: 7th International Scientific and Practical Conference (May 16–30, 2023): collection of papers / ed. by V.V. Komleva, E.A. Kuzmenko. – Moscow: National Research Institute for the Development of Communications, 2023. – P. 239–249.
9. Tikhonov, Yu. P. Causes and forms of the fragmentation of the world communication order / Yu. P. Tikhonov. / Russia and the World: Dialogues. 2021: Proceedings of the Fifth International Scientific and Practical Conference, March 18–19, 2021 / ed. by V. V. Komleva, E. A. Kuzmenko. – Moscow: Publishing House "NAUCHNAYA BIBLIOTEKA", 2021. – P. 96–110.

Structure of the dissertation. In accordance with the aim and the objectives addressed in sequence, the work is divided into two chapters comprising six sections.