

СОЦИОЛОГИЯ

Barriers to Collective Mobilization: Understanding the Failure of Social Movements in Contemporary Armenian Society

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Կողեկտիվ մոբիլիզացիայի խոչընդոտները. սոցիալական շարժումների ձախողման պատճառների ըմբռնումը ժամանակակից հայ հասարակությունում
Հարությունյան Գայանե Մ.

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Անփոփազիր. Սոցիալական շարժումների ուսումնասիրությունը գնալով ավելի է զրավում հետազոտողների ուշադրությունը, հատկապես, երբ ամբողջ աշխարհում շարունակվում են ի հայտ գալ սոցիալական բողոքի հզոր ալիքներ: Թերևս, հետազոտողների հիմնական ուշադրությունը կենտրոնացած է սոցիալական շարժումների առաջացման պատճառների, կյանքի ցիկլերի և կառուցվածքի վրա, մինչդեռ սոցիալական շարժումների ձախողման պատճառները մինչ այժմ համապարփակորեն ուսումնասիրված չեն: Այս հոդվածը նպատակ ունի լրացնել այդ բացը՝ վերլուծելով սոցիալական շարժումների ձախողումների պատճառները՝ ժամանակակից հայ հասարակությունում:

Հոդվածը հիմնված է սոցիոլոգիական հետազոտության արդյունքների վրա, մասնավորապես՝ հեղինակի կողմից 2019-ից 2023 թվականներին իրականացված դեպքի հետազոտմամբ իրականացված ուսումնասիրության վրա: Հետազոտության ընթացքում կիրառվել է խառը մեթոդների մոտեցումը՝ ներառելով փաստաթղթերի վերլուծություն և առանցքային տեղեկատուների հետ հարցազրույցներ՝ վերջին քսանամյակում ժամանակակից հայ հասարակությունում ձևավորված տարբեր սոցիալական շարժումների մասնակիցների հետ:

Հոդվածի հիմնական արդյունքները մատնացույց են անում այն բազմաշերտ մարտահրավերները, որոնց բախվում են սոցիալական շարժումները ժամանակակից հայ հասարակությունում՝ ընդգծելով շարժման ռազմավարության և շրջապատող սոցիալական միջավայրի միջև առկա բարդ փոխկապակցվածությունը: Սա ցույց է տալիս, որ սոցիալական շարժումների հաջողությունը կամ ձախողումը կախված է ոչ միայն հայտարարած նպատակներից և առկա ռեսուրսներից, այլև դրանց՝ տվյալ մշակութային, սոցիալական և քաղաքական պայմաններին հարմարվելու կարողությունից:

Հանգուցաբառեր և բառակապակցություններ՝ սոցիալական շարժումներ, սոցիալական բողոք, կողեկտիվ մոբիլիզացիա, սոցիալական կոնֆլիկտ, դեպքի հետազոտում, WUNC մոդել, սոցիալական վստահություն, հայ հասարակություն

Барьеры на пути к коллективной мобилизации: понимание причин неудач социальных движений в современном Армянском обществе

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Аннотация. Исследование социальных движений всё больше привлекает внимание социальных ученых, на фоне мощных волн протестов, возникающих по всему миру. Однако, основное внимание исследователей сосредоточено на причинах возникновения, жизненных циклах и структурах социальных движений, тем самым не менее значимый вопрос о причинах неудач социальных движений остаётся недостаточно исследованным. Настоящая статья призвана восполнить этот пробел, проанализировав причины неудач социальных движений в специфических условиях современного армянском обществе.

Статья опирается на социологическое исследование, основанное на кейс-стади, проведённом автором в 2019–2023 годах. В рамках исследования применены методы анализа документов и интервью с ключевыми информантами — участниками различных социальных движений, сформировавшихся в армянском обществе за последнее двадцатилетие.

Основные выводы статьи подчеркивают многоаспектные вызовы, с которыми сталкиваются социальные движения в армянском обществе, акцентируя внимание на сложных взаимосвязях между стратегией движения и окружающей социальной средой. Это указывает на то, что успех или неудача социальных движений зависит не

только от заявленных целей и доступных им ресурсов, но и от способности социальных движений адаптироваться к культурным, социальным и политическим условиям, определяющим их среду.

Ключевые слова и словосочетания: социальные движения, социальный протест, коллективная мобилизация, социальный конфликт, кейс-стади, модель WUNC, социальное доверие, армянское общество

Introduction

The transformation experienced by Western societies in the 18-19th century brought about significant shifts in economic structures and social dynamics of the societies. Progress in industrialization and urbanization prompted ordinary people to confront the harsh realities of their lives including broader vision of their place in the society, their social status and roles. The fight for women's rights¹, along with widespread confrontations regarding labor conditions² fueled protests and mass riots marked by clashes and violence. The emergence of a protest movement entails a transformation both of consciousness and of behavior [12, p. 3]. Social transformations prompted scholars to focus particularly on the study of collective grievances, seeking to understand why people rebel. Since then, various scholars from different disciplines have focused on understanding the nature and emergence of these movements, investigating their causes, structures, and effective mobilization strategies.

In recent decades, many scholars have contributed to the investigation of social movements. The study of social movements initially emerged from social psychology, with early researchers exploring motivation of members joining collective actions and often characterizing social movements as irregular, irrational, and destructive³. However, contemporary understandings of social movements have evolved significantly, drawing on the works of prominent sociologists such as Herbert Blumer, Alain Touraine, Charles Tilly, Bruno Latour, and Manuel Castells among others. A general definition of social movements can be attributed to Herbert Blumer: Social movements are collective efforts aiming to change the accepted order of social life [3, p. 194]. Horn defines social movements emergency as a type of collective action that arises in response to state policies of inequality and oppression due to unsatisfied social, political, economic, and cultural demands [7, p. 19]. Prominent French sociologist Bruno Latour, speaking about the modern understanding of social movements, notes that they are social networks consisting of mobilized agents who aim to influence expected social transformations [10,

p. 1]. Definitions of social movements vary, but they commonly highlight key characteristics such as being goal-oriented and involving organized collective efforts aimed at bringing social change. The movements seek to address specific issues, mobilize participants, and challenge existing power structures. In contrast to scholars who focus on why social movements emerge, other researchers emphasize how this happens [13, p. 755]. This perspective to social movements led to the development of resource mobilization theory, which analyzes how movements organize, utilize resources, and mobilize supporters to achieve their goals. Charles Tilly, in the context of political process theory, focused on how social movements evolve and achieve their goals. He proposed an analytical scheme in order to understand what contributes to success of each concrete social movement. The WUNC (Worthiness, Unity, Numbers, and Commitment) model consists of the following domains [14, p. 3]:

➤ **Worthiness** refers to the perceived legitimacy and importance of the movement's goals. When a diverse group of individuals within society recognizes the value of a movement and views it as legitimate, it greatly enhances the movement's effectiveness. This shared belief can mobilize more supporters, attract media attention, and increase pressure on decision makers. When wide range of public perceive a movement as aligning with their values and objectives, it fosters a sense of unity and amplifies the impact of their actions. This solidarity not only strengthens the movement's message but also helps challenge existing power structures and drive meaningful change. Ultimately, widespread recognition of a movement's legitimacy is essential for its success and longevity.

➤ **Unity** emphasizes the cohesion among participants and the ability to present a united front. This sense of togetherness fosters strength, enabling the movement to effectively advocate for its goals and withstand external pressures. When individuals come together with a shared purpose, they can create a more formidable force for change.

➤ **Numbers** highlights the significance of having a substantial base of supporters. A larger

¹ The first women's movements in Europe emerged in the late 18th century influenced by the French Revolution calling for political and social equality. Later, in mid-19th century early suffragist activities emerged in Britain, the United States, and parts of Europe, which evolved into powerful movement changing the social and political picture of that time.

² In Europe, labor riots were especially common from the 18-19th centuries mainly conditioned by rapid industrialization and

urbanization. One of the most famous labor riots is the Luddite riots (1811–1816) in Britain involved textile workers destroying machinery that threatened their jobs.

³ One such author was Eric Hoffer. In his book *The True Believer*, he argues that the motivation behind participation in mass movements is often irrational and destructive, driven primarily by a sense of deprivation.

group has more resources for resistance, attract greater attention, and pressure the decision makers. This increased visibility not only boosts the movement’s credibility but also enhances chances of the movement to reach its goals.

➤ **Commitment** reflects the dedication of participants to the cause and their willingness to engage in sustained action. It is crucial for the movement’s success, as it demonstrates a deep belief in the goals being pursued. When individuals are willing to invest their time and effort consistently, it strengthens the movement’s momentum and helps sustain its initiatives over the long term, by so increasing the probability of the reaching the stated goals.

However, analyzing theoretical frameworks like WUNC explaining the preconditions for movements success only partially explains why the social movements fail, largely leaving the overall understanding of these reasons underexplored.

This paper aims to explore the primary barriers contributing to the failure of social movements in contemporary Armenian society contributing to both the broader understanding of social movements and the specifically study of social movement in Armenian contemporary society. From this point of view, the study of social movements is crucial from both theoretical and practical perspectives. Theoretically, understanding social movements and the factors that impede their progress addresses a fundamental question in sociology: how can social change occur within a society? Practically, this research can identify the specific obstacles that hinder the development of social movements in contemporary Armenian society.

The aim of this paper is to understand the main reasons hindering the development of social movements in contemporary Armenian society. The paper aims to answer the following research questions:

➤ How does public attitudes influence public perception of social movements, and what impact does this have on their effectiveness?

➤ In what ways do cultural values and social norms act as barriers to mobilization and participation in social movements?

➤ What internal factors affect social movements progress?

Methodology

The article uses qualitative methodology of case study, including a review of relevant documents and key informant interviews with members of various movements and social initiatives in contemporary Armenian society. In total, 88 informants participating in different social movements across several years have contributed their insights on their experiences. The informants represent participants from main social movements that have emerged in modern Armenian society over the past 20 years: human rights, social-political, environmental, and urban movements. The key informants were selected using a purposive sampling approach, employing the snowball technique to gather information from the most insightful cases. This method helped ensure that the study included a diverse range of perspectives on social movements. The sample size was limited in accordance with the theoretical saturation approach, which ensures that data collection continues until no new insights, categories or themes emerge that affect codebook [6, p. 65]. Data was gathered 2019-2023 and was partially analyzed using NVivo software.

Why do social movements fail in contemporary Armenian society?

Over the past decade, Armenian society has experienced various waves of protests, evolving from social and political issues or urban concerns. Some of these movements have emerged as game-changing forces, effectively pressuring decision-makers, while others have struggled to mobilize supporters and diminished after short time. As it is shown in Table 1, from 2007 since now, only 9 cases of collective mobilization actions out of 24 cases were successful.

Table 1. Cases and effectiveness of the movement during last decade in Armenian society

THEME		CASE	START	RESULT
URBAN	1.	Save Firdus	2020	Negative
	2.	AOKS building is ours!	2017	Positive
	3.	Save “Mashtots Park”	2012	Positive
	4.	Closed Market won’t be demolished	2012	Negative
	5.	Save Afrikyan’s Club House	2011	Negative
	6.	We are against the destruction of architect Rafael Israelyan's house	2011	Negative
	7.	Aram’s 30	2011	Negative
	8.	No to the reconstruction of “Dragon park”	2010	Positive
	9.	Save “Student park”!	2010	Negative
	10.	Let's save the summer hall of the Moscow Cinema	2010	Positive

SOCIAL-POLITICAL	11.	I am against rising transport prices	2025	Negative
	12.	Sacred Movement / Srbazan Sharzhum	2024	In progress
	13.	Zartnir Lao/ Wake up, Son	2022	In progress
	14.	Sardarapat	2020	Negative
	15.	Electric Yerevan Protests	2015	Positive
	16.	I am Against! / Against pension reform	2014	Negative
	17.	Reduction of maternity benefits law	2014	Positive
	18.	Out of our pocket/ against paid parking	2014	Negative
	19.	100 AMD /against transportation fee increase	2013	Positive
ENVIRONMENTAL	20.	Amulsar is a Mountain	2019	In progress
	21.	Save Mozrov Cave	2012	Negative
	22.	Save Sevan Lake	2012	Negative
	23.	Trchkan Civic Initiative	2011	Positive
	24.	Teghut Defense Initiative	2007	Negative

This type of statistic raises an important question: what accounts for the ineffectiveness of so many social movements in different spheres of social life in contemporary Armenian society? Understanding the main reasons behind their failures is particularly intriguing when we compare it to the findings of the CRRC 2021-2022 Caucasus Barometer, where 63% of respondents expressed agreement that people should participate in antigovernment protests [5, online database]. At the same time, data from the 2021 World Values Survey shows that 40% of respondents in Armenia expressed trust in the environmental movement, while 34% indicated trust in the women's movement [15, online database]. This disparity highlights the gap between public support for protest actions and the actual impact of those movements. Namely, there is a huge difference between the public's support for protests and the actual effectiveness of those movements in achieving their goals. While a significant portion of the population may believe in the importance of participating in protests against the state, the outcomes of those protests often fall short of expectations. This contradictory situation suggests underlying issues, which hinder the ability of movements to drive meaningful change.

According to qualitative research findings, there are both external and internal obstacles that hinder social movements' progress toward their goals. External obstacles come from broader context such as socio-political, and cultural environment within which emerge and evolve movements. Unlikely, internal obstacles refer to the challenges that arise within the movements itself, like their structure, power distribution, and etc. However, this classification follows Weber's concept of the "ideal type." In practice, the boundaries between the most of the obstacles are often blurred.

According to the research findings the biggest category of external obstacles represents socio-political obstacles. These obstacles refer to attitudes,

public perceptions and socio-political environment that hinder the acceptance, growth, or impact of a social movement. This obstacle is deeply rooted in the collective mindset of Armenian society shaping how movements are understood. The preexisting attitudes and assumptions frequently determine the limits of public engagement and support, making it difficult for movements to gain widespread support. This category of obstacles includes the followings:

➤ *Public perception and attitudes.* According to the survey results, one of the primary suppressors of social movements is public perceptions and attitudes. Large segments of society harbor negative perceptions of the participants of the movements, questioning both their sincerity and their goals while generally being pro protest. Many believe that members of social movements are driven by personal interests or financial incentives receiving from international organizations rather than genuine concern for the social issues. This perception paints participants as part of a broader negative campaign against state authority or society itself, aiming to destabilize and weaken it. This trend has been observed consistently across all the studied movements.

"By engaging in women's rights initiatives, we are not recognized as doing something important, but rather as individuals who threaten the traditional Armenian family".

Key informant interview, female

➤ *Public apathy:* The challenging circumstances faced by Armenian society following the wars with Azerbaijan, compounded by the effects of the capitulation, have led to significant physical and psychological losses and traumas. These experiences have cultivated a pervasive sense of apathy among the population, diverting attention to broader societal issues such as loss of life, displacement, and economic instability. The focus on survival and day-to-day struggles overshadows the rest making causes for collective action less important. Consequently,

many members of society are caught in a cycle of immediate concerns, leading to a diminished capacity for civic engagement.

"I wish I could say that we are committed to the same goals as in the past, still the catastrophe that happened with all of us, doesn't leave place for our activities, as there are much more important and urgent issues."

Key informant interview, female

➤ *Lack of trust in the society.* The lack of trust toward movement members, combined with skepticism toward grassroots changes from below on one hand and the lack of trust toward state institution and political elite from the other hand represents different sides of the same problem. Trust issues has become more apparent in the aftermath of the war and following protests targeting the prime minister and current political elite leading the country. According to the CRRC 2021-2022 Caucasus Barometer (CRRC, online database), trust in state institutions is notably low. For instance, the main state institutions received very low trust ratings, with the Prime Minister and ministers average scoring just 1.8 on a 5-point scale (where 1 means "do not trust at all" and 5 means "fully trust"). The legislative system scored slightly higher at 2.1, while the President received a trust rating of 2.5. In contrast, the Army emerged as the most trusted institution, with a score of 4. This data highlights a significant skepticism towards political leaders and state institutions, suggesting a gap in public trust and a potential challenge for governance in the region. According to U. Thomas's theorem, people's behavior is shaped by their perception of reality. As a result, many individuals in society hesitate to engage in collective actions because they believe such efforts are unlikely to have effective outcomes. This state of the society makes it increasingly difficult to mobilize for meaningful change.

➤ *Fear of disrupting stability:* Armenian contemporary society is a traditional society, where "good life" is characterized by stability and predictability. So, predictable routine of social life is valued by majority of the society and the mobilization for social change feels threatening and pointless. Here, it is worth mentioning an old Armenian proverb "Better the buttermilk you know than the yogurt you don't." It reflects a cultural tendency to prefer what is familiar, even if it is flawed, over the uncertainty of something new that might be better.

➤ *The Velvet Revolution* is also among the factors that acted as an obstacle to the development of social movements. Before the revolution, social movements had an openly hostile attitude towards the authorities and fought against the decisions of that authority. The Velvet Revolution emerged as the

voice of the people, which rebelled against the unfair authorities, being the defender and representative of that people, the implementer of the law. As a result of the revolution, some individuals who had previously maintained active social positions and identified themselves as part of civil society were elected as MPs. This development generated widespread hope among the rest of members of social movements, who expected that new leaders would prioritize social justice, environmental protection, and the defense of human rights. For many activists, it symbolized a new era of possibility and alignment between civil society and state power. For this reason, members of various movements temporarily suspend their civic activism by this giving time and space for actions for the new authorities, and some of activists appeared in the state institutions as a decision makers. Both outcomes hindered the process of establishment of new movements.

"We trusted the rhetoric of the new authorities, as we believed they were part of us. We put everything on hold to give them time—but that was a mistake."

Key informant interview, male

➤ *Covid 19:* Public health measures such as social distancing guidelines and restrictions on public gatherings made it impossible for social movements to emerge, and the expression of public protest moved online contributing to formation fragmentary movements. This type of movements is characterized by internal divisions, competing agendas within these divisions, and a lack of centralized leadership. These divisions often stem from ideological and strategic disagreements, which hinder coordination and weaken impact of the movement. These movements often have a stronger presence online than offline, relying heavily on digital tools for mobilization and awareness. Still, because of absence of a unified leadership structure and strategic vision it results in short-term decision-making.

➤ *The Second Artsakh War , occupation of Artsakh, and then the forced displacement of Artsakh residents* had a great impact on the expression of public protest in several directions. In the psychological domain, the society, bearing the pain of the homeland and human loss, found itself in a state of apathy. Some scholars claim that ongoing issues concerning Armenian Genocide and Nagorno-Karabakh conflict contribute to a national psyche that is often focused on grievances rather than constructive activism [3 p. 915]. In addition, the threat of the physical existence of an external enemy forced society to reconsider priorities and focus on solving the problems of its own existence. These problems, which could be voiced by social movements, were relegated to the secondary plan. In addition, in such a difficult situation for the state,

uniting against the state was considered intolerable and threatening the existence of the state therefore unacceptable from the point of community logic.

➤ *Socio-economic* factors further compound the challenges faced by social movements. Widespread economic disparities create a place preoccupied with immediate survival, detracting from engagement in collective action [11, p 45]. This is especially worth mentioning in the context of poverty in Armenia where poverty rate is quite high (about 53.2 percent) with a consumption index of \$5.5 per day [2, p. 83].

Interestingly, key informants also pointed to *institutional barriers*, such as contradictory laws or legal acts across different areas, which create confusion and make it difficult to navigate the legal system for ordinary citizens—ultimately leaving room for self-willed decision-making and making impossible to protest with the usage of legal means.

The next category of external obstacles which hinder progress of social movements in Armenian modern society has cultural nature. **Cultural obstacles** refer to the deep-rooted norms, values, beliefs, and symbolic systems within a society that limit the success of social movements.

➤ *Cultural values and norms*: Social movements rely on shared cultural narratives to build legitimacy and mobilize support. When the core values of the movement are not aligned with the widely accepted cultural values of the wide range of social groups, society starts to reject the ideas of the movement. These can be seen in case of women's right initiatives, where the general public doesn't accept the existence of domestic violence in Armenian families, and thus rejects all the attempts of different women initiatives to raise awareness about this topic through public events or other actions.

➤ *Stigmas and stereotypes*: Research data indicate that there is significant resistance toward social movements and their goals in society, largely because they are often perceived as a threat to state stability. This resistance is frequently expressed through negative stigmatization of participants. A clear example of this is the use of derogatory labels such as "*grant-eaters*" or "*Soros's*," which are intended to delegitimize activists by portraying them as foreign-funded agents rather than genuine civic actors. These stigmas not only undermine public trust in movements but also contribute to the broader cultural obstacles they face.

When we take part in protests, we're not treated respectfully. People say awful things to us like we are homewreckers, we do this for money, we don't have dignity etc.

Key informant interview, female

➤ *Fear of marginalization*: Some groups in the society avoid public support or participation in movements due to fear of judgment and criticism by their community members, especially by their families and close relatives. So, this social group either do not support any visible activity or prefers to do it online using fake or empty accounts, so that their identity won't be revealed. Concealing one's social identity has become one of the most symbolic obstacles to activism, as many individuals choose not to reveal themselves publicly, thereby limiting the potential of social movements. Moreover, contemporary understandings of social movements often place identity at their core where some scholars even define movements primarily through this essential characteristic [8, p. 433].

Internal obstacles represent another category of barriers that hinder the progress of social movements. In the context of Armenia, one of the primary reasons for the failure of social movements lies in the challenges related to reasons rooted in the movement itself and have mainly organizational nature. This category includes:

➤ *Lack of coordination and unity*. Although contemporary movements typically consist of a core group of around 20–30 individuals, these members often struggle to maintain unity due to differing visions regarding strategy and planning, sometimes some members struggle to reveal their identity. Moreover, movements can be fragmented internally, with subgroups emerging under separate leadership, each pursuing its own direction. This lack of coherence and coordination significantly weakens the overall impact and effectiveness of the movement. Without unity, these efforts become disjointed, fragmented, discontinuous, and lose their impact. In addition, a unified movement provides a clear and concise message to the public and the media, providing public visibility. The latter helps raise awareness of the issues at hand and increases the credibility of the movement, increasing the likelihood of receiving support.

➤ *Lack of resources*. This issue is particularly critical as that most of the movements in contemporary Armenian society are composed of ordinary citizens-activists who lack access to significant resources or institutional support—unlike unions or formal organizations. In such conditions of resource scarcity, the absence of internal coordination and organizational cohesion can become a decisive factor in achieving goals.

➤ *Selfisolation* is one of the core internal challenges faced by social movements in Armenian contemporary society. In an effort to maintain an impeccable reputation and convince the public of their independence from political agendas and pure goals, the movements deliberately distance them-

selves from political leaders, parties and alliances. However, this strategy comes at a cost—without collaboration or support, they suffer from a lack of resources and are unable to generate sufficient pressure to influence decision-makers. This is also noted by other scholars. For instance, Armenian researcher Azatyan O. mention that social movements are isolated and should be more effectively cooperating with the authorities, the ruling party and other parliamentary parties for a civilized solution of problems, in which the authorities and the civil environment are interested [1, p. 107]. Similarly, Ishkanian also notes that the detachment of civic initiatives from professionalized NGOs sometimes limits their outreach and capacity to mobilize support effectively [9, p. 1203].

“To distinguish ourselves from various speculations we have repeatedly stated that we neither accept assistance from any political party or political force nor are affiliated with any political organization.”

Key informant interview, male

➤ *The small volume* of the movement is typical of almost all modern Armenian movements, as a result of which the movement is unable to gather enough weight and exert pressure on decision-makers. Being small makes the existence of the movement in general, and then its actions, problematic.

➤ *The core values* of the movement are often unacceptable to broad strata of society and as a result can cause not only indifference but also public resistance. This type of resistance can also be observed in initiatives advocating for women's rights, where large segments of society reject discussions around issues such as domestic violence. Instead of acknowledging the importance of these topics, critics often accuse activists and unnecessarily highlighting women's rights concerns, blaming them for demolishing Armenian traditional families.

Conclusion

According to the research findings, a wide range of obstacles in contemporary Armenian society hinder the emergence of powerful social movements, contribute to their failure, and limit broader grassroots change. These obstacles include both external factors, rooted in the social, political, and cultural environment, and internal factors, tied to the movement's own peculiarities and chosen strategy.

Public attitudes and perceptions as external obstacles play a particularly influential role, shaping how social movements are viewed and directly impacting their effectiveness. Likewise, prevailing cultural values, social norms, stigmas, and

stereotypes act as significant barriers to public mobilization and participation.

From the perspective of the internal obstacles, such issues as lack of coordination and unity, self-isolation from political alliances, and a greater online presence than real-world engagement push Armenian social movements away from the classical model of collective action. Instead, they evolved into new types of movements which can be characterized as a fragmented movements that often struggle to achieve their stated goals because of modified peculiarities.

The key findings of these research underscore the complex relationship between internal dynamics of the movement and the surrounding societal environment, indicating that the success or failure of social movements depends not only on their aims and resources, but also on their capacity to adapt and reshape the cultural, social, and institutional conditions that define their environment.

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