COORDINATING GROUPS OF CIVIC INITATIVES IN ARMENIA:

CASES OF TEGHUT, DEM EM AND ELECTRIC YEREVAN

A Master's Essay Submitted to the Political Science and International Affairs Program in Partial Fulfillment of the of Master of Arts

By

Anna Hakobyan

Supervisor: Dr. Yevgenya Paturyan

Yerevan 2016

Acknowledgments

Abstract

Coordinating groups of social movements play a key role in shaping the movements, voicing concern of the public, effectively using political and economic opportunities, inspiring and mobilizing people thus impacting the outcome of the movement.

The capstone studies the coordinating groups of three civic initiatives in Armenia (Teghut, Dem em and Electric Yerevan). It uses qualitative methods to achieve its objective. Media analysis has been used to build a chronology of events of the initiatives. In-depth interviews with group members have been conducted to reveal internal relations of the group members and their interactions/alliances with outside groups and each other.

Analysis of the findings reveals that trust and friendship play a crucial role in the productive functioning of the coordinating groups in civic initiatives. Although members claim to be equal inside the groups, there are latent leaders –members with more experience from previous initiatives, better public speaking skills, and greater media exposure. There is also obvious learning experience between initiatives with overlapping membership. Stronger the relations between group members, more effective is their interaction with outside groups.

Contents

Introduction

Social movement theorists argue that political and economic structures define the outcome of movements (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1998). However, structures themselves cannot set goals, inspire commitment, motivate and mobilize people, make strategies and engage in decision-making (Morris and Staggenborg 2004). All these activities, affecting the outcome of the movement, are carried out by distinguished individuals – by movement leaders. Several scholars (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993) argue that leadership groups in social movements are not adequately studied.

Since 2010 civic initiatives[1] have become quite popular in Armenia addressing various issues related to environment, human rights, cultural preservation, public parks and other spheres of social life. They stimulate 'self-organization' and 'participatory citizenship' some of them having impact on policy making. These initiatives are described as a new 'awakening', product of a new generation that '…did not experience life under the Soviet regime'(Ishkanian 2015).

This capstone analyses coordinating groups of civic initiatives in Armenia. It looks inside civic initiatives by observing the structure, decision making process, relationship among group members of coordinating groups. When looking outside civic initiatives the paper discusses their alliances and interactions with outside actors or other groups in the society (government, media, other civic initiatives, NGOs, political parties, Diaspora).

There is a lack of studies of coordinating groups of civic initiatives in Armenia. The following study aims at filling in the gap. However, due to time restriction it mainly looks at three initiatives selected based on diversity of scope, duration and structure.

---

[1] In the following study 'civic initiatives' are treated as social movements based on the assumption that they correspond to the following social movement definition by Mario Diani: "Social movements are networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the bases of shared collective identities" (Diani 1992, 1).

1. Literature Review

1.1. Definition of Social Movement and Its Components

Mario Diani reviews various definitions of social movement by leading authors in the field and bridges them in one new synthesized concept. Based on this synthesis he defines social movements as "… networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the bases of shared collective identities" (Diani 1992, 1).

One of the components of social movements defined by Diani (1992) is 'informal ties'. Members of social movements are connected to each other with informal ties. These ties then grow into bigger networks. Structure of networks can vary from very loose to tighter (Della Porta 1988). Networks usually contribute to the circulation of material and non-material (information, experience) resources necessary to take actions (Diani 1992).

Another important component of social movements is the groups formed by members of social movements. According to Turner and Killian (1957) these groups have 'indefinite' and 'shifting' members. The leadership of the group is rather defined by 'informal response of proponents' than by 'formal procedures for legitimizing authority'(Turner and Killian 1957).

A collective action to be considered a social movement should also have 'shared beliefs' and 'sense of belongingness' (Diani 1992). When discussing social movements Melucci (1984) identifies 'solidarity' with 'collective identity'. They both refer to the 'sense of belongingness' to a group that shares 'common faith'. The notion of 'collective identity' defines boundaries of social movement; only those members that share same believes and have the sense of belongingness are part of the social movement. On the other hand this does not guarantee homogeneity in ideas and having the same orientation in the movement. Thus, the creation of so called 'collective identity' and its preservation is an on-going process applicable to 'realignment' and 'negotiation'(Diani 1992).

Conflict is yet another indispensable component of social movements. Actors of social movements get into 'conflictual relations' with 'other actors'. These 'other actors' can be institutions and other movements (Diani 1992). Della Porta and Dinai define 'conflict' in social movements as "oppositional relationship between actors who seek control of the same stake be it political, economic or cultural power – and in the process make negative claims on each other – i.e., demands which, if realized would damage the interests of the other actors"(della Porta and Diani 2006, 21).

Social movements are considered confrontational since they use 'disruptive tactics' (Lipsky 1965). Whether movements use conciliatory or confrontational tactics depends on the political context of the specific country where they act. When governments are 'hostile' movements adopt confrontational forms of action since they do not have opportunity to negotiate (O'Neill 2012).

1.2. Leadership Teams in Social Movements

Leadership teams are critical to social movements. In order to achieve the goal of the movements they 'frame demands', 'inspire commitment', 'recognize opportunities', 'mobilize resources', create tactics and strategies (Morris and Staggenborg 2004).

"Leadership teams are essential in making strategic decisions, and the success of the movement depends on the creativity, imagination, and skills of these leaders" (Morris and Staggenborg 2004, 188). Ganz (2000) argues that effective strategy usually comes from a leadership team and not an individual leader. Effective strategies are usually created by brainstorming of diverse leadership group that generates creativity, encourages innovation thus impacting the positive outcome of the movement (Ganz 2000).

Moreover, connections between leaders are important in forming inter-organizational cooperation and coalitions. Formation of coalitions is more vivid when threat is increasing. It is also important that leaders recognize the importance of forming coalitions when opportunities rise (Shaffer 2000).

1.3. Strategic Dilemmas of Social Movements

When making strategic decisions leaders of social movements face various dilemmas concerning organization and size of the movements. Gamson (1975) argues that well structured movements tend to have successful outcomes, whereas Piven and Cloward (1977) claim that those are achieved at the expense of important goals and effective tactics.

There is also an issue with centralized versus decentralized structures: more hierarchical structures do not provide opportunities to the grassroots members to take part in the decision making process. However, they have more coordinated actions and are more effective in getting the attention of the government and the media (Jasper 2004).

The extension dilemma has to deal with the expansion of the group. On the one hand the expansion of the group is usually accompanied by less coherent goals and actions. Expansion also creates coordination problem where less people are ready to take risks and costs. This also has to do with the diversity of people involved in the movement. On the other hand expansion of the group can serve as a source of power especially when the objective of the movement is disruptive or when the group needs to have voting influence (Jasper 2004).

Shifting goals: Do the movements change the goal or stick to the original? Usually movement leaders expand their goals when they achieve victories and they adjust them when they face pressure (Jasper 2004).

'Naughty or nice?' Whether leaders choose a debate or coercion depends on several factors. First, it depends on the alternatives the protest group has and their capacity to affect the economic and political structures. Second, it depends on the audience they want to please. For examples, people outside the protest group (for example by passers) usually do not like disruptions. Piven and Cloward (1977) argue that the only way for the oppressed groups to achieve their goal is to break rules. Thus, naughtiness is the strategy of coercion, niceness refers to persuasion (or a debate). This is sometimes

also called 'chaos dilemma'. What works in favor of the protest – 'when things are predictable or when they are chaotic?' Protests do not lose much when things are in normal routine. On the other hand they might gain a lot when things are chaotic (Jasper 2004).

Thus, different leadership groups will react differently to the dilemmas and patterns of choices mentioned above. Members of a specific leadership group might agree and disagree over the importance of different choices. Overall, a choice a specific group favors depends on many factors like 'group identity', 'rationale of the group', 'cultural meanings', 'moral sentiments' and 'individuals'(Jasper 2004).

1.4. Social Movements and Alliances

Social movements form alliances with outside groups such as interest groups, other movements, political parties, elites, media and intellectuals. Although an alliance anticipates partnership and support its players usually keep themselves autonomous and do not completely merge with each other. Moreover, in some respects, alliances comprise features of conflict and competition (Rucht 2004).

Movements struggling against the same 'enemy' or opponent might have overlaps. In various periods of time overlaps lead joining forces and forming alliances. In some cases movements can join for a common campaign (Rucht 2004).

Movements not only make alliances with other movements but also with non-movement actors since the latest might have strengths and resources that movements lack: for instance political parties with their connections to the parliament, media with broader audience, elites with links to those making decisions and influence on public opinion. These outside actors have their own interest in making alliances with the movements. Movements can provide them with new ideas, 'mass base', 'radical mood', 'new arena'. For instance, oppositional parties may have interest in cooperating with movements since the latter link them with extra parliamentary groups. This can strengthen their position as opposed to the government (Rucht 2004).

Alliance and interaction exists between social movements and mass media. However, in this interaction media has dominant role since it shapes the movements for outside audience. Movements need media for three main reasons: 'mobilization', 'validation' and 'enlargement' of the scope of conflict. In terms of mobilization media discourse serves as a vital tool for social movement leaders to reach their constituents and larger public. At the same time movements need media to validate them. Media makes the movement actors important. And finally, movements need media for enlarging the scope of the conflict by bringing in new parties. This gives opportunities to movement leaders to improve their position as compared with the opposing side. Thus, media plays the role of making the conflict public (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993).

Another important component of interaction between social movements and media is the fact that movement leaders usually have negative attitude towards mainstream media. They view it as depending on the 'dominant group whom they are challenging' (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Media has also the role of identifying and choosing the spokesperson for the movement (among the collective actors). Thus, very often media makes an actor or several actors in the group as important players or 'gatekeepers' of the movement (Gamson 2004).

2. Methodology

The primary objective of the paper is to look inside the initiating groups of mini-social movements in Armenia. It also aimed at revealing the ways civic initiatives interact with each other and other public actors (media, parties, NGOs) and decision makers (government) in the society. To reach the above mentioned objective qualitative methods have been applied. Methodology includes analysis of newspaper articles and social media and interviews with the members of initiating groups.

Cases – Cases were selected to maximize diversity (time, structure and scope). Teghut initiative is selected as a case in comparatively longer time period (2007-2016). Dem em is selected as a relatively more structured case and Electirc Yerevan as the most recent one and bigger in scope.

Analysis of online media - Analysis of online media contributed to building chronology of events, as well as to identify members of the initiating groups that most frequently appeared in media. All the articles referring to these three initiatives have been taken from online media - Civilnet (2012-2016) and Azatutyun (2007-2016).

Table 1. Number of articles in online media per case

Cases	Online media	
	Azatutyun 2007-2016	**Civilnet 2012-2016**
Teghut	74	6
Dem em	93	114
Electric Yerevan	259	134

Interviews - Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the members of the initiatives to reveal the decision making process inside initiatives. If more leaders were involved in the decision making group that have not been identified through online media and social networks, they have been found through snowballing technique during interviews. It should be mentioned that the limitation of the snowballing technique is that it lead to a circle of interconnected people and leave out important participants that were not perceived as 'insiders'.

A total of 20 in-depth interviews were conducted with the coordinating members of the initiatives: seven from Teghut and Dem em each, and six with Electric Yerevan. Interviews were conducted in February 2016. All the interviews have been recorded, transcribed and analyzed. The duration of the interviews varied from 45 minutes up to two hours.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: *How decisions were made inside coordinating groups?*

RQ2: *What was the experience of the activists in dealing with the government?*

- **Hypothesis:** *Civic initiatives have negative experience with the government*

RQ3: *What was the relationship of civic initiatives with the media?*

RQ4: *How do civic initiatives interact with each other?*

- **Hypothesis:** *There is learning experience and interaction between coordinating groups of civic initiatives.*

3. Summary of Cases

3.1. Teghut Case

Teghut is a forest in Lori marz (North-eastern part of Armenia) with rich wildlife and vegetation. Many of the species of plants and animals in the forest are rare and endangered. Several of them are included in the Red Book of Armenia. Two rural communities - Teghut and Sogh (population 3,600) are situated nearby the forest (Ishkanian et al. 2013).

In 2001, Armenia Copper Porgram (ACP) CJSC was granted a license to exploit a copper-molybdenum mine in Teghut (for 25 year). The territory anticipated for mining makes 1,491 hectares (ha) with 82% of it covered by forests (1,232 ha). According to the mining project 357 ha of forest was anticipated to be cut. If the mine will be exploited, about 500 million tons of tailings will be accumulated (toxic wastes with heavy metals) as well as 600 million tons of other sorts of waste will be disposed into the gorge of nearby Duqanadzor River. As a consequence of this 214 ha of territory will be contaminated with toxic waste (Ishkanian et al. 2013).

The issue of Teghut was first raised in 2006 by a group of NGOs that voiced their concern by sending letters to the Prime Minister and President of the RA. In 2007 "Save Teghut" initiative started to shape its form when the government of RA confirmed its decision to exploit the mine. Thus, together with NGOs this group of young enthusiasts started to raise the issue of Teghut and struggle against the exploitation of the mine. They created a webpage and were also very active in social networks.

In 2008 "Teghut " group sent a letter to the Prime Minister Tigran Sargsyan requiring to stop mining activities in Teghut forest and revise the decision of the government (Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty 2008). Members of the group met with the Prime Minster. As described by the members the meeting was not fruitful (Male interviewee, 37).

Cooperating with NGOs "Teghut" group has been actively involved in lawsuits and appeals both with local and International courts. In 2009 the group together with three NGOs appealed to the Administrative court of Armenia against Armenian Government, Ministry of Nature Protection and Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources. Having negative results from Administrative court the group applied to the Cassation court in 2011(Ishkanian et al. 2013).

In 2009 the group together with several NGOs appealed to the UN Aaharus Convention Compliance Committee (UN economic commission for Europe) claiming that the government of Armenia has violated its obligations of the Convention. The Compliance Committee came to conclusion that the Government of Armenia has violated the convention. More specifically, it has violated the right of people to hold proper public discussions and the right to appeal to the court - that is NGOs as well as local communities do have the right to appeal to the court with Teghut case In 2012 the group appealed to the UN High Commission of Human Rights (Ishkanian et al. 2013).

In 2012 the group was enlarged. It organized a march towards Teghut with 300 participants. In 2013 and 2014 the group started to look for alternative ways of developing economy in the communities as an alternative to mining. They have organized honey fairs in Teghut and Shnog villages (Female interviewee, 32).

In 2014 the group appealed for a grant and now Teghut initiative has a functioning office with paid employees to keep an eye on illegal mining in Armenia (Male interviewee, 37).

3.2. Dem em Case

In 2013 government of Armenia proposed a new pension reform with a mandatory component to be enforced from January 1, 2014. According to the reform five per cent of the salaries (not exceeding 500 000 AMD) of employees (born after January 1, 1974) should be accumulated in pension funds. The state, in addition, will transfer some money (depending on salary) for each employee to his/her pension fund (Civilnet 2013).

Although new pension reform aims at promoting economic development of the country the main problem was not with the reform but mostly with distrust towards state institutions as well as the fact that current social conditions of citizens of Armenia are poor. Thus, the new pension reform will result in reduction of the income of the citizens (Civilnet 2013a).

Dem em initiative, started its activities from 2013, when several employees in different IT companies were discussing the issue of the new pension reform and were against its mandatory component (Male interviewee, 21).

On December 4, 2013 "Dem em" group organized a protest in front of the building of the National Assembly with 500 participants. The main demand of the protesters was postponement for at least one year of the mandatory component of the new pension system. On the same day the National Assembly had rejected the proposal of postponement of the application of the mandatory component (Civilnet 2013b).

On December 17, 2013 four oppositional factions "Heritage", "Prosperous Armenia", "Armenian Revolutionary Federation" and "Armenian National Congress" organized an appeal to the Constitutional Court on several provisions of the pension system. Dem em initiative supported the appeal (Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty 2013). On January 18 Dem em together with these oppositional factions organized a march (with 7,000 participants) (Civilnet 2014).

On March 19, 2014 the Prime Minister (Tigran Sargsyan) invited "Dem em" team to discuss the issue of the pension system (Civilnet 2014a). Later the team members described the meeting as not fruitful.

From March 28 till 31 Constitutional Court hearings on pension system took place. During these days "Dem em" team organized a flash mob in front of the building of the Constitutional Court. The participants had white tapes on their eyes as a sign of keeping quiet and not disturbing or influencing the hearings of the Court (Civilnet 2014b).

On April 2, 2014 although the Constitutional Court announced the pension law unconstitutional, its decision was vague and has dual meaning. This gave room to the government to continue implementing mandatory payment system (Civilnet 2014c).

On April 18, 2014 "Dem em" group organized a protest in front of the office of the president. The protestors were demanding from the president to follow up the implementation of the decision of the Constitutional Court (Civilnet 2014d). Later on the same month the newly appointed Prime Minister Hovik Abrahamyan met with "Dem em" team and accepted that the pension law needs amendments (Civilnet 2014e).

Thus, the mandatory component of the pension system was delayed till a new legislative package is accepted by the National Assembly. However, pension accumulations remained mandatory for the employees of state institutions. On the other hand the state will continue paying its share of the pension payments for all employees.

3.3. Electric Yerevan Case

In June 2014 Public Services Regulatory Commission of Armenia made a decision to increase the price of electricity by 10% (3.85 AMD) to be active from August 1, 2014 (Civilnet 2014f). On those days a group of activists were protesting in front of the building of the Public Services Regulatory Commission against the decision of the committee. Several of them were caught by the police and taken to the police station). These activists later formed "No to Plunder" team leading Electric Yerevan civic initiative struggling against electricity hike in summer 2015.

On June 17, 2015 the Public Services Regulatory Commission again voted for increasing the electricity price by 6.93 AMD to be effective from August 1, 2015 (Civilnet 2015). On June 19, 2015 "No to plunder" group organized a rally which then turned into three day sit-in. The protesters were demanding from the President to cancel the decision of the price hike by June 22, 2015 (Civilnet 2015a).

On June 22, 2015 the protesters were marching towards Presidential residence. On their way, at the beginning of Baghramyan street, they were blocked by police. Since the protestors could not continue their march they organized a sit-in right there in front of the police. Over that night the protesters were dispersed by water cannons. Several people were detained, some were hospitalized. The cameras of journalists were destroyed (Civilnet 2015b).

On the following days international community (US Embassy in Armenia, UK Embassy, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, Delegation of the European Union in Armenia, OSCE Representative on the Freedom of Media, etc.) condemned the actions of police towards protestors and journalists (Civilnet 2015c).

On June 23, 2015 the streets of Yerevan were filled with more people (about twenty thousand) marching again towards the president's residence. On their way to Baghramyan street they were again blocked by police. This time the police did not act brutally. A group of intellectuals, famous people, party leaders formed an 'alive wall' between the protesters and the police as if not to let clashes to occur (Civilnet 2015d). The protest went on several days with hundreds of people staying in Baghramyan street. It was also spread beyond Yerevan to the other major cities of Armenia.

Electric Yerevan civic initiative ended up being neither a total failure nor a full success. The government decided to delay the impact of the electricity price increase on the citizens by subsidizing it from public budget until an audit of the electric company was conducted (Civilnet 2015e).

4. Findings

4.1. Decision Making Inside Initiatives

4.1.1. Is Consensus Better than Voting? Small versus Large Groups, Enlarging the Group

Coordinating groups of civic initiatives are comprised of members. "Teghut" group is the smallest one, compared to the other two under the analysis. It is comprised of 5-7 members. Members make decisions by discussion and consensus. Even though they might have different political views they pursue the same goal of stopping illegal mining in Teghut. As some of the interviewees stated they were friends and there was mutual trust among them.

When the group was enlarged, members were making decisions by voting. During this period members of other initiatives and individual activists joined Teghut initiative (it happened particularly after Trchkan[2] and during Mashots Park initiatives[3]). "Teghut" group became more diverse with members having different political as well as ideological views and weaker friendship ties among them.

In the enlarged group members made attempts to make the initiative more structured. They created various working groups each responsible for certain type of activities (legal, fundraising, media, work with communities, etc). Meetings had the following regulations: for the first round of discussion each member had two minutes to talk, and for the second round only one minute. However, according to some of the interviewees working with enlarged group turned to be non productive and attempts to make the initiative more structured were time and resource consuming.

Later the enlarged group was split into two parts. Those pursuing more radical actions and seeking the solution of Teghut by broader political means formed Environmental Front and joined a

---

[2] An environmental civic initiative struggling against the decision of the government to build a hydro power plant near Trchkan waterfall.
[3] A civic initiative struggling against destruction of Mashtots park in the centre of Yerevan (park was planned to be converted into a location for shops (boutiques).

political grouping called "Pre-parliament." The old members (having more conciliatory approach) remained as the coordinating group of Teghut. They did not seek the solution of the problem in global political changes and kept focused on their initial goal.

"Dem em" group was comprised of 20-30 members. Decisions were made by voting. Agenda of meetings had two types of questions: ordinary questions decided by simple majority voting system (50+1) and strategic questions by qualitative majority vote (3/4 of all the members). During meetings each member was allowed to speak for two minutes. The agenda of meetings was decided beforehand. Although meetings were structured several interviewees stated that voting was not effective and consensus is desirable between members. Several sub-groups inside the coordinating group were lobbying other members before the vote. Voting was labeled by some interviewees as de-motivating for those who voted against a certain decision. Those were not motivated to take actions for the decision they have voted against.

"Dem em" group has twice been enlarged. At the beginning of the initiative members made an effort to enlarge the group by more participants. The second enlargement aimed at engaging new members (with new ideas) in the group. However, both enlargements were described as not useful. They complicated decision making process and created more subgroups.

Interviewees from "No to plunder" were insisting that everybody was equal in the group. There is friendship and trust inside the group. The group was more similar to "Teghut" though a bit larger. It was comprised of 10-13 participants (several of them from other initiatives). The procedure of holding meeting was the same as in other two groups. Although members were making decisions by voting, consensus was very important for them. Not selected options were usually reserved as an alternative plans.

If you are not coming to a consensus on the most important issues you cannot work as a team (Male interviewee, 31).

In "No to plunder" group enlargement did not take place. Although members have planned to enlarge the group by taking active participants from the public (individual activists, active citizens and non-governmental parties and political groups) they did not manage to do it (at the end of the initiative).

Table 2. Group size and decision making (consensus and/or voting), relations and diversity among group members

Initiative	Group size	Decision making	Relations among members	Diversity**** among members
Tehgut	Small*	Consensus	Friendship and trust	Diverse
Dem em	Large**	Voting	Subgroups***	Diverse
No to Plunder	Small*	Mixed (consensus and voting)	Friendship and trust	Similar

Small* – 1-15 members

Large** – 16- 30 members

Subgroups*** - are defined by friendship and trust among members within smaller groups formed inside one large group

Diversity**** - is defined by differences in political ideologies

Table 2. above illustrates that smaller groups tend to make decisions by consensus and larger ones by voting. Closer friendship ties and trust is observed between members of smaller groups. In case the group is large, friendship and trust exist in subgroups. Diversity works in favor of small groups ("Teghut" group) and distracts large ones ("Dem em" and "Teghut" group when enlarged).

Thus, when making decisions smaller groups are more effective than larger ones. In case the relations between the members are close – they are friends and they trust each other, it is easier to come to a consensus and have productive discussions. Hence, voting is not as effective as consensus.

Since, civic initiatives are based on volunteer participation with each member willing to make decision and act, voting creates de-motivation for those participants that vote against the issue.

It can further be concluded that making a civic initiative more structured is resource consuming and it might take place at the expense of important decisions. This is best illustrated in "Teghut" group when it was enlarged and attempts were made to have the initiative more structured.

On the other hand Dem em is a more structured initiative with a larger number of group members (20-30) with diverse political ideologies and tactics (conciliatory versus radical). Friendship links are observed to be weak among them. These factors contribute to splitting the group into subgroups.

In can further be concluded that two groups (Teghut" and "Dem em") had negative experience with enlargement. It created more layered sub-groups in "Dem em" and structural problems in "Teghut". Differences in ideology and values between old and new members is also observed in these two cases.

4.1.2. How to Become a Group Member? Closed versus Open Groups

Civic initiatives have horizontal structure. Although initiatives are non-formal institutions, their coordinating groups have internal documents ('protocols') setting the rules for the members to work inside the group. Any of these groups has its own strategy for membership.

When comparing three coordinating groups "Teghut" is the most transparent one. Every person that agrees with its Manifest (document that states the main goals and values of the initiative, available on their webpage) can become a group member.

Civic initiatives should be open to everybody. They should bring new culture and break authoritarian stereotypes. You usually get more benefit from the process than from the result in initiatives (female activist, 33).

Similar to "Teghut", "Dem em" team also has an internal document reflecting the goals of the initiative. Each new member is voted by the team before entering it. Group members can be party members but inside the initiative they should not pursue the interests of their party.

In "No to plunder" a party member cannot become part of the team. New members join the group if recommended by an older member with the consent of the group. Roles inside three teams were distributed based on their skills, availability, profession and networks.

Thus, coordinating teams of civic initiatives have internal documents to regulate functions inside the groups. "Teghut" group was open and each new member was welcomed to join the group without any restriction. "Dem em" and "No to plunder" groups were more closed. New members were being discussed and voted inside the group before entering it. Another key component for the last two groups is the political membership of participants. In "Dem em" members can have party affiliation but they should not pursue the interest of their party. In "No to plunder" members should not have party affiliation at all.

4.1.3. 'Shifting Goal or Sticking to the Initial One?'

In "Teghut" group the initial goal of the initiative underwent transformation during the course of time. At the beginning of the initiative the focus of the activists was on nature protection, later after the mining company started its activities the team shifted the focus on local communities (social conditions, health issues) affected by mining– finding alternative ways of developing favorable economic conditions for the local communities in Teghut.

The interviewees of "Dem em" and "No to plunder" groups stated that the goals of initiatives did not undergo transformation. However, in "Dem em" there were periods when the members belonging to different political groupings tried to shift the goal of the initiative to a more global one (change of the government or revolution). Those were mostly members having party affiliation or adherents of political groups. In case of "No to plunder" different members of oppositional parties and

other political groups supporting the team made efforts to shift the goal of the initiative (for example revolution, resignation of the government). However, as stated by the interviewees these outside groups supporting the initiative were not allowed to make decisions for the initiative.

If we change the goal of the initiative, we will betray people believing in us (Male interviewee, 34).

In can be concluded that transformation of the goal (expending the goal) is rarely observed in civic initiatives. It took place only in Teghut case although during interviews several participants were very emotional about the goal change and in many cases did not admit it to be so. However, transformation of the initial goal in "Teghut" group was due to changes of circumstances: mine starting to function and the team gaining more knowledge about mining and its effects on nearby communities.

In "Dem em" group attempts to shift the goal of the initiative were driven from inside by some sub-groups (either having party affiliation or sympathizing political groups). In "No to plunder" group since no member can have party orientation change of the goals was driven from outside.

As the table below illustrates shift of the goal did not take place in closed group. It is important to note that change of the goal in these two groups referred to expanding the goal (making it broader).

Table 3. Group type and change of the goal

Initiative	Group type	Modification of the initial goal
Tehgut	Open	Yes
Dem em	Closed*	No
No to Plunder	Closed	No

Closed* group – is defined by any kind of restriction for joining the group

4.1.4. Equal Members and Latent Leaders

Two types of activists were observed in "Teghut" and "Dem em" groups. In "Teghut" some of the members were more inclined to action and protests and others to research, analysis and conciliatory

approaches. In "Dem em" one subgroup is more radical and prone to street protests, rejecting negotiations with the government and political parties, and another one prone to negotiations and against manipulative actions. In "No to plunder" all group members were prone to action and protest in the street and no negotiations with the government.

Although all team members of three groups have equal opportunities and rights to make decision inside groups some of the interviewees confessed that some of them were more distinguished in public and famous for the media than others. Thus, they are more identified with the initiative than other members. Distinguished members have more voice because of their skills important for the initiative ("Teghut" group).

To be fair I should say that some of the members had more authority inside the group and more skills (Female interviewee, 34).

Members having good public speaking skills as well as experience in previous initiatives can have more decisive voice inside the group. Whoever stands in front of the public and says something in a loud speaker that person bears the responsibility. He/she is being identified with the movement and actually nobody cares if this person says something not decided and agreed with the team (Male interviewee, 21).

We do not have leaders, however, even if you try not to be distinguished people know who is doing what – Vova Gasparyan[4] was telling us if something happens you three are responsible (Male interviewee, 34).

Thus, although members seem to be equal inside the group, some of them are more influential than others. It is mostly due to their skills, experience from other initiatives and popularity in public and media.

---

[4] Mr. Gasparyan is the Head of Police of the Republic of Armenia.

Conclusion

Thus, discussion of the following section reveals several important findings answering the following research question:

How decisions were made inside coordinating groups?

As illustrated in findings, groups makes decisions either by consensus or voting. Smaller groups turned out to be more effective when making decisions than bigger ones. Because of the small number of participants decisions in small groups are made by consensus and closer friendship ties and mutual trust is observed between the members. Higher number of participants make decision making process in bigger groups more difficult. Thus, bigger groups are effective when they are more structured. Decisions in bigger groups were made based on voting. Diversity also works in favor of small groups. In bigger groups it creates more problems.

Groups can be open or closed based on membership. Closed groups integrate new people into the group based on the following criteria: recommendation of older members, agreement from the group and political neutrality (members either should not have party affiliation or should not pursue the interests of the party they belong).

Another important finding is that roles inside the groups were distributed based on skills, profession and networks of the members. Although members seem to be equal inside the group, some of them are more influential than others. It is mostly due to their skills, experience from other initiatives and popularity in public and media.

5. Strategies and Tactics

5.1. Defending Strategy

Defending strategy of the groups refers to their self-protection from outside threat. The interviewed members of "Teghut" and "Dem em" groups stated that some of their members had been followed, threatened by the police or the intelligence agency. Both groups adopted the strategy of making those cases public. Moreover, "Dem em" group created emergency closed group inside the initiative to respond immediately in such cases.

5.2. Raising Awareness of the Issue in Public

The strategy of raising awareness of the issue in public is more vividly illustrated in "Teghut" group. The mining problem in Teghut refers to the people living nearby the forest and not to all the citizens of Armenia (like in other two initiatives). Thus, "Teghut" group has to focus its attention on two directions: raising awareness of the issue in Armenia (specifically in Yerevan) and in local communities of Teghut.

It should be noted that "Teghut" group was among the organizers of Mashtots Park initiative in the center of the city. The group used the public space of park as a platform to raise the awareness of the issue. Group members were distributing informative leaflets about Teghut, organizing movies and Power Point presentations on mining, selling t-shirts and caps with the logo of the initiative in Mashtots park. Another tactics of raising awareness in the public were campaigns by bicycles, rock festivals (after which members were talking about Teghut to the public). The group also shot a film "Teghut by the eyes of famous people" where celebrities and famous people in Armenia were talking about Teghut.

To raise the awareness of the issue in local communities as well as to persuade them to look for alternative ways of developing local economy the group has initiated various activities: selling honey

of the bee-keepers of Teghut in Yerevan, organizing fairs in the communities, organizing trainings for local communities on creating cooperatives.

The other two initiatives have raised the awareness of the issue in public simultaneously informing them about the upcoming large scale demonstration, rally or other event.

## 5.3. Mobilizing Public for an Upcoming Large Scale Initiative

All three initiatives had preparatory activities before large scale demonstrations, rallies, marches, sit-ins. Those activities were directed towards informing people of the upcoming initiative and mobilizing public. The groups widely used social networks (public groups, event pages and invitation in Facebook) and media (press-releases to media, media conferences) to disseminate information. They were also distributing leaflets in the streets, sticking posters inside mini-buses and in bus stations, on the blocks of the buildings, marching along the streets with loud speakers, awareness raising campaigns by cars (sometime intentionally blocking streets to call more attention) and bicycles.

Thus, all three groups widely used online and offline tools to disseminate information about the upcoming rally or demonstration and to mobilize people. "Teghut" group was distinguished with its issue referring not to all the citizens of Armenia but to local communities in Teghut. Thereby, the group has to make more efforts to raise awareness of the issue and make both general public and local communities knowledgeable about harm caused by mining.

6. Interaction with the Government

All interviewees described their interaction with the government as negative and useless. The figure below illustrates the evolution of the approach of the groups towards government, based on their experience.

Figure 1: Evolution of experience of interacting with government
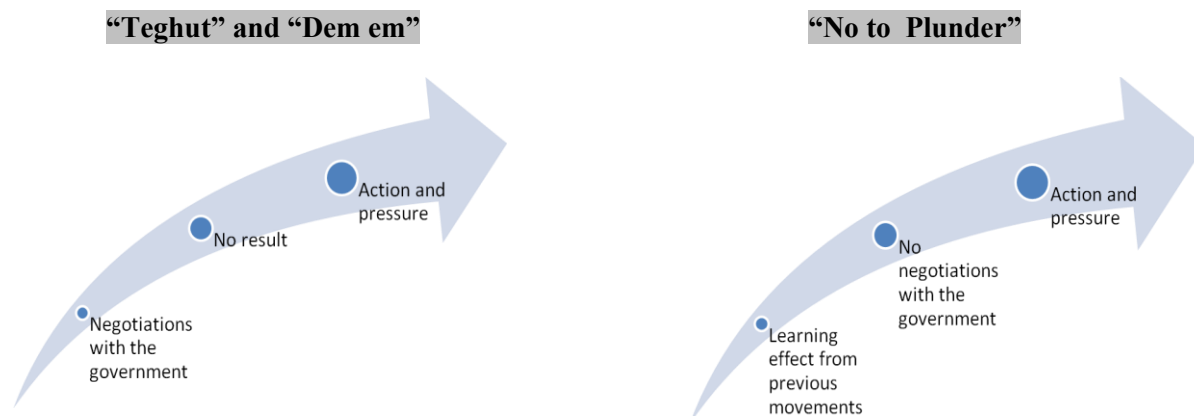
Thus, "Teghut" and "Dem em" groups started with negotiations with the government. The meetings and negotiations were not productive. Consequently, they moved on to actions in the street looking for alternative ways to pressure the government.

"Teghut" and "Dem em" started with signing a petition followed by meetings with the government representatives. Besides meetings with the Prime Minister members of "Teghut" group have applied to the Ministry of Nature Protection with a letter, then to the Prosecution with a document on illegal mining in Teghut.

As for the protest in the street "Teghut" group had the strategy of protesting in front of the government building every Thursday (government meetings were held on Thursdays) with banners and posters expressing their concern of the issue. They got no attention and finally one Thursday the group appeared with blank posters in front of the government building meaning - 'we do not have anything

else to tell to you'. The group organized boycotts in front of the banks financing the mining project and also have tried to call the attention of international agencies on the case.

"Dem em" group encouraged and supported the three political parties applying to the Constitutional Court concerning new pension reform. Members have also organized rallies with these three parties. Another interesting event was the campaign of Santa Clauses in December 2014 (Santas came from Lapland to punish the naughty deputies for not supporting their case). They also blocked the street in front of the Ministry of Finances when the Ministry made a 'wrong' (described the group) decision.

"No to plunder" group has prior consulted with other initiatives and activists on the strategies and tactics to be used during Electric Yerevan initiative. Moreover, some of the members of "No to plunder" already had experience in previous initiatives. Thus, from the very beginning of the initiative the group has announced that they will not have any negotiations with the government and no interviews and debates on public TV and governmental media.

No negotiations with the government. This is a plunder and my struggle is in the street. No turning to courts or other institutions. My demand is from one person who is at the top of the plunder – it is Serz Sargsyan (Male interviewee, 32).

Some of the interviewees from all three initiatives explained that, if coordinating groups negotiate with government and have interviews by governmental media, they lose trust of the public. In several cases the government misinterpreted negotiations with the activists leaving the impression as if the problem was solved (case with "Dem em").

Conclusion

Thus, findings of this chapter lead to the answer of the following research question:

- *What was the experience of the activists in dealing with the government?*

"Teghut" and "Dem em" groups have negative experience in interacting with the government. The meetings and negotiations with the latter were described as meaningless, misleading and not productive. "No to plunder" group (with some of its members from previous initiatives) refused to negotiate with the government. It is worth mentioning that during the last days of Electric Yerevan initiative "No to plunder" group agreed to negotiate with the government only in the presence of oppositional media representatives and with the condition that the meeting will go online. This also proves that the group mistrusts the government. Thus, the hypothesis *Civic initiatives have negative experience with the government* is accepted. Moreover, learning experience from previous initiatives is observed in case of "No to plunder". The group decided not to have any negotiations with the government based on the experience of previous initiatives.

7. Interaction with the Media

Coordinating teams of all three initiatives were cooperating with oppositional media. According to the interviewees governmental media was usually not covering their events; when it did, the coverage was rather negative.

The groups were giving interviews, disseminating information about upcoming events through media and having statements through press conferences, participating in debates on media. During interviews group members were usually giving one and the same message (agreed within the team.) If they stated something out of that message they usually mentioned that it was their personal opinion and not the one of the team. Before big events and debates on media, groups decide beforehand who was

going to give an interview or take part in the debate. Usually they were sending the most skillful public speaker from the group.

"Teghut" and "Dem em" teams were more open towards governmental media than "No to plunder," which had the strategy of not interacting with the governmental media at all. "Dem em" group was the most structured one among three groups when working with the media. All the official press releases and announcements of this group were posted on their webpage dem.am and media interested in the initiative was taking information from the webpage.

Interestingly enough "Teghut" group used the public TV time of one of presidential nominees (Andreas Ghukassian) and gave a talk about Teghut on H1 public TV channel. During presidential campaign "Teghut" group were asking nominees 'what will you do about the issue of Teghut mine if you are elected?' There were also cases when members of "Teghut" group were given less time and opportunities than their opponents during a debate on governmental media. Thus, the members used their time and opportunity to voice their concern about illegal mining in Teghut and call for public action.

When giving interviews to the governmental media "Teghut" and "Dem em" groups were using special short wording with negative particles so that later the speech would not be cut and misinterpreted.

Despite all these, there is yet another problem with the media. All three groups noticed that media was creating leaders from some of their members. This was dangerous for the members and destructive for the groups. The interviewees told that the media leaders get public pressure from other actors like public, government and police. And it is easy to destroy an initiative with single leader. Once the leader is removed, the whole initiative fails. Moreover, the so called 'individual leaders' also create unhealthy atmosphere inside the group.

Thus, the groups had special strategy to deal with 'media leader' issue. They were usually rotating their members appearing in media (more specifically "Dem em" has a subgroup of ten members appearing on media by rotation). However, the groups were not always successful in dealing with this issue. As one of the interviewees confessed, despite the fact that they were sending various members to give interviews, quite often media was getting in touch with its favorites (members). Media was focusing on its favorites based on their appearance and the way he/she structures the speech (more critical, more negotiable, how much does the speech serves the interests of media).

There were cases with "Dem em" group when two members (from different subgroups) gave contradicting interviews. This phenomenon illustrated internal contradictions of the group. However, media did not concentrate on these contradictions. When participating in debates "Dem em" group was usually sending two or more members – one old and skillful and the others new members. This was done to show that they did not have single leader but various participants.

Media was constantly contacting the same person in the group for an interview. Even when that person is telling officially that this is his opinion and it might not correspond with the official opinion of the team, media and public were identifying him with the whole initiative. We were constantly facing this problem (Male interviewee, 35).

At the beginning of the initiative, and it was our mistake, we were thinking that this person will give interviews and we will be doing the rest of the job. And later we noticed that media started to create leaders and those member were bearing the whole pressure. It was our mistake (Male interviewee, 26).

Conclusion

Findings of the following chapter discuss how groups interact with media, what strategies groups used to cope with media shortcomings. As an answer to the following research question *What was the relationship of civic initiatives with the media?* it can be concluded that groups have positive

approach towards oppositional media and were cooperative towards it. They have negative approach towards governmental media since it was rarely covering their events and was misinterpreting their words.

Media has its impact on civic initiatives. It had its favorites among the group members and has the tendency to create leaders out of them. This has destructive effect both for the member (media leader) and the group. However, groups found ways to cope with 'media leader' issue (by rotating their members appearing in media).

"Teghut" and "Dem em" groups were open to two types of media (governmental and oppositional), although they were more cautious with the governmental one. "No to plunder group" was not interacting with governmental media. All three groups used creative methods when dealings with the shortcomings of media.

8. Interaction with other Civic Initiatives

Interview results illustrate that there is positive interaction, solidarity between civic initiatives as well as exchange of experience between them. Moreover, members of one initiative quite often participate in other initiatives or initiate new ones. This was the case with "No to plunder" group. Several members of "No to plunder" have been active participants in "Dem em" initiative as well as in other initiatives. During the first protests in 2014 some of the members of "Dem em" have participated in the activities of "No to plunder".

Interestingly enough, "No to plunder" group has consulted with all other initiatives and activists in Yerevan before starting their key actions. The strategies used during Electric Yerevan have been carefully selected from the successful strategies of previous initiatives (Hundred dram, Dem em, etc.). It was also based on the previous negative experience of other initiatives with the government that "No to plunder" group pursued the strategy of 'no negotiations' with the government.

Solidarity between movements is expressed in many ways. However, the peak of solidarity was in Mashtots Park where all the initiatives were consolidated for the case and were supporting it with their presence and organizing public discussions in Mashtots Park. An illustration of a joint action and solidarity between movements is the surprise campaign organized by women on March 8, 2014 in Mashtots park. During this initiative young females from "Teghut" and from other initiatives have decided to take control of one of the boutiques under construction in Mashtots park (boutiques were planned to be build on the territory of the public park). They have beforehand agreed with the group of architects (representatives of another initiative in Mashtots park) who were marching right at the time of their attack on the boutiques. Simultaneously a popular youth band (supporting Mashtots park initiative) started to drum taking away the attention of the people from the boutiques.

Despite Mashtots case usually members of one initiative participate in other initiatives as active citizens but not as a representative of their initiatives. The group of one initiative is rarely posting the statements of other initiatives on their official pages. As the interviewees explained civic initiatives target different issues – 'we have different agenda how can we create a coalition or struggle against one problem'.

The only shared agenda is the government, but working for changing the government is a huge issue I don't know (Female interviewee, 24).

It is also worth noticing that after Dem em initiative some of its members joined a new political party –"Lusavor Hayastan", some others joined other initiatives. Exchange of ideas and resources among initiatives was also noticed during interviews. For example, the name and logo of "No to plunder" was created by one of the members of "Dem em".

Interaction with other activists and creation of subgroups in other major cities of Armenia (Vanadzor, Gyumri, etc) have also been observed.

Conclusion

Thus, findings illustrated in the chapter answer the following research question:

How do civic initiatives interact with each other?

It turned out that there is positive interconnection between civic initiatives. Moreover, there is mutual support and learning experience between them with overlapping membership. This was vividly expressed in "No to plunder" group when active supporters of Dem em initiative gave rise to "No to plunder" group (that was implementing all the successful tactics and strategies of previous initiatives). Although initiatives support and interact with each other they have different agendas. Online resources (official webpages and Facebook groups) were mostly used for the statements of the specific initiative. Although, members of different initiatives participate in other initiatives, they usually participate individually as active citizens but not always as a group (initiative). This was mostly vivid in Dem em initiative. The group was large and diverse with internal subgroups. Thus, it has been decided beforehand that members of the group are free to participate in other initiatives as active citizens but not as members of Dem em. Interconnection with regions (major cities of Armenia) have also been noticed during initiatives.

Based on the answer to the research question above the following hypothesis is accepted.

There is learning experience and interaction between initiating groups of civic initiatives.

9. Resources and Networks

Each of these groups has its networks of support from various groups and political parties. "Teghut" group was getting support and resources from NGO sector. It is interesting to note that the issue of Teghut has been first raised by a coalition of NGOs dealing with environmental issues. Some of the NGO members later became members of "Teghut" initiative. Some other members of the initiative created their own NGOs to be able to apply to the court (Ecoiravunq, Ecodar). The NGOs

supporting the initiative were the following – Transparency International, Institute for Democracy and Human Rights, Utopiana, Sotsioskop, WWF. They were mostly providing the initiative with the following resources - office space for meetings, banners, posters, printing materials, stationary, sometimes money for transportation to Teghut. There have been instances when some of these NGOs applied to different funds (mostly ecological grants or funds supporting initiatives) to get money for small investigative projects like buying satellite images for the initiative (to see if the mining company was implementing the project based on the initial plan) and for hiring a lawyer for the case.

Support from individuals from Armenian Diaspora has also been mentioned during interviews. It should be noted that some of these NGOs were initiated or have close links with Diaspora Armenians. At the beginning of the initiative when the group was oppressed by police members of the group were receiving supporting letters from their friends from Diaspora. During their big trip to Teghut the group received sleeping bags and tents from Diaspora. There was a case when some Armenian businessmen from Geneva initiated a small business of preserve cans in Teghut as an alternative to mining. Since some members of "Teghut" initiative were also involved in oppositional parties the initiative also got support from these parties (more specifically from Armenian National Congress).

"Dem em" group got support from their colleagues in IT companies, political parties and groups. At the beginning of the initiative the group was using the cafeteria or meeting halls of the companies. Since there were members in the initiative from Pre-parliament group, the initiators were having meetings in the meeting hall of this political group. As some of the interviewees told during these meetings the other members of the Pre-parliament were trying to intervene and direct them. The group has been also cooperating with Dashnaktsutyun.

In No to plunder initiative money was collected during sit-ins in Opera for those staying overnight. There were also many instances of self-organization during this initiative.

It is important to note that by the start of the initiative the members of the group have had various public discussions, met with members of individual activists and other initiatives, oppositional political parties and groups. They have consulted with all these groups and asked for their support. As all the interviewees states all these groups have been informed that they should not intervene and cannot take part in the initiative as members of political parties (but as citizens). As one of the interviewees mentioned: *"When members of the political parties are participating in the initiative as citizens they are being perceived by the public more positively. We have succeeded in cooperating with the parties involving them as citizens and not party members."* (Male interviewee, 31).

The group got support from Armenian National Congress (young members of ANC were helping the group to disseminate leaflets, they were also helping the team during sit-in), and from Citizen Contract. The meeting of the group was taking place at home of one of the members, later in parks. There have been many instances when people mobilized have helped them with distributing leaflets, gathering money.

It should be noted that members of all three initiatives have widely used their own resources, have organized fundraising (also selling t-shirts, caps with the logo of the initiative in "Teghut" and "Dem em" groups).

In terms of material resources the groups have widely used their own individual resources, have organized fundraising. They have also used networks of their members encompassing various groups of the society - NGOs, political parties and groups, other initiatives, friends, Diaspora members. In some cases these supporting groups pursued their own interests in the initiatives making attempts to diverge the group from its initial goal. By now, these efforts were not successful according to interviews conducted within the scope of this research.

Conclusion and Discussion

A broader look at the leadership groups of three civic initiatives demonstrates that friendship and trust between group members play a key role in making leadership groups successful and decision making process productive. Closer friendship ties and more trust are observed in small groups. In large groups these two features are weakly demonstrated. However, in large groups trust and friendship are more vivid among the members in sub-groups. Thus, it can be concluded that number of participants plays key role in building trust and friendship among group members. Smaller the groups closer the ties of friendship and trust.

Large groups can survive if the members manage to structure the initiative from the very beginning ("Dem em" group). Enlarging the group brings new and diverse members inside the group. Since old and new members do not manage to build friendship and trust between each other diversity either destroys the group or brings new conflicts into the group. Diversity works in favor of small groups when there is trust and friendship among members. It encourages discussion and generates new ideas.

Political affiliation of group members is yet another important component for the coordinating groups. In "Dem em" group it created conflicts and attempts to shift the goal of the initiative. Political affiliation did not create problems for "Teghut" group. On the contrary the group members successfully used the resources of that specific party. Thus, political affiliation can bring outside intervention into the group ("Dem em" group) when there is no close ties of friendship and trust among group members.

Another interesting observation refers to shifting the goal of the initiatives. Shift of the goal did not take place in closed groups. Although attempts of shifting the goal was initiated from some of the group members (in Dem em case party members or their adherents), there was general perception that these efforts were latently driven from outside (to use the initiative for purposes of other political

groups). Thus, it can be further hypothesized that closed groups might prevent outside intervention into the group and broadening the goal of the initiative (making it more political).

In terms of the resources civic initiatives lack resources and the groups they cooperate with provide them with those. However, the supporting groups not only help initiatives but also disturb them or create internal conflicts since they pursue their own interests. It can further be hypothesized that stronger the interrelation (friendship and trust) among the members of the group more effective is their interaction with the outside supporting groups in using their resources.

Although members are equal inside the groups there are latent leaders – those are members with more experience from previous initiatives, with better public speaking skills, more famous in media. For small groups this might not create internal conflicts. Members are friends and they might not be jealous of a distinguished member. In large groups this is a problem. Every distinguished member in a sub-group tries to get more authority inside the group by getting more publicity in media and public.

There is obvious learning experience between initiatives with overlapping membership. Initiatives are becoming more experienced by using effective strategies of previous movements. Moreover, active participants in one initiative organize a new one. Transfer of experience also refers to the interaction with media and government.

Overall, it can be concluded that trust and friendship play crucial role for the success of the coordinating groups in civic initiatives. Learning experience and overlapping membership are yet other important components that make coordinating groups act more effectively keeping their members engaged, informed and ready to take action for a new social injustice.

Bibliography

Aminzade, Ron, Jack A. Goldstone, and Elizabeth J. Perry. 2001. "Leadership Dynamics and Dynamics of Contention." *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, 126–154. As cited in Morris, Aldon, and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2004. "Leadership in Social Movements." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 171–196.

Barker, Colin, Alan Johnson, and Micheal Lavalette. 2001. "Leadership Matters: An Introduction." *Leadership and Social Movements*.

Civilnet. 2013. "Կենսաթոշակային Ֆոնդի Կառավարիչներ՝ Արդեն Նոյեմբերից." http://civilnet.am/2013/08/02/.

Civilnet. 2013a. "Բարեկեցիկ Ծերության Համար Կուտակելը Վատ Գաղափար Չէ." http://civilnet.am/2013/11/25/.

———. 2013b. "Ընդդեմ Կենսաթոշակային 5% Պարտադիր Վճարի." http://civilnet.am/2013/12/04/.

———. 2014. "Չենք Նահանջելու. Պարտադիր Կուտակայինի Դեմ Հավաքը Շարունակվում Է." http://civilnet.am/2014/01/18/.

———. 2014a. "Կառավարությունը «Դ!եմ Եմ»-Ին Հրավիրում Է Երկխոսության." http://civilnet.am/2014/03/19/.

———. 2014b. "«Դ!եմ Եմ»-Ը Լուռ Ֆլեշ-Մոբ Է Անցկացնում Սահմանադրականի Դիմաց." http://civilnet.am/2014/03/28/.

———. 2014c. "Քաղաքը՝ Պարտադիրի Մասին." http://civilnet.am/2014/04/09.

———. 2014d. "«Դ!ԵՄ ԵՄ»-Ը Դեփի Բաղրամյան 26. Ամբողջական Տեսագրությունը." http://civilnet.am/2014/04/18/.

———. 2014e. "«Պարտադիր, Բայց Ոչ Պարտադրված». Վարչապետը ևս Դեմ Է." http://civilnet.am/2014/04/23.

———. 2014f. "Էլեկտրաէներգիան Օգոստոսից Թանկ Կլինի." http://civilnet.am/2014/07/01.

———. 2015. "Հոսանքը Կթանկանա Մոտ 7 Դրամով. ՀՕԿՀ-Ն Միաձայն Որոշում Ընդունեց." http://civilnet.am/2015/06/17/electricity-price-changes-7-amd/.

———. 2015a. "Բաղրամյան Պողոտայի Դեպքերի Առնչությամբ Քրեական Գործ Է Հարուցվել." http://civilnet.am/2015/06/23/prosecutor-general-office-statement-electricity-protest/.

———. 2015b. "Electricity Protest in Yerevan Turns Violent as Police Use Water Canons to Disperse Crowds." http://civilnet.am/2015/06/23/electricity-protest-yerevan-turns-violent-water-cannons/.

———. 2015c. "OSCE, EU, US Embassy in Armenia Concerned with Excessive Police Use of Force." http://civilnet.am/2015/06/23/osce-us-embassy-armenia-statement-police-use-of-force/.

———. 2015d. "Հունիսի 25-Ի Զարգացումները՝ Ուղիղ. Թարմացվող."

———. 2015e. "ElectricYerevan: Has President Sargsyan Found a Way Out of the Impasse?" http://civilnet.am/2015/06/27/president-sargsyan-electric-yerevan-way-out-impasse/.

Della Porta, Donatella. 1988. "Recruitment Processes in Clandestine Political Organizations: Italian Left-Wing Terrorism." *International Social Movement Research* 1: 155–169. As cited in Diani, Mario. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40 (1): 1–25.

della Porta D., and M. Diani. 2006. *Social Movements*. Oxford, Blackwell.

Diani, Mario. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40 (1): 1–25.

Gamson, William A. 1975. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Dorsey Press Homewood, IL. http://library.wur.nl/WebQuery/clc/350878. As cited in Jasper, James. 2004. "A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Social-Movement Choices." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9 (1): 1–16.

———. 2004. "Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 242–261.

Gamson, William A., and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528: 114–25.

Ganz, Marshall. 2000. "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1003–1062.

Ishkanian, Armine. 2015. "Self-Determined Citizens? A New Wave of Civic Activism in Armenia." *openDemocracy*. http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/63082/.

Ishkanian, Armine, Evelina Gyulkhandanyan, Sona Manusyan, and Arpy Manusyan. 2013. "Civil Society, Development and Environmental Activism in Armenia." http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/54755/1/Ishkanian_Civil_Society_Development_Enviromental_Activism_America_2013.pdf.

Jasper, James. 2004. "A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Social-Movement Choices." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9 (1): 1–16.

Lipsky M. 1965. *Protest and City Politics*. Chicago, Rand McNally.

McAdam, D. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency. Chicago: Univ*. Chicago Press. As cited in Morris, Aldon, and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2004. "Leadership in Social Movements." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 171–196.

Melucci, Alberto. 1984. "Movimenti in Un Mondo Di Segni." *Melucci, Alberto (Hg.). Altri Codici. Aree Di Movimento Nella Metropoli. Bologna: Il Mulino*, 417–446. As cited in Diani, Mario. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40 (1): 1–25.

Morris, Aldon, and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2004. "Leadership in Social Movements." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 171–196.

O'Neill, Kate. 2012. "The Comparative Study of Environmental Movements." *Comparative Environmental Politics: Theory, Practice, and Prospects*, 115.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward. 1977. "Poor People's Movements (New York: Pantheon)." As cited in As cited in Jasper, James. 2004. "A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Socia-Movement Choices." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9 (1): 1–16.

Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty. 2008. "Յուզց՝ ի պաշտպանություն Թեղուտի." «Ազատ Եվրոպա/Ազատություն» ռադիոկայան, May 15, sec. Հայերեն արխիվ. http://www.azatutyun.am/content/article/1595108.html.

———. 2013. "Պարտադիր կուտակայինի դեմ դիմումը փոխանցվեց Սահմանադրական դատարան." «Ազատ Եվրոպա/Ազատություն» ռադիոկայան, December 17, sec. Իրավունք. http://www.azatutyun.am/content/article/25204112.html.

Rucht, Dieter. 2004. "Movement Allies, Adversaries, and Third Parties." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 197–216.

Shaffer, Martin B. 2000. "Coalition Work Among Environmental Groups: Who Participates?" *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 22: 111–126.

Tarrow Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. As cited in Morris, Aldon, and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2004. "Leadership in Social Movements." *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 171–196.

Turner, Ralph H., and Lewis M. Killian. 1957. "Collective Behavior." As cited in Diani, Mario. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40 (1): 1–25.

Appendix A. Interview Guide

Warm-up questions

1. In your opinion what do you think who is a leader? What characteristics he/she should have (please bring examples).

2. How did you get involved in civic activism (more specifically in this initiative)?

3. What role does this initiative play in your life?
prompt - positive, negative, have you sacrificed anything for it?

Core questions about decision making and implementation of main activities

4. How did the initiative emerge and what stages did it pass?
Sub question: Has the goal of the initiative ever been changed based on opportunities or pressures?

5. Please tell me how the initiative has been coordinated and managed.
Sub questions: How members in the core group make decisions, how are roles defined inside the group? Are there special regulation?

6. What resources does the initiative have?
Prompt: human, material and financial (please bring examples)

7. I would like to ask you about implementation of the decisions/strategies made.
Prompt: more specifically talk about raising awareness of the issue in the public, mobilizing people and enlarging the initiative (please bring examples)?

8. What do you think about connections and relationships between different civic initiatives?
Prompt: Good, bad

9. Please talk about relations and experience of the initiative with media (Please bring examples). *Prompt: reflect on the decision making, implementation and strategies towards working with media (bring examples.*

10. Please talk about relations and experience of the initiative with the government (bring examples).

Closing questions

11. At this point, how will you assess the outcome of the initiative?
Prompt: success, failure and why?
Sub question: What do you think what are factors shaping outcome of the initiative (in Armenia, in this particular initiative)?
Prompt: Do leaders or other factors shape the outcome of civic initiatives?

Appendix B. Demographic Characteristics of Interview Respondents

ID	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation/Sector
1	F	31	high	Unemployed
2	F	32	high	Managerial position
3	M	41	high	Service/marketing
4	M	28	high	---------
5	M	31	high	IT specialist
6	F	29	high	Unemployed
7	M	29	high	IT specialist
8	M	23	high	IT specialist
9	M	34	high	Unemployed
10	F	38	high	Financial sector
11	M	30	high	Managerial position
12	F	28	high	Media
13	M	30	high	IT specialist
14	M	37	high	Self-employed
15	M	34	high	Lawyer
16	F	33	high	Self-employed
17	M	26	medium	Media
18	M	21	high	IT specialist
19	F	47	high	Civil and social organization
20	M	38	high	IT specialist