University of Crete

School of Social Sciences

Department of Sociology

Solidarity groups, actions and claims during the economic crisis in Greece

Angelos Loukakis

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Rethymno, March, 2020

Solidarity groups, actions and claims during the economic crisis in Greece

Angelos Loukakis

Examining committee:

Maria Kousis, Supervisor, University of Crete

Marco Giugni, Co-supervisor, University of Geneva

Stefania Kalogeraki, Co-supervisor, University of Crete

Mario Diani, member of the examining committee, University of Trento

Francesca Forno, member of the examining committee, University of Trento

Nikos Serdedakis, member of the examining committee, University of Crete

Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, member of the examining committee, University of Athens

To Elena,

The masterpiece of my life

Acknowledgements

This PhD thesis would not have been possible without the help of many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Maria Kousis for her continuous guidance and support. She has supported me for more than fifteen years, training me in a tireless manner. I would also like to thank the other two members of my PhD committee, Marco Giugni and Stefania Kalogeraki for the precious advice and comments that they have given. All the three members were very generous by offering me their time, knowledge and inspiration. I can't believe how lucky I am to have such wonderful people as mentors.

I am also grateful to Jochen Roose, who was a former member of the committee but he had to resign due to the Greek legal framework for PhD studies. His ideas about constructing a typology of the actors and using different collective action theories for studding solidarity actors are everywhere in this dissertation. I also have to thank Konstantinos Kogakis and Thaleia Siourda, research assistants of the Greek LIVEWHAT team, for their devoted work coding the Greek websites. Moreover, I would like to thank Christian Lahusen and Johannes Kiess for their contribution to the published article on the AAOs lifespan and circle of life and Martin Portos for his input on the political opportunities part of the literature review. I also have to thank Eva Fernandez Guzman Grassi for doing the tetrachoric correlations for the typology of the AAOs. Katerina Blavaki has done the editing of the extended abstract in Greek, hence I have to thank her for her contribution. Special thanks also to Mario Diani and Kostas Kanellopoulos for our very inspiring conversations.

Finally, I would like to thank in particular my wife Valia for having been super tolerant of my behaviour and very patient in this long journey full of doubts, thoughts, anxiety and hard work. I am convinced that I could not have made it without her continuous encouragement and trust. Her support, inspiration and confidence in me have been invaluable throughout the last nine years.

Abstract

Solidarity mobilisation in Greece during the economic crisis has been widely discussed in academic debates for almost a decade. Solidarity mobilisation organizations engage inmutual help and/or the provision of goods and services, free of charge or at low cost, related to urgent basic or cultural needs to those affected by the economic crisis. The diversity of the organisations and groups (such as neighbourhood assemblies, protest groups, barter clubs, cooperatives, NGOs, collaborations between municipalities and civil society actors as well as church and charities) that took part in solidarity activism as well as the diversity of activities organised in Greece has during the economic crisis has led scholars to adopt many different theories to study this complex phenomenon. However, we know little about the full range of actors that took part in the solidarity mobilisations during this period. Moreover, our knowledge about their evolution and their trajectories from the start of the crisis and afterwards is also limited. This thesis aims to address both gaps in the research through an exhaustive and rigorous survey of solidarity initiatives in Greece from 2009 to 2016.

Studies on solidarity initiatives in Greece usually focus either on a specific kind of action or on a certain geographical area—with the tendency not to include in their analysis the interactions between solidarity actors as well as their interaction with the broader political, social and economic environment. For their part, collective action scholars have developed theoretical frameworks to study the way that solidarity mobilisations were organised as well as how they were involved. Hence, this study's aims are twofold. First, it aims to bridge two bodies of the literature—that of collective action and social movements and that of solidarity provision in hard economic times in an attempt to investigate how solidarity mobilisations were organised. Moreover, the dissertation aims to move a step further by providing a typology of the collective actors that took part in solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis, based on theories about collective action and solidarity provision. The second objective of the dissertation is to investigate the evolution of solidarity mobilisations.

Empirically, the study first systematically investigates the actors that took part in the solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the period of the economic crisis (2009-2015), seeking to understand their organisational, cultural and political profiles. To analyse these features, the dissertation draws on collective action theories such as grievances and deprivation theory, resource mobilisation theory, political opportunities structure and cultural framing theory. Following the identification of the main characteristics of solidarity actors, the study draws on the solidarity literature and classifies solidarity groups and organisations according to a typology—where actors are categorized according to

whether they are highly politicized (or not) and have a strong orientation toward social movements, or are rather driven by a charity approach.

Following this, the dissertation draws again from the collective action literature and the well-known concept of the cycle of contention to examine the evolution of solidarity mobilisations. By using this concept, the study investigates whether and to what extent solidarity mobilisations followed an orbit similar to a cycle. Indeed, it was found that there was an initial moment when "solidarity episodes" started to appear; after which there was a phase of diffusion, in which solidarity mobilisations spread among the country and different societal sectors; finally there was a period of demobilisation which signalled the end of solidarity mobilisations. Moreover, the study also investigates the innovations and transformations usually produced during a cycle. These changes can be spotted in the co-existence of organised and new actors, in the rapid diffusion of solidarity episodes, in the innovative repertoires of actions, the shift of frames that the solidarity actors use, as well as in the interaction between activists and authorities. The dissertation argues for the existence of a Greek Cycle of Solidarity. Lastly, the thesis attempts to investigate in detail the end of the cycle and the demobilisation phase. Using resource mobilisation theory, the study identifies which types of resources contribute more in the sustainability and viability of solidarity actors.

The dissertation concludes by making three core claims. First, that it is of great value to adopt a synthetic approach between collective action and solidarity theories, in order to have a comprehensive perspective on the diverse field of solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis. Second, that, in order to give an accurate image of the mobilisations and their development through time, researchers should examine the full set of interactions between solidarity actors and the political, social and economic environment into which they developed. Hence, it is valuable to study solidarity mobilisations using the concept of the cycle. Third scholars of collective action should expand their focus beyond protest and contention during a cycle in order to include other forms of collective action that usually take place at the same time but receive less attention. Hence, this thesis suggests moving beyond the Cycle of Contention to the Cycle of Collective Action.

Εκτεταμένη Περίληψη

Κατά την τελευταία δεκαετία, στο επίκεντρο της ακαδημαϊκής συζήτησης και έρευνας αλλά και, πέραν αυτής, στον δημόσιο λόγο, βρέθηκαν οι διάφορες μορφές και δομές αλληλεγγύης στα χρόνια της οικονομικής κρίσης. Η ποικιλομορφία των ομάδων, οργανώσεων και δικτύων, καθώς και το ευρύ φάσμα των δράσεων αλληλεγγύης που πραγματοποιήθηκαν ή και, σε πολλές περιπτώσεις, πραγματοποιούνται ακόμα, οδήγησε τους ερευνητές στην υιοθέτηση διαφορετικών θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων για τη μελέτη του σύνθετου φαινομένου της αλληλεγγύης. Παρόλο που έχει παραχθεί ένας σημαντικός αριθμός άρθρων και βιβλίων σχετικών με την αλληλεγγύη προς όσους δοκιμάστηκαν περισσότερο από την οικονομική κρίση και τη λιτότητα που έπληξε την Ελλάδα από το 2010 και έπειτα, λίγες είναι οι εμπειρικές ερευνητικές εργασίες που εξετάζουν το πλήρες φάσμα των συμμετεχόντων στις κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης.

Ένας από τους βασικούς λόγους για την εκδήλωση του παραπάνω φαινομένου είναι το ότι οι περισσότερες έρευνες εστιάζουν είτε σε ένα συγκεκριμένο είδος δράσης, όπως π.χ. τα κοινωνικά-αλληλέγγυα φαρμακεία και ιατρεία, είτε σε μια συγκεκριμένη θεωρητική προσέγγιση, όπως π.χ. η κοινωνική και αλληλέγγυα ή συνεταιριστική οικονομία, είτε σε μία συγκεκριμένη γεωγραφική περιοχή, όπως π.χ. τα Εξάρχεια ή η Αθήνα. Παράλληλα, οι έως τώρα έρευνες συνηθίζουν να εστιάζουν στις κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης ως αποτέλεσμα δράσης ομάδων και οργανώσεων που αναδύθηκαν στα χρόνια της κρίσης με σκοπό να ξεπεραστούν συλλογικά οι αρνητικές συνέπειές της. Όμως, οι ερευνητικές αυτές εργασίες φαίνεται να παραγνωρίζουν τον ρόλο που έπαιξαν οι προϋπάρχουσες ομάδες αλληλεγγύης στην υποστήριξη όσων πλήττονταν περισσότερο από τη λιτότητα. Συνεπώς, παρατηρείται ένα κενό στη βιβλιογραφία σε σχέση με το εύρος των ομάδων, οργανώσεων και δικτύων που έλαβαν μέρος στις κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης σε ολόκληρη την χώρα.

Εκτός από τη χαρτογράφηση του πεδίου, η παρούσα διατριβή σκοπεύει να μελετήσει την εξέλιξη των κινητοποιήσεων. Το πώς, δηλαδή, οι κινητοποιήσεις αυτές αναπτύχθηκαν κατά την περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης, καθώς η έως τώρα έρευνα δεν έχει ασχοληθεί συστηματικά με το ζήτημα. Ταυτόχρονα, οι μελέτες για την αλληλεγγύη κατά την περίοδο 2009—2015 συνήθως παραλείπουν να εξετάσουν την αλληλεπίδραση των οργανώσεων αλληλεγγύης με το ευρύτερο πολιτικό, κοινωνικό και οικονομικό πλαίσιο στο οποίο εκδηλώνουν τη δράση τους. Αναγνωρίζοντας αυτό το κενό, η παρούσα διατριβή επιχειρεί να μελετήσει τη «διαδρομή» των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης από την έναρξή τους έως το 2015, οπότε και φαίνεται να φθίνουν.

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις προαναφερθείσες ελλείψεις στη βιβλιογραφία των οργανώσεων αλληλεγγύης κατά τα χρόνια της κρίσης, η παρούσα μελέτη έχει διττό στόχο. Πρώτον, επιχειρεί αφενός να προβεί σε μια θεωρητική σύνθεση των θεωριών συλλογικής δράσης, και αφετέρου να συνδυάσει τις θεωρίες συλλογικής δράσης με τις θεωρίες αλληλεγγύης. Σκοπός της συνθετικής αυτής προσέγγισης είναι η δημιουργία μιας τυπολογίας των εμπλεκόμενων στις κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης οργανώσεων. Ο δεύτερος στόχος της διατριβής είναι να ερευνήσει την εξέλιξη των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης μέσα στον χρόνο, εξετάζοντάς τες υπό το πρίσμα της βιβλιογραφίας των κοινωνικών κινημάτων και της συλλογικής δράσης. Συνεπώς, τα βασικά ερευνητικά ερωτήματα τα οποία προσπαθεί να απαντήσει η παρούσα διατριβή είναι:

Ποια είναι τα βασικά οργανωτικά χαρακτηριστικά των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης στην Ελλάδα κατά την περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης; Μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για την ύπαρξη ενός Ελληνικού Κύκλου Αλληλεγγύης και γενικότερα για την ύπαρξη ενός ευρύτερου Κύκλου Συλλογικής Δράσης ως επακόλουθων της οικονομικής κρίσης;

Για να απαντήσει επαρκώς στα ερωτήματα αυτά, η παρούσα εργασία εστιάζει στους κύριους δρώντες των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης: στις ομάδες—οργανώσεις. Σύμφωνα με τους θεωρητικούς της συλλογικής δράσης, οι οργανώσεις είναι πολύ σημαντικές, καθώς είναι αυτές που διοργανώνουν τα επεισόδια αλληλεγγύης, διατυπώνουν δημόσιες διεκδικήσεις, πλαισιώνουν εννοιολογικά τη συλλογική δράση και παρέχουν ευκαιρίες συμμετοχής (Tarrow, 1998, 2011; Tilly & Tarrow 2015).

Βασικό επιχείρημα της διατριβής είναι η θέση ότι οι κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης συνιστούν μια ξεχωριστή κατηγορία συλλογικής δράσης, η οποία έλαβε χώρα σε οικονομικά δύσκολους καιρούς με στόχο να βοηθήσει αυτούς που επλήγησαν περισσότερο από την κρίση και τις πολιτικές λιτότητας. Οι οργανώσεις αυτές μπορεί να ταυτίζονται με τις Οργανώσεις Κοινωνικών Κινημάτων (ΟΚΚ) της περιόδου, ή να λειτουργούν με τρόπο παρόμοιο με αυτόν των ΟΚΚ. Οι ομοιότητές τους τόσο σε οργανωτικό επίπεδο όσο και στα ρεπερτόρια δράσης τους, επιτρέπουν τη μελέτη των οργανώσεων αλληλεγγύης με τη χρήση θεωριών συλλογικής δράσης, με σκοπό να ερευνηθεί ο οργανωτικός, πολιτικός και πολιτισμικός χαρακτήρας τους.

Η βασική μέθοδος που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για τη μελέτη των οργανώσεων που συμμετείχαν στις κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης ονομάζεται Ανάλυση Οργανώσεων Δράσης (ΑΟΔ). Η καινοτόμος αυτή μέθοδος αναπτύχθηκε στο πλαίσιο του ερευνητικού προγράμματος LIVEWHAT για τις ανάγκες του Πακέτου Εργασίας 6 «Εναλλακτικές Μορφές Ανθεκτικότητας σε Δύσκολους Οικονομικά καιρούς». Πρόκειται για μια ποσοτική ανάλυση περιεχομένου η οποία μελετά οργανώσεις μέσα από τη συστηματική ανάλυση των ιστοσελίδων τους και των μέσων κοινωνικής δικτύωσης ή ιστολογίων/

blogs που μπορεί να χρησιμοποιούν. Για τον εντοπισμό του δείγματος χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ιστοσελίδες-κόμβοι/ hubs (*enallaktikos.gr, Solidarity4all.gr, omicronproject.gr*, και *boroume.gr*), καθώς και μεμονωμένες ιστοσελίδες οργανώσεων που εντοπίστηκαν μέσα από συστηματικές αναζητήσεις στο διαδίκτυο. Τα στοιχεία που χρησιμοποιούνται στην ανάλυση προέρχονται από ένα τυχαίο δείγμα (n) 500 οργανώσεων, οι οποίες επιλέχθηκαν από τον συνολικό πληθυσμό 3.500 οργανώσεων. Παράλληλα με την ΑΟΔ, η διατριβή χρησιμοποιεί δεδομένα που προέρχονται από διαδικτυακή έρευνα ερωτηματολογίου στην οποία συμμετείχαν οι εκπρόσωποι των προαναφερθεισών 500 οργανώσεων. Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων της διατριβής βασίζεται σε τεχνικές περιγραφικής και επαγωγικής στατιστικής ανάλυσης, όπως το τεστ ανεξαρτησίας X^2 (Chi-Square test) και το ακριβές τεστ του Fisher (Fisher's exact test). Για την κατασκευή της τυπολογίας χρησιμοποιήθηκε η τεχνική της Ανάλυσης Κύριων Συνιστωσών (Principle Component Analysis), ενώ για τον έλεγχο των πόρων που συμβάλλουν στη βιωσιμότητα των οργανώσεων χρησιμοποιήθηκε λογιστική παλινδρόμηση (logit regression).

Στο εμπειρικό μέρος, η διατριβή πρώτα εξετάζει συστηματικά και εις βάθος τους βασικούς δρώντες που έλαβαν μέρος στις κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης από το 2009 ώς το 2015. Επιδιώκοντας να εντοπίσει και αναδείξει τα οργανωτικά χαρακτηριστικά των οργανώσεων, η διατριβή χρησιμοποιεί αρχικά την Θεωρία Κινητοποίησης Πόρων, ώστε να μελετήσει στοιχεία όπως το είδος της οργάνωσης, τη δομή, το γεωγραφικό επίπεδο δράσης, καθώς επίσης και τη δικτύωση των οργανώσεων. Στη συνέχεια, εξετάζονται τα ρεπερτόρια δράσης, οι στρατηγικές που ακολουθούν οι ομάδες αλληλεγγύης, καθώς επίσης και οι συμμετέχοντες σε αυτές. Για να επιτευχθεί αυτό, εφαρμόζονται θεωρίες σχετικές με την αδικία και την αποστέρηση, και θεωρίες σχετικές με τη δομή των πολιτικών ευκαιριών και απειλών. Στον πυρήνα της προσέγγισης αυτής βρίσκεται η θέση ότι η αλληλεγγύη κατά την περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης ως μορφή συλλογικής δράσης αναδύθηκε μέσα από το άνοιγμα των πολιτικών ευκαιριών και ως απάντηση στις οικονομικές και πολιτικές απειλές. Ωστόσο, το ρεπερτόριο δράσης υπαγορεύτηκε κατ' ουσία από την υλική αποστέρηση και τις αυξημένες ανάγκες που αντιμετώπιζε μια σημαντική μερίδα του πληθυσμού. Τέλος, η διατριβή αντλεί από τη θεωρία των αξιακών πλαισιώσεων και από τις θεωρίες της λεγόμενης «πολιτισμικής στροφής» στη μελέτη της συλλογικής δράσης, προκειμένου να μελετήσει τους σκοπούς και τους στόχους των οργανώσεων, το είδος αλληλεγγύης που εφαρμόζουν, καθώς επίσης και τις αξίες με τις οποίες πλαισιώνουν τη δράση τους.

Σε επόμενο στάδιο, η μελέτη στοχεύει στην εννοιολόγηση και στην κατάταξη των ομάδων και οργανώσεων σύμφωνα με το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της αλληλεγγύης και της συμμετοχής των πολιτών σε περιόδους κρίσης. Με αφετηρία την τυπολογία που εισήγαγαν οι Κούση και Πάσχου (2017), η διατριβή επιχειρεί να εισαγάγει μια νέα τυπολογία προσανατολισμένη στην ελληνική εμπειρία. Τα

κύρια χαρακτηριστικά που χρησιμοποιούνται για τη δημιουργία της τυπολογίας αυτής είναι: το είδος της οργάνωσης, το είδος της αλληλεγγύης, οι σκοποί, οι αξίες, οι στρατηγικές και η ύπαρξη πολιτικού ρεπερτορίου δράσης.

Σε αυτή την ενότητα η βασική παραδοχή είναι ότι για να αποκτηθεί πλήρης εικόνα του φάσματος των οργανώσεων δεν αρκεί να μελετηθούν μόνο τα είδη τους, οι δράσεις τους ή οι πληθυσμιακές ομάδες τις οποίες σκοπεύουν να βοηθήσουν. Χρειάζεται, συμπληρωματικά, συστηματική μελέτη των πολιτισμικών χαρακτηριστικών των οργανώσεων (αξίες, στόχοι, είδη αλληλεγγύης κ.λπ.) για να αναδειχθούν οι μεταξύ τους διαφορές, οι οποίες είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένες με ιδεολογικούς προσανατολισμούς που οδηγούν σε συγκεκριμένες θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις.

Παράλληλα, τα πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά και οι αξιακές πλαισιώσεις που οι ομάδες και οργανώσεις αλληλεγγύης προσδίδουν στις δράσεις τους καθορίζουν και το είδος της συλλογικής δράσης που διοργανώνουν. Συνεπώς και για τις ανάγκες κατηγοριοποίησης, οι οργανώσεις αλληλεγγύης στο πλαίσιο της συγκεκριμένης διατριβής κατατάσσονται ιεραρχικά σε δύο άξονες: στον πρώτο, η κατάταξη εκκινεί από τις πιο πολιτικοποιημένες και καταλήγει σε όσες δεν έχουν καμία εμπλοκή στο πεδίο της πολιτικής, και στον δεύτερο, ξεκινά από εκείνες που έχουν προσανατολισμό σχετικό με τα κοινωνικά κινήματα και την κοινωνική αλλαγή και καταλήγει σε εκείνες που σχετίζονται αποκλειστικά με τη φιλανθρωπία και την ανακούφιση των πληγέντων από την κρίση.

Στη συνέχεια, η διατριβή αντλεί εκ νέου από τις θεωρίες συλλογικής δράσης και κοινωνικών κινημάτων για να συνδιαλλαγεί με την έννοια του συγκρουσιακού κύκλου, έχοντας ως στόχο να εξετάσει την εξέλιξη των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης. Με τη χρήση αυτού του όρου η παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρεί να διερευνήσει εάν και σε ποιον βαθμό οι δράσεις αλληλεγγύης ακολούθησαν μια κυκλική τροχιά, καθώς επίσης και την αλληλεπίδραση των κινητοποιούμενων με το πολιτικό, κοινωνικό και οικονομικό σύστημα της εποχής. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζει αν υπήρχε κάποια σημαντική στιγμή που μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως η αρχή του κύκλου, στη συνέχεια αν υπήρχε κάποιο στάδιο διάχυσης κατά το οποίο οι δράσεις αλληλεγγύης επεκτάθηκαν τόσο γεωγραφικά όσο και κοινωνικά, και, τέλος, αν υπάρχουν σημάδια υποχώρησης ή ύφεσης που μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν ως η αρχή του τέλους των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης.

Παράλληλα με την εξέλιξη και τις διαφορετικές φάσεις των κινητοποιήσεων, η διατριβή εξετάζει και τις καινοτομίες-αλλαγές που σύμφωνα με τον Tarrow (2011) θα πρέπει να παραχθούν κατά τη διάρκεια του κύκλου. Πιο αναλυτικά, για την ύπαρξη ενός κύκλου αλληλεγγύης θα πρέπει να παρατηρούνται οι εξής αλλαγές-καινοτομίες: συνύπαρξη οργανωμένων δρώντων με νέους,

ραγδαία εξάπλωση των επεισοδίων αλληλεγγύης, καινοτόμα ρεπερτόρια δράσης, αλλαγή στις αξιακές πλαισιώσεις οι οποίες νοηματοδοτούν τις δράσεις αλληλεγγύης, και αύξηση της αλληλεπίδρασης μεταξύ των εμπλεκόμενων στις κινητοποιήσεις και των κρατικών φορέων. Έχοντας εντοπίσει τις παραπάνω αλλαγές, η διατριβή καταλήγει στο συμπέρασμα ότι πράγματι κατά την περίοδο της κρίσης «άνοιξε» ένας κύκλος ο οποίος φαίνεται να κλείνει το 2015, επιτρέποντάς μας να κάνουμε λόγο για τον Ελληνικό Κύκλο Αλληλεγγύης κατά την περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης.

Στο τελευταίο μέρος της ανάλυσης, η διατριβή επιχειρεί να εστιάσει στα όσα διαδραματίζονται στο τέλος του κύκλου και, πιο συγκεκριμένα, στο να μελετήσει τις συνθήκες που ευνοούν τη βιωσιμότητα των ομάδων-οργανώσεων αλληλεγγύης. Χρησιμοποιώντας ξανά τη θεωρία κινητοποίησης πόρων για την κατασκευή ερευνητικών υποθέσεων, η ανάλυση εξετάζει τα είδη των πόρων που συμβάλλουν θετικά στην ικανότητα των οργανώσεων αλληλεγγύης να παραμείνουν ενεργές. Το βασικό συμπέρασμα στο οποίο καταλήγει αυτή η ενότητα είναι ότι οι οργανωτικοί και οι πολιτισμικοί πόροι των οργανώσεων συμβάλλουν περισσότερο στη βιωσιμότητά τους από τα άλλα είδη πόρων.

Κλείνοντας, η διατριβή καταλήγει σε τρία βασικά συμπεράσματα:

α) Στην αναγκαιότητα υιοθέτησης μιας συνθετικής προσέγγισης κατά την περιεκτική μελέτη του πολυσύνθετου φαινομένου των κινητοποιήσεων. Η σύνθεση αυτή θα πρέπει να πραγματοποιηθεί τόσο μεταξύ των διαφορετικών θεωριών συλλογικής δράσης, όσο και μεταξύ των θεωριών συλλογικής δράσης και των θεωριών αλληλεγγύης.

β) Για να μπορεί να αποδοθεί η ακριβής εικόνα των κινητοποιήσεων αλληλεγγύης και η εξέλιξή τους μέσα στον χρόνο, θα πρέπει να εξεταστεί πλήρως η αλληλεπίδρασή τους με το πολιτικό, οικονομικό και κοινωνικό γίγνεσθαι της εποχής μέσα στην οποία έλαβαν χώρα. Συνεπώς, προκύπτει η αναγκαιότητα να μελετηθούν οι κινητοποιήσεις αλληλεγγύης υπό το πρίσμα του κύκλου.

γ) Η τελευταία παραδοχή που προκύπτει από τη διατριβή είναι ότι σε έντονες περιόδους (όπως, στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, η περίοδος της οικονομικής κρίσης) οι ερευνητές της συλλογικής δράσης θα πρέπει, στα πλαίσια της μελέτης των κύκλων, να εστιάσουν πέρα από τη διαμαρτυρία και τη σύγκρουση, εντάσσοντας στο ερευνητικό τους ενδιαφέρον πρόσθετες μορφές συλλογικής δράσης που λαμβάνουν χώρα την ίδια στιγμή αλλά τυγχάνουν μικρότερης προσοχής. Συμπερασματικά, προτείνεται η παράλληλη μελέτη όλων των φαινομένων συλλογικής δράσης, ώστε το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον να μετατοπιστεί από την ιδέα του Συγκρουσιακού Κύκλου στην ιδέα του Κύκλου Συλλογικής Δράσης.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of abbreviations

AAO—Alternative Action Organisation

ADEDY—Civil Servants' Confederation

AFR—Alternative Forms of Resilience

ANEL—Independent Greeks (far right party)

AOA—Action Organisation Analysis

DIMAR—Dimocratiki Aristera (Centre left party)

ECB—European Central Bank

GOC—Greek Orthodox Church

GSEE—General Confederation of Greek Workers

Grievances Theory—GT

IMF—International Monetary Fund

LAOS—Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos (far right party)

MoU—Memorandum of Understanding

ND—New Democracy (Centre right party)

PASOK—Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima (socialdemocratic party of Greece)

PCA—Principle Component Analysis

POS—Political Opportunities Structure

RMT—Resource Mobilization Theory

SCMO—Sustainable Community Movement Organisation

SMO—Social Movement Organisation

SPSS—Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

SYRIZA—Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (Coalition of Radical left)

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Solidarity mobilisations during the economic crisis, aims and research questions

Almost a decade has passed from the beginning of the contemporary "Greek Drama", an unprecedented financial, economic, political and social crisis, which started in 2009 and still makes its presence felt (Tzogopoulos, 2016; Lyberaki & Tinios 2014). It began[1] in the autumn of 2009 when the newly elected socialist government revealed the enormous public deficit (15.2% of GDP[2]), which, combined with high public debt (301 billion euro or 126.6% of the GDP[3]), reduced the markets' trust in the Greek economy and resulted in the loss of its creditworthiness. These facts forced the government to vote the first austerity measures package in the spring of 2010.

For the next seven years, Greek Governments, threatened by the danger of state bankruptcy as well as by the extended economic crisis and instability, were forced to sign three major bailout agreements with its lenders: the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. These agreements, along with thirteen packages of harsh austerity measures and requirements, were called Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) and were supervised by the *Troika* (the European Commission, the European Central Bank—ECB and the International Monetary Fund—IMF)[4]. In order to reduce the huge state deficit, lenders demanded neoliberal austerity packages that combined increase of state income with a reduction in public spending. Some of the imposed measures were: cuts in wages, pensions, benefits, increase in taxation (direct and indirect), cuts in State budget (including cuts in health, welfare and education spending) (Mavridis, 2018; Giannitsis & Zografakis, 2015; Matsaganis, 2018, 2013; Katsimi & Moutos, 2010).

During these years of the economic crisis and austerity, Greek GDP was reduced by 25% (Katsikas, Karakitsios, Filinis & Petralias, 2014), GDP per capita more than 33% (Mavridis, 2018), the overall

---

[1] See section *1.4 Hard economic times in Greece: a chronicle of the crisis* for a presentation of major political developments and decisions that were made including austerity measures, societal reactions to austerity as well as the effects of the crisis on society and the economy.

[2] Source: Eurostat available at:
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=teina200 last accessed on 03/12/2019

[3] Source: Public Debt Management Agency (P.D.M.A.) available at: http://www.pdma.gr/index.php/en/economic-indicators last accessed on 03/12/2019

[4] After 2015 negotiations with the Syriza government, the Troika changed its name to "institutions".

unemployment was about 26% in 2014 and youth unemployment stood at 51%[5]. In 2016, almost 40% of the population was at risk of poverty or social exclusion and 20.3% of the total population was considered materially deprived[6]. Additionally, in 2014, minimum wage in the private sector dropped by 14% and the average wage dropped by 21%[7].

Imposed austerity measures resulted in the complete collapse of the welfare state, which has negatively affected the everyday reality for a huge part of the Greek population. Moreover, thousands of Greek households experienced a violent degradation of their standard of living as wages and benefits were cut, unemployment boomed and social provisions were reduced. Unfortunately, during the crisis years, poor people faced extremely significant problems in covering basic human needs, such as shelter (Arapoglou & Gounis 2017, Alamanou, Stamatogiannopoulou, Theodorikakou & Katsadoros, 2011; Theodorikakou, Alamanou, & Katsadoros, 2012), food (Rakopoulos, 2014a; Papadaki & Kalogeraki, 2017), clothing and even medical care and medicine (Teloni & Adam, 2018; Gianitsis & Zografakis 2015).

As the austerity-stricken state was unable to help Greek people meet increasing needs, society had to respond by reducing negative effects of the crisis. More than 4.000 formal and informal organisations, groups and networks were mobilised by 2015, with the aim of supporting those in need (Livewhat, WP6 report). These organisations and groups were either formal (such as NGOs, cooperatives, social economy enterprises, charities, church etc.) or informal (such as protest groups, neighbourhood or people assemblies, solidarity networks etc.) organisations. Some may have existed before the crisis and had to adapt their aims and/or repertoire of action in order to survive and be able to help in hard economic times. However, in many cases, these groups were established during the crisis as a way of finding collective ways of dealing with the negative effects of the crisis (Hadjimichalis, 2017; Kousis, Kalogeraki, Papadaki, Loukakis & Velonaki, 2018; Simiti 2017; Kousis, Kalogeraki, Papadaki, Loukakis & Velonaki, 2016; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos 2014).

---

[5] Source ELSTAT: LABOUR FORCE SURVEY: December 2014 available at:
http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/A0101/PressReleases/A0101_SJO02_DT_MM_12_2014_01_F_EN.pdf Last accessed on 03/12/2019

[6] Source: Eurostat.

[7] Source: INE/GSEE, Greek Economy and Employment, 2014 available at: http://inegsee.gr/ekdosi/etisia-ekthesi-2014-i-elliniki-ikonomia-ke-i-apascholisi (last accessed on 03/12/2019)

At this point, it is crucial to define some of the key terms used throughout this thesis. Solidarity actions or activities[8] are actions or activities that are free of charge or low cost, or other non-profit orientated economic practices that operate as an alternative to the dominant capitalistic system in order to provide products or services to those affected by the crisis, aiming to cover urgent basic or cultural needs. As I show in Chapter 4, activities that are free of charge could be related to, amongst others, housing, provision of free products, free food (cooked or raw), free cloths and shoes provision, free medicine and health services, local exchange networks and alternative coins. Low cost activities include provision of low cost products and services such as direct consumer and producer networks, social groceries, etc. Finally, alternative economic practices can be products and services provided by social cooperatives, mutuals, fair trade shops etc. I define solidarity actors as all the collective bodies such as groups, organisations and networks which can be formal or informal, no matter whether they established before or during the crisis, who organise the above-mentioned solidarity activities in public. Some examples of such actors are: neighbourhood assemblies and networks, protest groups, social cooperatives, social economy enterprises, NGOs and humanitarian organisations, municipalities, churches and charities (they are also described in detail in chapter 4). Finally, I define solidarity mobilisations as the full set of solidarity activities and practices organised by the solidarity actors in Greece during the period of the economic crisis, aiming to help those affected by the economic crisis. In some paragraphs below I further define the actors studied as well as the sampling criteria.

Over the years, various scientific works tried to study the complex phenomenon of solidarity provision and activism during the crisis. Although most of these studies are focused either on a specific issue or on a certain territory. More specifically, works by Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) and Simiti (2017) have mapped social provision by both formal and informal sectors but the first is limited only to the city of Athens and covers only a part of the crisis period, while the latter is mostly an effort of showing the effects of the crisis on the Greek Civil Society organisations. Similarly, work by Papadaki and Kalogeraki (2017) also attempts to include a wide spectra of solidarity activities, which are conducted by various organisations and groups but is geographically limited to the city of Chania (Crete). Other research, such as that of Daskalaki (2018), Cappuccini (2017), and Arampatzi (2014, 2017), examine the solidarity networks set up mostly by anarchist groups in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia in Athens.

---

[8] Terms such as solidarity initiatives, solidarity provision, solidarity actions, and solidarity practices are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Studies that attempted to expand the research scope from a specific locality to a nationwide scale is that of Petropoulou (2013) and Vathakou (2015), which maps solidarity networks and social economy initiatives in various Greek cities. However, both of them do not cover the full spectrum of the solidarity actors while the first only focuses on social movement-oriented initiatives, framed by the concept of "creative resistance to the crisis". In a similar manner, Zaimakis (2018) examines the extent to which solidarity groups are driven by principles of degrowth and prefigurative politics.

A field that has been extensively explored at both local and national levels is the study of social and solidarity economy and social cooperatives. Works by Kalogeraki, Papadaki, and Pera Ros (2018), Bekridaki and Broumas (2017), Adam (2016), Gritzas and Kavoulakos (2016), Nasioulas (2012), Adam and Papatheodorou (2016) have shown the historical evolution of these organisations from the pre-crisis period as well as the main activities that they conduct, their core aims, as well as the values under which they frame their activities. However, there are no comparative studies that explore the extent to which the social and cooperative economy contributed to solidarity mobilisations, and the role of the social economy for people's survival during the crisis.

Other studies, such as those of Rakopoulos (2014a, 2014b), have focused on specific issues such as the alternative food networks and, more specifically, the markets without middlemen and the so-called "potato movement[9]". Similarly, work by Teloni and Adam (2018) has focused on the solidarity health and medical provision, while studies by Arapoglou and Gounis (2017), Alamanou et al. (2011), Theodorikakou et al. (2013) deal with the phenomenon of the rise in homelessness following the crisis. Work by Kantzara (2014) examines free tuition classes for poor students as a form of solidarity provision, while that of Sotiropoulou (2012, 2016) is focused on alternative currencies and local exchange and trade systems (LETS).

Together, this research in the field of solidarity activism in Greece shows that there are some gaps that haven't been investigated by recent scientific research. There is an absence of national level and cross-issue analyses of solidarity mobilisations, which gives insight on the full spectrum of mobilised organisations and groups that organised them in post-crisis Greece. Thus, the first issue that this study

---

[9] During the crisis, Greek consumers and farmers complained about high prices in a series of agricultural products such as potatoes. The core argument was that high prices was a result of middlemen who exploited producers by buying at low prices and then selling them up to four times the price in retail. As result, people set up some direct producer-consumer networks through which consumers could find quality products at lower prices as they did not include the costs charged by middlemen. An article about the phenomenon can be found here: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17369989 (last accessed 17/03/2020).

aims to address is to understand the full breadth of the type of actors that took part in the solidarity episodes during the crisis.

Accordingly, the focus of this dissertation is on the groups, organisations and networks that were the predominant collective actors taking part in solidarity mobilisations in Greece. More specifically, I am interested in non-state or non-corporate groups and organisations that organise and conduct solidarity practices and activities. I define solidarity practices as all those activities that aim to help those affected by the negative effects of the crisis, regardless of whether they are member of the organisation (constituency groups) or not (beneficiaries). These practices can be political (such as protest, raising awareness, lobbying activities), economical (e.g. free or low cost provision of products and services, alternative consumption and production) or cultural (e.g. arts and sports activities, social hang outs, alternative ways of entertainment). Thus, following the approach by Kousis, Giugni and Lahusen (2018), I am interested in all practices (monetary or not) that are alternative to the dominant economic, political and cultural paradigms.

Solidarity organisations were studied as a component of the LIVEWHAT research project[10], and more specifically work package 6, on Alternative Action Organisations (AAOs), defined as units of strategic actions in the public sphere not operated/fully supported by mainstream economic and political organisations (i.e. corporate, state, or EU-related agencies). An AAO engages in actions aimed at providing citizens/people alternative ways of enduring day-to-day difficulties and challenges under hard economic times, chiefly related to urgent needs, the environment, communications, the economy, alternative consumption/food sovereignty, self-organised spaces, culture, and others. Moreover, they aim to promote alternative economic and non-economic cultures and to foster new forms of political participation. The action organisation can be formal or informal (citizen initiatives, NGOs, social movement organisations, local government organisations, the church, etc.). Their actions can be framed as cases of solidarity-based exchanges and cooperative structures, such as barter clubs and networks, credit unions, ethical banks, time banks, alternative social currency, cooperatives, citizens' self-help

---

[10] This dissertation has been produced in the context of the project "Living with Hard Times: How Citizens React to Economic Crises and Their Social and Political Consequences" (LIVEWHAT). This project is funded by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme (grant agreement no. 613237). The LIVEWHAT consortium is coordinated by the University of Geneva (Marco Giugni), and is formed, additionally, by the Scuola Superiore Normale (Lorenzo Bosi), the University of Uppsala (Katrin Uba), the University of Sheffield (Maria Grasso), the CEVIPOF-Sciences Po Paris (Manlio Cinalli), the University of Siegen (Christian Lahusen), the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Eva Anduiza), the University of Crete (Maria Kousis), and the University of Warsaw (Maria Theiss). See http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LIVEWHAT_D6.4.pdf

groups, solidarity networks, and social enterprises (LIVEWHAT, WP6 Codebook; Loukakis, 2018; Kousis et al, 2018). The selected organisations were systematically analysed on the basis of their websites using a new method called Action Organisation Analysis.

Another gap in the literature that this thesis aims to address is that, there are no works that deal with the time line of how solidarity mobilisations evolved. As I briefly showed above and analyse in detail in Chapter 2.4, studies have predominantly examined either specific solidarity initiatives, or solidarity practices or specific geographical areas but they do not examine how solidarity mobilisations developed across the country from the beginning of the crisis until the demobilisation phase. Moreover, there are only few studies that examine the rise of the solidarity mobilisations in relation to the social, political and economic conditions of the era. Hence, this study also aims to explore the evolution of solidarity mobilisations in relation with the broader social, economic and political environment in Greece during the years of crisis (2009-2015).

Summarising the two aspects of the solidarity mobilisation that this study aims to cover, the main research question that this dissertation addresses is formulated as:

What are the main organisational features of the solidarity mobilisations in Greece under the economic crisis? Can we speak of a cycle of solidary and, more generally, of a broader cycle of collective action in Greece in the aftermath of the economic crisis?

Taken together, the objectives of the present study are twofold. First, it aims to bridge two bodies of the literature—that of collective action and social movements and that of solidarity in an attempt to investigate how solidarity mobilisations were organised. To achieve this, I first systematically analyse the actors that took part in the solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the period of the economic crisis (2009-2015). After identifying the main features of the solidarity actors, the study aims to improve on the existing body of literature to provide an exhaustive typology of collective actors—informed by different theoretical approaches in social movement and collective action theory and research on solidarity initiatives and according to their respective approach to solidarity work. This typology classifies solidarity groups and organisations according to whether they are highly politicised (or less) and whether they have more of a social movement orientation or a charity orientation.

The second objective of the dissertation is to investigate the evolution of solidarity mobilisations. More specifically, the main rationale is to examine whether, and to what extent, solidarity mobilisations followed a cycle orbit—in the sense that it has an initial moment when the solidarity episodes appear,

then there was a phase diffusion, in which solidarity mobilisations spread among the country and different societal sectors and then by a period of demobilisation which signals the end of solidarity mobilisations. Having observed elements of the above, I am able to illustrate the existence of a Greek Cycle of Solidarity, and go on to argue about the existence of a broader Greek Cycle of Collective Action, which contains, at the same time contentious and solidarity related collective action forms.

In the next sections, first I present the theoretical tools that I use in the dissertation in order to address the research question and fulfil the aims of the study. Then, I present the key arguments of the dissertation. In the following, I provide more information about how the concept of solidarity is used in the context of the study and finally I provide a chronicle of the Greek crisis as well as the effects of the crisis on the economy and society.

1.2 Collective action and solidarity theories: a synthetic approach

This dissertation makes use of a synthetic approach. This synthesis is conducted at two levels. The first is a synthesis of different collective action theories and the second is a synthesis of collective action with solidarity literature.

The first objective of the dissertation is to investigate how solidarity mobilisations were organised. According to collective action theorists, actors such as groups and organisations are very important for the mobilisation processes as they organise and conduct collective action episodes, act as advocacy groups as they make claims in the public and, finally, they frame collective action and offer opportunities for participation (Tarrow, 1998, 2011; Tilly & Tarrow 2015).

Recent literature about solidarity in times of crisis links solidarity provision to the development of social movements. These works indicate that in practice solidarity collectivities are a new form of resistance to the neoliberal capitalism and approach solidarity as a political action (Loukakis, 2018; Daskalaki, 2017; Arampatzi, 2016; Simiti, 2017; Gritzas & Kavoulakos, 2015; Rakopoulos 2014a, 2015, and more). Moreover, other works connect solidarity mobilisations with the anti-austerity mobilisations by pointing out that solidarity practices was a set of innovative actions on the social movements actors' repertoire (Malamidis, 2018; Vogiatzoglou, 2017). Yet another branch of the solidarity literature argues that anti-austerity movement was the meeting point for various activists who came closer through protest activities and decided to set up new initiatives in order to find ways to collectively deal with the negative effects of the crisis (Theocharis, 2016).

In this study, I argue that solidarity mobilisations were a distinctive form of collective action that took place in austerity-stricken Greece in order to assist those in need. Moreover, solidarity organisations can be Social Movement Organisations (SMOs) or operate in a similar fashion (Kousis et al, 2018, Loukakis, Kiess, Kousis & Lahusen, 2018). Hence, the similarities on the organisational profile of the solidarity actors with SMOs as well as their common activities allow me to use collective action theories in order to analyse the organisational, political and cultural features of the solidarity organisations.

In order to present the full spectrum of the groups and organisations that took part in the solidarity mobilisations in Greece, I will first investigate and thoroughly analyse the main features of solidarity actors. To do so, I use tools from the collective action and social movement's theoretical toolbox. I make use of resource mobilisation theory in order to identify the organisational features such as their organisational types, their organisational structures as well as their networks features. Then I apply both grievances and deprivation theories along with political opportunities frameworks in order to identify repertoires of action, strategies and the people that they aim to assist. The core idea is that solidarity as a form of collective action emerged due to the opening of the political opportunities and as a response to the economic threats but its form (action repertoire) was shaped by the material deprivation that a huge part of the Greek population faced.

In order to highlight the importance of the political, social and economic environment of the era for the rise of solidarity mobilisations I provide a "chronicle of the crisis" in the section 1.4, which describes the major political developments, the most important policy decisions as well as the effects of the crisis on the economy and society. Finally, with the contribution of cultural framing theories, I investigate the aims, the solidarity approached and the values under which the AAOs frame their actions and practices.

Following this, I define and classify solidarity groups and organisations according to the theoretical context of solidarity provision and civic engagement in times of economic crisis. To do so, I further use the typology offered by Kousis and Paschou (2017) to develop a typology that is based on the key features of AAOs (namely: organisation type, solidarity approach, aims, values, strategies and political repertoire). My main argument is that in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the real nature of solidarity mobilisations we have to bring actors back in the centre of the analysis. Actions' repertoires, organisation types and constituency groups or beneficiaries may be not enough. Hence, we should also include the cultural features of the organisations such as their aims, solidarity approach as well as the values that they use to frame their actions, because these cultural features highlight the differences between groups as they are connected with specific theoretical approaches. Finally, these framing aspects of the solidarity

actors shape the form of the collective action that every initiative engages with and, at the end of the day, they shape the nature of the solidarity mobilisations more generally.

In the next chapters, I argue that solidarity mobilisations in Greece were part of a societal response to the economic crisis and the austerity. These mobilisations were organised by a very diverse field of actors, which cover a wide range—from anarchist groups, other social movement's related groups and organisations, to social and solidarity economy actors to NGO's and other third sector humanitarian organisations to charities and church initiatives. The majority of them established during the crisis and as an outcome of it, but a significant part of the solidarity actors were established before the crisis and were engaged in the mobilisations due to the extreme situation that many people faced. Usually, the groups and organisations have formal hierarchical organisational structure but in general they are characterised by low levels of formality. However, many groups and neighbourhood—based initiatives seems to be affected by the Greek Indignados movement and have adopted open direct democratic decision-making procedures. The main repertoire of the solidarity actors can be divided in two main categories: the practice-based (needs coverage related) and the political repertoire. The first is focuses on the coverage of material and cultural needs, free of charge or by using alternatives, than mainstream capitalistic, economic models. The second is focused on conventional and contentious political activities. Moreover, I argue that the people that they try to assist is related to the period of establishment, as the solidarity actors that established during the crisis focus on the "victims of the crisis", while the already established organisations focus on groups of people that were in vulnerable situation prior of the crisis. Additionally, I highlight how solidarity activism is a collaborative endeavour, as most AAOs do mention partners and the type of patterns that each organisation has is depended on the type that the organisation is. Usually grassroots solidarity actors exhibit the same partners while more institutionalised AAOs exhibit other similar organisations or the state.

I also argue that the cultural elements of solidarity actors are also important as they frame the collective action and shape its form. I will show that despite the fact that all of the actors are engaged in solidarity activities they do not have a common goal and aim—specific aims are connected with specific organisations and groups. Hence, some actors express aims related to the effects of the crisis, others focus on social inclusion and equal participation in the society, some groups make prefigurative claims opting for alternative to the dominant capitalistic system and finally some other organisations fight for promotion of collective actions and social movement's identities. Similarly, the solidarity approach that each actor adopts depends on the type of group they are. Usually, groups that are informally organised

and which formed in response to the crisis adopt mutual help solidarity approaches, which indicate a mobilisation based on the common interests, while older and more formal organisations adopt top down solidarity approaches which indicate altruistic or philanthropic motives for mobilisation. Finally, my last argument is that organisations also use different values to frame their actions, also according to the type of group that they are. Movement-related actors use empowerment and participation framing, while humanitarian-philanthropic values are used more by formal organisations.

With respect to the second aim of the research, that of investigation of the evolution of the solidarity mobilisations, I use the concept of cycles of contention (Tarrow 1998, 2011). According to this theory, during the cycle, mobilisations produce five type of innovations and transformations, namely: a) the rapid diffusion of the collective action, b) the co-existence of organised and un-organised actors, c) innovation in repertoire of actions, d) change in collective action frames and e) increased interaction between activist and authorities. In this study I look for elements of the changes in order to argue that there is a Greek cycle of solidarity.

By using the term "cycle" I want to point out the repetitive character of this type of mobilisation in times of economic crisis and hardships. Like other social movement scholars, my intention is to show that this type of collective action is not equally distributed in time and space but follows a cycle orbit in a sense that it has a starting phase which is followed by a phase of rapid diffusion across the country and different societal sectors and then by a period of demobilisation which signals the end of solidarity mobilisations (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004).

Theoretically, my point is that studying all possible forms of solidarity actions (not only those that come from social movements or those that fit in the concept of social economy or not only anarchist—autonomous actions etc.) as well as the set of the dynamic interaction between collective actors, allies and authorities as well as the forms of interactions and the full set of claims and frames that are produced during the cycles/waves may produce explanations on how collective action emerge (Koopmans, 2004; Tarrow, 2011). However, I do not argue at any point of the dissertation that austerity, deprivation and political instability can produce solidarity activity *per se*. On the contrary, I argue that interaction between people and their political, social and economic environment can produce solidarity mobilisations.

Additionally, the existence of the Greek cycle of solidarity, which is something different than the cycle of contention that took place in Greece in the same period, is a significant contribution in the field of social movements and collective action studies as it broadens the usage of the concept of cycle beyond protest

and contention. Hence, other forms of collective action in a specific periods can be studied under the concept of cycle or waves. Finally, in times of crisis and broad political, economic and social unrest I argue for the necessity of examining the different forms of mobilisation together under the notion of Cycles of Collective Action. I propose looking beyond protest and contentious politics, as Tarrow and Koopmans did, and also include other forms of collective actions, which may also occur at the same time with contention. Hence, in the context of the Greek crisis, the Greek Cycle of anti-austerity protest and The Greek Cycle of Solidarity are two manifestations of collective reaction against neoliberal austerity that took place in the same time and in the same context—and thus they could analysed together.

Accordingly, in Chapters 5 and 6, I argue for the existence of the Greek Cycle of Solidarity. During the cycle, the evolution of the solidarity mobilisations started on the spring of 2010 and then it followed a cyclical orbit. Next, during the period 2011-2013 there was a phase of intense mobilisation through which solidarity episodes diffused across the country as well as across different sectors of the society. Then, during the period 2014-2015 less and less new solidarity actors emerge and some of those that established during the crisis ended their operations. This was a phase of demobilisation which signalled the end of the cycle. Moreover, I argue that during the cycle new actors emerged which co-existed with already established actors. Both kinds of actors innovated solidarity practices in order to cover needs that were unmet by the retreat of the state and the markets. I also highlight that there were also innovations on the cultural features of the solidarity actors and changes in the framing that solidarity actors use. There are clear differences on the solidarity approach that they apply, they have also different goals and aims and they use different values in order to frame their solidarity activism. I also argue that during the cycle the interaction between activists and state actors increased.

Finally, collective action literature and, more specifically, resource mobilisation theory (RMT), helped me explore the sustainability and viability dimension of the solidarity actors. This component of how solidarity actors evolved was connected to the end of the cycle and the demobilisation phase. I formulate some hypotheses on the type of resources that contribute to the ability of the solidarity actors to stay active, at least online. My main argument is that RMT is still relevant for the analysis of any collective action organisations and groups, not only to SMOs. Moreover, I argue that, for solidarity actors, organisational and cultural resources can be more important for the sustainability of the organisations than other types of resources.

1.3 How is the concept of solidarity used in the thesis?

As I stated above, for the purposes of this dissertation Alternative Action Organisations can be seen as the main solidarity providers in Greece during the crisis and I will treat them as such. Despite the fact that AAOs as solidarity providers have many similarities with the classic Social Movements Organisations (SMOs) I argue that AAOs are a distinct organisational category. The AAO is a broader category which for the most part includes groups and organisations, which do not have political aspirations and repertoire and are active only in practice solidarity provision. In detail, an SMO can be either a formal or informal organisation "*which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement, and attempts to implement those goals*" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218). SMOs are committed to promoting (or) preventing social and/or political change. Similarly to SMOs, AAOs can have either formal or informal organisational structures, while they try to collect and mobilise resources, and their common aim is to target via solidarity actions increasing needs of citizens (Kousis et al, 2018). The major difference between SMOs and AAOs is that the former are more political organisations which usually address the state (in a contentious manner) in order to take action to solve the issues of their claims, and participate in the same movement, sharing similar values, identities and goals, while AAOs engage in solidarity mobilisations and collective actions aiming to help meet people's needs (Loukakis et al, 2018). Thus, AAOs are a broader SMOs category which includes organisations and groups, whose primary aim is solidarity provision without necessarily engaging in political (contentious or not) actions (Bosi & Zamponi, 2020).

According to the literature, solidarity is a contested notion which often includes the motivation and aspiration that each actors have. For instance some scholars point out the limited scope and aim of solidarity to just cover the needs, while some others point to the transformative power of solidarity which aims to promote peoples' resistance against the capitalistic system (Sotiropoulou, 2016; Raman, 2010). Other works deals with groups that conduct solidarity activities as an arena in which people collectively challenge the mainstream capitalistic society (Eduards, 1994). Finally, some scholars make a distinction between democratic and philanthropic solidarity (Laville, 2010). Democratic solidarity is an indispensable ingredient of solidarity actions, which separates solidarity in the broader economic field from charity/philanthropic solidarity. Charity or philanthropic solidarity leads to a situation in which the beneficiaries are in a state of personal dependency on donors, resulting in the creation of hierarchal inferiority (i.e., top-down solidarity approach). At the same time, democratic solidarity, relying on mutual

help, is expressed in demands and constitutes both self-organisation and a social movement (Ould Ahmed, 2014, p. 430; Laville, 2010, p. 231-234).

However, in the case selection for the needs of the dissertation I intentionally focus on solidarity practices more broadly as I described them in the beginning of this introduction chapter, regardless of the type of organisations and groups that practices them. The rationale behind that logic is that my analysis is not limited only to types of organisations, practices and beneficiaries or constituency groups but also includes the cultural elements of the organisations such as the aims and goals that they have, the strategies that they apply in order to achieve their aims, the solidarity approach that they follow and the values under which they frame their actions.

1.4 Hard economic times in Greece: a chronicle of the crisis

In this part of the introduction I try to present a short chronicle of the Greek economic crisis, the major changes at the political arena, the effects of the crisis on key economic indicators as well as the new austerity policies implemented by the Greek Governments. This is necessary to describe the general political setting with which activists interact and collective action emerge.

The Greek economic crisis was, to a large extent, linked to the Global financial crisis of 2007—2008 (Matsaganis, 2013). In 2007, the Greek economy was still in a period of growth but to a lesser extent than it had been in the years prior. One year later, in 2008, the Greek economy started shrinking and the cost of borrowing was increased (OECD[11]). However, the evidence of the appearance of the crisis in Greece can be traced to 2009 when the GDP dropped by 4.31% and the cost of short and long term borrowing was too high. In the summer of 2009 the ruling New Democracy government announced early parliamentary elections triggered by the dramatic changes in the Greek economy. In September 2009, PASOK won the elections with a platform of transforming the Greek economy into a greener and innovating model.

These ambitious aspirations of the newly elected Greek government were cancelled in practice as on October 19th the new minister of Finance, George Papaconstantinou, in an ECOFIN meeting in Luxemburg, announced that the real Greek Government's deficit was not 6%—as announced by the previous

---

[11] https://data.oecd.org/greece.htm#profile-government (last accessed 27/11/2019).

government—but around 12.5%[12]. This disputation surrounding Greek economic indicators terrified EU officials, who then prioritised the issue of the Greek Economy on the next summit of the Eurogroup on December 1st at Brussels (Papaconstantinou, 2016). At this moment, with the wounds of the 2007 global financial crisis still open, speculations about the economic stability of the Eurozone were on the daily agenda and Greece was the most vulnerable part of the European economy. This fact, combined with high public debt (301 billion euro or 126.6% of the GDP[13]) reduced the markets' trust in the Greek economy and resulted in the loss of its Creditworthiness. This situation resulted in an increase of the rates of bonds to such a degree that the cost of borrowing climbed to prohibitive levels (Matsaganis, 2013).

In order to calm the "markets'" concerns, the newly elected socialist government of PASOK voted for the first austerity measures package in December 2009. However, this austerity package was claimed to be insufficient by EU officials and Markets which led Greek government to present a new austerity measures package on February 2010. This austerity package included a freeze in the salaries of all government employees, a 10% cut in bonuses, as well as cuts in overtime workers, public employees and work-related travel. It had an overall value 0.8 billion euros and aimed at reducing the huge public deficit (Mah, Mukkudem-Petersen, Miruka & Petersen, 2013). The announcement of the austerity measures was met with the first general strike by the Civil Servants' Confederation (ADEDY). In response to the pressure of the markets, the Greek government was forced to vote for a new austerity measures package on the 3rd of March 2010. This austerity package had a total worth of 4.3 billion euros and included cuts in wages, cuts in benefits, cuts in Christmas bonuses, increases in taxation for vehicles and increase in indirect taxations such as VAT. Trade unions reacted against the new austerity policies by declaring a new 24 hour general strike with the participation of ADEDY and the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE)[14].

Despite the harsh austerity measures, Greece didn't restore its credibility to the markets and gradually, by April 2010, the Greek Government's bonds were devalued to Junk Bonds status by the credit rating agencies[15]. Thus, capital markets became inaccessible to the Greek Government. On the verge of state bankruptcy, on the 23rd of April 2010, in a small island on the Greek Turkish borders, the Greek Prime

---

[12] As it revealed few months later the real public deficit was 15.2% of GDP, Eurostat available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=teina200 last accessed on 27/11/2019

[13] Source: Public Debt Management Agency (P.D.M.A.) available at: http://www.pdma.gr/index.php/en/economic-indicators last accessed on 27/11/2019

[14] Source: https://adedy.gr/anakoinoseis/ last accessed on 27/11/2019

[15] Source: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2010/apr/27/greece-credit-rating-downgraded last accessed on 27/11/2019

Minister Georgios Papandreou announced the intention of the Greek government to ask financial support from European and global institutions as the country was not able to have access to a sustainable loan. Nobody could predict the outcomes that this decision had on the everyday life of the Greek population.

Greece signed a bailout agreement with the International Monetary Fund, Eurozone countries, and the European Central Bank. This mechanism allowed Greece to take a 110 billion Euros loan in order to avoid the bankruptcy. This Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was called, along with a package of harsh austerity measures and requirements, was supervised by the *Troika* (Eurozone countries, European Central Bank—ECB and International Monetary Fund—IMF). Conditions of the loan were that Greece should take measures of fiscal consolidation immediately, such as austerity measures, structural reforms and privatization of government assets. Some of the austerity policies announced on May 3rd were: repeal on Christmas bonus; cuts in wages, benefits and pensions; increases in taxation (VAT, fuel, cigarettes and alcohol, property); increase in retirement age; and increase in the trigger number of redundancies, amongst many other conditions. The total cost of the third austerity package was estimated to be more than 38 billion euros (Zahariadis, 2017; MAh et al, 2013; Sotiropoulos, 2012).

The First Economic Adjustment Programme for Greece—its formal name—was approved by the Greek Parliament on June of 2010. However, throughout this period of bargaining about the conditions of the loans, Greek trade unions and society reacted by protesting against austerity. Their core argument was that "we will not pay for the Crisis". During this anti-austerity campaign various protests and violent incidents took place such as strikes[16], demonstrations, sit-ins, violent clashes with the police, including frontal attacks against government buildings (Diani & Kousis, 2014; Kanellopoulos & Kousis, 2017; Sotiropoulos, 2012; Psimitis, 2011). The most emblematic protest was the general strike and the demonstration of the 5th of May which unfortunately caused the death of 3 people worked in a bank (Vogiatzoglou, 2017). It is estimated that approximately 150.000 people protested against austerity during this demonstration alone[17]. Moreover, various professional associations protested against policies that deregulated the until-then professional conditions. Significant mobilisations were those of professional drivers, marine and port workers, employees in public transportation and more.

---

[16] From the period between April to June 2010, confederations of Greek trade unions organised six general strikes and numerous demonstrations. Source: https://adedy.gr/anakoinoseis/ last accessed on 27/11/2019 and https://gsee.gr/?m=201006 last accessed on 27/11/2019

[17] Source: https://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/06/world/europe/06greece.html?mtrref=www.google.com&gwh=FE0EF4141E00B127F36FDD7B625D1391&gwt=pay&assetType=REGIWALL last accessed on 27/11/2019

From the summer of 2010, the impacts of the crisis in the economy were more than obvious. Unemployment grew to a record level and small businesses forced to close as the incomes scored record low. In December 2010 the government voted the new labour law in place, which deregulated the working conditions for both employees of the private and public sector. In practice, it simplified the procedure to fire personnel, cut wages in state-owned companies and set the foundations for the gradual abolition of collective bargaining agreements (Kornelakis & Voskeritsian, 2014). Despite the huge protests during this period, the MoU set the way that Greece would be governed for many years. Hence, external economic actors took the power from the domestic democratic elected government (Matsaganis, 2013). As a result, members of parliament belonging to PASOK often resigned or were removed to force the policies in place (Dinas & Rori, 2013).

During the first six months of 2011, people had many grievances about the country's economic conditions and political situation. This was often expressed by public offences (mostly verbal but also physical) against members of the government. Moreover, during that period the "Den plirono" (I don't pay) movement started, as people refused to pay tickets on public transportation or drivers refused to pay tolls fees (Sakellaropoulos, 2019; Sotiropoulos, 2012). Additionally, in May 2011 the Greek Indignados movement took place in many cities of Greece but especially in Syntagma square in the heart of Athens which further destabilized the political situation (Theodossopoulos, 2014; Simiti, 2015). In June 2011, after two days of general strike and massive protests which caused injuries to 300 protesters and police officers, Greek parliament voted a new austerity measures package known as "Mesoporthesmo" (mid-term program). The total cost of this package was approximately 50 billion euros and included spending cuts, tax increases and privatisations on public assets (Matsaganis, 2013; Exadaktylos & Zahariadis, 2012). At this time, government stability was shaken as three more party MPs resigned from PASOK and the government reshuffled (Dinas & Rori, 2013).

Few months later, in September and October 2011, new laws about increases in taxation, cuts in pensions, cuts in public spending on education, privatisations and deregulation of labour conditions caused huge demonstrations and more MPs resigned. Once again these measures caused huge protests which resulted in the death of one protester[18]. At this point, in late October, austerity measures were not enough for improving the Greek economy which was in a shock and the Troika and Greek Government agreed on a new bailout package, of 130 billion euro, which also included a "50% haircut" in private bonds. Of course

---

[18] Source https://www.theguardian.com/business/blog/2011/oct/20/eu-crisis-emergency-talks last accessed on 27/11/2019

the new bailout program was combined with more harsh austerity measures. It also included a mechanism which would be charged with supervising the government about the implementation of the measures. At this point, the Prime Minister Giorgos Papandreou decided to go for a referendum so that the Greek People could choose the next bailout package and the future of the country. This decision shocked political actors domestically and internationally, who forced him to be resign from the position of Prime Minister (Hîncu, 2013; Dinas & Rori, 2013; Visvizi, 2012).

Under the austerity imposed by memorandum policies, Greece faced a recession that had never happened before in any developed country after World War II. Therefore, any hope that the lenders had for a quick economic recovery, decrease of the deficit and exit back to the markets by 2013 proved futile and Greece was forced to a new bailout package in February 2012. In detail, the new three-party government consisting of PASOK (socialists), New Democracy (Right wing party) and LAOS (far right party) led the country to a new bailout program along with new austerity measures. On February 2012 parliament voted on cuts in the minimum wage, firing of 150.000 public servants, new taxations, increase in indirect taxation on islands, increase in the ticket prices on public transportation, and more. A few days earlier, the ministry of education decided to provide meals for students as many of them suffered from malnutrition[19] or even fainting during the classes[20].

In May and June 2012, double parliamentary elections took place, with the outcome of a new three party supported government under the New Democracy party (the other two were PASOK and DIMAR[21]). A core slogan of the new government was the re-negotiation of the austerity measures that Greece had to implement as they were part of the second bail out agreement. After four months of negotiations, a new austerity package of 13 billion euros was voted on by Greek Parliament on November 7th. This package included: bank recapitalisation, tax reform, labour market reform (increase in retirement age), pension cuts (15% on average), cuts in wages (20% on average) and a "Midterm fiscal plan 2013–16". Once again the voting was preceded by huge protests.

The period until the summer of 2013 was relatively stable without significant policy decisions or political changes. However, in May the government implemented one more austerity and reforms package that mostly involved laying off approximately 15.000 public servants. In June 2013, the government decided

---

[19] According to UNICEF, in a report titled, "The condition of youth in Greece, 2012" 439,000 children in the country are currently living below the poverty line - underfed and in insalubrious conditions.

[20] Source https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2012/mar/13/greece-breadline-hungry-children-pe   last accessed on 27/11/2019

[21] DIMAR—Dimocratiki Aristera a centre left party

to close down the public television (ERT) and to re-open it again under a new operational scheme. The government's actions caused huge protests in Athens as well as a decision by DIMAR to withdraw from the three party government (Featherstone, 2013; Fouskas, 2013). In July, a new package voted by the parliament mostly affected employees in the education sector, who also protested against it but their protest ended when the government asked for the military conscription of the protesters[22].

Unfortunately, this was not the last austerity package voted on by the government, as in May of 2014 the government voted another package under the name Medium-term Fiscal Strategy plan 2015-2018. The implementation of the new law had to do with cuts in the public health system, cuts public sector expenses and a freeze of wages and pensions for the next four years until 2018. However, in the same period, Greece gained access to the markets and secured a three billion euros loan. It was the first time form the beginning of the crisis that Greece could borrow money direct from the markets without the mediation of EU mechanisms.

During the end of 2014, Greece was forced into another election due to the fact that government had not been able to elect a president of the Greek Democracy. Elections took place on January of 2015 and resulted in a win of the radical left party of SYRIZA. Nonetheless, SYRIZA didn't achieve absolute majority in the parliament, hence it was forced on a coalition government along with the far right party of Anexartitoi Ellines (ANEL). A central aspiration of the newly elected government was the re-negotiation of the packages. In practice these negotiations started on February of 2015 and ended on July, when the government announced a referendum on the proposal of the third bailout package (Aslanidis & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2016). This period of instability worried people about the stability of the Greek banking system and about a possibility of a Grexit and they tried to take their money outside of the banks. In order to stop this practice, the minister of finance, Yanis Varoufakis, decided to close the banks for a week and implement capital controls[23].

The period before the 2015 referendum was very intense, as huge demonstrations for and against it took place. Finally, the referendum resulted in a rejection of the new bailout package and of the austerity measures that combine it by the Greek people. Contrary to the Greek people's demands, Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras after a fourteen hours negotiation agreed on a new bailout package and more austerity.

---

[22] Government's decision as it is published in the Government Gazette is available at: https://www.iefimerida.gr/sites/default/files/archive-files/fekepistrateysi.pdf last accessed on 27/11/2019
[23]   https://www.theguardian.com/business/live/2015/jun/28/greek-crisis-ecb-emergency-liquidity-referendum-bailout-live last accessed on 27/11/2019

This action resulted in the resignation of many party and government members and an announcement of new elections on September of 2015.

The new agreement that SYRIZA-ANEL government agreed on July forced the implementation of the following: an increase in VAT, an increase of taxes for incomes over €50.000, an increase in corporation taxes for small companies, increases in luxury taxes, increases in health contributions paid by pensioners, retirement age increase to 67, increase in diesel fuel tax for farmers, increase in farmers' income tax, increase in freelancers taxation, taxes on private education and new taxes on the Greek shipping industry. Despite the new harsh memorandum that SYRIZA voted on, it managed to win the September elections and created a new coalition government again with ANEL. But it should be mentioned that many radical party members had left the party, a fact that signalled SYRIZA's turn to social democracy and away from its radical left origins.

In the following, I present indicators used by Hofer and Mexi (2014) in order to show the impact of government policies and the crisis on the economy and society. In general, I look for changes from the period before the crisis starting in year 2007 and ending in the year 2016, which is the year that the data collection stopped.

Beginning with an analysis of the economy, I investigate the effects of the crisis on five indicators: Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Gini, Government deficit/surplus, Government debt, and Average annual wages. With respect to the GDP (Figure 1.1), a year before the crisis the GDP per capita was the biggest in history, at 30.890$. For the following four years it declined dramatically (almost 23%) to 25.285$ per capita. The following period 2013-2016, a small increase can be noticed (approximately 1% per year). Summing up, data shows that after 2008 Greek economy shrunk drastically.

Figure 1. 1 GDP US dollars/capita, 2007—2016
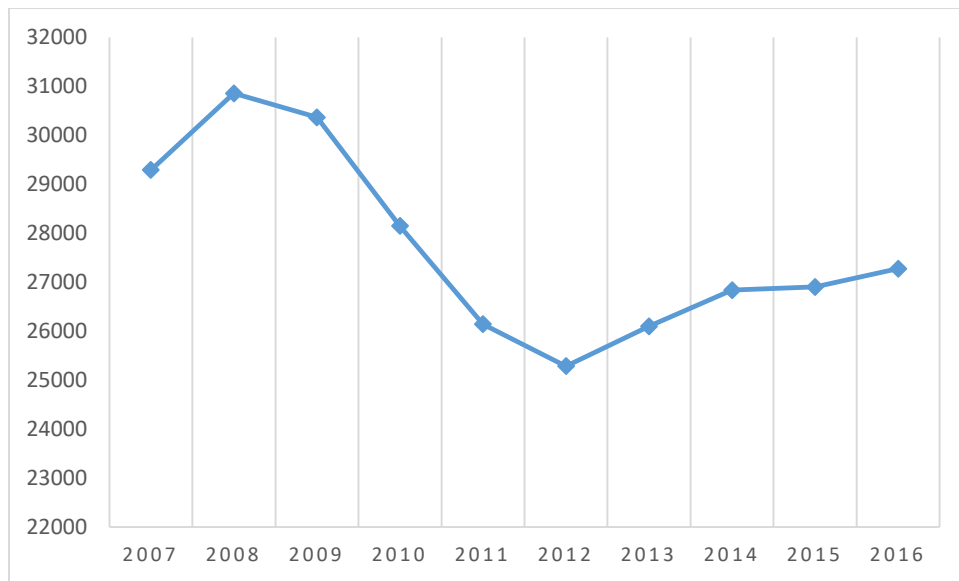
Figure 2 provides data about the Gini coefficient, which in practice measures the distribution of income across residents of a country. Data shows that Greece has seen a big downward trend in the years before the economic crisis which also continued until 2010. Following this, the Gini coefficient went up. This statistical indicator is very important because it shows that during the crisis wage inequalities in Greece went up.

---

[24] OECD (2020), Gross domestic product (GDP) (indicator). doi: 10.1787/dc2f7aec-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 2 Gini coefficient of equivalised disposable income
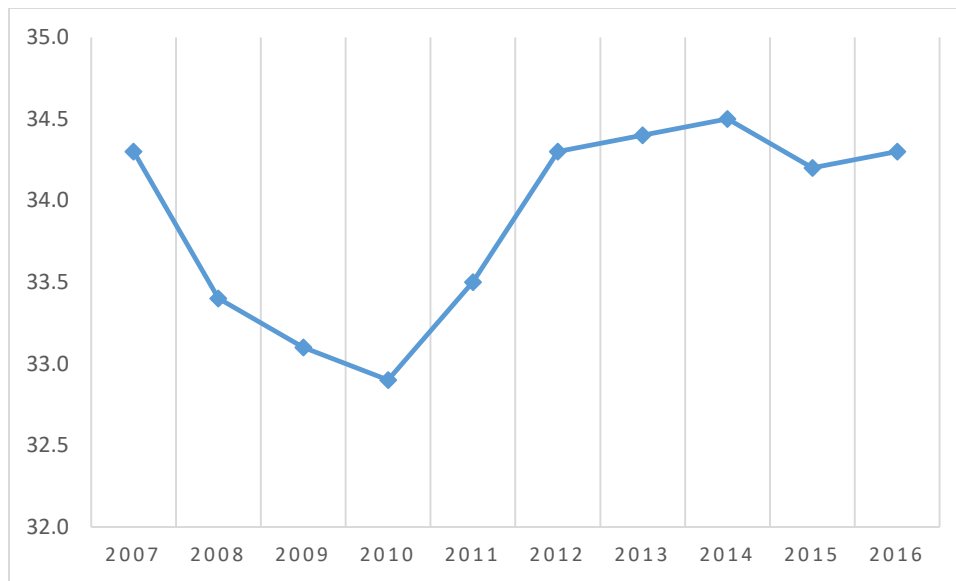
Source: Eurostat[25]

When the government fiscal balance is examined we can easily say that until 2009, the government spent much more than they earned. This actually was one of the reasons that caused the fiscal crisis. For the following period there is a huge attempt by the government to reduce the deficit and at the end (2016) to produce a surplus. However, as I described above, Greek governments achieved a surplus by implementing more than thirteen austerity packages. This practice denied a huge amount of money from the real economy, which exacerbated the economic recession.

---

[25] Eurostat (2020), Gini coefficient of equivalised disposable income - EU-SILC survey, https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_di12&lang=en (Accessed on 03 March 2020).

Figure 1. 3 Government deficit/surplus as a percentage of GDP
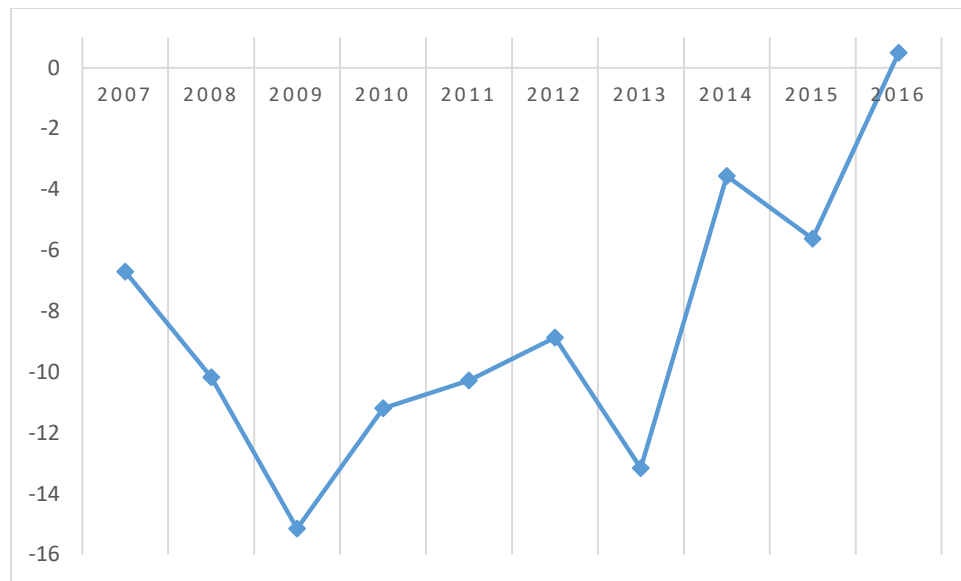
Source: OECD[26]

The next indicator is the central government debt as part of the GDP (Figure 1.4) which before the crisis had an increasing tendency. The next two years (2010-2011) the sovereign debt was reduced, while for the next years the debt increased dramatically to almost 190% of the GDP. These facts show that during the crisis, Greece gradually transformed from an independent country to a "debt colony" (Kotzias, 2013; Zartaloudis, 2013; Beeton, 2013)

---

[26] OECD (2020), General government deficit (indicator). doi: 10.1787/77079edb-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 4 Percentage of total central government debt as part of GDP
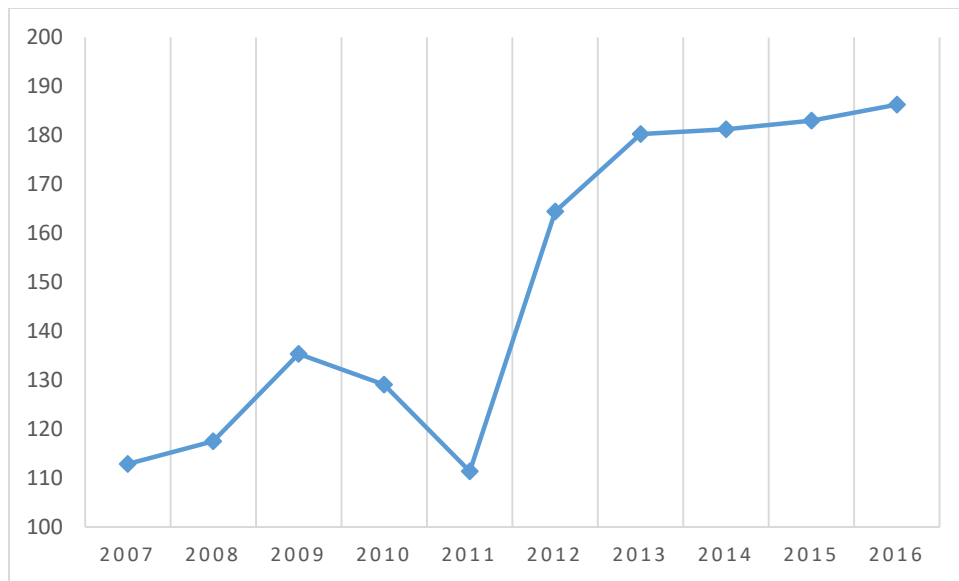
Source: OECD[27]

The last indicator of the effects of the crisis in the economy is the change on the average annual wage that people in Greece received. Until 2009, the average annual wage in Greece was around 34,000$. The next four years it dropped by 20%, reaching 26,000$ in 2013. For the following period it was almost stable at around 26,500$. Thus, Greeks faced a dramatic reduction in wages during the crisis.

---

[27] OECD (2020), General government debt (indicator). doi: 10.1787/a0528cc2-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 5 Average annual wages, US dollars, 2007—2016
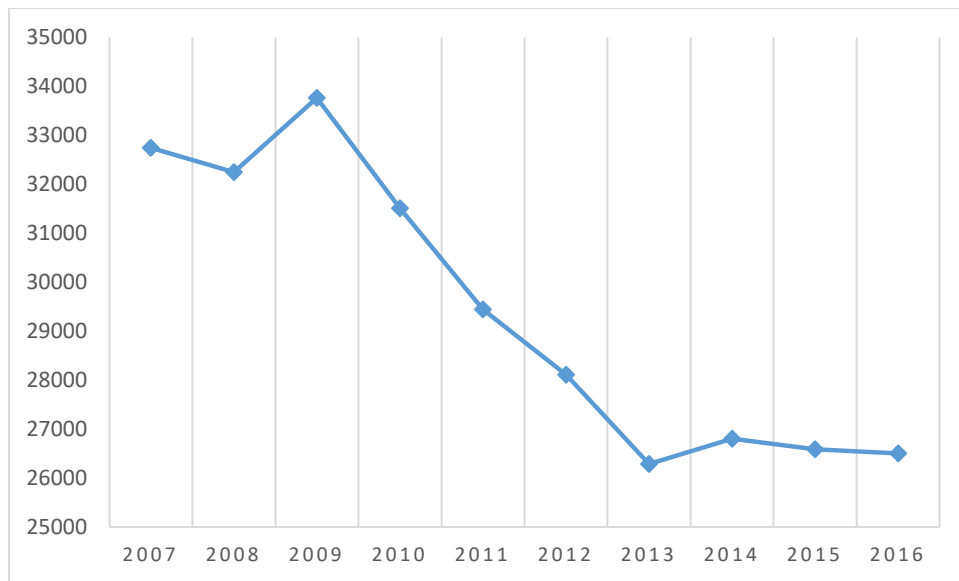
Source: OECD[28]

Moving to the indicators that reveal policy responses on the crisis, I examine the changes in taxation, expenditure for social protection, pensions' expenditure, public expenditure on unemployment benefits and public expenditure on health. Starting with taxation, as Figure 1.6 show, form the period 2007 to 2010 the state income from taxation was reduced year by year (3.9% on 2010). From 2010 to 2012 the taxation on income almost doubled to 7% of the GDP and for the following years it was stabilised around 6% of GDP. Overall, data shows that during the crisis, taxation on income increased 35% on average.

---

[28] OECD (2020), Average wages (indicator). doi: 10.1787/cc3e1387-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 6 Evolution of taxation on income, wealth as percentage of GDP
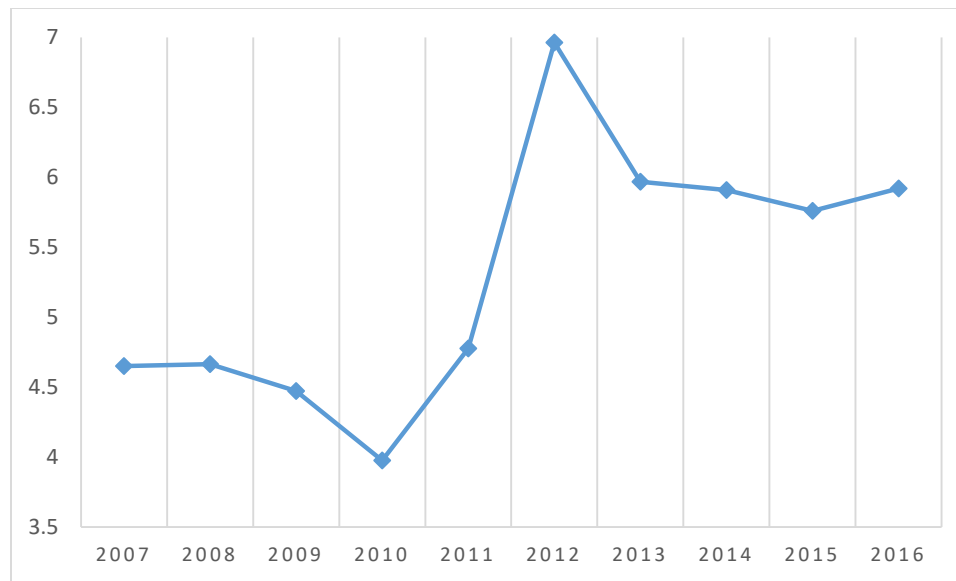
Source: OECD[29]

The following figure represents the evolution of public expenditure on social protection, which includes all cash benefits, direct in-kind provision of goods and services and tax breaks with social purposes. These policies mostly target low-income households, the elderly, disabled, sick, unemployed, or young persons. At first glance, someone can say that the state spending on social provision was stable: for a decade it was about 10% of the GDP. However this is deceptive because during this decade, the country's economy shrunk and the total value of GDP dropped. Hence the amount of money that state spends for social policy in absolute numbers was reduced. This drop is confirmed when the same expenditure is examined in relation with the taxation. Before the crisis, almost 35% of tax revenues were directed to social policies, while after the crisis this was dropped to 28%.

---

[29] OECD (2020), Tax on personal income (indicator). doi: 10.1787/94af18d7-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 7 Public expenditure on social protection, as percentage of GDP and as percentage of taxes
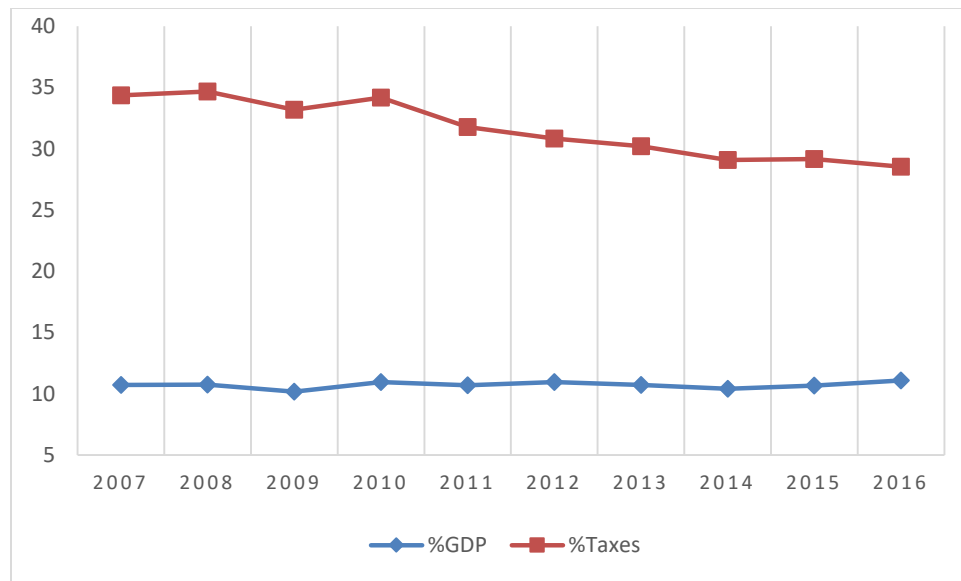
Source: OECD[30]

The following figure depicts the evolution of public expenditure on pensions as a percentage of GDP. Despite the fact that cuts in pensions were included in almost every austerity package, overall data shows that public spending on pensions was increased during the crisis. A possible explanation is that according to the Independent Authority for Public Revenue[31] the number of pensioners was increased during the crisis by 588.000 people. Subsequently the cost of pensions was increased.

---

[30] OECD (2020), Social spending (indicator). doi: 10.1787/7497563b-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)
[31] Source: https://www.aade.gr/open-data (Last Accessed 28/11/2019)

Figure 1. 8 Public expenditure on pensions as percentage of GDP
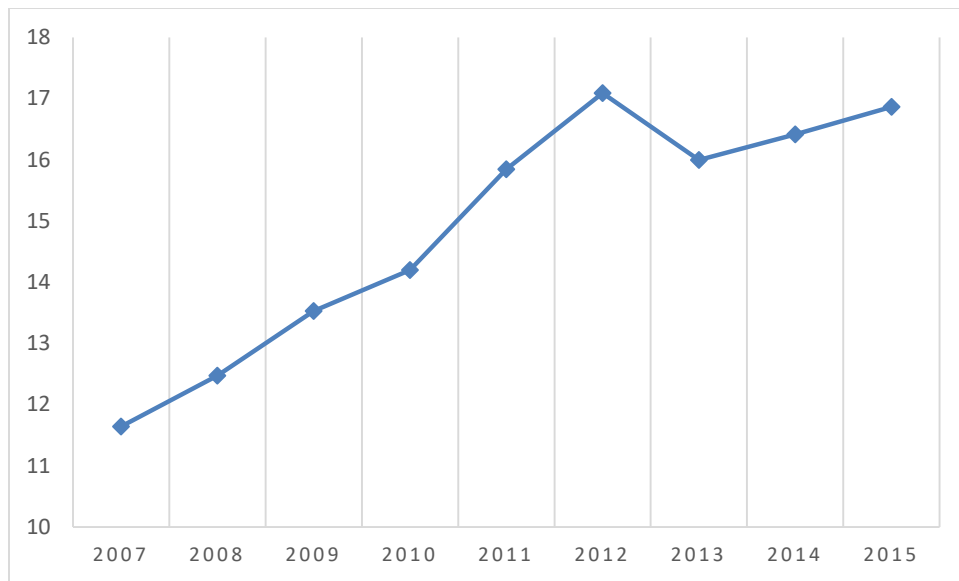
Source: OECD[32]

The next figure depicts the public spending on unemployment benefits, an indicator of social policies by the state. Data reveals that during the first years of the crisis, and before the first midterm program, public spending on unemployment benefits was increased. However, right after the 2011 austerity packages it dropped to half of 2011 spending.

[32] OECD (2020), Pension spending (indicator). doi: 10.1787/a041f4ef-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 9 Percentage of public expenditure on unemployment benefit as part of GDP
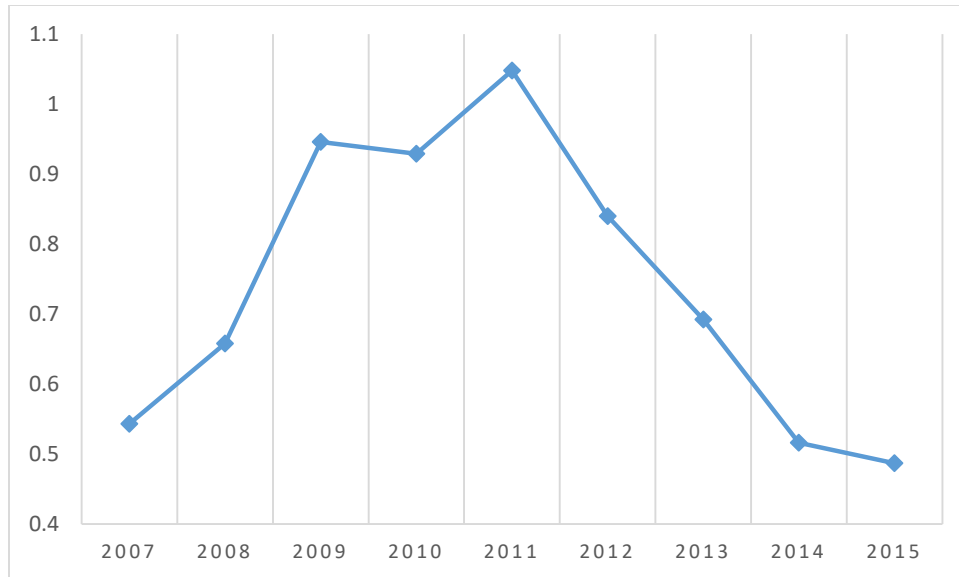
Source: OECD[33]

The final indicator details public spending on health. Similar to spending on unemployment benefits, public spending on health increased until 2010 but after the austerity measures of the first memorandum they was dramatically reduced (more than 2% of the GDP). Summing up, all indicators show that social spending decreased year by year under austerity policies, demolishing the welfare state and leaving many people outside of the safety net.

---

[33] OECD (2020), Public unemployment spending (indicator). doi: 10.1787/55557fd4-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 10 Percentage of public expenditure on health as part of GDP
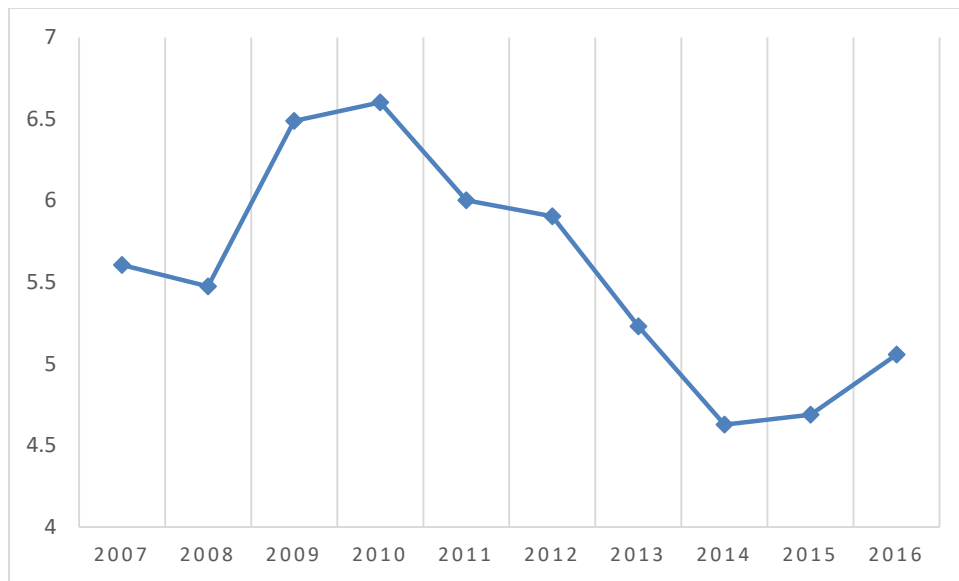
Source: OECD[34]

The following set of three variables represents the social consequences of the crisis, with respect to unemployment, households that face risk of poverty and social exclusion, as well as households with precarious sources of income, who face difficulties paying for basic needs. With respect to unemployment, there was an increasing tendency in both youth and general unemployment, even before the crisis. However, the effect of the crisis is more than obvious as both rates went up drastically in 2013 as youth unemployment reached 60% of youth population and general unemployment 28% of the working force.

Figure 1. 11 Percentage of unemployment and youth unemployment rates –annual average
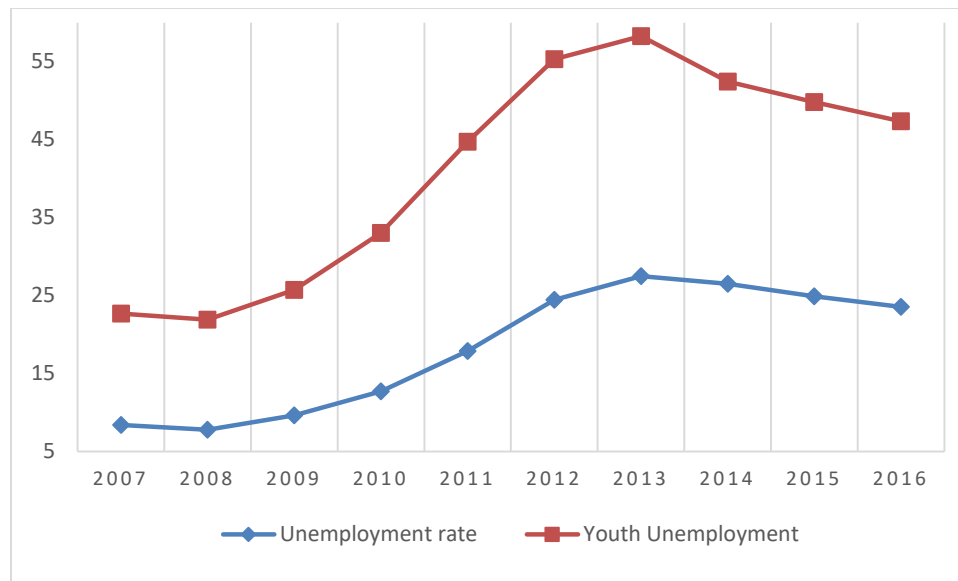
Source: OECD[35]

The Figure 1.12 offers information about people at risk of poverty or social exclusion. In the period before the crisis they represented approximately the 28% of the total population. Data shows that after the crisis—and more specifically from 2010 and after—people at risk of poverty and social exclusion increased by 23%. This fact also depicts the devaluation of everyday life for a significant part of the Greek population due the crisis.

---

[35] OECD (2020), Youth unemployment rate (indicator). doi: 10.1787/c3634df7-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020) and OECD (2020), Unemployment rate (indicator). doi: 10.1787/997c8750-en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 12 People at risk of poverty or social exclusion
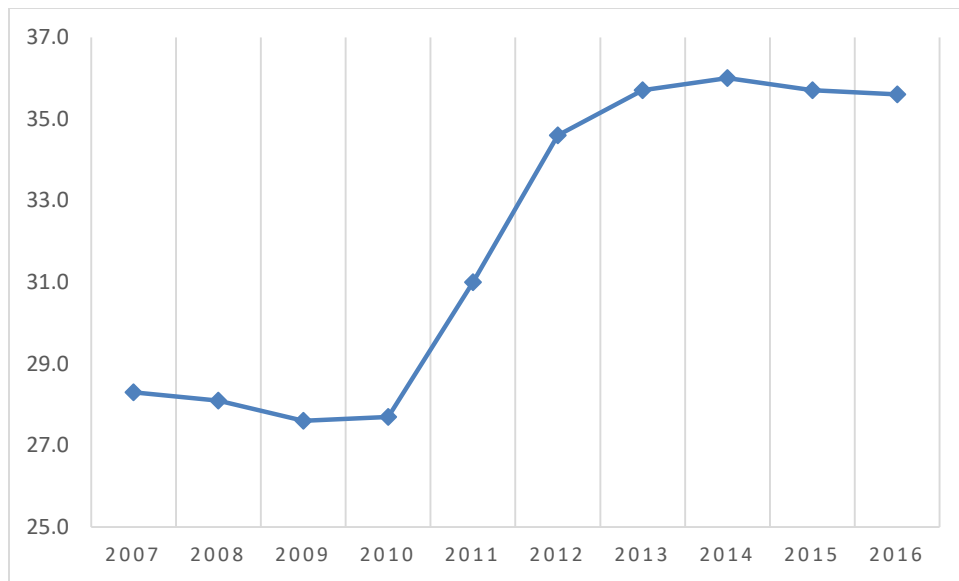
Source: EUROSTAT[36]

The final indicator showing the negative effects of the crisis on Greek society is that of households facing difficulties to meet their basic needs. The number of these households was going up before the crisis but it went up from 22% in 2009 to 40% in 2016. In other words, the data shows that almost half of Greek households faced great difficulties to have just enough money to pay for basic and necessary things that they need.

---

[36] EUROSTAT (2020), People at risk of poverty or social exclusion, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Living_conditions_in_Europe_-_poverty_and_social_exclusion (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Figure 1. 13 Percentage of households making ends meet with great difficult
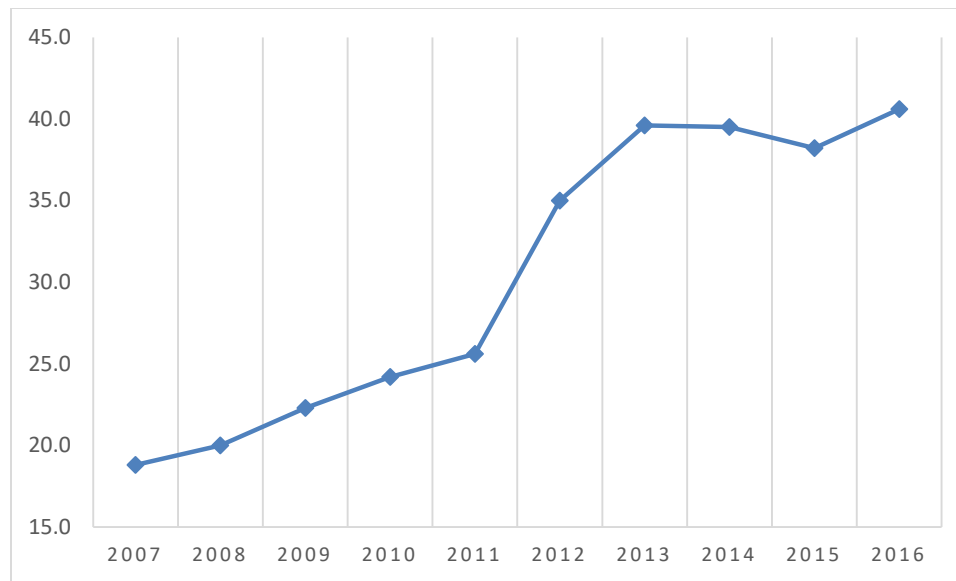
Source: EUROSTAT[37]

The above data of the social and economic changes combined with the chronicle of the crisis, which indicates the political changes that Greece faced from 2009 and after is necessary to describe the wider context of my study. Specifically, the data highlights the deterioration of the everyday life of the majority of Greek people as well as the economic deprivation and social exclusion that many of them experienced over the years. As I show in detail in the following literature review chapter, collective action theorists identified economic deprivation as a factor that creates grievances, which are important for mobilisation (Della Porta, 2015; Giugni & Grasso, 2016; Roose et al, 2018). Hence, economic deterioration during the crisis can be seen as an indicator of the grievances that were expressed by a significant part of the Greek population and, according to my own findings, were among the causes that led to solidarity activism.

However, changes in the economy contributed to the mobilisation procedures not only through the production of grievances but also through the creation of opportunities and threats. Scholars studying social movements have identified that economic changes can contribute to the opening of opportunities, and/or they constitute significant threats as well as they can form responses to political threats and opportunities (Kousis & Tilly, 2015). Hence, I use the concept of economic opportunities and threats in my analysis as another factor that contributed to the formation solidarity mobilisations.

---

[37] EUROSTAT (2020), Inability to make ends meet - EU-SILC survey,
http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_mdes09&lang=en (Accessed on 03 March 2020)

Finally, changes in the economy and society also point to two factors related to the actors that took part in the solidarity mobilisations. At one hand, they show that actors now had to address increased needs that were no longer being provided by the state's social safety net, while at the other hand, they highlight the difficult economic environment in which these actors had to find resources in order to engage in solidarity activism and to ensure their sustainability. The importance of resources has been noticed long ago by collective action scholars, who theorised the reliance on resources using the term "resource mobilisation theory" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). As actors have a very important role in my analysis, it is crucial to highlight the difficulties that they have faced during the economic crisis.

The political opportunities structure theory argues that crucial factors for the mobilisations are the general political setting and its interaction with the activist (Tilly, 1978, 2008; Goldstone & Tilly, 2001; Tarrow, 1998, 2011). Dimensions of the political environment—such as the openness of the political system, the stability of the elites, the propensity of the state for repression and the existence of powerful allies—are factors that foster or restrict collective action. Hence, I presented the situation in the Greek political arena in order to show the instability of the political system and the opportunities for collective action that it offered.

1.5 Outline

The dissertation is organised as follows. Chapter 2 sets the theoretical foundations of the dissertation. First, it discuss theories of collective action and their relation with solidarity mobilisations. Following this, classic theories that explain how collective action emerge are discussed, namely grievances and deprivation, resource mobilisation theory, political opportunities structure and cultural framing. Building on the literature, some hypotheses and expectations about the organisational, political and cultural features of AAOs are formulated. The third part of the chapter discusses the concept of the cycle in both solidarity and collective action literature. Moreover, it tries to trace elements of cyclical orbits in solidarity mobilisations. The final part of the literature review is the presentation of the conceptual and theoretical perspectives on solidarity and how I relate them to AAOs. Additionally, it provides a typology of different approaches for the study of solidarity activism and ends by describing my synthetic approach to studying solidarity mobilisations.

Chapter 3 describes the methods that the analysis builds on. The first part of the chapter is about the methodology of the research. It presents the Alternative Action Organisations Analysis as the main method used to collect the data as well as the procedures of the online survey that was conducted. Then

I describe in detail the variables that I used in the analysis and the recoding that I did in order to include them in the analysis. The final part is about the statistical techniques used for the analysis.

Chapter 4 is the first chapter of the analysis. In the first part I look for the organisational profile of the AAOs and provide data about their organisational type and structure. Then, I focus on their solidarity and political repertoires as well as the groups of people that they aim to assist and finally I look at the features of their networks with other groups. Next, I investigate the cultural features of the solidarity actors such as their aims and goals, the solidarity approach that they follow as well as the values under which they frame their activities. In the final part of the chapter I use modelling techniques in order to provide a typology of the actors that took place in the solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis.

Chapter 5 looks for elements of cyclical trajectory of the solidarity mobilisations. In the first part I look for the five innovations that should appear in order to justify the existence of the Greek Cycle of Solidarity. Namely, I look for elements of diffusion of solidarity episodes, for co-existence of organised and un-organised actors, for new action repertoires, for changes in the frames and for increased interaction between activists and authorities. In the final part of the chapter, I use a logit regression model to identify which types of resources contribute to the ability of the AAOs to stay active, using their online activity as an indicator.

In the concluding chapter I summarise the main findings and I discuss their implications for the literature. Then, I fit the evolution of the Greek Solidarity Cycle in the political and economic context of the period that it was developed. Following this, I present the broader implications of the dissertation in the study of solidarity and collective action. Finally, I describe possible avenues for future investigation.

Chapter 2: Solidarity and collective action theories

In this chapter, I outline the core theoretical framework, which I apply toward achieving the aims laid out in the introductory chapter. More specifically, as I demonstrated previously, actors are a key concept within my analysis of solidarity activism and the formation of solidarity mobilisations. Hence, in this chapter I outline theories of collective action, theories of mobilisation and demobilisation processes, and theories of social movements. Moreover, I present other forms of collective action similar to social movements but which involve activists acting on behalf of the others (such as solidarity movements) and movements characterised by a lack of contention or of an opponent such as consensus movements. My intention is to use collective action and social movement literature to identify the main characteristics of Alternative Action Organisations (AAOs) and demonstrate that they are core actors in solidarity mobilisations, which will be relevant to the analysis that follows in Chapters 4 and 5.

In addition, again as stated in the Introduction, one of the aims of this thesis is to find evidence of the existence of a cycle of collective action. The core idea is to expand the notion of such a cycle beyond protest and contention to include other forms of collective action which may take place at the same time as contention. Thus, in this literature review chapter I present the main features of the cycles of contention and of waves of contention as well as the cyclical elements of solidarity activism. I then use these features as identified in the literature in the analysis that comes in Chapter 5.

Finally, a further aim of this dissertation, as stated earlier, is to bridge collective action and social movement literature with that of solidarity provision and solidarity activism. Thus, in this chapter I also present the latest literature on solidarity initiatives in Greece and the typology of different approaches to solidarity provision in times of economic crisis offered by Kousis and Paschou (2017). My intention is to examine the organisational, political and economic features of solidarity actors by using theoretical tools from the collective action toolbox. Moreover, with the same goal of bridging the two bodies of literature, I try to explain the rise of AAOs as solidarity providers by applying mobilisation theories developed for protest and contention contexts

At this point it is important to mention that in this dissertation I focus on solidarity organisations working as alternatives to the dominant economic, social and cultural practices, that is, AAOs. As I described in the introduction, these organisations have many similarities with Social Movement Organisations (SMOs), but they focus primarily on solidarity provision (Loukakis et al, 2018). Practically, this means that an AAO is

necessarily engaged in solidarity activism but that its engagement with political activities (contentious or not) is not mandatory. I do not intend to engage in debate on the contested notion of resilience (Kousis, 2017). While Kousis and Paschou (2017) label the different approaches to solidarity as Alternative Forms of Resilience (AFR), I only use their typology as a starting point for my investigation, as my research covers a wide range of organisational types, issues, and wider theoretical approaches about collective actors during solidarity mobilisations in Greece in the context of economic crisis.

This is because although both AFR and AAOs are active in hard economic times, organising solidarity activities to support those in need, AFR differs from AAOs in that the former's actions have a transformative capacity (at an economic, social or political level) and may also aim at building autonomous communities (Kousis & Paschou, 2014, p.140). Meanwhile, the solidarity initiatives (AAOs) that I investigate in this dissertation were selected based on their engagement with solidarity practices regardless of whether they aim for social and political transformation or not. AAOs may have such an aim but it is not a necessity.

To summarize, the following literature review helps me to identify the main organisational, political and cultural features of the actors that took part in solidarity mobilisations in Greece and then to classify them based on these identified features. Additionally, it helps me to investigate which preconditions might be valid in proving the existence of a Greek cycle of solidarity. This literature review also outlines the factors that contribute to the sustainability of AAOs. Finally, among the core aims of the literature review is to bridge the two main theoretical perspectives used in the analysis of solidarity initiatives: that of solidarity as a form of collective action and that of solidarity as core element of survival in times of crisis as expressed in everyday lifestyles, practices and economic relationships.

2.1 Collective action, Solidarity and Social Movements

The core notion that this dissertation deals with is that of collective action. Solidarity mobilisations in crisis-ridden Greece, whether they are connected with social movements or not, were the result of collective action as people, groups and organisations mobilised to provide assistance to those in need.

By the term collective action, theorists of the field usually refer to activities that either have a common/collective purpose or have collective forms of action, but in most of cases both of these conditions co-exist (Oliver, 2013). In trying to shed light on the development of the concept, I must begin

with the first academic investigations into the motives of people who act together. These first writings mostly come from the field of sociology and to a lesser extent social psychology and deal with the concept of *collective behaviour*. This theory, which flourished from the first decades of the 1900s into the 1970s, examines specific spontaneous empirical phenomena such as riots and moral panics. In principle, various studies of the field agree that collective behaviour refers to spontaneous and emergent behaviour, disconnected from "ordinary" routines and life, and characterized by emotion or simplistic thinking and the absence of reasoned discussion (Oliver, 2013; Turner & Killian, 1972; Smelser, 1962).

However, during this period the term "collective action" was also in use, though less frequently, and mainly referred to organised activities, especially those associated with trade unions, such as strikes, aiming for solutions to broad social issues such as unemployment (Oliver, 2013; Park, 1927). A breakthrough in the study of the field occured in 1965, mostly due to the efforts of Olson in his classic work "*The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*". In this book the author defines collective action as joint effort by groups of people whose goal is to enhance their status and achieve a shared objective. Moreover, he adds that collective action can take various forms. Finally, Olson argues that collective action efforts are related to the provision of common or *public goods*, which are inherently shared goods and cannot be restricted only to those that can afford to buy them.

Along with the concept of public goods, Olson's work (1965) raised a fundamental issue in the study of collective action, which is called the *free rider dilemma.* Briefly, this refers to those individuals who do not take part in collective action, expecting others to pay the cost of access to public goods. To solve this issue, Olson proposed some sort of reward, which he names *selective incentives,* for those who contribute to collective action and some sort of punishment for those who do not. Despite the fact that Olson's approach received much criticism, he proposed new ways of researching collective action by highlighting the important issue of the gap between interests and actions, as well as the mechanisms and processes of motivation and coordination of collective action (Oliver, 2013; Olson, 1965).

Various and complex models have been adopted to theorize the motives under which individuals engage in collective action, such as "collective action theories" (Ostrom, 2009) and "critical mass" (Marwel & Oliver, 1993). Many surveys and experiments have been carried out as well (Finkel, Muller & Opp, 1989; Ostrom, 1990). Most of these approaches and theories address the *micro* or individual level. However, the purpose of this dissertation is to study collective action at the *meso* or organisational level. Thus, I will not discuss these approaches further. Instead, I present theories of collective action that come from the field of social movements, which are more focused on the levels of analysis I intend to use.

A generally accepted definition of collective action is given by Tarrow (2011) who describes it as "*brief or sustained, institutionalized or disruptive, humdrum or dramatic. Most of it occurs routinely within institutions, on the part of constituted groups acting in the name of goals that would hardly raise an eyebrow. Collective action becomes contentious when it is used by people who lack regular access to representative institutions, who act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and who behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others or authorities*" (Tarrow, 2011, p.7-8). Similarly, Tilly and Tarrow argue (2015) that the vast majority of collective action activity takes place outside of the political arena or the realm of contentious politics, without any contest between activists and government or authorities. By the authors' definition "*Collective action means coordinating efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs. Football teams engage in collective action, but so do churches, voluntary associations, and neighbours who clear weeds from a vacant lot*" (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p.8).

Moreover, everyday activities like going to school or working in a factory are also forms of collective action in the context of complex organisations (public or private). Focusing more on the forms that collective action can take, Oliver (2013) mentions that solidarity actions aiming to assist those in need are a form of collective action that is connected with social movements: "*Forms of collective action within social movements include spontaneous protests, lynchings, panics, riots, violent uprisings, public meetings, organised peaceful marches and demonstrations, vigils, fundraising campaigns, letter-writing campaigns, lobbying, charitable works such as providing meals at a soup kitchen etc.*" (Oliver, 2013, p.106).

To sum up, in the context of this dissertation, I use collective action literature to study the solidarity activities that took place in Greece during the economic crisis. Specifically, I am interested in non-state and/or non-corporate organisations and groups (meso level) that were strategically oriented toward the provision of solidarity to those negatively affected by the economic crisis in Greece. This is in fact the main criterion that AAOs must have to be included in this analysis.

Studying solidarity practices in Greece through the lens of collective action literature theories (as I describe them below) is a very important step, as these type of activities are mainly investigated either as specific cases studies or under a very specific theoretical approach (these are presented in detail in section 2.4). Investigating solidarity mobilisations as collective action forms allows me to study in detail the organisational, social, cultural and political features of these organisations, and also to study their appearance and rise in relation to the specific social, political and economic context of the period.

2.1.1 Social Movement theories

As stated above, my intention is to examine collective solidarity activities in Greece during the financial crisis using tools from the study of collective action and social movements. Hereafter I present theories on mobilisation and on the emergence of social movements in order to apply them to the context of solidarity mobilisations. However, before doing so, I first outline the core elements that define social, solidarity and consensus movements as proposed by collective action scholars. This is necessary in the context of this dissertation in order to investigate whether and to what extent some of the actors who are engaged in solidarity activities can be considered social movement actors, as well as to find the similarities between SMOs and AAOs, which I present below and apply to my analysis in the following chapters.

In an attempt to define what a social movement is, Tilly's (2004:20-21) approach considers social movements as a combination of: (1) an organised public effort making collective claims on target audiences (campaign), (2) the employment of a combination of various forms of political action (social-movement repertoire) and (3) concerted public displays of Worthiness, Unity, Numbers and Commitment (WUNC) by protesters. In later elaborations of the concept, Tilly and Tarrow added a fourth element, which they call *social movement bases* and which refers to the organisations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that the movements draw on and use to sustain their activities (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p.11). Tilly (1994) also categorizes social movements into three types: professional movements; ad-hoc, single issue or community based movements; and communitarian movements.

Similarly to Tilly, but highlighting the contentious character of social movements, Mario Diani (1992) describes social movements as a distinct social process, composed of mechanisms by which actors: a) engage in conflictual relationships with clearly identified opponents, b) are linked by dense informal networks, and c) share a distinct, collective identity (Diani, 1992; Della Porta & Diani, 2006). According to Diani's approach, then, *conflictual collective action* is a necessary element in the formation of a social movement; activists must take part in political or cultural conflicts in order to demand social change or challenge the social order: "*By conflict we mean an 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 & Diani, 2006, p. 21).

To explore these elements of social movements in more detail, according to Della Porta and Diani, the presence of *dense informal networks* is a primary element that distinguishes social movements from other

forms of collective action: "*A social movement process is in place to the extent that both individual and organised actors, while keeping their autonomy and independence, engage in sustained exchanges of resources in pursuit of common goals*" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p.21). Networks are directly connected to collective action, since networks affect participation in such action, and the action itself strengthens existing networks and often creates new ones.

The next element in Diani's conception of the formation of social movements is *collective identity*, which brings recognition and cohesion amongst activists: "*It brings with it a sense of common purpose and shared commitment to a cause, which enables single activists and/or organisations to regard themselves as inextricably linked to other actors, not necessarily identical but surely compatible*" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p.21-22). The existence of a collective identity among those who join a movement does not actually mean that there is uniformity amongst them. The identity of social movements exists as long as activists or groups think that they are part of the same collectivity and fight for the same cause. This also means that they can identify common elements in their past, present, and future experience. It is very important to mention that a collective identity is not a characteristic of activists. Rather, it is a process by which activists recognise each other as members of a coalition and develop emotional bonds (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p.91-92; Diani, 1992).

The final component of social movements, according to Diani, is the presence or absence of conflictual elements in the collective action, which allows for classification of those movements into two categories, Consensus Movements and Social Movements (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p.22-23). The main feature differentiating these two categories, according to Diani, is that in consensus movements "*the conflict was either absent or peripheral*" (Diani 2013:93). In consensus movements actors share solidarity and perspective and act collectively toward a long term goal, but they do not target any particular political or social enemy. As Lofland points out, "*Consensus movements are viewed as a form of timid rebellion, disguised politics, or derailed dissent*" (Lofland 1989: 163). Unlike social movements, the focus of this kind of movement is not on redistribution or socio-political change, but on "*service delivery, self-help, personal and community empowerment*" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p.22-23).

Della Porta and Diani propose that the combination these three elements— informal networks, a collective identity, and a conflictual stance—allows us to differentiate social movements from other types of collective action. At the same time, they point out that none of the well-known types of social movements match those elements exactly. Similar to Consensus Movements but open to broader collectivities, Solidarity Movements have as their main goal "*the delivery of some kind of help or assistance*

to an aggrieved collectivity" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p.33). A brief and operational definition of the kind of actions that stem from these movements is given by Giugni: "*the actions carried out by participants in the solidarity movement are collective, altruistic and political*" (Giugni, 2001, p.236). When Passy (2001) defines the altruistic character of actions in solidarity movements, she mentions that "*activist actions are pursued to the benefit of other people and built upon a specific political cleavage*" (Passy, 2001, p.7-8).

According to Passy (2001), historically, solidarity movements use three sets of cultural traditions: "*The Christian cosmology, the humanistic component of Enlightenment and the socialist tradition"* (Passy, 2001, p. 8-9). The use of these traditions is crucial for solidarity movements to gain access to social, material and human resources. The emergence of human rights protests, for instance, which were organised by Christian associations and the first humanistic associations, had their roots both in socialist fora and the ideas spread by intellectuals who had studied the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Gradually, many other humanitarian associations were created, mostly in France and the United Kingdom. The two world wars triggered new forms of human rights organisations (broadly defined) as the needs of populations increased as a result of war: organisations were established to provide support to prisoners, immigrants, victims of the war, political prisoners etc. According to Passy, these organisations were not part of any movement as they did not organise joint activities and their work aimed at responding to the population's needs without forwarding any political claims (Passy, 2001, p.8-10).

 In the mid 60's, as social movements altered their action repertoire, solidarity movements became established. Organisations that provided solidarity also changed in four major aspects: a) these organisations (Solidarity Movement Organisations) acquired a political orientation; b) they changed their repertoire of activities from activities that exclusively covered needs (material and mental) to those that combined covering needs and making political claims; c) the political potential of the solidarity movement transformed, coming to rely on the new middle classes; and d) they changed their structure from a hierarchal to a de-centralized democratic form (Passy, 2001, p.10-11). Changes have also been noted in the typology of the fields of work of solidarity movement organisations; they no longer occupied themselves with issues of human rights protection only, but also addressed issues of development aid, immigration/asylum and racism (Passy, 2001, p.11).

As Marco Giugni (2001) points out, the significance of solidarity movements in times of crisis is a result of their political and operational character. Combining their ability to act on behalf of others within a political framework and their specialisation in covering human needs, "*the solidarity movement is able to provide*

immediate relief in situations of crisis while at the same time to help reestablish collective identities and put the needs of those populations higher in the political and public agendas" (Giugni, 2001, p. 236).

Contemporary empirical works on solidarity initiatives since the recent global economic crisis, especially in Southern Europe, use literature on the topic of social movements in order to explain the rise in solidarity initiatives (Forno & Graziano, 2019, 2014; Bosi & Zamponi, 2020, 2015; Loukakis, 2018; Kousis et al, 2018; Malamidis, 2018). These studies support the idea that in these times of economic crisis, social movement organisations and activists altered the field of actions at the local level in order to achieve social change. They seemed to abandon the tactics of large protest events and global uprisings of previous years, and focus on small-scale everyday activities in order to transform society from below. As Forno and Graziano argue: "*It is a fact that even though conditions are not favourable, social movements have continued to expand and promote community-led initiatives for social and economic sustainability. In some cases, these initiatives play a decisive role in the fight against poverty and in guaranteeing human livelihood*" (Forno & Graziano, 2016, p. 143).

These types of social movement organisations, aiming toward the economic, social, and cultural sustainability of local communities, have been named by the authors, *sustainable community movement organisations* (SCMOs). According to Forno and Graziano:"*…SCMOs can be defined as social movement organisations that have the peculiarity of mobilising citizens primarily via their purchasing power and for which the main 'battlefield' is represented by the market where SCMOs' members are politically concerned consumers* (Forno & Graziano, 2016, p. 143).

Similarly, Bosi and Zamponi (2015, 2020) call these kinds of actions *Direct Social Actions,* and define them as collective actions that aim to directly change aspects of society without targeting or mediating public authorities or other actors (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015, p.372). This does not mean that these actions do not have a political character; they do, but it is expressed by means of the action itself and not by targeting other actors. Protest actions and claims targeting the state or other actors may appear, but they are not the key point of Bosi and Zamponi's study. The authors primarily focus on the transformative power of the action itself rather than its capacity to express claims to power holders. Moreover, Bosi and Zamponi (2015) add that these actions are direct, in the sense that they are not mediated by other actors, and social in the sense that they address society rather than state actors.

The common ground among these approaches is that they study solidarity and alternative actions as forms of political activism and engagement. However, it is important to mention that solidarity initiatives and

groups are also active in more traditional forms of political engagement such as protesting, raising awareness and more (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Loukakis, 2018). For Forno and Graziano (2014), SCMOs are struggling against contemporary capitalism on three levels, including the cultural level, where they try to promote a "new imaginary"; the economic level, where they facilitate the construction of a sustainable economic model; and the political level, which includes actions such as lobbying. Protest activities are also included among the groups and organisations' repertoire, though they are not necessarily their main tactic. For instance, Bosi and Zamponi (2015) mention the participation of Italian groups in anti-austerity protests, and Giudi and Andretta (2015) describe the participation of Italian solidarity purchase groups in protests about agricultural and co-production issues.

Focusing more on the Greek context, Malamidis's (2018) work follows the same reasoning as the literature described above and argues that after SYRIZA's electoral victory in 2015, actors in Greek social movements altered their field of action "from the streets and the big anti-austerity protests to the production," focusing on everyday practices and politics. Moreover, there are many works that establish a connection between anti-austerity protest campaigns and solidarity mobilisations.

Another piece of evidence supporting this observation is the overlap between organisations taking part in both types of mobilisation. For instance, in his 2017 work, Vogiatzoglou mentions that in its latest stages, the anti-austerity protest movement altered its repertoire of action from mass protest to participation in social solidarity structures (Vogiatzoglou, 2017, p. 99). Other works from the field of solidarity provision point out that many solidarity initiatives, such people's and neighbourhood assemblies and anarchist autonomous self-managed spaces, were closely connected with social movements of the era (Simiti, 2017; Kritidis, 2014; Daskalaki, 2017; Kousis et al, 2018). Finally, another branch of the literature suggests that many AAOs took part or had their origin in the protest events of the period and more specifically in the Greek Indignados (Loukakis, 2017; Theocharis, 2016; Kanellopoulos, Kostopoulos, Papanikolopoulos, & Rongas, 2017).

Summing up the body of literature discussed above, I argue that studies of solidarity initiatives could be very relevant to the activities of social movements in times of economic crisis. Hence*, I expect to find that many AAOs share characteristics with the SMOs that took part in the anti-austerity mobilisations of this period. This practically means that I expect to find many informal AAOs, founded mostly during the crisis period, with loose organisational structures, having both solidarity-in-practice and political repertoires of action, and aiming for social or economic change as well as the promotion of collective identities and creation of new collectivities.*

2.2 How Collective Action Emerges

As I mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the goal of this section is to make a synthesis between different collective action theories as well as to bridge them with the latest literature on solidarity in economic and everyday life practices. In order to achieve that goal, I examine solidarity mobilisations in Greece through the lens of collective action literature.

My main argument is that solidarity mobilisation (in Greece and abroad), can be seen and analysed as a form of collective action. The emergence of solidarity mobilisations would thus follow the same mechanisms as contention, and they could therefore both be explained by means of the same theories of collective action that scholars use for other forms of collective action such as social movements and protests.

To this end, in the sections that follow I outline the main features of the four[38] theoretical perspectives that explain the emergence of collective action and social movements. Namely, I briefly discuss theories on grievances[39] and deprivation, resource mobilisation theory (RMT), political opportunities structure (POS)), and finally cultural framing (CF) (in that order).

2.2.1 Grievances and deprivation

The very first sociological studies on collective action and mobilisation took place at the end of the 19th century, and considered collective action as an irrational phenomenon which arises from crises. According to these psychology-driven theories, collective action is a pathological symptom which breaks the established social order (Le Bon, 1896; Tarde, 1893; Rule, 1989). These views of collective action were dominant until the first half of the 20th century, when new theories classified collective action as rational and a product of strict cost-benefit calculations (Olson, 1965). This is the period during which the field of social movements was established as a research area, as contemporary researchers tried to explain the social movement phenomena that took place in the US during the 1960s.

---

[38] I leave out the New Social Movements Theory intentionally as the explanatory framework that it provides it is no useful for meso and macro analysis with organisational data that I intent to apply.

[39] Grievances and deprivation as factors that cause movements' mobilisation were pretty much dated for the social movements studies. However, some articles connected with mobilisation against austerity due to the 2009-2010 economic crisis, brought grievances back to the centre of the analysis. Hence, I also decided to present that branch of theory in the literature review.

Early research on the field highlighted the importance of grievances, relative deprivation and deprivation as factors that mobilise individuals to participate in collective action (Gurr, 1970; Davies, Graham & Gurr, 1969). More specifically, these approaches argue that shared grievances and shared beliefs as well as loose ideologies on how grievances will be redressed are the necessary preconditions for engagement in a collectivity (Turner & Killian, 1972).

A crucial point within this approach is an understanding of the causes of deprivation and the ways in which they can be addressed by individuals (under certain circumstances) prior to their engagement with a collective body. Then, at some point, grievances and/or deprivation increase, a context which sets the stage for mobilisation (Turner & Killian, 1972; Marx & Wood, 1975). In Gurr's work (1970), much of the emphasis is placed on relative deprivation—the feeling of being deprived of certain resources compared to others—which can be understood as the main reason for mobilisation. Further elaborations of these theories treat the idea that grievances, as the primary driving forces for participation in protests, can generally be understood as the perception on the part of a group of people that they are experiencing illegitimate inequality, have been the victims of injustice, or feel general moral indignation about some state of affairs (Klandermans, 1997).

Recently, different research work such as that of Della Porta (2015), Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso (2016) as well as that of Jochen Roose and his associates (Roose et al, 2018) has re-introduced grievance and material deprivation theory to the study of anti-austerity mobilisations connected to the 2008 economic crisis. Moreover, the study of LeFebvre and Armstrong (2016) on on-line activism and twitter support for the black community of Ferguson during the trial of a white police officer who shoot and killed an unarmed Black teenager, argued that grievances really matter. Summing up, as Gurney and Tierney (1982) conclude in their critical article, the grievances-deprivation model of explaining protests helped the field evolve as it broke with earlier approaches which viewed social movements as the expression of irrational impulses. However, at the end of the day, "the relative deprivation perspective is itself affected by too many serious conceptual, theoretical, and empirical weaknesses to be useful in accounting for the emergence and development of social movements" (Gurney & Tierney, 1982, p.33).

Despite the fact that grievances alone cannot explain the rise of solidarity mobilisation, I think that they can be a useful concept to partly understand (along with the theories outlined below) solidarity mobilisation in times of economic crisis. The core idea of GT is that individuals must recognise the causes of deprivation as well as a solution of the problem. In times of economic crisis, austerity policies and the national economic condition are the roots of the problem, and participation in groups that offer solidarity

(especially those that are active in service provision) is at least a temporary way of finding a solution to incidents of poverty and material deprivation. Highlighting the importance of grievances in the formation of collective action, Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013, p.92) state that "At the heart of every protest are grievances."

2.2.2. Resource Mobilisation Theory

The idea that resources are a crucial factor for the emergence of collective action was well established by the 1970's in the classical literature on social movements. Back then, social movement scholars argued that grievances experienced by individuals are not enough to explain engagement in collective action, and started to explore the role of organisations. The work of McCarthy and Zald set the groundwork for writing on how

> "…[s]ocial movements may or may not be based upon the grievances of the presumed beneficiaries. Conscience constituents, individual and organisational, may provide major sources of support. And in some cases supporters—those who provide money, facilities, and even labour— may have no commitment to the values that underlie specific movements" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1216).

Early elaborations of resource mobilisation theory (RMT) received significant criticism for putting too much emphasis on the strategic decisions of movements while seeming to forget the emotional, interactive, plastic, and contingent character of social movements (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001). Almost 40 years later, it is a general belief among social movement scholars that all kinds of resources foster collective action and RMT has been adopted by many scholars seeking to explain the emergence and evolution of organisations such as the US Homeless (Cress and Snow, 1996), Mothers Against Drunk Driving (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996), guerrilla movements in Latin America (Wickham-Crowley, 1989), social movements music festivals (Lahusen, 1996), the Arab Spring (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011), and many more phenomena of collective activity (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

From its birth in the 1970s, RMT theory tried to explain how rational and partly marginal social actors mobilised effectively to pursue their desired social-change goals (Edwards & Gillham 2013). In order to do so, McCarthy and Zald (2001 and 1977) used organisational sociology and economic theories and extended them to social movements by analogy. They proposed a model that examined the variety of resources that needed to be mobilised, the relationship of social movements with other groups, the movements' dependence on external support as well as the tactics of authorities who were implicated by

the social movements. In their latest elaborations on the theory, the authors point out that the availability and accessibility of resources increases the likelihood of collective action but that resources are not sufficient on their own, as they must be combined with coordination and strategic effort. These procedures transform private resources into collective ones and then use them in collective action (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Edwards, McCarthy & Mataic, 2019).

The availability of resources is however a complicated issue, as resources are unevenly distributed among societies as well as being unequally distributed among different social groups within a particular society and among particular members of each such social group. In order to be used by a group or organisation, a resource must be present within a given socioeconomic context as well as accessible to potential collective actors.

Thus, theorists of resource mobilisation conclude that presence and availability of resources vary over space, through time and among constituencies. The question that RMT ultimately tries to address, then, is how different groups are able to overcome existing patterns of resource inequality in order to promote their desired social change (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Edwards, McCarthy & Mataic 2019).

To differentiate the impacts of various resources and avoid reducing everything to a question of resources, Edwards and McCarthy provide a typology of resources that social movement organisations rely on and which make collective action possible (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004, p. 125-128; Edwards, McCarthy & Mataic 2019, p. 80-84):

a) *Moral resources*, including legitimacy, solidarity support, sympathetic support, and celebrity. Legitimacy has received the most attention by social movement scholars, who link it to micro-cultural perceptions and meso and macro organisational processes (Suchman, 1995). In general, resources of this category are difficult to study as they have their origin outside of the organisation or movement and are bestowed by external holders. However, in some cases movements can produce and legitimate their own moral resources, which are created by SMOs and then transferred to civil society. Finally, moral resources can also be created at the organisational level, within specific formal or informal SMO types (Corte, 2013).

b) *Cultural resources*, which include the general knowledge that participants gain from movements and the (often taken-for-granted) tactical repertoires, values, symbols, identities, event organising skills, and even music or other cultural artefacts that are used in everyday life. Hence, culture provides many resources, ready to be mobilised by those who can access them. Resource mobilisation theorists describe this 'cultural capital' as a structural and relational factor (both a resource and a constraint), similar to

Bourdieu's 'habitus'. They also argue that despite the fact that they are widespread within society as a whole, similar to other types of resources, they are not evenly distributed nor universally accessible; Cultural resources are useful to movements and their organisations when they have entered the public sphere and are culturally available and accessible. Cultural products that are produced within a movement, such as music, art, literature or even blogs and webpages, help in recruitment and socialisation of new adherents and help movements maintain a heightened capacity for collective action. Finally, the major difference between cultural resources and human resources (discussed below) is that, individuals have proprietary control of their own human resources and may decide whether and how they will use their labour power, skills, expertise etc. Cultural resources, however, cannot be controlled by those that created them once they have been produced and have entered the public domain.

c) *Social-organisational resources:* this category includes resources such as the organisational structure, possibilities for the dissemination of knowledge, the formality of the organisation, social ties, networks and so on. In general, this type of resource differs according to how formal and bureaucratic an organisation is and how easily accessible information about its structure is. SMOs have infrastructure, which is defined as all the functions that make possible the everyday operation of the SMO; there is relatively open access to most of these resources of the SMO. On the other hand, there are resources such as collaboration with other organisations or with the authorities to which access is restricted to only some members or only to insiders. Organisational forms can also be separated into intentional and appropriable. Intentional organisations are those that are strategically chosen by funders to pursue the goals of the movement. Appropriable organisations are those that are funded without having the movement in mind, but with which movements can cooperate to gain access to other types of resources. Both types of organisations are very important to the study of social movements as they determine mobilisation patterns for accessing other types of resources.

d) *Human resources:* this is one of the most-studied resource categories and includes resources such as volunteers, people working at an organisation, and leaders. In general, this type of resource is an outcome of the cooperation between individuals and movements: the capacity of movements to recruit human resources depends on individuals' free will, as the latter have proprietary control on their own labour power, expertise or skills. This is why, according to the authors, massive, voluntary participation in movements is so important. As stated above, this category includes some value-added resources such as expertise or skill, because at some point an SMO may ask people who have specific knowledge (e.g. a lawyer or a technician) to do a specific task. But, this type of value-added resource must be used in specific

contexts. For example, in the context of a blockade, a celebrity offers exactly the same utility as every other activist from a human resources standpoint; from a moral resources standpoint, however, the presence of a celebrity in the protest has a different impact.

e) *Material resources*: this is also a very well-studied category of resources which includes money, office space, equipment, and supplies. According to Edwards and McCarthy the importance of this type of resources should not be underestimated because they, can be transformed into other types of resources. This is of course particularly the case with monetary resources. For instance, an SMO can use money to hire personnel and thereby increase its human resources. Moreover, no matter the how many other resources an organisation accumulates, at the end of the day it must be able to pay the bills.

Edwards and McCarthy have also identified four key mechanisms by which collective actors gain access to necessary resources:

a) *Self-production*, a fundamental mechanism in which organisations create the resources they need, by means of agency with existing organisations, activists, and participants.

b) *Aggregation,* a mechanism in which SMOs convert resources held by organisations or individuals into collective resources that can be allocated by movement actors.

c) *Co-optation*, by which SMOs utilise relationships that they already have or establish new ones with other organisations and groups in order to gain access to resources that have been produced by them.

d) *Patronage*, or direct provision of resources by an individual or an organisation.

2.2.3. Political Opportunities Structure

There is a general and well-respected opinion amongst those who study collective action that social movements interact with political institutions in diverse arenas. The features of these interactions affect not only the form and intensity of the challenge but also its probabilities of success (della Porta, 2013). Moreover, collective action scholars have long recognised broader political contexts and economic circumstances as factors that can provide opportunities and pose threats for collective action (Tilly, 1978; Kriesi et al, 1995; McAdam et al, 1996; Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996; Goldstone & Tilly, 2001; Kousis & Tilly, 2015; Tarrow, 2011). Within the political process framework, political opportunity structure theory deals with the features of the external environment that are relevant to social movements.

The emergence of the political processes framework took place in the late '70s, when collective action scholars realised that resources alone are not sufficient to explain why collective action emerges. They recognized moreover that protest activity often occurs along with broad changes in the political system. The first to raise the importance of political opportunities and how they affect social movements was Charles Tilly in his monumental book *From Mobilisation to Revolution* (1978). In that work, Tilly elaborates on the already-familiar idea that protest activity is affected by changes in the broad political system (Lipsky, 1970) and the concept of opportunity introduced by Eisiger (1973), in a model in which there are some key elements such as: interests, organisation, mobilisation, opportunities, which provide options for collective action (Giugni, 2009; Tilly, 1978).

After Tilly, the concept of political opportunities received significant attention, and has become the dominant analytic scheme in the field of collective action (Goodwin & Jasper, 2004). A generally accepted definition of opportunities is given by Goldstone and Tilly, who define them as "the perceived probability that social protest actions will lead to success in achieving the desired outcome" (Golstone & Tilly 2001, p.182). Authors argue that changes in the political system affect the balance of resources between challengers and authorities, which fosters or constrains the emergence of collective action. Political opportunity theories consistently emphasise the role of specific national configurations of political institutions and alignments in shaping the mobilisation levels, organisational configurations, strategies, repertoires of action, trajectories, and outcomes of movements. Aspects including broad contextual changes (e.g. regime change), specific features of political institutions and their ability to implement reforms and concessions, policing strategies, availability of allies, and the strength and stability of opponents have all been considered windows of opportunity for social movements (Kriesi et al. 1995; Tarrow, 2011; McAdam et al, 1996; della Porta, 2013; Giugni, 2009; Gamson & Meyer, 1996).

Debate on the concept of political opportunities structures falls into two main branches of theory. The first was developed in the US and understands political opportunities as dynamic processes. They are mostly used to explain the emergence and development of a movement or a cycle through time. A key aspect of this branch of theory is the existence of specific moments which are called "windows of opportunity" that may encourage collective actors to form or join social movements (Tarrow, 2013; Giugni, 2009; McAdam, 1999). According to this dynamic approach, opportunities have four main dimensions: a) the openness (or closure of political system); b) the stability (or instability) of the broad set of elite alignments; c) the presence (or absence) of elite allies; and d) the state's capacity and propensity for repression (McAdam, 1996).

The second branch of the literature, which developed in Europe, understands political opportunities in a static way. It was mostly developed by Hanspeter Kriesi and his associates (Kriesi et al, 1995; Giugni, 2009), who examined structures in an attempt to identify cross-national differences in the forms, levels, and outcomes of new social movements. According to this more static model, opportunities have four core features: a) a set of factors that are related to the state's strength, b) institutional structure, c) the state's prevailing strategies, d) alliance structures (Kriesi et al, 1995, p.3-8). The latest elaborations of this branch of theory include these dimensions and add more, such as : a) the presence of a central executive, b) the territorial decentralisation of the state, c) public bureaucracy, d) autonomy of the judiciary, e) national political culture and f) democratic history of the country (della Porta, 2013; della Porta, Fillieule & Reiter, 1998).

Along with opportunities, Tilly in his early writings (1978) introduced the concept of threats as the cost that collective actors might have to pay either due to their participation in mobilisation or if they stay inactive. The most recent l elaborations of political opportunities theory highlight the interaction between opportunities and threats. According to Goldstone and Tilly, the interplay of opportunities and threats shapes mobilisation processes: while political opportunities can invite participation, threats are expected to hinder action (Goldstone & Tilly 2001).

However, criticisms of the structural and institutional understanding of political opportunities have flourished, on the grounds that it is "a sponge that soaks up virtually every aspect of the social movement environment" (Gamson & Meyer 1996, p. 275). McAdam, meanwhile, raised the issue of conceptual diffusion: there are no commonly used variables for measuring and evaluating the diverse aspects of political opportunity structures. Another critique comes from Goodwin and Jasper (2004), who raise the issue of structural bias in the political process framework; they argue that opportunities are "an invariant causal hypothesis, just plain wrong" (Goodwin & Jasper, 2004, p.14).

In an attempt to avoid these criticisms, some scholars have emphasised the informal, cultural, symbolic, and discursive aspect of political opportunities (e.g. Gamson & Meyer, 1996; Koopmans & Statham, 1999, 2010; Koopmans et al, 2005). The core idea of this approach that political opportunities have two main dimensions: *institutional* and *discursive*. The latter emphasises the visibility, political legitimacy, collective identities and claims of specific actors in the public sphere. As Marco Giugni points out, "what matters is not only the extent to which social movements face an open or closed institutional setting, but also the extent to which their claims and identities relate to prevailing discourses in the public domain" (2009, p.

364). Discursive opportunities have been proven to impact mobilisation dynamics across a wide array of cases, including the evolution of right-wing violence in Germany and the political successes of the U.S. Women's Jury Movements (Koopmans & Olzak, 2004; McCammon et al, 2007). Indeed, "the study of the political, legal, and administrative contexts of opportunity structures goes side by side with the study of discursive constructions that actors contribute to shape through their interventions in the public domain" (Cinalli & Giugni, 2016, p.430).

Other alternatives to the classic political opportunities models are the concepts of specific opportunities and perceived opportunities (Giugni, 2009). The former refers to political opportunities that are available only to specific social movements or mobilisation issues. For instance, conceptions of citizenship and its operationalisation in different states provide opportunities for migrants to make claims (Koopmans et al, 2005), and differences among welfare states provide opportunities for unemployed people to organise collective actions (Giugni, 2009). The core idea of the concept of perceived opportunities is that opportunities must be perceived and attributed in order to become a source of mobilisation (Tarrow, 2013; McAdam et al, 2001). The simple existence of opportunities is not enough, as collective actors must realise that they exist; they might easily be ignorant of them or fail to perceive them as opportunities.

2.2.4. Cultural framing

Within the context of the cultural and discursive turn in the study of social movements during the 1980s, the framing approach studied the meaning and the signifying work that takes place in collective action and social movements. The concept of sets of mobilising ideas and the importance of beliefs and ideologies had always been included in the study of collective action in a general way, but not as a central element. The first studies which suggested that the meaning of collective actions could affect the evolution of a movement arose the 1960s, including in the works of Turner (1969), who points out that the evolution of movements depends on their ability to commonly define the problem or the condition being addressed us "unjust". The theory is primarily marked, however, by the works of Gamson and Snow and their associates (Gamson, Fireman, & Rytina, 1982; Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986).

The approach features heavily in Goffman's (1974) frame analysis, and it is based on the basic interactionist and constructionist principle that the meaning of an event, object, or experience does not arise naturally or automatically but by means of interpretative procedures which are often culturally mediated (Snow, 2004, 2013). Accordingly, the framing approach seeks to theorize the symbolic, signifying

and meaning-making work that movements undertake as they verbalize grievances, agree on the importance of collective action and its forms, justify their actions and proposed solutions to their adherents, bystanders, and antagonists (Williams, 2004).

Moreover, framing deals with the ways activists create things by using culture, including symbols, claims, identities etc., within the environment of a movement, in order to engage people in collective action. Movements are thus seen as signifying agents, which produce and maintain the meaning of things and events for bystanders, adherents and antagonists (Snow, 2004). This signifying work is done on a regular basis by leaders and adherents of the movement and is best conceptualised in the word 'framing' (Snow, 2013; Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2018). This signifying work of the movements is very important, as meanings are typically contestable and open to debate; thus, movements, through framing, offer an interpenetrative scheme of the problem and its possible solution. A core argument of framing theorists is that grievances capable of mobilising action do not exist per se as a result of material conditions or deprivation; rather, they are the outcome of the interpretation of meaning and the signifying work done by social movements (Snow, 2013; Benford & Snow, 2000).

Briefly, frames in collective action function in three ways: a) they focus attention, highlighting and classifying what is important and relevant and what is not (what is in and out of the frame) in regard to the object of orientation; b) they function as articulation mechanisms, which test out the various elements of a scene and they construct one set of meaning instead of another, or tell one story instead of another; and c) they have a transformative function, as they reconstruct the way that some objects are anticipated and related to each other and to participants in the movement (Snow, 2013). As Snow and Benford put it (1988, p.198) "collective actors frame, or assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilise potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystanders' support and to demobilise antagonists".

Over the course of almost the last 40 years, much research has been conducted on the importance of framing to mobilisations. A conceptual architecture of framing has been developed for this research, which defines the following key elements (Snow et al, 2018; Snow, 2013, 2004; Benford & Snow, 2000):

1. *Collective action frames:* these are the consequent products of the framing activity within social movements. They differ from everyday life frames as they primary have mobilisation aspects. More precisely, they are a relatively coherent and action-oriented set of beliefs and ideas, which legitimate and inspire social movement action and campaigns. Collective action frames are usually

movement specific and they have three mobilisation-related functions: i) they mobilise or activate movement adherents to move from their home to the streets (action mobilisation); ii) they convert bystanders into adherents and thus increase popular support for movements (consensus mobilisation); and iii) they neutralise or demobilise adherents (counter mobilisation).

2. *Master frame:* refers to those frames that emerge early in a cycle and affect its evolution, as patterns and constraints; they determine the orientation and activities of all movements within the cycle. They operate as a master algorithm which colours the movement.

3. *Core framing tasks:* The success of frames in triggering mobilisation depends on three core tasks or procedures that they must achieve. These tasks/procedures are: i) *diagnostic framing*, or the diagnosis of the problematic aspects of an issue (or of social and/or political life) that needs to be fixed, and the attribution of blame or responsibility to whoever is responsible for the issue. In sum, diagnostic framing addresses the question: "What went wrong and who is responsible for that?" ii) *Prognostic framing*, or the solution proposed by the movement, which includes a plan for engagement in contentious politics as well as a frame for the tactics that will be used and a rejection of the solution proposed by the opponents; prognostic framing addresses the question, "What needs to be done?". iii) *Motivational framing*, which includes all calls to action that go beyond prognosis or diagnosis, and focuses on construction of a 'vocabulary of motive', which overcomes the fear of participation in collective action as well as the free rider dilemma. Motivational frames mostly address the severity of the problem(s), the urgency of taking action now and not later, the probability of success etc.

4. *Frame alignment processes:* there is a set of four strategically-oriented processes that movement organisations and participants apply in order to link their interests and goals to those of their adherents and possible resource providers, so that the latter will contribute to movement activities. These processes are: i) *frame bridging*, or linking at least two ideologically close but structurally distant frames regarding particular issues; ii) *frame amplification*, or the embellishment, crystallisation, and invigoration of existing sets of beliefs, values, and ideas; iii) *frames extension*, or the extension of movement interests and frames beyond the scope of the movement in order to include issues that are of interest for bystanders and possible adherents; and iv) *frame transformation*, which alters the way that individuals and organisations have perceived and understood things in the past, so that things can be seen differently than before.

5. *Frame resonance:* the process by which frames justify themselves to the target audience. If they succeed, they trigger mobilisation; conversely non-resonated frames fail to inspire or influence people to mobilise. There are two sets of factors that affect resonance: i) the *credibility of the frame*, which is essentially the consistency between claims and actions, and the credibility of a frame's articulators; and ii) the *salience of the frame*, which refers to the centrality of its beliefs and claims.

6. *Framing hazards:* the three sets of constraints or vulnerabilities which undermine frame alignment or resonance. Specifically, these are: i) *ambiguous events*, whereby there is uncertainty regarding the proper application of two alternative framings; ii) *framing errors or miss-framings*, which occur when the diagnostic frame is inappropriate or simply incorrect; iii) *frame disputes*, the situation that arises when collective actors disagree on the use of diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational frames.

7. *Discursive processes*: the discursive connection and coordination between events, experiences, and ideologies that allow actors to formulate a meaningful narrative together. These allow movements to emphasise selected ideas, events, and beliefs in the pursuit of mobilisation.

8. *Discursive opportunities structure and/or discursive fields:* refers to the broader cultural and structural context within which the framing articulation and elaboration processes occur. These contexts can facilitate or constrain the efficacy of the framing. In other words, the development of collective action frames is facilitated or constrained by the cultural and structural elements of the discursive fields and discursive opportunities structures on which frames are formatted.

2.2.5. AAOs and collective action theories

As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, collective action theories have been applied to the study of the actors that took part in solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the 2008 economic crisis. In the work of Sidney Tarrow in particular, organisations are seen as extremely important actors as they organise collective action, make public claims, build social movement identities, and offer participation opportunities (Tarrow, 2011). In order to construct a descriptive profile of AAOs and, later on, to classify them, I have had to identify the features of AAOs that align with the roles that Tarrow attributes to them.

These features include the following: as organisers of collective action, AAOs may be expected to have an organisational structure and a specific repertoire of action related to the people that they try to assist,

such as the constituency groups that are engaged in mobilisation as well as the beneficiaries of solidarity practices. As public claimants, AAOs may also be expected to have politically-related activities, whether conventional (such as raising awareness, writing reports, critical consumption-related practices and more) or contentious (such as protests, demonstrations, strikes and more). Finally, as actors that build collective identities, AAOs may be expected to have specific cultural features hence, to organise culturally-related practices as well as promote specific aims and values.

Below, I describe the relevance of collective action theories to the organisational, political and cultural profile of AAOs which I develop in detail in later chapters of this dissertation. I also describe how collective action theories have allowed me to identify which features are important to the sustainability and viability of AAOs.

I will begin this discussion by addressing the relevance of grievances and deprivation theories. We should keep in mind the data presented in sub-chapter 1.4 of the Introduction to this dissertation on how the economic crisis affected the everyday reality of the majority of the Greek population: thousands of people left without jobs, on the verge of material deprivation or experiencing cuts to their wages and benefits that devaluated their standards of living. All these incidents can be seen as grievances-generating factors. In that sense I judge it reasonable to follow Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) in arguing that the grievances created by the economic crisis were at the heart of the solidarity mobilisations. People affected by the crisis established or joined AAOs as a reaction to material deprivation and the devaluation of their standard of living caused by the austerity policies that were implemented as a response to the economic crisis.

To discover any indications of grievances elements within AAOs, I first examine in what year they were established. I assume that:

a) *AAOs that were born as an outcome of the crisis would have been established after the autumn of 2009.*

In an attempt to find any further elements of grievances within these organisations, I also examine their repertoire of action. On the principle that many AAOs were created to help people to find solutions to urgent issues such as provision of food, clothing, healthcare, medicine, education, shelter etc. my assumption with respect to this potential grievance is formulated as follows:

b) *AAOs that created in response to the deprivation caused by the crisis may be expected to organise activities related to covering urgent basic needs.*

Another feature of AAOs that might reveal the presence of a grievance effect is the constituency groups that they aim to support. My assumption is that AAOs that arose as a collective response to austerity should be focused on serving poor and marginalized people and communities as well as those that are described as victims of the crisis, e.g. homeless, unemployed or uninsured people. Hence in order to be able to claim the presence of grievance elements within AAOs,

c)   *I expect to find those most affected by the crisis, namely poor, unemployed, uninsured and homeless people, to be the most common beneficiaries of AAOs.*

The final element that might establish that AAOs are a response to the deprivation caused by the economic crisis would be the aim or missions of the AAOs. Thus,

d) *I expect grievances-influenced AAOs to express aims related to the reduction of the negative effects of the economic crisis and austerity measures.*

Moving on to discuss political opportunities structure theory, which is key to the analysis that follows, my intention is to link solidarity mobilisations to the broader political context that existed in Greece during the crisis. The rationale behind this approach is that the opening in the political system that created opportunities for anti-austerity protest campaigns also created opportunities for solidarity mobilisations.

Along with this broader window of political opportunities, I also take into account how specific political decisions created opportunities for the evolution of specific organisational types or repertoires of actions. To examine this type of phenomena, I use the concept of the specific opportunities. Specifically, I argue that the state's reduced capacity for repression as well as its unwillingness to operate strict tax-evasion controls during the crisis fostered the development of various forms of solidarity-based economic practices (including barter clubs, alternative coins, direct producer-consumer networks and the Greek anti-middlemen movement) and made room for new venues for solidarity activities (squares, occupied public spaces, squats etc.).

Beginning with an investigation into the general political opportunities elements that are reflected in the characteristics of AAOs, I first examine the AAOs foundation year to see whether they operated before the crisis or not, in order to identify the crisis effect element. Of course, the creation of new AAOs during the crisis is did not happen solely because of the opening up of political opportunities. Other factors also played an important role. In the above paragraphs, for instance I argued that grievances could be among the driving factors for the creation of new AAOs. However, the concept of political opportunities is a useful one insofar as it allows me to find explanatory elements in the broader political setting of the era. The

year in which AAOs arose is also a useful indicator of specific opportunities, as I can examine whether the number of new AAOs increased after specific political decisions.

Political opportunities may also be important with respect to the repertoire of actions that AAOs apply. As stated earlier, the literature on the topic describes a high rate of protest activity (Diani & Kousis, 2014; Vogiatzoglou, 2017) and close connections between anti-austerity protests and solidarity mobilisations (Loukakis, 2018; Vogiatzoglou, 2017; Malamidis, 2018; Theocharis, 2016), the result of which could well include the adoption of a protest repertoire by AAOs through a process of diffusion.

Next, I will use framing theory to identify the cultural features of AAOs. In general, framing theory and the cultural approach is very important to the analysis of AAOs, firstly because it justifies the existence of cultural activities within AAOs as means to help their members build interpersonal bonds and ultimately collective identities. Secondly, the framing approach sheds light on the importance of the cultural features of these organisations, which are relevant to my analysis by means of their contribution to the classification process.

I first descriptively examine the AAOs framing features, including their aims and goals, the solidarity approach that they apply, and the values under which the AAOs frame their activities. Then, I use these framings to create a typology of AAOs based not only on their organisational types or repertoire but also on the coherent and action-oriented set of beliefs and ideas that they espouse. These framing aspects reveal a variety of AAO clusters, composed of organisations and groups which share the same organisational features but which aim for different things and promote different values.

Additionally, the framing approach is valuable in proving the existence of a Greek cycle of solidarity, as change in collective action frames is one of the conditions that Tarrow (1998, 2011) mentions as necessary to the existence of a cycle. And finally, as explained above, framing theories suggest that over the course of a cycle some frames emerge earlier than others and affect, as patterns and constraints, the evolution, orientation and activities of all movements within the cycle (Snow et al, 2019). Hence, in the context of this dissertation I also explore the existence of master framing.

Last but not least, I use resource mobilisation theory to analyse the organisational profile of AAOs as well as to identify which organisational features are correlated with the viability of AAOs. RMT is often used in order to explain of the emergence of collective action (Jenkins, 1983). More recently, the rapid use of new technologies, the Internet, and social media, as well as the Arab Spring and occupy movements, have led

researchers to apply RMT to contemporary research agendas in seeking to explain the link between online and offline activism (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Earl, 2015; Lopes, 2014; Soon & Cho, 2013).

The reappearance of resource theory in studies of contemporary movements will be useful in the context of this dissertation as it can shed light on various organisational features of AAOs. Specifically, during the profile-making step (Chapter 4.1 and 4.2), RMT can provide explanations about the *levels of formality* that the AAOs exhibit (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Additionally, resources can be related to the *scope of actions* that AAOs organise, as literature suggests that altering the scope of actions is related to the availability of resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Since *networks and partners* can also be a valuable source of various types of resources, this aspect of AAOs can also be examined under the lens of RMT (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Edwards, McCarthy & Mataic, 2019).

Moreover, RMT can provide some explicit hypotheses regarding the sustainability of AAOs. I assume that an AAO is (publicly) active as long as it is capable of organising collective actions, which often depends on the availability of resources. While a decrease in the needs that an AAO addresses might lead to a decrease in the necessity to organise, it may not lead to the complete closure of the organisation. My main argument based on RMT is that an AAO will have to stop operating if there are not enough resources available to support its activities. Therefore, I believe that the greater the resources, the higher the likelihood of an AAO sustaining its activities over time (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

In the context of this dissertation, I also intend to analyse the impacts of available resources on different organisations' ability to stay active online. I limit this investigation to only those types of resources which are internal or inherent to the organisations themselves. This means that I do not consider moral resources, because they are external to the organisations and thus difficult to measure. Moreover, while organisations do mobilise moral resources by framing their goals in public (Benford & Snow, 2000; Johnston & Noakes, 2005), in doing so they rely on resources that can be subsumed into other resource types as proposed by Edwards and McCarthy, namely social-organisational, human, and material resources. As a result, breaking slightly with Edwards and McCarthy, I opt to simplify the range of resources that civic society groups and organisations rely on, arguing that the remaining four groups of resources have a direct impact on the activity rate of AAOs.

Edwards and McCarthy (2004) identify all the cultural products and shared knowledge that are spread within the movement as cultural or informational (Cress & Snow, 1996) resources: "*This category includes tactical repertoires, organisational templates, technical or strategic know-how*" (Edwards & McCarthy,

2004, p. 126). Previous research implies that the strategies used affect the collection of resources by organisations. More specifically, McCarthy & Wolfson (1996) have shown that the Mothers against Drunk Driving organisation adopted the strategy of providing services to victims, and thereby increased their human resources much more than those organisations which adopted other strategies. Cultural activities such as music concerts, festivals, and plays are also closely connected to fundraising, especially for informal groups—a tactic that can substantially increase the material resources of AAOs (Loukakis, Kousis, Lahusen, & Kiess, 2016). Cultural resources are also crucial for organisations as they pass on the movement's history and culture to future generations of activists, and thus help to maintain the movements' capacity (Taylor & Rupp, 1987). Cultural knowledge is carried by those people who work or volunteer for organisations (see human resources below).

Cultural resources thus materialise, according to my proposition, within the specific repertoires of action AAOs employ. Following scholarly writing, we identify four such repertoires of action: cultural activities, protests, direct actions, and awareness raising. Each of these strategies precludes online 'inactivity', because they are actions that require 'publicity'. However, I assume that these four action repertoires differ in the extent to which they reach out to the public and seek public support: cultural activities and awareness-raising imply a more passive provision of information in a context of leisure, while protest and direct action require proactive engagement within the public sphere. Therefore, in my first hypothesis on RMT and online presence, I assume that the latter have a stronger impact on 'online activity', while the former have a weaker effect.

1) *AAOs engaged in protests and direct actions will be more likely to be active online, when compared with those engaged in cultural activities and awareness-raising.*

Moving to social-organisational resources, previous studies have shown that organisational structure affects an organisation's ability to collect resources. More specifically, organisations with a formal status are more effective in collecting and mobilising resources than informal groups (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Moreover, the capability of an organisation to use new technologies and social media is crucial in mobilising and gaining resources which can foster collective action and thus help to ensure the organisation's survival (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Della Porta & Mosca, 2005). According to some scholars, social media provide additional types of resources such as new knowledge, lower costs of coordination, and a higher speed of information exchange (Shirky, 2011).

Beyond these findings, the structural resources of AAOs, from my point of view, call for special attention for two reasons. First, because the 2008 financial and economic crisis, but even more so the subsequent Euro-zone crisis, affected the role and also the establishment of new AAOs in a bifurcated way. On the one hand, formal organisations were arguably more affected by the crisis due to decreased funding from their donors, including in particular the State: austerity and neoliberal policy responses to the crisis reduced government spending (Pratt & Popplewell, 2013; Norman, Uba, & Temple, 2015). On the other hand, the crisis was an opportunity for the establishment of new formal and informal AAOs trying to provide ways to collectively cope with both the social and political consequences of the crisis (Pratt & Popplewell, 2013; Loukakis et al., 2016; Kousis, 2017; Kousis et al., 2016). Based on this discussion, I formulate further RMT-based hypotheses:

2a) *The use of multiple online and social media channels implies higher social-organisational resources and has a positive impact on the activity rate of AAOs.*

2b) *The more formal the structure of an AAOs is (i.e. having a higher number of organisational features like assemblies, board, presidency, written constitution, etc.), the more likely it is it will be able to stay active over time.*

 I also investigate two other types of AAO resources, human and material resources. Studies have shown that these two types of resources, often referred to as "time and money", are among the most important factors in fostering of collective action, as they are easily allocated (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Jenkins, 1983; Cress and Snow, 1996). Thus I hypothesize that:

3) *The more members and supporters an AAO can rely on, the more human resources it can command (and concomitantly, the more cultural resources, which are those members and supporters carry) and, thus, the more likely it is to stay active.*

4) *Since for AAOs the most important material resource is the paid and unpaid work done by members and volunteers, and given limited information on financial statuses on websites, we can also assume that AAOs which mention paid staff on their online media outlets are more likely to stay active.*

2.3 Cycles and waves in solidarity actions and social movements

A widespread concept in the field of collective action and social movements is that of cycles or waves. Various research works in the field identify patterns on which collective action and other phenomena that

can be classified under this category emerge, disappear, and re-appear over different time periods. Various scholars in the field of social movements argue that there is a cyclical approach to the emergence of protests and mobilisations, according to which protests appear, grow, diffuse, and end over a given period of time (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004).

The same concept of appearance, spread, and disappearance can be identified in studies on solidarity which point out that different epochs provide different opportunities for the emergence and re-emergence of solidarity mobilisations (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p.2038). In the following section, I outline the evolution of the concept of a cycle or wave in social movement literature. I then describe the body of literature that demonstrates that similar cyclic movement can be identified in solidarity mobilisations. Finally, I define the main research question that this dissertation seeks to address with respect to the concept of cycles and waves

2.3.1 The concepts of waves and cycles of contention

The idea that protest and contentious episodes emerge, spread, disappear, and then re-emerge over time was present from the very beginning of studies on social movements (Della Porta, 2013). Moreover, there is a universally accepted notion that contention is not equally distributed across time and space as there are often periods of heightened activity followed by periods of relative stability (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004; Beissinger, 2002). This repetitive character of protest as well as its cyclical element was stressed by researchers of the 1970s. Tilly's (1975) work on nineteenth century movements introduced the concept "cycle of protests," and was followed by Alessandro Pizzorno, who supported the cyclical character of protests by arguing that if we reject the cyclical character then at "*… every upstart of a wave of conflict we shall be induced to think that we are at the verge of a revolution; and when the downswing appears, we shall predict the end of class conflict*" (Pizzorno, 1978, p.291).

During the '80s the work of Sidney Tarrow tried to define what the protest cycle is and point out its major components. He identified an increase of conflict, social and geographical diffusion, new repertoires of action, and variation in the number and type of SMOs involved in conflict as the key features of the protest cycle (Tarrow, 1983, p.38-39). Expanding on Tarrow's definition of the cycle, Snow and Benford (1988) added the creation and spread of common frames as necessary ingredients of the protest cycle.

In later elaborations on the concept of cycles, Tarrow argued that movements and contention follow a specific route. They can occur periodically based on the inequalities and conflicts that arise in the context of capitalistic societies. At those times, movements develop and diffuse across a country and society (the

peak moment of the movement), and there follows a phase of demobilisation which ends with the fall of the movement (Tarrow, 1989, 1993). These first elaborations of the cycle as concept were criticized by various scholars mainly on the grounds that a "cycle" would denote that movements follow a very specific pre-defined pattern. Moreover, critics pointed out that the term "cycle" suggests "*a periodically recurring sequence of phenomena*" (McAdam et al, 2001; Koopmans, 2004, 1995).

To avoid the implication of a repeated sequence of events and episodes that the concept of a "cycle" indicates, Koopmans (1995) introduced the term "waves." He chose that word because "*it does not imply such assumptions of regularity, and simply refers to the strong increase and subsequent decrease in the level of contention*" (Koopmans, 2004, p.21). In his work Koopmans identifies three fundamental features which seem to be common to waves of contention: a) strong increase in contention across social groups and sectors, which expands the boundaries of the policy fields; b) transformation of contention which also transforms strategies, allies, identities etc.; c) contraction of contention. He also points out that these three feature-processes do not necessarily come one after the other but often co-exist from the beginning to the end of movements (Koopmans, 2004, p.22).

Tarrow responded to the criticism that the earliest elaborations that the concept of cycle elicited by introducing the broader concept of a "*cycle of contention,*" which is a "*phase of heightened conflict across the social system, with rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilised to less mobilised sectors, a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention employed, the creation of new or transformed collective action frames, a combination of organised and unorganised participation, and sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities*" (Tarrow, 2011, p.199). In an attempt to defend himself, Tarrow argued that some studies of social movement's pay more attention to events, individuals, and organisations than to the processes and the broader cycle of contention. Thus, they often study unique events separately from other forms of contention, missing out on the series of processes and mechanisms that constitute a movement. In order to avoid this "paradox," Tarrow proposes studying the internal dynamics of contention, which are the full set of mechanisms that influence episodes of contention. The main idea that Tarrow (2011) espouses is that similar mechanisms can produce very different outcomes depending on the settings in which they operate and the interactions that they produce.

The common ground between the concepts of cycles and waves is that both argue for the connectedness of collective action through space and time (Koopmans, 2004). They also argue for the necessity of studying not single movements, but the set of the dynamic interactions between challengers, allies and

authorities as well as the forms these interactions take and the full set of claims and frames that are produced during the cycles/waves (Koopmans, 2010; Tarrow, 2011). Moreover, both approaches stress the importance of political opportunities as processes which generate factors stimulating the beginning of a cycle/wave. More specifically, a change in relations between challengers and authorities does not result contention *per se*; contention occurs when political opportunities open up for "*well placed early risers*" (Tarrow, 2011, p.201). After the first signs of contention, there are mechanisms which signal the determination of the protesters and the vulnerability of their targets.

Schematically, in both approaches, the cycles/waves of contention seem to follow a specific path. First, there is a change in the political opportunities context which allows protest to emerge. Then, there is a phase of intensification during which contention spreads across different geographic and social levels; and finally there is a declining phase, during which contention gradually fades. In other words, protest cycles/waves are processes of radical destabilisation of social relations between polities (Koopmans, 2004). They are "moments of madness that everything is possible" (Tarrow, 1993) which are characterised by a "radicalised unpredictability of interactions among social systems" (Koopmans, 2004, p. 23).

The cause of destabilisation is the change in the structure of political opportunities. Social-structural changes which in turn effect changes in the accumulation of resources are not sufficient (Koopmans, 2004). According to Koopmans, there are ideal paths for creating political opportunities: a) top-down, in which elites are divided and some of them choose to mobilise (directly or by sponsoring campaigns) social support to strengthen their position; b) bottom-up, in which social pressure from below exposes regime weaknesses and conflicts of interest between elites.

 Once opportunities open up, they do not function similarly for everyone during the length of cycle. Those that enter the cycle first may have more opportunities than latecomers, or conversely, early risers may create further opportunities for latecomers (Tarrow, 2011). Early risers may also monopolise resources, in which case not everyone who is inspired by the first mobilisations will have the means for success. For all these reasons, McAdam (1999) proposes a division between "*initiator*" and "*spin-off movements*". In the same spirit, Tarrow (2011) argues against the study of cycles *en bloc* and recommends examining separately the innovations that they produce, the coalitions and campaigns that they create, and their mobilisation and demobilisation mechanisms. In general, later elaborations of the concepts of cycles/waves by Tarrow (2011), Koopmans (2004), McAdam (1999) and Kriesi et al (1995) put less emphasis on periodicity and repetition within movements, stressing instead the importance of *innovation*

within cycles/waves of contention and their *dynamic elements*, namely *diffusion*, *exhaustion,* and *radicalisation/institutionalization*, elements I will describe in detail below*.*

To begin with innovation, it is best defined by Koopmans (2004, p.25): *"…dissident groups are able to invent new combinations of identities, tactics and demands. These creative movement and are extremely important, for they may provide the initial sparks that expose regime weakness"*. It is important to mention that innovations are rare, as usually movements have already established repertoires, tactics, symbols etc. But when these creative moments occur, they can have a dual function as they attract supporters and at the same time leave elites, even temporary ones, unprepared. These innovations may provide the initial sparks and then become symbols of the struggle and keep the flame alive (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004). It is also significant that not all innovations survive to the end of a cycle. Some are abandoned at the very beginning if they fail to mobilise people (Soule, 1999) or if they are threatened with repression. Others will be transformed and others still which require high numbers of activist or media attention are associated only with the peak phases of their cycle, as they cannot survive in phases of decline or when media attention turns to other issues (Tarrow, 2011).

Among the other things, the innovations that cycles/waves of contention produce include new symbols, ideologies, and frames which justify and dignify collective action. These new cultural items are produced, tested, and transformed by these critical communities and remain in the culture of the movement (in their original; or less militant forms) in order to serve as a source of symbols for future movements (Tarrow, 2011, p. 204). As Koopmans (2004, p.25) points out, "innovations could be the inspiration for other movements".

Finally, Tarrow (2011) mentions that innovation, especially innovation in actions repertoire, very often occurs alongside organisational growth. Specifically, a new cycle of contention is marked by "spontaneous" forms of actions, carried out mostly by new actors. Then, both new and old movement organisations may adopt the new repertoire, use it, and even institutionalise it as part of their standard repertoire (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004).

As mentioned a few paragraphs earlier, in an attempt to avoid criticism of the repetitive and periodical character of cycles/waves, social movement scholars emphasize the dynamic elements of cycles. As Tarrow puts it, "*there is no theory powerful enough to explain all the recurring elements in all cycles of contention"* (Tarrow, 2011, p.205). Hence, he proposes to focus on the causal mechanisms, which can transform isolated protest episodes to a general contention. In order to do so, the author identifies three

key mechanisms, namely *diffusion*, *exhaustion,* and *radicalisation/institutionalization.* In his work, Koopmans (2004), identifies more or less the same processes but names them differently; he describes them as: a) *expansion of contention across different social groups and sectors*, b) *transformation of contention*, and c) *contraction of contention*. Given the similarities of the main features of the waves and cycles, the mechanisms that constitute these processes are also similar. Hereafter, I describe the similarities and differences between the key mechanisms proposed by Tarrow and Koopmans.

In order to begin with the common ground between the two approaches of cycles and waves, I will first address the concept of diffusion. By this term, social movement scholars usually refer to the cognitive, affective and rational mechanisms that take place during the ascending phase of the cycle/wave, during which contention spreads geographically and socially (Della Porta, 2013). In more detail, a group of "early risers" engages in forms of collective action. By mean of a demonstrative effect, this first phase triggers processes of extension, imitation, and reaction among groups that are normally outside of contention and which have fewer resources to mobilise toward collective action (Tarrow, 2011). This stage is characterised by radical destabilisation of social relations as well as by the unpredictability of interactions between challengers and authority. In this fluid environment of heightened conflict, new actors emerge and new collective identities are shaped (della Porta, 2013). Diffusion is responsible for the spread of these new actors, repertoires, frames, and tactics. At the same time, diffusion is responsible for the emergence and eruptive character of the cycles/waves as they spread as a form of communication from a source to an adopter. At this stage, Koopmans (2004) highlights the importance of mass media as the means of spreading the message. In addition, he points out that adopters are not passive recipients who will adopt everything related to the contention, but instead choose which innovations they will adopt and which they will not.

Koopmans (2004) also argues that diffusion is related to political opportunities, as adoption depends on the perceived success of an innovation. In more detail, innovations that fail to achieve their goals are unlikely to be adopted by others, but sometimes it is very difficult to differentiate failure from success. Koopmans also raises the importance of the media as promoters of successful protest practices (even if in reality they are not so successful). Another aspect of diffusion that I need to highlight is that of geographical spread: contention can spread from one place to another no matter the spatial scale. For example there are cases of collective action spreading from universities to city centres and then to the national level (Meyer, 1990); from urban to rural areas (Tarrow, 2011); and from one country to another (Kriesi et al, 1995).

The destabilisation phase is sometimes caused or created by a shift, during the diffusion phase, of contention from one policy level to other; thus new political opportunities and institutional settings arise, new allies appear and new actors mobilise. This process of shift in the level of contention is called "scale shift" (Tarrow, 2011; McAdam & Tarrow, 2005). Additionally, social movement organisations and other actors that take part in contention both collaborate and compete with each other in an attempt to mobilise more people and invest more resources toward the intensification of contention. Thus, successful mobilisation may affect or threaten to affect the interests of disparate groups in such a way as to cause counter-mobilisation or competing mobilisations (Koopmans, 2004). This means that diffusion processes take place not only among allies, but can spread to antagonists as well. Organisations and groups of people who fear that the success of a movement will put their position and interests in danger mobilise against the movement. This is how counter-movements emerge (Tarrow, 2011).

It is important to note that Koopmans (2004) calls both competing mobilisation and counter mobilisation "*reactive mobilisation,*" and argues that they both depend on the availability of political opportunities over time. The author suggests that elite support for counter-mobilisation should be taken for granted whenever there is successful initial collective action. In cases of compete mobilisation, sometimes elites support one group instead of another; e.g. they might support a moderate group in order to avoid the radicalisation of the movement. Reactive mobilisation is one of the three major mechanisms that explains the rapid expansion of movements. The other two mechanisms are expanding political opportunities and diffusion of innovations (Koopmans, 2004, p. 27-28).

The ascending phase is followed by a phase of decline in participation. Although it is not easy to explain why contention stops, research on social movements suggests some main reasons. According to della Porta (2013), the declining stage results primarily from rational, emotional, and cognitive mechanisms. As the cycle/wave is evolving, political opportunities are closing. The movement gradually begins to divide as a result of co-optation and exclusion and as the authorities increase repression and carry it out in a more targeted manner. At the same time, the innovation created in the early phases of contention (in repertoire, strategies, frames etc.) is no longer fresh, leading to disengagement. Furthermore, the intense activism and enthusiasm of the early days fades, resulting in disappointment from participants and a desire to return to their private lives.

Tarrow describes the aforementioned phase as the second dynamic element of the cycle, under the name *Exhaustion.* This process does not occur within the whole movement all at once. It first leaves its mark on the more moderate periphery of the movement, which is less militant, and less strongly motivated

compared to actors in the core. The decline in participation affects the balance between core and peripheral actors, which then shapes the evolution of contention. If core actors are more numerous than peripheral actors, the claims of the contention will be more radical and the repertoire of actions will be more violent. At this point, Tarrow (2011, p.206) identifies a dilemma at the heart of the movement: they must choose whether to follow the logic of numbers (increased participation), which will require them to express moderate claims and adopt a non-violent repertoire; or they must choose to follow intense and sometimes violent contention by expressing radical claims (radicalisation).

The third set of dynamic elements of cycles is that of *radicalisation/institutionalisation* of the contention (Tarrow, 2011). While these processes can occur simultaneously during a cycle and can be mutually constitutive, they remain essentially contrary and occur simultaneously only in the most decentralised and informal movement organisations.

In general, during a cycle there is always competition between movement organisations, arising from ideological conflicts, competition for space or resources, or because of personal conflicts between leaders of different groups. Intense competition or a lack of coordination between different collective actors leads to radicalisation, "a shift in ideological commitments towards the extremes and/or the adoption of more disruptive and violent forms of contention" (Tarrow, 2011, p.207). At the same time, some actors increase their access to policy-making procedures, which signals a non-violent end to the conflict. Sidney Tarrow names this process *institutionalisation*, "a movement away from extreme ideologies and/or adoption of more conventional and less disruptive forms of contention" (Tarrow, 2011, p.207). In this situation, collective actors seek accommodations with the elites and electoral advantage in order to succeed, and so moderate their claims and strategies.

Similarly to Tarrow, Koopmans (2004) relates the transformative processes at the center of movements and the outcomes of mobilisations to the opening of new political opportunities. He argues that different political opportunities and different interactions with the polity can affect the institutionalisation or radicalisation of contention (Koopmans 1995).

Both approaches would suggest that it not possible to generalise the evolution or the outcome of cycles/waves. However, we can identify some similarities among those mechanisms that drive transformations which are dependent on the POS. Three major mechanisms of strategic change are:

a) *Strategic anticipation*: In an attempt to achieve their aims, collective actors consider several alternatives, anticipate the reaction of other actors to these alternatives, and choose the action that

provides the best results at a minimum cost. This process is dependent on the accuracy of predictions, strategic interactions between actors, and anticipation of the identities, aims, and discursive and tactical repertoires of collective actors. A problem that movements often encounter is the complexity of social life which makes predictions difficult.

b) *Strategic adaptation*: this mechanism functions according to the trial and error character of interactions within movements. Collective actors test different strategies and actions and choose those that were successful in the past, avoiding those that did not work. In general, this is the most realistic way to change strategies, though it requires a relatively stable political opportunities structure. This mechanism also allows movements to learn from others' mistakes and adopt successful solutions.

c) *Environmental selection*: In the context of authoritarian regimes, in which information does not flow freely, groups act in isolation and cannot spread their messages widely. In democratic regimes, there are no controls on information, but it flows through mass media, which select which news will be broadcast and which will not. Thus, information is selective, as media are not neutral; they favour specific events and promote specific values and frames. *Discursive opportunity structures* have a very important role in this mechanism as they allow for the formation of recurrent and self-reproductive patterns of access to the media and political resources (Koopmans, 2004, p. 31-31).

There are many possible endings for a cycle/wave, ranging from elections to revolution, but in general the end of the cycles/waves is described as a situation in which the relationships among all actors, challengers, and authorities become more stable. This procedure is best described by Koopmans (2004, p.37) who name it as *restabilisation*: "the contraction of protest waves is best conceptualized as a process of restabilisation and reroutinisation of patterns of interaction within the polity". According to Tarrow (2011), there are two major mechanisms that make these restabilisations real, *repression* and *facilitation*. The former is the ability of the state to crush the movement (which can take various forms according to the type of regime) while the latter is the ability of the state to respond to contention claims with reforms. Thus the end of a cycle/wave could be sudden and dramatic or just a fading away of protest. In any case, the cycle/wave never ends where it started because the outcome situation will be very different from that in the beginning. The challengers gain new experience and are now wiser, there are new alliances, new actors and movements come to the fore and new strategies are adopted or created in the hope for better outcomes in the future (Koopmans, 2004).

As for the impact that the cycles/waves have on the social movement organisations that took part in them, in his research of new social movements, Hanspeter Kriesi (1996) has identified four main trajectories: a) institutionalisation, which combines the formalisation of the internal structure of an SMO with moderation of its goals; b) commercialization, or the transformation of movement organisations into service delivery organisations or profit making enterprises; c) involution, a path which leads to exclusive emphasis on social incentives; and finally, d) radicalisation, in which small groups continue the escalation of collective violence.

2.3.2 Elements of cyclical orbit in solidarity mobilisations

Solidarity mobilisations supporting those in need are not an outcome of the current economic crisis nor a new phenomenon. Historically, from antiquity through medieval times into the industrial era and up to the present, societies have adapted by developing alternative solidarity-based practices in order to survive; "…*each epoch has its own socioeconomic conditions bringing subsequent opportunities and challenges to the lien solidaire*" (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p. 2038). In their brief history of Social Economy, Mouleart and Ailenei point out the importance of solidarity practices throughout history. Solidarity's ancient roots can be identified in Egyptian corporations, Greek funds and Roman colleges of craftsmen. As time passed, the first guilds and confraternities appeared to provide assistance, reciprocal support, and charity. Medieval times were characterized by a spread of associations not only in Europe but also in the Byzantine Empire, Muslim countries, India, Africa, and pre-Colombian America (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p. 2039).

Since the French Revolution, several solidarity practices and associations have arisen, but have operated under the control of the Church or the State. It was the French Revolution itself that inspired the ideas of "*freedom of association*" and "*political equality*". In the 19th century, the number of vulnerable people increased significantly as a result of the industrial revolution, which led to an increase in social activities and initiatives aiming to provide support. These activities were inspired by different visions, philosophies, and theories including utopian socialism, Christian socialism, and liberal movements (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p. 2039).

The transformation of societies after the Industrial and the Agricultural revolutions and the passage to capitalism brought forward the concept of crisis. It is a common belief among those who study the concept of solidarity practices that economic crises foster the emergence of solidarity mobilisations. As Mouleart

and Ailenei (2005, p.2041) propose, "*the social economy is a way to respond to the alienation and non-satisfaction of needs by the traditional private sector or the public sector in times of socioeconomic crisis*". They cite Bouchard et al.'s (2000) distinction of three generations of social economy linked to crises before WWII. The first generation emerged from 1840—1850, during the transformation of old industrial regulations mediated by craftsmen's corporations into new competitive regulations. During that period, mutual support organisations appeared to protect against social and professional risk and alienation from basic needs. The second generation appeared between 1873 -1895 in the form of agricultural and savings cooperatives, in response to the needs of small producers affected by the crisis caused by extensive accumulation of investments in agriculture and natural resources. The third generation was a result of the economic crisis of 1929—1932. Food and housing consumption cooperatives were established in order to provide workers and the unemployed with goods and services at affordable prices (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p.2041). As for the philosophical roots and trajectories of these solidarity mobilisations, Martinelli's study (2010) shows that solidarity actions and initiatives of the period sprang from four main philosophical traditions: a) liberal-bourgeois philanthropy and reformism; b) Church-organised charity initiatives; c) utopian, mutual-aid and co-operative experiences; and d) worker movements. According to the author, "*The initiatives belonging to the first two philosophical models were generally characterized by a top-down approach, that is, were engineered from above the actual beneficiaries; the others, in contrast, had a more bottom-up, self-initiated and self-organised character, with a trade, community or class base*" (Martinelli, 2010, p. 21).

As time passed, significant sections of the informal solidarity practices were integrated into the post-war welfare system. In France, for instance, the mutual aid associations (*mutuelles*) were recognized as partners in the welfare system. Moreover, during the 1970's, new solidarity organisations came to the front as a response either to capitalism or to the oversized welfare state. These organisations were mostly connected to outcomes of the alternative movements which dominated the period. In the 1980s and 90's, high unemployment created an opportunity in which solidarity re-emerged to "*satisfy the needs neglected by the state in the context of crisis and public finance*" (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p.2041). According to Ould Ahmed, during the 1980s, society's need to combat exclusion from monetary resources led to the adoption of local currency systems as an alternative, solidarity-based solution to conventional arrangements (Ould Ahmed, 2014, p. 426).

From the late 1990s into the early 2000s, many Latin American countries faced long-lasting economic crises, forcing huge parts of the population into poverty and exclusion. During those hard times, solidarity

re-appeared to assist those in need. Argentina's default in year 2000 was followed by the creation of dense barter networks known as "nodos" or "trueque", of alternative coins ("creditos"), and other solidarity actions, so that what was later called "Economía social y solidaria en la Argentina" (Abramovich & Gonzalo, 2007; Abramovich & Vazquez 2003 etc.) could be established. These sorts of collective actions at the community level arose not only to overcome the crisis and deal with the population's needs, which was a matter of urgency, but also as a way to promote citizens' involvement in democratic processes, establish new ways of doing things, and achieve collective goals (Primavera, 2007a, 2007b, 2004; Pearson 2003, etc.). Going a step further, North (2005) argues that those large exchange networks were Argentinian society's answer to neoliberalism. The situation that began in Argentina very soon spread to other counties of Latin America including Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador etc. (Primavera 2006a, 2006b; Agostino, 2001). During the same period, the Global Justice Movement helped diffuse a wide variety of alternative consumer-producer practices, political and critical consumerism, solidarity with Zapatista communities, and direct action initiatives (Forno & Graziano, 2014; Bosi & Zamponi, 2015, 2020; Kousis & Paschou, 2017).

Finally, in their 2017 work Kousis and Paschou argue that a new wave of solidarity mobilisations emerged as a response to the increased inequalities caused by the "Great Recession" or global financial crisis of 2008 (Piketty, 2015). The authors point out that in a number of crisis-affected countries, especially (but not only) those in southern Europe such as Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, solidarity mobilisations emerged aimed at covering unmet needs as well as offering new non-capitalist political imaginaries.

ALTERNATIVE ACTION ORGANISATIONS AND THE GREEK CYCLE OF SOLIDARITY

It is clear from the literature on cycles and waves discussed above that, similar to contention and protests, solidarity activities tend to appear and re-appear as collective action forms in specific historical moments. Hence, in this dissertation I argue that solidarity mobilisations, are similarly unequally spread across time and space. As with social movements and protest, we can thus study them over broader time periods.

I also believe that it is crucial in understanding the phenomenon of solidarity provision to move beyond individual practices and initiatives and look at the wider mobilisation that they are a part of and the evolution of that mobilisation. Moreover, I think that we can also identify cycles of solidarity which share similar features with cycles of contention (Tarrow, 2013), but without the contentious element. In the

long term, the idea behind the dissertation is that we can use the idea of a cycle in other forms of collective action (such as solidarity action, in this case), and not only in protest and contention.

To conclude the literature review from the previous pages, the most crucial research question on the evolution of solidarity mobilisations that I seek to respond to is the following:

To what extent can the concept of a "cycle of solidarity" be applied to the study of solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis period? Can we speak of a Greek Cycle of Solidarity?

I argue that it is indeed reasonable to apply a concept that is usually employed in studies of contention to other forms of collective action. Specifically, according to the literature, Greek society reacted to austerity measures in two ways: Either by participating in anti-austerity protests (Kanellopoulos & Kousis, 2018; Vogiatzoglou, 2017; Kousis, 2016; Diani & Kousis, 2014; Rudig & Karyotis, 2013), or by participating in solidarity mobilisations (Simiti, 2017; Kousis et al, 2018; Cristancho & Loukakis, 2018; Daskalaki, 2017; Arampatzi, 2016; Rakopoulos, 2014a and more). With respect to the first reaction, various scientific works identify elements of a cyclical trajectory in Greek anti-austerity protests. For instance, Michalis Psimitis (2011) and Serdadakis and Tombazos (2018) argue for the existence of a protest cycle that began in the spring of 2010. Karyotis and Rüdig (2018) identify three waves of protest over the course of the anti-austerity mobilisations that took place from 2011 to 2015. Other elements of cycle trajectory are suggested by the work of Diani and Kousis, who identify anti-austerity protest as a campaign[40]. Finally, research on Greek anti-austerity mobilisations in the 2010-2015 period carried out by Vogiatzoglou (2017) posits four mobilisation phases. My point here is that contentious collective action during the period in question has been studied under the rubric of the cycle, and that it is therefore reasonable for me to study the non-contentious collective action (solidarity) using the same concept.

Another factor which I believe justifies my use of this concept is the collaboration and overlap between organisations that took part in both types of mobilisation. Vogiatzoglou, for instance, establishes a clear connection between anti-austerity protest mobilisations and solidarity mobilisations; according to the author, during the fourth phase of the anti-austerity movement, protest activity declined because movement actors decided to focus on shoring up social solidarity structures (Vogiatzoglou, 2017, p. 99). Moreover, recent literature on solidarity organisations in Greece shows that many of them are social movement-oriented or have strong relationships with anarchists and protest groups (Simiti, 2017; Kritidis,

---

[40] According to Della Porta (2016) campaigns are often important component of Cycles or waves of protest. They are series of interactions connected to each other from the thematic point of view and oriented towards a common aim (della Porta & Rucht, 2002).

2014; Daskalaki, 2017; Kousis et al, 2018). Finally, the literature demonstrates that many AAOs took part or they had their origins in the protest events of the period (Loukakis, 2017; Theocharis, 2016; Kanellopoulos, et al, 2017).

In order to verify the existence of a Greek Cycle of solidarity, I adopt Tarrow's definition of the cycle of contention (1998, 2011), in which he identify five elements which must exist to prove the appearance of a cycle:

a) Rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilised to less mobilised sectors.

b) Rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention employed.

c) Creation of new or transformed collective action frames.

d) Combination of organised and unorganised participation.

e) Sequences of intensified interaction between challengers and authorities.

Finally, as described above, framing theories posit that during a cycle some frames emerge early on and affect, as patterns and constraints, the evolution, orientation and activities of all movements within the cycle (Snow et al, 2019). Hence, in the context of this dissertation I also explore the existence of master framing.

2.4 Conceptual and theoretical perspectives on solidarity and Alternative Action Organisations

As I tried to show in the previous section, solidarity has deep roots in societies and makes its presence felt more strongly during times of crisis. In this part of the thesis, I aim to provide different theoretical perspectives on the concept of solidarity in economic, social, and everyday life. These approaches come from different disciplines including economic, civil society, and social movement fields of research. All of them pertain to the collective action that people employ to overcome the negative effects of crises and to express solidarity with those in need. My aspiration is to bridge these approaches and the explanatory framework of solidarity provision with the collective action theories presented above in such a way as to: a) explain the rise of solidarity mobilisations/initiatives by applying collective action theories; b) highlight the political dimension/character and the dynamics of solidarity mobilisations; and c) enhance interdisciplinary approaches to studying solidarity mobilisations by highlighting the organisational, political and cultural profiles of the organisations that took part on them.

2.4.1 Solidarity provision in hard economic times: from policy to social movements

Researchers from the fields of sociology and economics have used many different approaches to describe solidarity activism and provision as it relates to the economy and more generally to society. Some have used the terms social innovation or third-sector economy, others talk about the social or solidarity economy, and still others think more radically by suggesting that solidarity in economic relationships is a driving force for social and economic change (Forno & Grazziano, 2014, 2018; Kallis, 2018; D'Alisa, Demaria, & Kallis, 2014).

In examining various contemporary definitions of social economy, it becomes clear that solidarity economies can include a wide family of initiatives and a range of organisational forms for non-monetary economies; this demonstrates that the economy is something more than the free market and includes principles of redistribution and reciprocity (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005, p.2044; Laville, 2010, p.231). It is rather a socio-economic model, which calls for solidarity and social justice within economic networks. It requires new forms of exchange and more respectful interactions between people themselves as well as between people and natural resources (Ould Ahmed, 2014, p.426). In an effort to summarize the main characteristics of solidarity in economy, Ould Ahmed (2014, p. 430) has identified six main criteria on which it is based:

a) Economic practices that are non-economic

b) Rejection of the competitive individualism found in capitalist societies

c) Promotion of self-management in the organisation of production

d) Integration into productive entities of unprivileged groups

e) Economic and political equality

f) Individual freedom—free voluntary choice

For Laville (2010), an indispensable ingredient of solidarity economy is democratic solidarity, which differentiates solidarity economy from charity or philanthropic solidarity. Charity or philanthropic solidarity leads to a situation in which beneficiaries are in a state of personal dependency on donors, resulting in the creation of hierarchal inferiority. Democratic solidarity relies on mutual help, is expressed in demands, and constitutes both a self-organisation and a social movement (Ould Ahmed, 2014, p.430; Laville, 2010, p.231-234).

In an attempt to summarise the different perspectives on solidarity activism, its operation in society, and to an extent its political engagement in times of economic crisis, Kousis and Paschou (2017) introduced the concept of *alternative forms of resilience* (AFR). According to the authors, AFR are alternatives to the mainstream, economic and non-economic actions and practices through which citizens build up their resilience when faced with hard economic times and austerity which may exclude them from welfare services and force them to abandon social rights. The concept of AFR is heavily inspired by the six main criteria of solidarity economy that Ould Ahmed identified (stated above), but also includes the political orientation of these groups, which can be either critical (depending on their political ideology) or reformist (aiming for policy changes at national/EU level).

The focus of this approach is on the new, alternative and collective ways in which societies mobilise their transformative capacity to meet people's needs, both economic and socio-political. Many authors argue that these activities flourish in times that are marked by austerity policies, increasing inequality, weakened social policies, and diminished labour and social rights (Kousis & Paschou, 2017). However, it is important to mention that these activities do not include only people that experience economic hardship but also those seeking alternative cultures and lifestyles.

Moreover, AFR are social strategies, which aim to build bonds among community members, contribute to community and environmental wellbeing, and create new alternatives to the dominant capitalist system by seeking out paths for sustainable small-scale development. They also promote new, equality-based relationships among producers and consumers. At the same time, they function at the political level by promoting new directly democratic, bottom up initiatives with a goal of that strengthening open, democratic forms of governance (Kousis, 2017; Kousis & Paschou, 2017, p.142). Finally, according to its proponents, AFR are an inclusive theoretical framework, which goes beyond the boundaries of the social and solidarity economy by focusing on the transformative potential of solidarity practices and concentrating their political energy toward those practices. Furthermore, AFR theorists propose a typology of organisations, initiatives and groups that operate according to nine key theoretical approaches, ranging from reformist to radical and autonomous (figure 1 below). Theorists point out that overlap is possible within this typology given "the hybrid and similar nature of many alternative initiatives" (Kousis & Paschou 2017, p.149).

Figure 2. 1 A typology of AFR: from reformist to autonomous
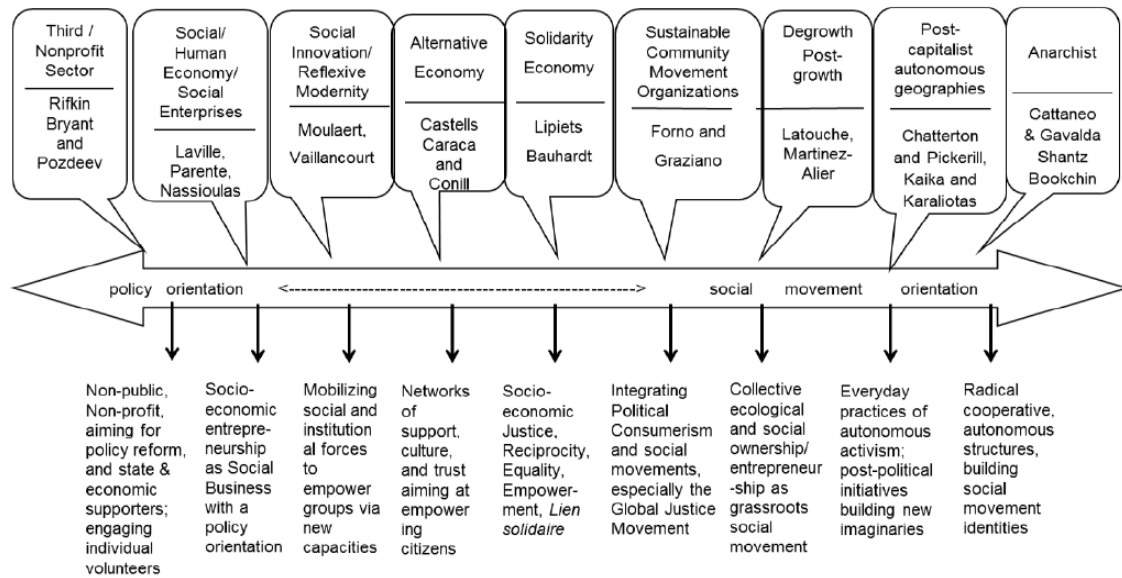
Source: Kousis and Paschou, 2017, p.150

2.4.2 Theoretical approaches to the study of solidarity activism and related works on Greece

During the crisis years, the study of solidarity actions draw the attention of the Greek scientific community. Most of the studies from this period focused on one locality or a single type of activity or organisation. Below I summarize some of the works on Greek solidarity organisations, organised according to the theoretical perspectives on solidarity provision as presented in the typology of Kousis and Paschou illustrated above (2017). Then, I formulate some literature-based assumptions on the core organisational, political and cultural features that I expect to find when I analyse the AAOs in detail in Chapter 4.

I begin by discussing the research works that categorize solidarity work in Greece under the framework of the *third/non-profit sector*. First, I must Ito provide a brief definition of that term. The third/non-profit sector concept is primarily applied to humanitarian non-profit organisations such as NGOs which provide services to those in need and at the same time make claims for necessary policy reforms. They may receive both state (national or supranational) and private funding (donations, provision of services etc.). They mostly have a formal organisational structure, offer top down solidarity (from organisation to beneficiaries), and often mobilise volunteers or supporters to help in their activities (Evers & Laville, 2004; Anheier & Seibel, 2013; Salamon & Anheier, 1997).

In the Greek context, various works have highlighted the importance of the third sector as a solidarity provider during the economic crisis (Clarke, Huliaras & Sotiropoulos, 2015). Among them is that of Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014), which points out that the crisis decreased state funding for the Greek NGO sector while simultaneously stimulating an increase in its collaboration with not-for-profit foundations and private businesses and increasing the number of volunteers the sector commanded. Moreover, many NGOs during the crisis period provided services complementary to the retrenched welfare state by offering solidarity to vulnerable groups such as poor children, people with disabilities and others (Polyzoidis, 2015). The findings in Simiti's work (2017) are in line with those of Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014). She adds that NGOs also broadened the scope of their actions, incorporating more activities and at a broader geographical level (e.g., by developing mobile units to conduct activities nationwide). Both works highlight the political advocacy work of Greek NGOs, although Smiti points out that the Greek NGO sector is a diverse field: not all NGOs are highly formalized or active in the policy field. In addition, research done by Arapoglou and Gounis (2017) on NGOs active around homelessness indicates that they have limited policy-making capacity due to austerity measures and most importantly that the NGOs' supporters and donors push for 'short-term' and 'in kind' forms of assistance such as shelter, soup kitchens etc. which do not correspond to the actual social needs of recipients (Arapoglou and Gounis, 2017; Arapoglou, Gounis, & Siatitsa, 2015).

The next category of mobilisations that of *social/human economy*, has its origins in the cooperative movement. Thus, most of the organisations that fall into this category are cooperatives, social associations or mutual associations. Moreover, they have social objectives such as providing services to society rather than functioning as businesses (Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005; Adam, 2016). Their stakeholders are members of the organisation and share its profits. It is important to note, however, that organisations in this category are not profit-oriented, as a share of any profits must be reinvested in the organisation and the rest is equally distributed among the members who are also the employees of the organisation. They introduce to the market a wide range of innovations with a social purpose, such as impact investment, socially responsible investment, and social banking (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Neamtan, 2009). Finally, two core characteristics of social economy organisations are independent management and democratic decision-making procedures (Adam, 2016; Adam & Papatheodorou, 2010).

In Greece, social economy grew during the crisis as social economy enterprises tried to cover the basic and urgent needs of a significant part of the population (Papadaki & Kalogeraki, 2017; Adam, 2016; Kavoulakos & Gritzas, 2015). Before the crisis, there were few social economy organisations and they were

mostly cooperatives (Adam & Papatheodorou, 2010; Nasioulas, 2012). In 2011, early on in the crisis, the government introduced the law on "Social Economy and Social Entrepreneurship,[41]" which offered institutional recognition for the social economy. Though it was heavily criticised for being inadequate and vague (Nasioulas, 2012), it nevertheless set a foundation for the development of social economy in the country by introducing social cooperative enterprises as a new organisational form. By September 2015, there were around 500 new consumer and workers cooperatives (Bekridaki & Broumas, 2017). As for the features of these organisations, most of them are formal and are active in covering urgent and basic needs (Adam, 2016; Bekridaki & Broumas, 2017). More details about their social aims and goals are given in the work of Kalogeraki and Papadaki, which show that these organisations aim for the promotion of collective identities and community empowerment as well as alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values (Papadaki & Kalogeraki, 2017; Kalogeraki, Papadaki & Pera Ross, 2018).

Next, the category of *social innovation* refers to organisations that result from bottom-up cooperation between social and institutional actors. Their main goal is to address the material and social needs of isolated groups as well as work toward the inclusion of socially excluded groups with the economy as a vehicle, focusing on co-production and co-construction. Moreover, they promote new open and democratic forms of governance (Moulaert, 2013; Moulaert et al, 2010; Mulgan, Tucker, Ali & Sanders, 2007).

In the Greek context, there are many works by various researchers which refer to solidarity initiatives as an outcome of cooperation between social and institutional forces and especially municipalities, but none of these works is framed under the concept of social innovation. To elaborate further, at the peak of the crisis in 2012, the Ministry of Labour created the "National Network of Immediate Social Intervention," which put into operation the "Social Structures of Immediate Poverty Relief" with municipalities and NGOs as implementing bodies (Kourachanis, 2015). Hundreds of solidarity initiatives were the outcome of this cooperation between states and civil society actors (Vathakou, 2015), with social clinics being the most important outcome of this collaboration (Teloni & Adam, 2016; Vaiou & Kalandides, 2016). Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014, p.43) point out that municipalities, in cooperation with NGOs, set up various solidarity initiatives such as social groceries and street work services for the homeless, providing blankets, food, and health services. Vathakou (2015) describes the contribution of municipalities to the establishment of community kitchens and collective gardens. Equally important was the contribution of civil society and

---

[41] Law (4019/2011)

collaboration by the authorities in the development of social tuition for students known also as "Koinonika frontistiria" (Vathakou, 2015; Zambeta, 2014).

I now move on to the concept of *alternative economy,* which is also about non-profit economic practices based on networks of trust, social support, and personal contact (Castells, Caraca & Cardoso, 2012). Alternative economy organisations aim for the promotion of alternative lifestyles and values and redefine the meaning of everyday life. Moreover, they are often related to social movements and include barter and exchange networks, alternative currencies, self-managed initiatives, direct producer-consumer networks, and other practices (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Gibson-Graham, 2006).

As for the empirical investigation of alternative economy initiatives during the Greek crisis, there are only two works that examine solidarity under this theoretical framework. One comes from a comparative Greek–Basque paper from Calvário and Kallis (2016), which examines no-middleman food distribution. The authors find that the no-middleman practices reduce suffering under the neoliberal austerity, promote solidarity from below, and try to change the food distribution structure that contributes to food poverty as well as change the broader political arena. As for the structure of these initiatives, they are self-organised with open assemblies and decisions are consensus-based. Distribution took place in public squares and information spread via the internet and flyers. On the same topic, work done by Petropoulou (2016) examines local food supply chains and agro-collectives as alternative ways of dealing with the negative effects of the crisis and promoting sustainability.

Slightly different than the alternative economy, the *solidarity economy* deals with organisations and groups that organise alternative economic practices based on cooperation and reciprocity and frame their activities under the value of solidarity (Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005). Moreover, initiatives of the solidarity economy aim for economic democratization on the basis of citizens' participation (Adam, 2016; Adam & Papatheodorou, 2010). The concept of solidarity economy has its origins in the radical approaches and social movements developed in Latin America during the 2000 financial crisis. In situations of crisis, solidarity initiatives try to cover urgent needs on the basis of self-determination and cooperation (Bauhardt, 2014).

Most of the empirical works about solidarity provision in Greece during hard economic times employed solidarity economy as their theoretical framework. The majority of these groups and organisations are informal groups and networks (though there are also some formal ones) and they make their decisions via direct democratic procedures and open assemblies (Simiti, 2017; Loukakis, 2018). They are active in a

wide range of mutual-help practices such as food distribution (Rakopoulos, 2014a, 2014b; Alevizou, 2015; Petropoulou, 2013), health and medical provision (Cabot, 2016; Teloni & Adam, 2016; Malamidis, 2016), free tuition lessons (Theoharis, 2016; Kantzara, 2014), exchange networks and barter clubs (Papadaki & Kalogeraki, 2018; Vathakou, 2015), alternative coins and time banks (Kousis et al, 2018; Sotiropoulou, 2012), work and consumer cooperatives (Simiti, 2017; Arabatzi, 2016; Petropoulou, 2013), direct producer-consumer networks (Benmecheddal, Gorge, & Özçağlar-Toulouse, 2017; Rakopoulos, 2015; Varvarousis & Kallis, 2017), community and urban gardens (Partalidou, and Anthopoulou 2017), and alternative media and cultural activities (Kousis et al, 2018; Loukakis, 2018; Kavoulakos & Gritzas; 2015). The core values under which they frame their activities are solidarity and community empowerment (Simiti, 2017; Loukakis, 2018; Kousis et al, 2018). As for the core aims of these initiatives, they are to reduce the negative impacts of the crisis and to promote social change by means of solidarity (Vathakou, 2015; Loukakis, 2018; Rakopoulos, 2014a; Simiti, 2017).

As described above, the concept of *Sustainable Community Movement Organisations* (SCMOs) was introduced by Forno and Grazziano (2014, 2018) to describe a type of social movement organisation which mobilises citizens so that they use their purchasing power in to achieve environmental and social justice. Their main features include the creation of an alternative production culture based on relationships between producers and consumers, innovative action repertoires and shifts in the field of activities from the state to the markets.

Unfortunately, there are no works on SCMOs in Greece. However, discussion on the ways in which consumption-related practices operated both as a strategy to overcome the negative effects of the crisis and as a critique of the dominant capitalistic system of production are found in various works. For instance, Rakopoulos (2014a, 2014b) focuses on anti-middleman food distribution and shows the close relationship between these initiatives and politics, especially the relationship between social movements and the general anti-austerity campaign. The author argues that alternative food networks offer not only a solution to the urgent needs created by the crisis, but also "*pose a conscious, wider critique to austerity politics*" (Rakopoulos, 2014, p.313). Similarly, Loukakis (2018) emphasizes the political character of solidarity initiatives. Moreover, in his work on political consumerism in times of crisis, he argues that some alternative action organisations act in a similar manner to SCMOs, as the crisis forced these organisations to move beyond their traditional environmental character and aim for economic, environmental, and above all social sustainability (Loukakis, 2016).

In their vocabulary (2014) and their latest elaborations on the concept, Kallis, Demaria and D'Alisa refer to *degrowth* as a procedure and framework which includes groups and organisations which aim for the wellbeing of every member of the society in an environmentally sustainable way. It is strongly centred on localities and aims for the creation of small, local communities whose participants move from our industrial, commercialized, capitalistic society toward anti-consumption practices based on a collective and de-growth oriented economy. A crucial aspect of degrowth is its political character, which constitutes a criticism of the logic of economic growth dominant in capitalist and post-capitalist societies (Latouche, 2009). At the same time, it proposes a future society in which people live under five core values: sharing, simplicity, coexistence, care, and commons (Kallis, 2018; D'Alisa et al, 2014; Demaria, Schneider, Sekulova, & Martinez-Alier, 2013).

The concept of degrowth is closely connected to crises in the capitalist system. From the beginning of the crisis, many degrowth initiatives appeared, mostly in the form of eco-communities or eco-villages seeking a return to a small-scale economy and offering alternative, non-monetary practices, lifestyles, and values (Kousis et al, 2017; Vathakou, 2015; Petropoulou, 2013). Other solidarity groups began as degrowth protests, against, for instance, gold mining infrastructures in Chalkidiki and waste management facilities in Keratea (Velegrakis, 2011). More data about degrowth initiatives in Greece can be found in research of Zaimakis (2018), who argues that these groups fight to promote a better world based on sustainable, autonomous, self-governed and self-sufficient communities. These are mostly informal groups which undertake small-scale economic activities. Although they have a limited impact on broader society, Zaimakis concludes that these groups are "*a real laboratory of vivid debates about the meaning and significance of organising collective forms of material life within and against capitalism*" (Zaimakis, 2018, p.115). Finally, degrowth in the context of the Greek economic crisis also appears in the literature as a critique to the economic development and growth plans of the Greek governments (Liodakis, 2016).

Having their roots in the anarchist and common's traditions, *Post-Capitalist and Autonomous Geographies* are groups and initiatives which emphasise everyday politics and activism. They move beyond militant activism and focus on self-organised solidarity activities in an attempt to establish alternatives to the dominant capitalistic ways of thinking. They emphasise praxis or drasis as a way dealing with the effects of austerity (Daskalaki, 2017; Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Calvario, Velegrakis & Kaika, 2016; Chatterton & Pickerill, 2010).

As for empirical research on these groups and practices, most researchers connect their appearance to the Greek Indignados movement. After Indignados mobilisations ended, activists organised at the

neighbourhood level, establishing neighbourhood assemblies and communities centers (stekia) which conducted various solidarity activities (Arampatzi, 2016; Simiti, 2017; Vathakou, 2015). Following this theoretical framework, the research of Daskalaki (2017) on self-managed social spaces highlights the practices (which she names *draseis*) that such spaces organise, which are fundamentally based in solidarity and cultural activities but are also practices of resistance against capitalism.

From the anarchist theoretical framework, *Anarchist groups and initiatives* have a long tradition in the practice of political solidarity. They are informal groups acting outside of the legal framework, active both in solidarity provision and contentious politics. Within solidarity mobilisations, they were active in creating neighbourhood committees, forming local exchange networks, and promoting alternative values and lifestyle practices (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Shantz & Macdonald, 2013; North, 2007).

More specifically, anarchist groups organised self-managed autonomous solidarity activities such as collective kitchens, workers colelctives, and solidarity clinics (Kritidis, 2014; Teloni & Adam, 2016). As for their decision making processes, they are based on a horizontal, democratic and participatory tradition (Arampatzi, 2016). Anarchists' participation in solidarity aimed at sharing ideas, organising resistance events and building new alliances and solidarities in the search for post-neoliberal organisational arrangements (Daskalaki, 2017, p.158). The aim of these groups is to stand against state infrastructures, bypass them and create a network of self-organised, self-managed solidarity initiatives which will ultimately replace formal institutions. It is important to mention that they try to move beyond and against the state, trying to keep solidarity initiatives to a small, local scale (Arampatzi, 2016).

Moving beyond the classification proposed by Kousis and Paschou (2017), it is very important to reference the role the Greek Orthodox Church (GOC) played in solidarity provision during the crisis, which has received limited attention from researchers. The only paper which focuses on the GOC during the crisis is that of Makris and Bekridakis (2013) and deals with the Church as a meals provider (*sisitia*). In their work, Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) mention that the GOC mobilised in order to assist poor people while Papadaki and Kalogeraki (2017) mention the charity work of Church in the city of Chania, finally Kousis et al (2018) refer to GOC as a general charity provider.

To sum up, the literature review on the preceding pages has revealed a wide range of actors which mobilised in order to provide solidarity in crisis-ridden Greece. Moreover, it has shown the different theoretical approaches under which researchers examine solidarity mobilisations. A consequence of this monothematic approach to studying solidarity mobilisations is the absence of scientific works which

examine the full spectrum of organisations and groups along with their activities, their aims and the values under which they frame their actions. Hence, in this dissertation I aim to investigate the organisational, cultural and political features of solidarity actors and then to create a typology which will classify them accordingly. I think that this type of work is absent from the current literature and I intend to undertake it in the following analysis.

2.4.3 Alternative Action Organisations: a synthetic approach

As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, I aim to investigate the phenomenon of solidarity mobilisation in Greece during the crisis through the theoretical lenses of collective action and studies of solidarity initiatives. In the social movement literature, actors are deemed crucial for conducting collective action. Thus, to better understand the solidarity mobilisations during the Greek economic crisis, it will be necessary to understand and classify the different organisations and groups that took part in them. Using theoretical tools from the literature on solidarity actions and theories of collective action, I sketch the organisational, political and cultural profile of actors that took place in solidarity activism, then I classify them and finally I explain how solidarity mobilisations emerged and spread around the country. Summing up, my goal in this dissertation is to answer the following question:

What are the main organisational features of the solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis? Can we speak of a cycle of solidarity and more generally of a broader cycle of collective action in Greece in the aftermath of the economic crisis?

The initial idea for combining these two different bodies of literature (solidarity provision literature and collective action theory) comes from a suggestion made by Kousis and Paschou (2017) in their paper on the different forms of solidarity provision. The authors suggest that the historical perspective on cycles of solidarity introduced by Mouleart and Ailenei (2005) could be analysed under the light of political process theory. Kousis and Paschou identify the influence of political opportunities and threats on waves in the solidarity economy. They acknowledge the seriousness of economic threats and mention the recurring emergence of solidarity actions, especially after the industrial revolution, as a response to the economic uncertainty and poverty faced by a significant part of population. Kousis and Paschou's proposal does not apply only to the historical examples of solidarity. The authors acknowledge austerity policies as political and economic threats and propose the application of social movement theory and methodology tools to the study of contemporary solidarity actions (Kousis & Paschou, 2017, p. 157). This proposal takes into

account political process literature that regards opportunities as signals for actors' mobilisation (Tarrow, 1996, p.68) or as opening possibilities for successful acts of protest (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001; Kousis & Tilly, 2005) and that categorises threats as general threats (a general exposure to harm) and collective action threats (the cost that a group has to pay if it is engaged in collective action or if it remains inactive) (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001; Kousis & Tilly, 2005).Moreover, in their conclusion, Kousis and Paschou (2017) raise two research questions, about the mobilising structure of the solidarity organisations and about the claims and framing procedures that are used within such mobilisations.

Taking into account Kousis and Paschou's propositions for future research, in this dissertation I use theories about how collective actions emerge as well as social movement theories including grievances, cultural framing, political opportunities structure and resource mobilisation theory to explain the rise of solidarity initiatives in Greece during the economic crisis.

In order to do so, I investigate the resources and the political and economic opportunities and threats during time period in which solidarity mobilisations took place. I also investigate the cultural features of groups and organisations that participated in solidarity, including the values under which they frame their activities, their stated aims and goals, the solidarity approaches and strategies that they apply. Moreover, I intend to pay special attention to the action repertoires that these organisations and groups make use of as well as the constituency groups that they aim to support. Then, I will use the core features of AAOs identified via this process and analyse them according to the solidarity provision theoretical framework of Kousis and Paschou (2017). My intention is to use and enrich, if possible, the typology introduced by those authors.

As for the classification process, I again make use of collective action theories. In detail, the typology of different organisations will be based on their organisational type, the solidarity approach that they follow, their core aims and values as well as the strategies that they employ to achieve their goals, and finally whether they are active in the political arena or not. In this classification scheme, I will use RMT to identify the types of AAOs, political opportunities and grievances theory for the examination of the action repertoires, and framing theories for the identification of the different aims, solidarity approaches and values cohorts of the organisations.

Therefore, I will study AAOs—a concept developed in the context of the LIVEWHAT project—using analytical tools provided by collective action and social movement literature. Following Kousis, Giugni and Lahusen (2018), I define AAOs as formal or informal groups, initiatives or organisations (e.g. citizens

initiatives, social movement organisations, NGOs, the Church, hybrid local government organisations, collectives etc.) engaging in strategic, contentious and non-contentious actions in the public sphere and making claims to their beneficiaries or participants (e.g. in reference to their economic or social/cultural well-being). These organisations are not operated or exclusively supported by mainstream economic and political organisations (i.e. corporate, state, or EU-related agencies).

I propose using collective action literature for the analysis of these organisations because they share numerous similarities with Social Movement Organisations (SMOs). According to the literature, an SMO can be either a formal or informal organisation "*which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement, and attempts to implement those goals*" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218). SMOs are committed to promoting or preventing social and/or political change. Similarly, AAOs aim to advance social change and/or prevent degradation on behalf of their claimants. Also similarly to SMOs, AAOs can have either formal or informal organisational structures as they go about collecting and mobilising resources, and their common aim is to target the increasing needs of citizens, as well as to facilitate participatory alternatives (Della Porta & Diani, 2009; Scott, 1981; Zald & Ash, 1966; Zald & McCarthy, 2002).

The major difference between SMOs and AAOs is that the former are political organisations which usually address the state in a contentious manner in order to force it to take action to solve the issues their claims concern and which participate in a movement sharing similar values, identities, and goals. While the existence of a solidarity movement may be debatable, there is no doubt that AAOs foster collective action, and I argue that irrespective of definitions, each AAO uses collective action to frame its activities (e.g. solidarity, philanthropy, social innovation, resilience, etc.), which are aimed at meeting people's needs. Thus, from my point of view, these common activities allow me to use tools of social movement literature to analyse the organisational, political and cultural features of AAOs.

Chapter 3: Methods of Research

In this chapter, I introduce the methods I use to collect data and explain why these methods are appropriate to study the solidarity organisations that were active in Greece during the economic crisis. Moreover, I describe the variables and the statistical techniques used in order to answer my research questions.

3.1 Methodology of Research: Data collection Process

As already stated, the aims of the dissertation are to map the field of solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis and to provide a typology of the actors that were engaged in these solidarity activities. I am also investigating whether these solidarity mobilisations fit with the concept of "cycle" already presented and, from this, I formulate the idea of the Greek Cycle of solidarity. Finally, in direct connection with the concept of cycle and more specifically with the closing of the cycle and the demobilisation phase, I investigate which factors foster the sustainability of the AAOs.

I first researched in detail the profile of the solidarity actors by characterising their organisational, cultural and political features: who the solidarity actors were, the type of activities they organised or participated in, the population groups they wanted to assist, their aims, the solidarity approaches they followed and under which values they framed their actions. Then I use the features that the previous step identified and, through statistical modelling techniques, I construct a typology of these actors. Following this, I investigate whether the five criteria set by Tarrow (1998, 2011) for the existence of a cycle are fulfilled by the Greek case. To this end, I use data produced by the Action Organisation Analysis (AOA) and the online survey (the latter produced data that allowed me to verify whether there was a phase of increased interaction between actors and authorities during the cycle, following Tarrow's description). Finally, with respect to the sustainability of the AAOs and the factors that contribute to their ability to stay active, I use the Resource Mobilisation Theory to construct a logit regression model, which tests the features identified earlier.

The present research builds on data collected during the LIVEWHAT project. More specifically, it uses data produced for Work Package 6: Alternative forms of resilience in times of crisis (WP6), coordinated by the University of Crete.[42] For the purpose of the dissertation I mostly use data from the AOA and, to a lesser

---

[42]   For more details on how the data used in this thesis were derived see Parts I and II in the related report at http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LIVEWHAT_D6.4.pdf. The UoC team is comprised of

extent (only one variable), the data from the online survey. Using these two different methods allows me to enrich the data set with information that could not be coded through AOA alone.

The first part of the quantitative content analysis research design is the method of AOA, created for the needs of WP6 and deriving from the analysis of protest events and political claims, as well as protest cases analysis (Kousis et al, 2018). The unit of analysis is the alternative organisation, which is a specific formal or informal group of initiators who act in the public sphere. Their actions are framed as cases of solidarity-based exchanges and cooperative structures, such as barter clubs and networks, credit unions, ethical banks, time banks, alternative social currencies, cooperatives, citizens' self-help groups, solidarity networks covering urgent/basic human needs, and social enterprises (Kousis et al, 2018). The organisations' websites were coded with the use of a Codebook and an online coding instrument (LIVEWHAT, WP6).

The Greek data on initiatives and/or organisations that offer solidarity was used. This data was collected during the first phase of WP6 from three "hub"[43] websites (*enallaktikos.gr, Solidarity4all.gr and omicronproject.gr)*. The sample was enriched with data from a "sub-hub"[44] website (boroume.gr) (Marketakis et al, 2015). "Hub" websites have been used before[45] in a limited number of studies but never

---

Maria Kousis (WP leader), Stefania Kalogeraki (responsible for the related online survey); I have been participating in WP6 as a research collaborator during all the stages of the WP. More specifically, I participated in the preparation and the construction of the Codebook for the analysis of alternative action organisations and I also worked as a coder of the AAOs websites. Additionally, I participated in the preparation of the online questionnaire for the analysis of alternative action groups and networks. Finally, I contributed to the writing of the integrated report on alternative forms of resilience in times of crisis in nine European countries.

[43]   A "hub" website tends to offer lists of alternative initiatives at the national level. These "hub" websites mostly refer to initiatives or organisations acting for solidarity, social economy, social innovation, human economy, degrowth, and/or political consumerism etc. (Kousis, Giugni and Lahusen 2018).

[44]   Sub-hub websites tend to focus on specific fields of action types, or on regional levels (Kousis et al, 2018).

[45]   What happens with the initiatives/organisations which don't have websites? Are these types of organisations represented in the LIVEWHAT data set? The answer to this question is mostly yes, a significant number of these actions are recorded by enallaktikos.gr. This page gives information about the initiative (name), its kind of action (e.g., kitchen soup), its location (in the google maps), its accurate address and phone number, even when there is no website available. That problem is common among the cases that are organised by the Orthodox Church e.g., kitchen soups. In order to get more data about these initiatives, a good practice could be to look at the cities websites. However, in cases where there was enough information in the "hub" website, coders had to code these cases as they used the hub pages as a summary. In the specific cases we followed Tilly's approach on coding summaries (Tilly, 2008).

in a systematic way, and not with social movement methodological coding tools such as in the LIVEWHAT project. Baumgarden (2017) used "hub" websites' information to study alternative solidarity projects in Portugal. A website approach has also been used by Sotiropoulos and Bourikos, who retrieved data from the register of 545 formal organisations listed in the website of the Greek National Centre of Social Solidarity—EKKA (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014). This procedure allows for a first cording and rough description of alternative initiatives/organisations in terms of space, time and typology, across the country.

The systematic information from the LIVEWHAT database is used to code the socio-economic, cultural, and political features of the initiating groups, their networks, resources, supporters, actions and practices, solidarity approaches, goals, and the types of citizens' rights and needs. The population of organisations exceeds 3.500, it is therefore impossible (due to the amount of available resources) to code all of them; hence, the LIVEWHAT consortium chose a random sample-selection procedure (of 500 AAOs) for all the countries studied, including Greece. This procedure produced the largest part of the information in my research.

The online survey

The online survey was conducted between the 2nd May 2016 and 17th June 2016 then extended to the 30th June 2016 to reach a higher response rate. The coding instrument was in Greek and it was tested with five different organisations. Invitations were sent to the 500 organisations coded during the AAO website analysis. According to the instructions, a representative of the AAO (chair, leader, member of the board etc.) had to fill the survey in the name of the organisation/group. In total, 81 AAOs responded to the survey but after cleaning procedures (double entries, missing variables etc.) this was reduced to 61 fully answered cases, resulting in a 12.5% response rate (LIVEWHAT, deliverable 6.3).

From the online survey we collected data related with connections, mechanisms, and tactics used by AAOs, the ways in which they are addressing citizens' rights through the promotion of solidarity actions for people dealing with the crisis, the different types of political participations and the way that the crisis affected the particular organisation or group. As the website based organisation analysis (AOA) was not able to cover all of these topics, answers by AAO insiders were needed to obtain a more accurate organisational profile. However, as stated earlier, with respect to the online survey, only the information concerning the changes of the interactions between organisations and authorities (at any level) was used.

These interaction changes constitute one of the criteria that Tarrow mentioned in his definition of the cycle (Tarrow, 1998, 2011) and it was not possible to assess these changes solely with the AOA data.

At this point, it is important to mention the limitations of this research, particularly regarding the data that is used. Concerning the AAOs, the most important issue is that only the AAOs with a website, a weblog, a Facebook account or summary in the "hub" website were coded. That decision automatically excludes from the analysis all the AAOs not active online or not included on the hub websites. A typical example of the latter is that we could not code any far right orientated solidarity initiative despite the fact that Hellenic Golden Dawn has been reported to organise solidarity activities[46]. Moreover, another issue is that the method applied is not able to trace when an AAO first conducted a specific solidarity action or the frequencies of its activities. Hence, I am not able to say whether an AAO frequently conducted solidarity activity X or only once. Similarly, I am not in position to say whether the specific solidarity activity was part of a pre-existed AAO's repertoire or was adopted during the crisis. As for the online survey, a potential issue is the low response rate (12%), however this is an acceptable rate in organisational online surveys. Another issue is that the answers received, because they are based on the representative's perceptions about their own AAOs, tend to simply echo the official position of the AAO. However, the data produced by the online survey are only supplementary for my analysis and was not used in the construction of the typology and its contribution to the examination of the cycle of solidarity is small.

3.2 Variables used in the analysis

In this section I present all the variables used in the different stages of the analysis (they are organised according the subchapter that they are used and according to the order of the appearance) in order to make easier for the reader to understand the basic measurement, how different variables are used and how these variables contribute to the respond of the research questions.

3.2.1 The profile of the AAOs: Organisation types and structural features

Variables presented in this section were critical to the construction of the solidarity providers' profile: their organisation type, their structural features, their actions repertoire, the beneficiaries-constituency

---

[46]   Golden Dawn during the crisis provided solidarity only to Greeks. For instance, in their organised grocery or cooked food provisions participants had to show their ID to be served. Source: https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/337995/hrusi-augi-dorean-dianomi-trofimon-mono-gia-ellines-/ (last accessed 12/11/2019).

groups, their core aims and targets, their strategies, the solidarity approaches that they adopt as well as the values under which they frame their actions. The identified organisational, cultural and political features are also used in the creation of the typology.

3.2.1.1 Organisation type

The organisation type is a core feature in my attempt to construct the typology of the solidarity providers. The original coding based on the Codebook included 16 different categories, namely:

a. Protest groups/indignados/occupy protests/movement of the squares

b. Informal citizens/grassroots solidarity initiatives and networks of solidarity/social economy, social justice and reclaim activities as well as informal time banks

c. Information platforms and networks

d. Community Credit Unions/Community Banks (finance related Cooperatives)

e. Formal Social economy enterprises/mutual companies

f. Formal cooperatives [non-finance related]

g. Formal Time Banks

h. NGOs/volunteer associations/non-profit organisations (professional, formal organisations)

i. Charities/foundations (professional, formal organisations)

j. Unions, labour organisations

k. Other work/profession related associations/groups

l. Cultural/arts/sports associations/clubs

m. 'Hybrid' Enterprise-Associations with local, regional state government units

n. Local (municipality)/regional organisations [if in collaboration with citizen initiatives, NGOs]

o. Professional organisations and groups

p. Church/religious organisations

After a series of recoding, based on existing literature and aiming at producing better results, this was simplified to only six broad categories which are described below:

a) *Protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous places,* this category includes all social movement related actors such as protest groups, autonomous places, self-managed collectivities, squats and anarchist-oriented solidarity initiatives. The category also included various protest groups founded during the anti-austerity protest mobilisations as well as many antifascist/anti-Nazi initiatives created to defend and support migrants and refugees from the rapid increase of extreme-right groups in Greece.

b) *Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives,* this category includes all informal citizens/grassroots solidarity initiatives and networks of solidarity. Generally, they are engaged in solidarity economy, social justice and reclaim activities. This category also includes neighbourhood assemblies, human rights defence groups as well as initiatives that promote free software exchange and non-mainstream people's media.

c) *Social economy enterprises and Cooperatives,* the composition of this category includes traditional cooperatives, new social economy enterprises, as well as social cooperatives and fair trade shops.

d) *NGOs and voluntary associations*, this category includes professional, formal organisations such as non-profit and voluntary organisations and NGOs. It also includes professional organisations and groups such as Medical Associations, Lawyers associations, Teachers' Associations and more.

e) '*Hybrid' enterprise-associations with local, regional state government units*, this category includes initiatives that were created mostly during the crisis and are the result of collaboration between state actors such as municipalities or regional authorities with private sector, NGOS, voluntary associations, universities or other civil society actors such as professional associations.

f) *Church and charities,* this category concerns activities organised by religion-related organisations as well as by charities and philanthropic organisations that are ruled by religious organisations, mostly by the Greek Orthodox Church.

3.2.1.2 Organisational structure

Another important organisational feature is the structure of the AAOs. All of the structural features (*Board, President/leader/chair, Secretary, Treasurer, Paid staff, Written constitution, Spokesperson/media-PR, General assembly/general body, Neighbourhood/open assembly, Committees or work group or Not available*) are dummy variables. In the analysis I use 66,4% (n=332) of the total

population, which corresponds to the ones that have mentioned at least one structural feature on their websites. The structural features are used as indicators of the formality. In order to measure this aspect, I have constructed a composition index which sums the score of the structural features (lowest score = 1, highest score = 9). Then I created three categories of formality levels: a) *low* (scores 1 and 2), b) *medium* (3 to 5) and c) *high* (6 to 9).

3.2.1.3 Actions repertoire

After their structural characteristics, the actions repertoire that the AAOs conduct were coded into two main types: "practice solidarity actions", which include all the activities related to covering needs; and "political solidarity" which includes all the conventional and contentious political actions that AAOs may engage in. The practice based solidarity actions type was further divided into ten categories related to covering needs and six categories indicating the political engagement of the AAOs. The categories that are related with covering needs are: Basic/urgent needs, Economy, Energy/environment, Alternative consumption, Civic media, Self-organised spaces, Culture, Stop hate Crime, Stop human trafficking, Other solidarity actions. The five most often mentioned categories are described in details in the analysis section 4.2 (Basic/urgent needs, Economy, Energy/environment, Alternative consumption and Culture). I give a description of the other ones here:

a) *Civic media and communications.* This category consists of actions such as: Creating and maintaining/updating digital media outlets on alternative actions/groups (e.g., social media pages and activities), People's e/press, people's e/tv, and people's e/radio and Software/data exchange (dummy variable).

b) *Self-organised spaces*: movement/subcultural/illegal civic and autonomous management of spaces (e.g. squats, occupations of buildings, abandoned urban slots, buildings and facilities), municipality-supported/legal civic and autonomous management of spaces, self-managed co-working spaces (dummy variable).

c) *Stop Hate Crime*: actions and campaigns whose aim is to stop crimes related with the identity of the victim, as member of a particular group or a perceived "race". The category also includes activities related to the support of victims of hate crimes (dummy variable).

d) *Stop Human Trafficking*: actions against human trafficking or in support of victims of human trafficking (dummy variable).

e) *Other solidarity actions*: actions which could not fit in the rest of categories such as workshops, actions against drugs, participations in European exchange projects such as Erasmus and participations in humanitarian missions in Africa (dummy variable).

As I stated above and in the literature review section, many of the AAOs have close relationships with social and anarchist movements. Additionally, most of the AAOs created during this turbulent political period often participated in protest actions. Other AAOs are active in policy reform consultations through various verbal and written statements, while many of them are only active in the field of in-practice solidarity. The precise description of the AAOs' political repertoire is among the key elements for the construction of the typology described later.

a) *Verbal/written statements.* This category includes actions whose aims are to promote/enhance the organisation and its activities to the public: declaration in the conventional media/interview, press conference/release, and written/verbal statement/resolutions in conventional media (dummy variable).

b) *Promotional actions/public Reports*: debates/round tables, information events/charity exhibitions/arts events, publications/reports, advertisement [e.g. of AAOs activities], Posters/stickers/banners/dissemination material and other dissemination actions (dummy variable).

c) *Other non-protest actions*: parliament-related actions (such as parliamentary debate/intervention/political pressure), and court-related actions (such as litigations or legal procedures). These are strategies used by informal or formal citizens' initiatives and NGOs (dummy variable).

d) *Conventional/Soft protest actions*: launching of public initiatives, collection of signatures, participation in committees/consultation/negotiations, campaigning, closed-doors meeting and other soft protest actions (dummy variable).

e) *Demonstrative protest actions*: public referendum demonstrations, public protests, public rally, symbolic demonstrative actions, public/neighbourhood/square assemblies and other demonstrative actions (dummy variable).

f) *Other Protest actions*: consumption-related protest activities (e.g. boycott), strikes and occupation of public buildings or squares (e.g. 15M, indignados, occupy). It also includes actions such as hunger strikes, closing of shops, activity/source/road blockades, and sit-ins (dummy variable).

3.2.1.4 Scope of action

This variable is divided into five possible answers (*local, regional, national, European* and *global*), which are also dummy variables. The possible answers are not mutually exclusive however being active at a higher level does not necessary mean that the AAO is active at lower spatial levels as well. Thus, an AAO could be active in many different levels, but, also, if an AAO is active at the national level this does not necessarily mean that it is also active at the local or regional levels.

3.2.1.5 Strategies

The possible answer categories are dummy variables and most on them were used without any recoding (namely *protest*, *raising awareness*, *direct actions* and *lobbying*). In two cases I grouped some answers to ameliorate the data. In one case I regrouped all possible answers that indicate a policy reform (namely *Policy reform/change/creation: family/children* or *Social aid & poverty* or *Health* or *Migration/refugee/asylum* or *Labour related* or *Social economy/cooperatives/social enterprise* or *Environment/animals* or *Unspecified)* under the category Policy change. In another case, I regrouped the answers *Change government* and *Change the establishment* under a new category, Change government or establishment. Both of the merged answers categories are dummy variables. Strategies that the AAOs follow indicate the orientations that these groups and organisations have (direct actions, protest and social movement orientations or reformist policy change orientation). These findings are used for the construction of the typology.

3.2.1.6 Constituency groups/beneficiaries

Similarly, to the other variables, the possible answer categories are dummy variables and the most of them were not recoded. In a few cases I grouped some variables together, such as:

a) *Youths* and *Students* in the category Youth or students

b) *Parents* and *families* in the category Parents or families

c) *Minorities* and V*ictims of hate crimes* in the category Minorities or victims of hate crimes

d) *Disabled*, *health inflicted* and H*ealth vulnerable groups* in the category Disabled / health inflicted or vulnerable

e) *Poor and/or marginalized people* and *Poor and/or marginalized communities* in the category Poor/marginalized people or communities

f) *Homeless*, Uninsured and *Unemployed* in the category Unemployed/uninsured or precarious workers

g) *Citizen-consumers* and *Small Enterprises/producers/farmers* in the category Citizen-consumers/small enterprises-producers.

3.2.1.7 Umbrella features

First, the organisations identified in their websites as umbrella organisations were counted (5%, N= 25). Then, for these umbrella organisations, I provide data about their branches (dummy variable) and their level: Subnational (local and regional), National, European, Global (multiple answers variable).

The next umbrella feature taken into account is whether the member organisations are local branches (that belong to the umbrella organisation) or are independent organisations (dummy variable). The same data that was collected concerning the umbrella organisations was also gathered for the organisations that are members of umbrellas (N=89). Due to small N, this data is only provided descriptively in the text without any presentation of table or graph.

3.2.1.8 Partners

In total the available data concerns 484 AAOs (16 missing cases). With regards to their partners, the data was organised into four mutually exclusive answers: *none, 1—10, 11-30, more than 31*. Then, for the AAOs that mention partners (N=309), their websites were used to determine the type of partners. The partners' categories are dummy variables.

3.2.2 Cultural features

Cultural features of the AAOs are very important as they are directly connected with the framing that the AAOs give to their purposes and their activities. Hence, cultural features help understand the meaning that the AAOs give to their practices. All of the culture-related variables that I present below (Aims, Solidarity approaches and Values) are used for the creation of the solidarity actors' typology.

3.2.2.1 Aims

All of the seventeen possible answers are dummy variables as an AAO could have more than one aims. The aims are presented in the analysis without any recoding or merge:

a. To promote health, education and welfare

b. To combat discrimination and promote equality of participation

c. To promote and achieve positive/individual change

d. To promote and achieve social change

e. To promote democratic practices/defence of rights/improve public space

f. To promote alternative non-economic practices, lifestyles and values

g. To reduce poverty and exclusion

h. To increase tolerance and mutual understanding

i. To promote collective identities and community empowerment

j. To reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis/austerity

k. To promote self-determination, self-initiative, self-representation and self-empowerment

l. To promote sustainable development

m. To promote social movement actions and collective identities

n. To promote individual rights and responsibility

o. To promote self-managed collectivities

p. To promote dignity

q. To promote alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values

3.2.2.2 Solidarity approaches

Again these are dummy variables that allow to the coders to choose more than one approach:

a. Mutual help

b. Support/assistance between groups

c. Help/offer support to others

d. Distribution of goods and services to others

3.2.2.3 Values

In the initial coding there are thirty-three different values variables, which are labelled under six different groups:

Group I. Humanitarian/philanthropic

      a. Solidarity and altruism

      b. Truthfulness, honesty and sincerity

      c. Trust

      d. Dignity

      e. Voluntarism

      f. Respect

Group II. Rights-based ethics

      g. Political equality/equality

      h. Civil rights and liberties

      i. Human rights/women's rights/children's rights

      j. Fairness/ethics

      k. Social justice

      l. Peace, safety (linked to rights)

Group III. Empowerment and participation

      a. Community building/empowerment

      b. Freedom and emancipation/(e.g. women's) empowerment

      c. Self-reliance/self-sufficiency

     d.   Participatory democracy

     e.   Mutual understanding

     f.   Collaboration across interested parties

     g.   Internationalism/Globalism

Group IV. Diversity and sustainability

     a.   Ecology, environment, sustainability

     b.   Intergenerational justice

     c.   Respect for difference

     d.   Toleration

Group V. Economic virtues

     a.   Economic prosperity

     b.   Accountability

     c.   Competitiveness and merit

     d.   Professionalism

Group VI. Community and order

     a.   Security and stability

     b.   Nationalism/national belonging

     c.   Tradition

     d.   Social equilibrium

     e.   Social cohesion

     f.   Preserving existing (local) communities

In order to provide a more solid analysis I merged all sub-categories under the names of the main categories. Moreover, I excluded the solidarity and altruism values from the general category to consider them separately, which allowed me to test the assertion found in the recent literature that solidarity could

be seen as a "new crisis-related" value. Thus, in the analysis I use seven values: Solidarity and altruism, Humanitarian/philanthropic, Rights-based ethics, Empowerment and participation, Diversity and Sustainability, Economic virtues, and Community and order.

3.2.3 A typology of AAOs active in Greece during hard economic times

Based on the previously identified organisational, cultural and political features of the AAOs, as well as the characteristics underlined by Kousis and Paschou (2017), a typology was constructed to classify the actors engaged in solidarity mobilisations based on the following variables:

a) Organisation type

b) Solidarity approach

c) Aims and goals

d) Values under which they frame their activities

e) Strategies

f) Existence of political activities

Organisation types include eight mutually exclusive categories, which differ slightly from those that have been used in the first descriptive part:

a) Protest Groups, antifascist networks and autonomous places

b) Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives

c) Social economy enterprises and cooperatives,

d) NGOs and voluntary associations,

e) 'Hybrid' enterprise-associations with local, regional state government units,

f) Church and charities

After some groupings, two more categories were added:

g) *Information platforms*, this category includes all the alternative media or non-mainstream media that can operate as alternative news agencies or as hubs which

provide information about the different solidarity initiatives, the venues where solidarity actions take place etc.

h)   *Professional related initiatives,* this category includes all the solidarity initiatives organised by professional associations such as solidarity clinics organised by doctors associations, solidarity tuitions to poor students organised by teachers associations, groups of lawyers offering free advice about mortgages or to refugees about asylum procedures.

The two added categories mitigate the impact of this dimension reduction technique, improving the analysis and its outcomes.

As I showed above there are four main Solidarity approaches: *Mutual help, Support/assistance between groups* (Collaboration between groups), *Help/offer support to others* (Altruistic) and *Distribution of goods and services to others* (Top down). But in many cases AAOs follow more than one approaches. Thus, I recoded the answer categories as follows:

a)   Mutual help: AAOs which only follow mutual help solidarity approach

b)   Collaborative: AAOs which only follow the , Support/assistance between groups

c)   Altruistic: AAOs which only follow the Help/offer support to others

d)   Top down: AAOs which only follow the Distribution of goods and services to others approach

e)   Mixed based on mutual help: AAOs that follow mutual help and at least one of the other solidarity approaches

f)   Mixed based on top down: AAOs that follow top down and at least one of the other solidarity approaches

There were no cases combining only Collaborative and Altruistic approaches. These two approaches are usually combined with one of the other two solidarity approaches (Mutual help or Top down). Moreover there were also three cases that combine Mutual help and Top down approaches at the same time, which I didn't include in the analysis.

With regards to the aims and values, I use exactly the same variables that mentioned in the previous section. Concerning the strategies that the AAOs follow, I use all the variables described in the previous section (namely P*rotest*, *Raising awareness*, *Lobbying, Policy change and Change government or*

establishment) except that of *Direct actions*. The latter was excluded because it is mentioned by more than 91% of the AAOs and therefore could not contribute to the modelling.

Finally, with respect to the engagement in the political actions, I created two dummy variables. The first is called *Conventional non-protest* actions and includes all the AAOs that mention at least one of the following activities: *Verbal/written statements*, *Promotional actions/public reports*, and *Other non-protest actions*. The second variable is called *Protest actions* and includes all the AAOs that mention on their website at least one of the following activities *Conventional/soft protest actions, Demonstrative protest actions* and *Other Protest actions* (all of these categories are discussed in details above).

3.2.4 The Greek Cycle of solidarity

In this final part of the analysis, my aim is to suggest that the concept of cycle, usually applied to protest and contention, can also be applied or used with other forms of collective action. To this end, I first assessed whether the five criteria that Tarrow indicates apply to the case of the Greek solidarity mobilisations:

a. Rapid diffusion of collective actions from more mobilised to less mobilised sectors.

b. Combination of organised and unorganised participation.

c. Rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention employed.

d. Creation of new or transformed collective action frames.

e. Sequences of intensified interactions between challengers and authorities.

Starting with the diffusion, I use the date that the AAOs were established at to show their distribution during the crisis years. Moreover, I use the zip codes of the AAOs to create maps using the ARCGIS online tool and to depict the geographical distribution of the AAOs before and during these years.

To investigate the co-existence of organised and un-organised actors, I rely on the number of partners of the AAOs, as well as the type of partners. The number of partners are classified in four mutual exclusive categories (none, 1 to 10, 11 to 30, more than 31), and the type of partners is divided into twelve different dummy variables.

Then, I examine both the solidarity and the political repertoire of the AAOs. The solidarity repertoire is described using the most mentioned actions' categories, and the political repertoire with all the possible

answers. Finally, I identify the scope of actions for both AAOs groups. All the variables are dummies and are the same than the ones used to determine the profile of the AAOs in chapter 3.2.1.

Concerning the changes in the collective action frames, first I look at the aims that the AAOs promote—17 different aims, all dummy variables. Then I investigate the solidarity approaches in four dummy variables (mutual help, collaborative, altruistic and top down). I also take into account the changes in values of the different AAOs. Again, I use the same dummy variables that are described in the sub-chapter 3.2.2 on collective identities.

Finally, in order to investigate the interactions with the state, I rely on the strategies followed by the AAOs, which are the same dummy variables described above (Protest, Raising awareness, Direct actions, Lobbying, Policy change, Change of government or establishment). Moreover, the online survey also provided data about the interaction of the AAOs with the state[47]. One question of the survey refers to changes of the organisation after the crisis. Among these changes, four refer to actions undertaken by the organisation that indicate interactions with the state: protest participation, participation in policy making procedures at the local, the regional and at the national level. For each of these, respondents could choose among seven possible answers (*Large increase, Moderate increase, Remain the same, Moderate decrease, Large decrease, Not applicable to my group/organisation/association, Don't Know*). For the sake of the analysis I merge all the answers that indicate an increase, the ones that indicate a decrease and I excluded the not applicable and DK answers. Therefore, only three answers are used in the analysis (*increased, decreased, remained the same*).

3.2.5 AAOs lifespan and circle of life

The purpose of this section is to investigate the AAOs cycle of life as well as the factors that are related to the sustainability of the AAOs, i.e., the ability of the AAOs to stay active, at least online. Moreover, another goal is to find out which of the organisational features are related to AAOs sustainability. All the variables used here are related to the Resource Mobilisation Theory, described in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.5.

In my analysis, the dependent variable is the online activity/inactivity of the AAO (dummy). In order to measure activity, I use the date of the last media outlet update (website, Facebook page, Twitter account or weblog). I consider an AAO as "active" if it has at least one post in any online media outlet between

---

[47]   See later for more details about the online survey

July 2015 and July 2016[48]. I have already argued that even when an organisation is not active online, it does not necessarily mean that it is also inactive in-person. However, it is rare today for an AAO that is not online to be able to promote their work adequately and attract sufficient human and material resources. The latter is extremely important to inform their constituency groups and potential beneficiaries about where and when their actions take place. Thus, an inactive online AAO cannot attract new resources and might fail to inform people in need where they can be helped by the AAO. Summing up, I argue that online inactivity can be an indication of in-person inactivity.

As for the rest of the variables that I use, first I provide the comparison of the two groups (active/inactive online) by examine the organisations types. For this reason I use the six organisation types that I used in AAOs profile sections, namely: Protest groups, Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, Social economy and cooperatives, NGOs and voluntary associations, Hybrid organisations, and Church and Charities (described above).

The independent variables that I use in the logit regression model are: a) whether the organisation conducts cultural activities (dummy variable), b) the strategy that the AAO follows (three different strategies: Raising awareness, Protest, and Policy change—dummy variables), c) the solidarity approach that the AAO takes (four dummy variables: Mutual help, Collaborative, Altruistic, and Top down - as described in the AAOs collective identity sub-chapter), d) the Number of media outlets, a numeric variable comprised between one and four depending on the number of outlets (Website, Blog, Facebook, Twitter) that an AAO uses, e) specific features such as a newsletter or a news section, f) a composite index measuring the formality (described above) in order to check the structural effects on sustainability of AAOs and a dummy variable about whether the AAO takes its decisions via open/neighbourhood assemblies—in order to also test the effects of the direct democracy-like/horizontal decision-making structures, g) members and volunteers—a dummy variable looking at whether the AAO is looking for volunteers, personnel and/or members in their media outlets; h) a dummy variable measuring whether the AAO mention paid staff or any open call for recruiting personnel in their media outlets.

---

[48]   The coding procedure was finished at the end of July 2016.

3.3 Statistical Techniques used in the Analysis

To study the organisational profile of the AAOs (see section 3.2.1 and chapter 4.1) I use descriptive statistics and exploratory techniques. More specifically, most of the analysis is based on crosstabs on which I used tests of independence to verify whether the variables that I used are dependent. I use the chi-square test in most cases except a few instances that involved a really low number of observations, where I used the Fisher extract test.

Similarly, I use descriptive analysis and exploratory statistical techniques such as chi –square tests and Fisher exact tests to examine the cultural features of the AAOs (Chapter 4.2).

With respect to the typology of the AAOs as solidarity providers in Greece during hard economic times (Chapter 4.3) I use dimension reduction—modelling techniques that allow me to classify the AAOs not only by the organisation types but also using other literature-driven features.

There is an ongoing debate among statisticians about which Exploratory modelling techniques are the most adequate. The most generally accepted technique is that of Factor Analysis (Osborn, Costello & Kellow, 2008; Williams, Onsman & Brown, 2010). However, the biggest drawback[49] of this technique is that it requires continuous data and it cannot be used with binary data (dummy variables), which is the case in the specific dataset. Thus, I had to turn to the most commonly used alternative, that of Principle Component Analysis (PCA), (Kolenikov &Angeles, 2004). Even though the PCA has received much criticisms, as many statisticians consider it as a dimension reduction method and not a modelling technic (Ford, MacCallum & Tait, 1986; Widaman, 1993), it has been used in more than the half of the studies doing modelling (Costello & Osborn, 2005). Moreover, supporters of PCA as modelling technique argue that it produces the same results as Factor analysis (Velicer & Jackson, 1990a, 1990b). To conclude, PCA is generally considered an acceptable solution by the majority of researchers (Costello & Osborn, 2008).

---

[49]   Some researchers argued that factor analysis is possible with binary data by using tetrachoric correlation coefficients instead of person's correlations (Muthén, 1978; Harris, 1988). However, experts of the field argue that there are no significant differences among the two approaches with respect to the results that they produce (Costello & Osborn, 2008; Velicer & Jackson, 1990a). As part of my PhD, I also conducted an analysis using tetrachoric correlations, however it produced exactly the same results as the PCA did, the only difference being the higher level of variance (81% instead of 61.4%). However, the results of the PCA were theoretically more meaningful, I therefore decided to use them.

In order to identify groups of AAOs with similar characteristics, I use the Exploratory PCA instead of the Confirmatory PCA, as there is no specific theoretical model that I want to test. I use a typology provided by Kousis and Paschou (2017) to explain the differences among the components. My aim is not to prove or reject the typology but to use it as analytical reference and possibly enrich it by adding new categories. To this aim, the Exploratory PCA technique is more appropriate. With respect to the rotation, I use orthogonal rotation (Varimax) as the components do not significantly correlate to each other (Costello and Osborn 2008). Finally, to define the number of components, I use the Kaiser Criterion, which is a generally accepted rule that force the researcher to keep all the components that have eigenvalue greater than one (Velicer & Jackson 1990a).

In the next part of the analysis (see section 3.2.4 and chapter 5.1) I try to justify my claim of the existence of a Greek Cycle of Solidarity. In order to validate the criteria set by Tarrow, I mostly use descriptive and exploratory techniques. To study the diffusion element (the spread during the years in crisis), I use the "date that the AAOs established" variable. Moreover, based on the zip codes of the AAOs, I create maps using the ARCGIS online tool to depict the geographical distribution of the AAOs before and during the crisis years.

For the rest of the analysis, I use descriptive and exploratory techniques. As dependent variable, I created a new dummy variable based on the date of establishment and separated the population in two groups: AAOs founded before the crisis and those founded after the crisis. As crisis reference point I chose the month of October 2009, when the newly elected Greek Government revealed to the rest of Europe that the deficit was much higher than expected. From this period onwards Greece started having difficulties finding new loans, and researchers argue that this is the starting point of the crisis (Roose et al., 2018).

The final part of the analysis concerns the end of the cycle and examines the AAOs cycle of life. Here, I am interested about the ability of the AAOs to stay active, at least online. To examine this, I use as dependent variable a dummy variable based on the online activity/inactivity of the AAO (described above).

I conduct the analysis in two steps: In a descriptive part I examine the main features of AAOs, highlighting important differences between "inactive" and "active" organisations. Then, in the explanatory part, I use logistic regression based on a sample of 500 AAOs. This population is divided into two groups: 337 active AAOs (67.4% of the sample) and 163 inactive AAOs (32.6%, i.e., not communicating online for more than twelve months in any of its online outlets).

Chapter 4: Profiling AAOs and a novel classification of solidarity initiatives

This first of two analysis chapters is focused on the first part of the research question, focusing on the organisations behind solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis. In this chapter, I investigate the organisational, political and cultural features of the AAOs using tools for the collective actions theories toolbox. The rationale behind this investigation is supported by the work of Sidney Tarrow (2011) defines organisations as the actors that organise the collective action and identifies three of their core operations during the mobilisation phase: first, they organise collective action, second, they also operate as advocacy organisations as they make public claims and, finally, they frame the mobilisation by producing collective action identities as well as by offering participation opportunities. With these core features of organisations as actors in mind, the question that addressed in the following chapter is thus: *What are the main organisational features of the solidarity mobilisations in Greece under the economic crisis?*

In the previous chapter, I described theories of collective action such as resource mobilisation theory (RMT), grievances and deprivation, political opportunity structures, as well as cultural framing theory. In this chapter, I sketch the general profile of the actors that participated in the solidarity mobilisations. To do so, I first investigate the organisational type of the actors, their organisational structures as well as their network features. All these aspects of AAOs are elements of the resources that the AAOs have and are analysed using RMT. Beyond the organisational profile of the AAOs, it is also crucial to understand their repertoires actions. These repertoires can focus either on addressing basic needs or political solidarity beyond just addressing needs. The latter is connected with the second feature that Tarrow attributes to organisations that of advocacy. Solidarity actors can also be active in the political arena by conducting either conventional (such as raising awareness, critical consumption, writing reports etc) or contentious political activities (such as protest, demonstrations, occupations and strikes). The repertoire of actions that AAOs organise and participate in is a complex phenomenon, which is depended on the availability of the resources, know-how, needs that need to be covered, cooperation with other actors etc, thus the activities of AAOs, their strategies, constituency groups and beneficiaries can be analysed using RMT, grievances and deprivation theories as well as with political opportunities structure theory.

The final aspect of the organisations as actors according to Tarrow is that they frame collective action and that they offer opportunities for participation. Hence, I suggest that the cultural features of the

organisations are equally important and have to be studied. Thus, following Tarrow's (2011) suggestion, I look for the aims that the solidarity groups and organisations have, the values that they promote, and the solidarity approach that they take. All these cultural features are analysed through the lens of the concept of cultural framing used in the literature on collective action.

However, I argue that knowing the organisational, political and cultural features of the AAOs is not enough to provide an answer to understanding which actors took part on the solidarity mobilisations. In the context of this dissertation, I support the idea that these features of the AAOs should be combined through modelling and then analysed by drawing on the literature of solidarity provision and civic mobilisation. In detail, in the last part of this chapter, I combine the organisation types, the solidarity approach, the aims, the values, the strategies and the political repertoire of the AAOs in order to provide a typology of the actors in a scale from those that are highly politicized to those that do not have any political orientation and from those that have social movement aims opting for social change to those that have a charity orientation and aims.

The development of this typology is important as it bridges two different parts of the literature, that of collective action and that of solidarity, in an attempt to offer an empirical and theoretical comprehensive profile of the solidarity mobilisations of the period. This thorough examination of the full spectrum of the actors that participated in solidarity activism also sets the ground for an investigation of the evolution of the solidarity mobilisations—the subject of the next chapter, in which I trace a cyclical trajectory of the mobilisations by focusing on the innovations that were produced during the solidarity mobilisations in the types of organisations—as well as their repertoires, frames and interaction with other actors and authorities.

4.1 The profile of the AAOs

In this first section of the chapter, I provide the organisational profile of the AAOs—describing their organisational types, their structural features, their action repertoires as the constituency groups that they try to assist and their network features. I offer this type of information in order to map the field of the groups, initiatives and organisations that mobilised to assist those in need. Moreover, I compare the different organisation types to highlight the similarities and the differences in their core features. These

different aspects of the AAOs will be used in the last section of the chapter to provide the typology of solidarity actors in Greece during the economic crisis.

4.1.1 Types of organisations and their structural features

Here, I present the main features of AAOs, mapping the organisations, active during the crisis that aimed to help people survive through various forms of solidarity. The existing literature indicates that there was a wide spectrum of such organisations during this period. Overall, many scholars tend to put more emphasis on the informal solidarity networks, organised from below, that aim to provide mutual help (Vaiou & Kalandides, 2015) such as the anti-middleman movement (Rakopoulos, 2014), alternative food networks (Arabatzi, 2017; Petropoulou, 2013), solidarity education classes (Kantzara, 2014; Theocharis 2015), solidarity clinics and medical provision (Teloni & Adam, 2018; Cabot, 2016), alternative coins and exchange networks (Sotiropoulou, 2012) and many more, which became mobilised during this period. The commonality between these studies is the idea that solidarity provision in Greece was the outcome of civic mobilisation, as a response of the society, which was in danger. Other researchers point out that there was also wide range of formal AAOs that took part in solidarity provisions (Loukakis, 2018; Kousis et al, 2018; Simiti, 2017). These organisations can be municipalities, the Greek Orthodox Church (Makris & Bekridakis, 2013), NGOs (Vathakou, 2015; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014) and social economy initiatives (Kalogeraki & Papadaki, 2018). In the following, I explore whether and to what extent solidarity provision in Greece during the crisis was an ad-hoc bottom-up response to crisis or a result of a more diverse range of civic actors mobilising to help those in need. In order to investigate this, I first examine the types of organisations were engaged in solidarity[50] activism.

As Table 4.1.1 shows, the most common solidarity providers were the NGOs and the other voluntary associations—they comprise almost one third of the total population. The organisations that make up this category are active in various fields such as environment, human rights, child protection, migrants and refuges assistance. They also organise many different types of activities—from service delivery and provision of shelter to lobbying and protesting. This category also includes solidarity initiatives organised

---

[50] As I stated in the methods chapter, I investigate all the groups and organisations that tried to assist those in need in times of economic crisis by organising public activities alternative to the capitalistic way of production and consumption. In the provision field, this includes all organisations and groups that offer free of charge or non-profit oriented products or services. Moreover, it includes all the groups and organisations that offered solidarity in the political arena by participating in conventional or contentious politics events or try to promote alternative, non-monetary based practices, lifestyles and values. Finally, I exclude from my analysis all the solidarity activities that were organised by companies as corporate social responsibility actions and those organised solely by state actors.

by professional associations. Elaborating more on the latter, in many cases professional associations created some initiatives where they offered their services for free. Typical examples of these initiatives are solidarity clinics, which in many cases were founded by local associations of doctors, or the solidarity tutoring classes, which were founded by teachers' associations in order to provide free tutoring lessons to poor children.

Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives are the second most common type of organisations. The vast majority of the AAOs in this category are solidarity networks and groups, followed by neighbourhood assemblies, LGBT groups, alternative transportation and free software exchange networks. A very interesting group in this category is that of alternative "people's media" or platforms, which were mainly are alternative press or platforms that inform people through maps, addresses and presentations of where they can find solidarity initiatives to assist them. These type of initiatives where very important for the solidarity mobilisations as they established a non-mediated by the mainstream media communication channel between activist and bystanders (Koopmans, 2004).

The next category is that of protest groups, antifascist groups, squats and autonomous spaces. Half of the AAOs in this category are squats and autonomous spaces such as self-managed cafes and cultural spaces, almost one third are protest groups (Indignados-related groups are also included here) and the rest are antifascists—anti-Nazi groups[51]. This category also includes extream left—anarchist related self-managed media such as indymedia Athens and Dromografos[52]. They also operate the same function of direct communication to the public as described above.

About one-tenth of the total AAOs belong in the category of social economy enterprises and cooperatives. This category includes traditional cooperatives, new social economy enterprises, as well as Social Cooperative Enterprises, mutual companies and fair trade shops.

Then there is the category of "hybrid" organisations: cooperations of local municipalities, NGOs and the private sector. Most of these are part of the *National Network of Immediate Social Intervention*[53] aiming

---

[51] During the years in crisis there was a significant increase in the public appearance and number of racist crimes and election power of the neo-Nazi party, Golden Dawn. For instance, in the elections of 2009 they received 0.29% of the total number of votes, in the elections of 2012 the party received 6.97% of votes, in the EU elections of 2014 they received 9.34% of the total votes and finally in the 2015 national elections they took the 6.99% of the total votes.

[52] Dromografos is an account by photojournalists of the political situation in Greece, mostly focusing on reports from demonstrations and their repression by the police.

[53] The National Network of Immediate Social Intervention consists of 51 Municipalities, 46 non-governmental organisations, 5 legal organisations at the local administrative level, 8 bodies of the public sector as well as 18 bodies

to assist people who fell into poverty during the economic crisis. Through these organisations, municipalities sought to offer social provision at the local level to address the shrinking of the welfare state, which, until then, had been provided by the central government.

The final category of organisations is that of church and charities, which includes all the initiatives and activities organised by the church and by charities owned by the church. It is very important to highlight the significance of religion-related initiatives as solidarity providers because they have access to a huge amount of all possible type of (human, informative, cultural and material) resources and they drew on these by developing a large network of solidarity provision. For instance, during the crisis, in the Attica region[54], the Greek Orthodox Churched organised 280 soup kitchens every day, offering food to 500,000 people daily. They also maintained[55] 180 social grocery shops where 80,000 families bought everyday goods free or by paying a very little amount of money.

Summing up, I tried to show the main categories of organisations active in solidarity provision during the crisis. In general, findings show that the organisations can be divided in two broad categories, with two outliers. On the one hand there are formal organisations (almost 40%) such as NGOs and formal social economy initiatives, which tried to offer solidarity through service provision and, on the other hand, there are informal grassroots AAOs (approximately 45%) such as protest groups, antifascist networks, neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, which can be seen as a society's ad hoc survival response to a crisis situation. This is not an unexpected finding: Baglioni and Giugni (2014), in their book about uneployment and precarity in Europe, have noted the same classification of civil society organisations.

Moreover, there is also a social policy-related reaction to the crisis, which comes from the collaboration of local and regional state authorities with NGOs and other actors. Finally, religion-related initiatives seem to be the philanthropic support of the church to crisis-hidden population. In the following pages, I will reveal the main similarities and differences of the different AAOs categories regarding their structure, repertoires of actions, strategies, networks and finally aims and values according to which they act. The comparative analysis of the types of AAOs that offer support to the victims of the crisis is very important

---

that attempt to fight poverty on a national level. The aim of this network is to tackle poverty by offering social, psychological and material support in order to assist people in a state of need. For more information: http://www.koinoniasos.gr/

[54] The administrative unit that includes Athens as well as 53 more municipalities which constitute the Athens metropolitan area, with a total of approximately 3.8 million inhabitants

[55] Source: NGO Apostoli http://mkoapostoli.com/

as the majority of research investigating solidarity initiatives in Greece is focused on specific types of organisations, leaving unexamined the role and the significance of other organisations as solidarity providers.

Table 4. 1 Type of organisation

	Type of organisation	*Frequency*	*Percent %*
Informal initiatives and networks	Protest Groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	93	18,6
	Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	138	27,6
Formal organisations	Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	47	9,4
	NGOs and voluntary associations	151	30,2
Social policy actors	'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional state government units	37	7,4
Religious organisations and affiliated groups	Churches and charities	34	6,8
	Total	500	100

Alternative Action Organisations' structural features

The next feature of the organisational profile that I will investigate is that of the organisational structure of the AAOs[56]. This is an important assessment as various works have shown that many of the newly established AAOs have a close relationship with the Greek Indignados movement (Theocharis, 2016; Simiti, 2017; Loukakis, 2018), thus they may have adopted the basic demands from the Greek Indignados for direct (real) democracy in their decision making forms (Arabatzi, 2015). Having this body of literature

---

[56] The analysis is based on the two thirds of the total population (66.4%) as for the rest (33.6%) there is no information about their organisational structure

in mind, I want to examine whether and to what extent the AAOs have embodied the values of direct democracy in their decision-making procedures. Moving to the table findings, overall, most of the AAOs seem to have a loose organisational structure characterised by lower levels of formality. In more details, the most common structural feature among AAOs is that of a board, followed by a neighbourhood/open assembly. A president can be found in 30% of AAOs and a general assembly in almost 28%. Secretary and committees or working groups are reported by one fourth of AAOs and a treasurer by one fifth. Finally, paid staff and spokespeople are rarely found among AAOs. To sum up, the findings on the table show that approximately the one third of the organisations have adopted direct democratic decision-making forms while the rest seem to have higher levels of formality as they combine some of the features that are mentioned in the table. In order to further investigate the relationship between the organisations' structures and their type of organisations I will check the statistical relation between specific organisation types and levels of formality.

Table 4. 2 AAOs structural features

Organisational features	Frequency*	Percent** %
Board	118	35,5
President/Leader/Chair	100	30,1
Secretary	89	26,8
Treasurer	69	20,8
Paid staff	36	10,8
Written constitution	52	15,7
Spokesperson/Media-PR	29	8,7
General assembly/general body	92	27,7
Neighbourhood/Open assembly	103	31,0
Committees or work group	87	26,2

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed
**from the cases from which there is available information about their
organisational features (N=332)

Focusing on the levels of formality of AAOs, literature on Greek solidarity organisations suggests that these organisations, which were founded during the crisis period—such as protest groups, neighbourhood

solidarity initiatives and networks—are less formal than NGOs and other organisations, which probably existed before the crisis (Simiti, 2017; Loukakis, 2018; Loukakis et al, 2018; Kalogeraki & Papadaki, 2018). This finding is not completely unexpected, as theorists of RMT point out that formality is the price that social movement organisations pay in order to stay active over time (McAdam, 1982; Edwards, 2007). Thus, examining formality by organisation type is very important for my analysis as it highlights the differences among the AAOs and helps to better understand their profiles as well as contribute to the classification of AAOs in different clusters in the typology that follows. Thus, in the next table I will explore the relationship between the level of formality and the different types of organisation.

Looking at the table below, most of the initial assumptions can be confirmed. Indeed, AAOs that belong in the category of neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives and those that belong in the category of protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces have statistically significant positive relation to the lower levels of formality. On the other hand, NGOs, churches and charities seem to have a statistically significant relation to medium or higher levels of formality. While social economy enterprises may appear to have less formal organisational structure, however this relationship is not statistically significant. Hybrid organisations report very low levels of formality. This is an interesting point which needs extra attention as these organisations are a result of collaboration between state authorities (which are highly formal organisations) and NGOs, professional associations or the private sector, which are also formal organisations. It is possible that they show low formality levels due the fact that there was not many information about the structure of the organisation in the webpage, not due the fact that they are informal organisations. Summing up, findings seems to be in line with literature and my expectations showing that protest groups and grassroots solidarity initiatives are less formal than NGOs and church and charities, which show higher levels of formality.

Table 4. 3 AAOs levels of formality by organisation types

Type of organisation	Low formality %	Medium or High formality[57] %	Chi square test
Protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	96,0	4,0	30.325, p=.000
Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	92,6	7,4	30.703, p=.000

---

[57] Because of the low number of cases, I merged the categories of medium formality and high formality. However, in my opinion this choice does not affect the results as the vast majority of the AAOs reports low levels of formalisation.

Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	60,7	39,3	1.402, p=.236
NGOs and voluntary associations	39,6	60,4	71.276, p=.000
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local and/or regional state government units	87,5	12,5	1.141, p=.285
Churches and charities	42,9	57,1	8.223, p=.004
Total	70,5 (234)	29,5 (98)	

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed
**of the cases that there are available information about their organisational features (N=332)

4.1.2 Actions repertoire, scope and Strategies

In this section, I present the action repertoire of the AAOs as well as the strategies that they follow to achieve their aims and goals. Analysis of the repertoire of the organisations and groups is very important because it indicates the needs left unmet by the state and/or the market, which forms of social mobilisation tried to cover. Moreover, as recent literature in the field of social movements indicates, social movement actors have made a turn regarding the repertoire that they use from the big protests and mobilisations during the Global Justice Movement into small scale everyday practices and politics in order to address social challenges from below (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Malamidis, 2018; Bosi & Zamponi, 2020; Loukakis, 2018). But bears mentioning that this approach by the activists does not mean that participation in traditional political activities such as lobbying, raising awareness or protest is absent. People and groups are also active in the political arena but it is not their main action repertoire, they are primary active in solidarity covering needs related activities and traditional political actions may be supplementary (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015, 2020; Forno & Grazziano, 2014). In short, I argue that organisations and groups offer solidarity by adopting a repertoire which consisted of everyday activities and practices which are related with covering needs (material, informative and sociocultural) and/or some of them use also a political repertoire which is related with interests and rights defend and promotion via institutional and contentious politics. Having that in mind, in this section I try to investigate the main needs that AAOs tried to cover via their solidarity activities and practices, and whether and to what extent they are engaged with political actions. Here, in line with the literature, I find that addressing basic needs is a more primary repertoire for AAOs, while political repertoires are peripheral or supplementary, thus, AAOs were also selected primarily according to their needs-based activity.

When AAOs seek to address people's direct needs, the most prominent action category is that of cultural practices, such as theatre, concerts and social hang outs, which are organised by almost 8 out of 10 AAOs. The second most mentioned category is to cover basic and urgent needs such as food, clothes, health and medical services. Following this come practices related to the economy such as alternative coins, barter networks and activities with low or limited profits—mentioned by 40% of AAOs. There is also the energy and environment category (refering to pro-environment activities or protection of wild or stray animals), as well as the alternative consumption category (including actions such as community gardens, direct producers-consumer networks or fair trade shops), conducted by almost one fifth of the total AAOs population. I further analyse the repertoires related to these five categories below. The category of civic media category is mentioned by almost 15% of AAOs and contains activities such as people's press and media, free software exchange and maintaining and supporting online platforms and websites informing people where the solidarity initiatives are based and how they can assist people in need. The next most mentioned category is that of self-managed spaces, consisting of activities such as squats, self-managed autonomous spaces and self-managed co-working places such as the occupation of a chemical factory of VIOME[58]. The remaining categories are organised by a few AAOs and are related with actions against hate crimes against people with disabilities, minorities and people with different race or sexual preferences. Finally, the Other category includes actions having low frequencies such as workshops, student exchange or mobility projects, actions against drugs, voluntary cleaning of beaches etc.

This brings us to the AAOs engaged with political actions such as lobbying, participation in policy making procedures and protest. Overall, almost 70% of AAOs (337), are also active in the political arena. Most conduct activities related to the promotion of their work such as public reports, roundtable discussions, publication of annual reports and informative events. Following this, slightly more than half of the AAOs use verbal and written statements such as press releases and conferences, declaration in media and interviews, in order to communicate their work and the social problems or needs that they try to cover. The reason I consider the two aforementioned kinds of actions to be political is because they do not only promote the organisation itself but also seek to highlight the problems in society and are used by AAOs in order to raise awareness[59] about the specific issues and topics that the AAOs are active in. Thus, raising

---

[58] On 2011 the owners of chemical factory VIOME declare bankruptcy and the workers left unpaid. After almost a year and half without and payment or new job, the workers of the factory decided to took over the factory and from 2013 they started to produce again, ruled by direct democratic procedures adopted by the workers (Kretsos and Vogiatzoglou 2015, Kioupkiolis and Karyotis 2015). For more information: http://www.viome.org/search/label/English

[59] Raising awareness could also be achieved by using other political actions such as protests, petitions etc.

awareness is considered a political action (Giugni & Grasso, 2018; Loukakis, 2018). However, AAOs are also engaged, but in lowers frequencies, with other forms of no-protest politics such as parliamentary interventions and court related actions. Moving to the contentious forms of politics, about a third of AAOs are involved in demonstrative protest actions such as demonstrations, public protests and rallies and almost a fourth of them participate in soft protest activities such as collection of signatures, campaigns, petitions and similar activities. Finally, other protest-related actions reported by the AAOs on their websites are boycotts and buycotts, strikes and occupations of public buildings and squares.

Table 4. 4 AAOs Actions repertoire

	Repertoires of AAOs	Frequency*	Percent*
	Basic/ Urgent Needs	315	63,00%
	Economy	202	40,40%
	Energy / environment	114	22,80%
	Alternative consumption	104	20,80%
	Civic media	72	14,40%
	Self-organised spaces	48	9,60%
	Culture	372	74,40%
	Stopping hate crimes	29	5,80%
	Stopping human trafficking	7	1,40%
Covering needs	Other solidarity actions	35	13,90%
	Verbal/written statements	189	56,1%
	Promotional actions/public reports	249	73,90%
	Other non-protest actions	44	13,10%
	Conventional/soft protest actions	90	26,70%
	Demonstrative protest actions	105	31,20%
*Political**	Other protest actions	30	8,90%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, N=500
**of the AAOs that mentioned political activities, N=337

Collective action and social movement literature suggests that specific actions are related with specific actors and groups (Tarrow, 2013; Della Porta & Diani, 2009), e.g. churches and charities are expected to be active in covering basic needs (Makris & Bekridakis, 2013), grassroots groups are expected to be more militant than the church or municipality-led organisations (Kousis et al, 2018; Loukakis, 2018), NGOs may be active in both addressing basic needs and political solidarity (Simiti, 2017; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos,

2014) etc. Overall, the literature suggests that AAOs can both be active in covering needs as well as in political solidarity forms such as protest, raising awareness or political advocacy (Loukakis, 2018; Simiti, 2017; Daskalaki, 2017; Vathakou, 2015). As I result, it is important to examine the relationship between specific actors and specific repertoires. This aspect of the AAOs is very important as it provides information about the focus that they have in either solidarity or political activities or both. In order to do so, I examine the repertoire at two levels. First, in Table 4.5 I examine the engagement of each type of AAO in political activities and then at Table 4.6 I look for patterns between specific actors and the activities and practices that they conduct.

With respect to the findings, it appears that protest groups and antifascist networks adopt more of a political solidarity repertoire, as nine out of ten AAOs in this category report an engagement in the political arena. Moreover, the data reveals that they put more emphasis on the cultural and political activities than those of covering needs. Nine out of ten protest-related groups and antifascist networks conduct cultural activities followed by demonstrative protest and promotional actions. These high frequencies of cultural and promotional activities are not surprising as they are the core actions for protest groups to build collective identity among their members (Mellucci, 1995; Diani, 1992; Flesher Fominaya, 2010). Finally, approximately half of these AAOs organise activities, which aim to help in covering urgent and basic needs.

As for the neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, data shows that a bit more than seven out of ten neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity networks organise culture-related activities and approximately six out of ten are involved in covering urgent basic needs. Moreover, almost half of them engage in alternative consumption activities and about the one third engage in actions related to the economy, and energy and environment. The relatively high percentage of engagement in alternative consumption actions by this kind of actor can be explained by the involvement of these initiatives in the rise of the *"No middleman or Potato movement"* (Rakopoulos, 2015; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014). As for the political activities, 70% of them report political engagement. Most of them engage in non-contentious forms such as promotional and dissemination activities related to raising awareness, while about one third are also active in protest-related activities.

Moving to social economy enterprises, these mostly conduct economy related activities—this is to be expected since most of these type of AAOs are cooperatives functioning on the basis of a "fair" or limited profit. Almost 60% of these groups also mention cultural activities and approximately one third of them report that they are also organising activities to the coverage of basic needs. Finally, a bit less than half of these groups are also active at the political level and, more specifically, engage mostly in non-protest

activities such as making verbal/written statements and launching publishing promotional actions and public reports.

With respect to NGOs and professional associations, these follow the pattern of the neighbourhood assemblies as almost eight out of ten organise cultural activities and six out of ten are engaged with basic needs coverage. What differentiates NGOs and grassroots solidarity initiatives is that the first are more active in the field of economy and engage less on alternative consumption. At the political level, in general, NGOs are slightly more active than the grassroots solidarity initiatives, but they are less militant as only one fourth of politically active NGOs participate in soft protest actions and only a few engage in demonstrative protests.

Lastly, the church and charities, and "Hybrid" organisations mostly focus on the coverage of urgent/basic needs; every AAO of the first and almost 90% of the latter category are engaged in urgent/basic needs activities. Small differences between two groups are the fact that church-related AAOs conduct significantly more cultural activities and hybrid organisations and are also engaged in the field of alternative consumption, in which the church is absent. This finding could be explained through the fact that "hybrid" organisations were responsible (through the National Network of Immediate Social Intervention) for the establishment and function of the community gardens in municipalities nationwide as a form of action against the poverty and social exclusion caused by the crisis. Another difference can be seen in their engagement in political actions: despite the fact that the majority of AAOs in both categories are focused on covering basic needs, the church and charities are more politically engaged than the hybrid organisations, where only one tenth report political actions.

Table 4. 5 AAOs activity in political arena by organisation type

Type of organisation	No engagement %	Engagement in political actions %	Chi square test
Protest Groups, antifascist networks and Autonomous spaces	16,10%	83,90%	14.107, p=.000
Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	29,70%	70,30%	.724, p=.395
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	51,10%	48,90%	8.049, p=.005
NGOs and voluntary associations	25,80%	74,20%	4.515, p=.034
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional state government units	70,30%	29,70%	25.805, p=.000
Churches and charities	52,90%	47,10%	6.870, p.009
Total	32,6% (163)	67,4% (337)	

of the AAOs that report engagement in political activities N=337

Table 4. 6 AAOs repertoire by Type of organisation

Type of organisation	Basic/ urgent Needs*	Economy*	Energy / environment*	Alternative consumption*	Culture*	Verbal/written statements**	Promotional actions/public reports**	Conventional/ soft protest actions**	Demonstrative protest actions**
Autonomous protest groups and antifascist networks	51,60%	16,10%	19,40%	18,30%	89,20%	26,90%	60,30%	32,10%	76,90%
Chi-square test	6.355, p=.012	27.951, p=.000	.770, p=.380	.441, p=.507	13.223, p=.000	35.083, p=.000	9.773, p=.002	1.481, p=.224	99.104, p=.000
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	63,80%	34,80%	28,30%	41,30%	73,20%	47,40%	74,20%	33,00%	34,00%
Chi-square test	.048, p=.826	2.498, p=.114	3.229, p=.072	48.646, p=.000	.147, p=.720	4.148, p=.042	.008, p=.928	2.747, p=.094	.521, p=.471
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	34,00%	78,70%	19,10%	23,40%	57,40%	60,90%	65,20%	8,70%	4,30%
Chi-square test	18.662, p=.000	31.642, p=.000	.393, p=.531	.214, p=.644	7.828, p=.005	.230, p=.623	.962, p=.327	4.091, p=.043	8.272, p=.004
NGOs and voluntary associations	65,60%	50,30%	30,50%	11,30%	86,10%	78,60%	85,70%	25,90%	9,80%
Chi-square test	.610, p=.435	8.861, p=.003	7.218, p=.007	11.956, p=.001	15.529, p=.000	34.444, p=.000	12.162, p=.000	.057, p=.812	35.601, p=.000
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional state government units	81,10%	37,80%	2,70%	5,40%	27,00%	90,90%	72,70%	9,10%	0,00%
Chi-square test	5.604, p=.018	.109, p=.741	9.169, p=.002	5.748, p=.017	47.080, p=.000	Fisher's Exact Test .026	Fisher's Exact Test 1.00	Fisher's Exact Test .300	Fisher's Exact Test .20
Churches and charities	100,00%	35,30%	2,90%	0	61,80%	62,50%	68,80%	6,30%	0,00%
Chi-square test	21.425, p=.000	.395, p=.530	8.174, p=.004	9.581, p=.002	3.058, p=.080	.281, p=.596	.230, p=.632	Fisher's Exact Test .080	Fisher's Exact Test .004
Total	63,00%	40,40%	22,80%	20,80%	74,40%	56,10%	73,90%	26,70%	31,20%

*Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed N=500, ** of the AAOs that report political activities N=337

In the next series of tables, I focus on the specific actions that were the most-mentioned actions for the organisation type that conducts them. Starting with the most frequently mentioned category, that of culture, the literature suggest that Greek solidarity organisations and groups use cultural practices as a regular part of their repertoires (Loukakis, 2018; Kousis et al, 2018; Teloni & Adam, 2018). Moreover, Cappuccini's (2018) work on the neighbourhood of Exarcheia revealed a plethora of cultural activities organised by local anarchist groups. Similar findings on cultural activities in the same neighbourhood appeared in the work of Daskalaki (2017) and Petropoulou (2013). Indeed, theorists of the new social movements theory argue that social movements are not only political but also cultural phenomena, and thus cultural activities are extremely important (Touraine, 1996, p. 78; Melucci, 1989, p.44). Moreover, collective action literature indicates that cultural activities help with the formation of collective identity between the participants of a movement (Diani, 1992; Flesher Fominaya, 2010). Finally, informal groups and initiatives that lack funding organised cultural events such as music concerts, theatrical acts and social hangouts to increase their resources (Loukakis et al, 2016). Therefore I expect that informal AAOs such as protest groups and grassroots solidarity initiatives may be extremely active in activities that promoting alternative cultural systems such as concerts, theatrical acts and art exhibitions, while formal and institutionalised AAOs such as NGOs may be more active in cultural activities that have the goal of raising awareness, such as educational activities to the public to inform people about the organisation's cause and attract new supporters.

These assumptions seem to be partly confirmed in the data. Protest groups are positively linked with cultural activities such as theatrical acts, concerts and cinema as well as social hangout actions. Neighbourhood assemblies also score high in these two activities, but this is not statistically significant. Yet, they do score high in educational activities for the public. Social economy enterprises and hybrid AAOs also score high in art, music and theatre actions and in educational activities to the public categories—but this is also not statistically significant. The only difference between these two groups is that the hybrid AAOs organise more social hangout actions than the social economy AAOs. NGOs are positively associated with educational activities to the public, which mostly involve actions to raise awareness on pressing issues such as economic and refugee crises, child poverty, refugees' concentration camps. Finally, church and charity-oriented AAOs mostly organise arts, cinema, music and theatre activities.

Summing up the findings, the high appearance of cultural activities can be explained by various reasons related to the types of organisations. For some AAOs mostly from grassroots solidarity initiatives, these actions may be a way of obtaining the necessary resources to continue their operations (Loukakis, 2018; Kalogeraki & Papadaki, 2016). As public funding and private donations were restricted, it was common practice among organisations to conduct cultural activities in order to collect resources (money or materials e.g. food). The same applies for NGOs, which organised raising awareness activities in order to attract new members. Meanwhile, some other AAOs such as protest groups and solidarity economy initiatives used cultural activities as part of their action repertoire to offer an alternative to the mainstream cultural and dominant capitalistic system (Melucci, 1989). Moreover, a very important aspect of these actions is their ability to contribute to the shaping of collective identity. Thus, Della Porta and Diani (1998) argue that collective identity is shaped by participation in the same practices, thus common cultural activities may help to create bonds between AAOs members and, at the end of the day, build collective identities (Diani, 1992).

Table 4. 7 AAOs Cultural activities by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Art/theatre/ cinema/music	Sports	Social hangouts	Public education	Total
Protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	86,70%	8,40%	62,70%	53,00%	83
Chi square test	*14.038, p=.000*	*.064, p=.800*	*24.542, p=.000*	*9.764, p=.002*	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	77,20%	6,90%	42,60%	67,30%	101
Chi square test	*3.307, p=.069*	*.815, p=.367*	*.644, p=.422*	*.001, p=.976*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	70,40%	3,70%	22,20%	66,70%	27
Chi square test	*.001, p=.980*	*fisher: .493*	*3.539, p=.060*	*.004, p=.951*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	56,20%	10,80%	27,70%	82,30%	130
Chi square test	*18.729, p=.000*	*.639, p=.424*	*11.190, p=.001*	*20.683, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local and/or regional state government units	70,00%	10,00%	40,00%	50,00%	10
Fisher exact test	*1.000*	*1.000*	*1.000*	*.307*	
Churches and charities	57,10%	19,00%	23,80%	38,10%	21
Chi square test	*1.802, p=.180*	*fisher: .113*	*2.225, p=.136*	*8.557, p=.003*	

Total	70,20%	9,10%	39,20%	67,20%	372

With respect to the category of urgent and basic needs, there is a series of assumptions that I want to explore. First, I expected to find a significant amount of health-related activities due the fact that austerity measures, cuts in welfare state as well as high levels of unemployment led a significant part of the Greek population to be without health coverage and medical provision, since many people lost their jobs as well as access to the public health system (which is linked to the payment of public insurance funds). Another factor that made access to the national health system more difficult was the fee of five euros to access public hospitals (no matter whether they were poor or unemployed or without any income). With respect to medical provision, uninsured people had to pay the full price of medicine and those that were covered by public insurance had to pay 25% of the price of medicine. This situation lasted form 2011 until 2015. Moreover, studies from the field of health point out that the population suffering from stress, depression and other mental health issues increased (Drydakis, 2015; Kentikelenis et al, 2014). With this in mind, I assumed that health related activities were a regular tool in the solidarity action repertoire. Moreover, as I showed in the literature review section, I expect that these kind of practices are organised mostly by grassroots solidarity initiatives and to a lesser extent by NGOs (Cabot, 2016; Teloni & Adam, 2018).

Another kind of expected practice is that of free provision of food and other goods such as clothes and shoes. According to Eurostat data, a significant part of the population lives at the edge of poverty (34.8% of the total population[60]) and many of them do not even have the means to buy their food on an everyday basis. Accordingly, research on consumption and consumption power shows that a significant part of Greek households cannot cover their daily needs (Kaplanoglou & Rapanos, 2018). Hence, I expect to find many food and products provision (such as clothes and shoes) related activities, mostly conducted by the Greek Orthodox Church and NGOs and, to a lesser extent, by grassroots solidarity initiatives (Simiti, 2017; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Makris & Bekridakis 2013; Petropoulou, 2013 and more).

Moving to other expected practices, homeless people of course pre-existed the crisis but the number of "neo-homeless", people that lost their jobs and house because of the crisis, increased. This fact opened the door for more activities related to the provision of shelter, which according to the literature is expected to be linked with NGOs (Theodorikakou et al, 2013; Arapoglou & Gounis, 2015). As I showed in the literature, solidarity is also expressed by conducting education-related activities. For example, there

---

[60] Source Eurostat available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion

are free tuition classes (education) for poor students and offering foreign language or music instrument lessons. The first are related to the way that Greek students are accepted by the universities. In the last grade of high school they have to write very demanding national exams for the university entry called "*Panellinies*". Because of the importance of the exams, the majority of Greek families pay for extra lessons in parallel to those offered by the public educational system. However, during the crisis, many families did not have the ability to pay for these tutorials, thus many teachers' associations or municipalities decided to organise tuition free of charge in order to increase the possibilities of poor students to pass the exams. Previous research indicates that these activities were mostly organised by both grassroots solidarity initiatives and NGOs (Theocharis, 2016; Karantza, 2014).

Additional activity comes from anti-austerity protest mobilisations, which were the beginning of the so-called *Den Plirono*[61] movement. During harsh austerity policies, direct and indirect taxation was significantly increased. Most of these activities started in 2011 when the government introduced a new law on taxation of private property ownership (*haratsi*) which was added to the electricity bills. Thus, if people didn't pay the tax, the electricity company had to stop the supply of electricity. Some groups formed to illegally restore the electricity supply or to conduct activities against house foreclosures by the banks. Due the fact that these groups seemed to originate from social movement organising as well as their protest-oriented repertoire, my expectations is that they are linked with protest groups (Winter et al, 2018; Kanellopoulos et al, 2017).

Finally, the refugee crisis resulted in more than a million refugees who passed through Greece during their journey for a safer environment in northern Europe (UNHCR[62], 2018). These people were in great need, hence people and organisations tried to assist them. Thus, I expect that refugees' assistance will be also a part of the Greek solidarity repertoire. I also expect that neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups will be positively linked with these kinds of practices (Oikonomakis, 2018; Rozakou, 2016).

Moving to the findings, in general, data indicates that that free health or mental health services and medical and provision of clothes, shoes and other items are conducted by the most AAOs. The first category is of AAOs who provide, free of charge, health or mental health services and medication to those in need. The latter is of AAOs who collect items and then share them to those in need. Following this, about one third of AAOs were in social support/help line activities, which are actions including telephone

---

[61] It is a movement against high taxation having the rationale that poor people can pay the cost of the crisis. Literary *den plirono* can be translated as *I don't pay*.
[62] More information available at: https://www.unhcr.org/greece.html?query=Greece

calls and live chats aiming to provide social assistance or mentoring to beneficiaries. The next most-mentioned actions are those related to emergency support of refugees/migrants. Food provision activities were organised by one fourth of AAOs and includes the free provision of cooked food in soup or solidarity kitchens, as well as social groceries, which are initiatives that provide free or low cost uncooked food and household products.

The next two categories of actions are organised by almost 20% of AAOs. The first is educational activities and the second is shelter, housing and accommodation. Both address needs that more or less pre-existed but increased during the years in crisis and austerity. The first includes education, which mostly is tutoring for students in need and, to a much smaller extent, language lessons for migrants. As for the latter, this mostly addresses homelessness and focuses on offering housing or temporary accommodation, usually providing beds, a warm bath, and a place for people to wash their clothes. Another action that seems to appear is that of mediation between people and public services and includes free legal or consulting services to beneficiaries to access state services or banks. Consulting people on financial and banking issues was very important for a significant part of the population who had loans and mortgages at banks and were at risk of losing their homes. The final category is related to actions addressing taxation, since, during harsh austerity policies, direct and indirect taxation was significantly increased.

As for the patterns that specific AAOs follow, data shows that neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives are statistically likely to engage in actions related with provision of clothes, shoes and other items, health and social medicine as well as emergency refugee support, while they are negatively linked with shelter, mental health and helplines. NGOs are linked with many different activities under the urgent needs category such as, shelter and accommodation, health and/or social medicine, mental health, social support/helpline and provision of mediation to access state services. Hybrid organisations that are linked with municipalities are active in the field of food provision. In the same field, a lot of work is done by churches and charities, which are also positively linked with shelter and accommodation actions, health and social medicine, social support/helplines, clothing and items provision as well as education services. As for the remaining two AAO categories (protest groups and social economy enterprises), they are engaged in every action within the category of urgent needs but they are not statistically significant linked with any of them.

Wrapping up the findings, some of my expectations seem to be confirmed, some to be rejected and some unexpected findings occurred. Starting with the health services, my expectations are partly confirmed as the main body of literature suggested that these actions are positively linked with informal citizens groups,

but findings indicate that churches, charities and NGOs are positively linked with health actions and to a lesser extent with neighbourhood assemblies. In contrast, the latter are linked with items provision—an indication of the mutual help approach that these groups have. People in neighbourhoods tried to share things that they do not need any more in order to cover needs that other people could not meet. That helplines are linked with formal organisations such as NGOs and church and charities can be explained by the fact that these actions require lot of resources such as personnel, office and technical equipment, which is difficult for AAOs such as neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups to have. As expected, refugee assistance came mostly from neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups. With respect to food provision, these actions are statistically linked with hybrid organisations, which is an unexpected finding for me. Finally, regarding shelter, I was expecting that NGOs mostly engage in these practices but data revealed that church and charities are also positively linked with these activities.

Table 4. 8 AAOs Urgent-Basic needs activities by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Shelter/housing/accommodation	Food provision	Health-mental health/social medicine	Social support/Helpline	Clothing/shoes/other items	Education	Against taxation/evictions	Emergency refugee/immigrant relief/support	N
Protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	18,80%	20,80%	12,50%	6,30%	27,10%	14,60%	20,80%	39,60%	48
Chi Square test	.086, p=.769	.795, p=.373	19.723, p=.000	16.658, p=.000	3.237, p=.072	1.266, p=.260	4.106, p=.043	3.153, p=.076	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	2,30%	26,10%	34,10%	8,00%	55,70%	23,90%	28,40%	43,20%	88
Chi Square test	24.560, p=.000	.001, p=.979	2.825, p=.093	31.223, p=.000	14.778, p=.000	.777, p=.378	30.756, p=.000	12.143, p=.000	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives		25,00%	6,30%	18,80%	25,00%	6,30%	6,30%	18,80%	16
Chi Square test		.009, p=.923	8.665, p=.003	1.257, p=.262	1.339, p=.247	Fisher: .208	Fisher: .703	Fisher: ..571	
NGOs and voluntary associations	34,30%	17,20%	58,60%	58,60%	32,30%	26,30%	1,00%	23,20%	99
Chi Square test	17.554, p=.000	5.886, p=.015	17.173, p=.000	49.408, p=.000	2.497, p=.114	2.792, p=.095	16.628, p=.000	2.249, p=.114	
'Hybrid' enterprise-associations with local, regional and state government units	6,70%	50,00%	43,30%	33,30%	30,00%			10,00%	30
Chi Square test	3.817, p=.051	9.893, p=.002	.042, p=.838	.056, p=.813	1.065, p=.302			5.759, p=.016	
Church and charities	50,00%	38,20%	67,60%	52,90%	44,10%	29,40%	2,90%	14,70%	34
Chi Square test	20.742, p=.000	2.948, p=.086	10.665, p=.001	8.185, p=.004	.466, p=.495	1.793, p=.181	Fisher: .097	3.732, p=.053	
Total	20,30%	26,00%	41,60%	31,40%	38,70%	20,60%	12,10%	28,90%	315

With respect to the actions classified under the economy-related solidarity repertoire, I also investigate two specific assumptions that I justified in the literature part. First, many of the time banks and exchange networks were founded by municipalities under the frame of the National Network of Immediate Social Intervention. Moreover, recent literature indicates that the same actions are also conducted from grassroots solidarity initiatives and networks. Thus, I expect actions such as exchange networks, barter clubs and alternative coins to be related to hybrid organisations as well as neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives. While, alternative coins, informal time banks and exchange networks are mostly run by grassroots solidarity initiatives. (Sotiropoulou, 2016; Kousis et al, 2018). Second, the new legislation supporting the social and solidarity economy, which was introduced on 2011 and was updated and improved in 2015, increased the number of social economy enterprises and cooperatives, leading to new kinds of actions to be added in the solidarity repertoire related to the provision of goods and services (Nasioulas, 2013; Bekridaki & Broumas, 2017). Thus, I expect that service and product provision will be linked with social economy enterprises (Papadaki & Kalogeraki, 2018; Kalogeraki et al, 2018).

With respect to the findings, in general the most mentioned actions were fund-raising activities such as bazaars, Christmas markets and collecting money for social causes. This finding can be explained by the fact that during the period of increases in taxation, high unemployment and cuts in wages, pensions and benefits, it was difficult for AAOs to guarantee their economic survival only through donations or by membership fees. They had to be creative and adaptive in order to find revenues from other sources. Such activities are also positively linked with NGOs.

The next most commonly found activity is that of service and product provision. Usually this kind of action is related to social economy initiatives and social cooperatives. Other popular actions in the economy category are the training programs, which are educational programmes mostly for unemployed or people with difficulties for access in labour market in order to gain skills and make finding job easier. As these kinds of activities demand a lot of resources (money, humans, classes, training places), most of them were organised by NGOs. Barter clubs are linked with Hybrid organisations and neighbourhood based solidarity initiatives. Findings also indicate that informal actors such as neighbourhood assemblies also run barter clubs, exchange networks and alternative coins. Finally, financial support, mostly for small businesses and producers, is a practice that is strongly linked with social economy initiatives.

To sum up, my assumptions seems to be in line with the findings and the literature. Barter clubs and exchange networks are indeed organised by hybrid organisations and by neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives. Service and product provision are the activities, which are related to social

enterprises, and cooperatives and finally alternative coins are positively linked with neighbourhood assemblies.

Table 4. 9 AAOs Economy category activities by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Barter/local exchange trading systems	Financial support/social finance	Alternative currencies	Services and or product provision	Fund-raising activities	Second hand shops	Training programs	N
Protest groups, antifa networks and autonomous spaces	20,00%	13,30%	6,70%	6,70%	46,70%	13,30%		15
Fisher Exact test	*1.000*	*1.000*	*.704*	*.199*	*Chi-square: 1.127, p=.280*	*1.000*		
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	39,60%	14,60%	25,00%	10,40%	22,90%	12,50%	12,50%	48
Chi Square test	*17.786, p=.000*	*.227, p=.633*	*5.128, p=.024*	*4.774, p=.029*	*3.538, p=.060*	*.041, p=.840*	*2.901, p=.089*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	2,70%	37,80%	8,10%	86,50%	2,70%	2,70%	10,80%	37
Chi Square test	*7.696, p=.006*	*14.278, p=.000*	*1.629, p=.202*	*111.309, p=.000*	*19.928, p=.000*	*fisher: .033*	*2.967, p=.085*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	6,60%	11,80%	6,60%	6,60%	53,90%	19,70%	34,20%	76
Chi Square test	*11.938, p=.001*	*2.167, p=.141*	*6.594, p=.010*	*16.529, p=.000*	*21.215, p=.000*	*4.270, p=.039*	*12.145, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	71,40%	14,30%	64,30%		7,10%	7,10%	28,60%	14
Fisher Exact test	*Chi-square=27.267, p=.000*	*1.000*	*.000*		*.037*	*.698*	*.502*	
Church and charities				8,30%	66,70%	16,70%	25,00%	12
Fisher Exact test				*.469*	*.024*	*.665*	*.721*	
Total	18,80%	16,80%	14,90%	21,80%	34,20%	13,40%	21,30%	202

In the following, I look closer at the category of energy and environment. Various scholars point out that when it comes to economic development (Kousis 1999) or times of crisis (Lekakis and Kousis 2013) environmental consequences tend not to taken into consideration by stakeholders. Organisations and groups that conduct environmental activities aim to protect the environment or wildlife such as save

water or forest resources against huge investments, which were voted under fast track[63] status by the government in the name of development and economic recovery (Lekakis & Kousis, 2013; Apostolopoulou & Adams, 2015). Thus, I want to investigate, whether and to what extent solidarity mobilisations in defend of the environment appear.

Findings show that most AAOs conduct activities that aim to protect the environment or wild life such as save water or forest resources against huge investments. These activities are mostly done by environmental NGOs and to a lesser extent by neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups. About 5% of AAOs conduct environmental actions related to recycling and waste management or with animals' rights. The latter are mainly actions in favour of stray and abandoned animals or mistreated animals organised by NGOs—and therefore there may be a relationship between the crisis and an increase of stray animals.

Table 4. 10 AAOs Environmental category activities by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Protection of the environment/wild life	Renewable energy / climate change	Waste management / recycling	Animal rights	N
Protest groups, antifa networks and autonomous spaces	66,70%			5,60%	18
Chi square test	*.000, p=1.000*			*Fisher: .115*	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	69,20%	10,30%	23,10%	7,70%	39
Chi square test	*.175, p=.675*	*1.013, p=.314*	*.046, p=.831*	*6.366, p=.012*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	55,60%	22,20%	44,40%		9
Fisher exact test	*.478*	*.621*	*.104*		
NGOs and voluntary associations	65,20%	23,90%	26,10%	43,50%	46
Chi square test	*.073, p=.787*	*4.924, p=.026*	*.778, p=.378*	*23.335, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional, and state government units	100,00%				1
Fisher exact test	*1.000*				
Churches and charities	100,00%				1
Fisher exact test	*1.000*				

---

[63] The principal aim of Fast Track Law (Law 3894/2010 as amended by Law 4072/2012 and Law 4146/2013) was to accelerate the licensing procedures for investments deemed strategic to the Greek economy. The law does this by a) creating a legally-binding timeframe for the issuance of licenses with significantly reduced deadlines, b) immediately activating the investment process, and c) enhancing the speed and efficiency of public bodies' relevant actions. Source: http://www.greeklawdigest.gr/topics/finance-investment/item/42-fast-track-law

Total	66,7%	14,9%	21,9%	21,1%	114

The final table in this section is about alternative consumption practices. The most commonly organised practice is that of consumer-producers networks or what is called community supported agriculture. These activities are mostly conducted by neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives. Another activity mentioned by AAOs is that of community gardens, in their vast majority they founded by municipalities via the *National Network of Immediate Social Intervention* in order to provide activity and fresh produce for people in need. The two remaining categories, namely fare trade actions and do it yourself—fix it movements, are not statistically significant in their links to specific type of AAOs but are mainly organised by neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, social economy enterprises and cooperatives as well as NGOs and other voluntary associations.

Table 4. 11 AAOs Alternative consumption category activities by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Community/ producer-consumer action	Community gardens	"Freecycle", DIY, fix-it movement	Fair trade	Other	N
Protest groups, antifa networks and autonomous spaces	29,40%	29,40%		5,90%		17
Fisher exact test	*.122*	*.311*		*.687*		
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	50,90%	17,50%	14,00%	7,00%	12,30%	57
Chi square test	*.716, p=.397*	*.231, p=.631*	*.272, p=.602*	*fisher: .217*	*1.524, p=.217*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	54,50%		18,20%	36,40%	9,10%	11
Chi square test	*.273, p=.602*		*fisher: .625*	*fisher: .016*	*fisher: .687*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	52,90%	23,50%	17,60%	11,80%	52,90%	17
Chi square test	*.277, p=.599*	*fisher: . 737*	*Fisher: .442*	*Fisher: 1.000*	*19.901, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/Associations with local, regional , and state government units		50,00%				2
Fisher exact test		*.000*				
Churches and charities						0
Chi square test						
Total	47,10%	19,20%	12,50%	10,60%	16,30%	104

To better understand the kinds of strategies adopted by AAOs, the following table examines the routes that AAOs follow in order to achieve their aims and goals, as these are promoted on the AAOs websites. The initial assumption that I want to explore is that the majority of the AAOs try to achieve their goals by everyday local scale solidarity activities referred to as direct solidarity or social actions in the literature (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015, 2018; Kousis & Paschou, 2015). As the table below shows, nine out of ten AAOs chose to fulfil their goals through direct solidarity actions. More than the half use raising awareness as a strategy to achieve their aims. Furthermore, approximately one fourth do protest actions as part of their strategy to reach their targets. Finally, a small part of AAOs believes that changing government or the current establishment is a condition for the success of the organisation and a minor part of AAOs try to complete their missions through lobbying.

As for specific strategies that are adopted by the different types of organisations, protest and autonomous groups, they are positively related equally with protest, raising awareness, direct actions and change government or establishment as strategies. Though the correlations were not statistically significant, neighbourhood assemblies appeared to complete their mission via direct actions, followed by raising awareness activities and about a third of them through protest. As for the social economy enterprises, hybrid organisations, and churches and charities, all of them followed the same pattern by adopting direct actions and to a lesser extent raise awareness as strategies. Finally, NGOs appear to apply direct actions and raising awareness as strategies in equal measure, though the latter is also not statistically significant.

Summing up, table's findings seem to verify my assumption and the related literature. Indeed, almost nine out of ten AAOs try to fulfil their goal through direct solidarity activities, avoiding their interaction with the state or authorities. Moreover, for most of the AAOs, raising awareness is also very often used as they can communicate the cause that they fight for and attract more supporters. In this general pattern, there is a differentiation coming from protest groups which use protest as strategy to the same extent as the two aforementioned strategies. Moreover, half of them believe that they will achieve their aims by changing the government or establishment. These findings show that despite the fact that there is a turn in the action repertoire from protest to everyday solidarity activities (Malamidis, 2018) some groups (mostly anarchist-oriented) still use the traditional protest-based strategies as well as repertoire of actions.

Table 4. 11 AAO strategies for achieving their aims by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Protest actions	Direct actions	Raise awareness	Policy Change	Change government or establishment	Total N
Autonomous protest groups and antifascist networks	77,40%	77,40%	79,60%	1,10%	43,00%	93
Chi square test	*131.706, p=.000*	*22.183 ,p=,000*	*11.196, p=.001*	*6.670, p=.010*	*95.947, p=.000*	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	32,60%	92,00%	62,30%	3,60%	12,30%	138
Chi square test	*3.348, p=.246*	*.583, p=.445*	*.434, p=.510*	*3.968, p=.046*	*.014, p=.907*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	4,30%	91,50%	38,30%	2,10%	8,50%	47
Chi square test	*25.241, p=.000*	*fisher: 1.000*	*15.693, p=.000*	*fisher: .237*	*.788, p=.375*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	15,20%	92,70%	82,80%	19,20%	1,30%	151
Chi square test	*19.422, p=.000*	*1.336, p=.248*	*31.271, p=.000*	*43.998, p=.000*	*24.975, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	2,70%	100,00%	24,30%			37
Chi square test	*13.271, p=.000*	*fisher: .038*	*28.343, p=.000*			
Churches and charities	2,90%	97,10%	32,40%	2,90%		34
Chi square test	*10.896, p=.001*	*fisher: .235*	*16.589, p=.000*	*fisher: .499*		
Total	28,80%	90,40%	64,60%	7,40%	12,60%	500

Alternative Action Organisations' scope of actions

The next feature that I investigate is the scope of the activities that the AAOs conduct. Literature from the field of social movements (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Forno & Grazzianno, 2018; Kousis & Paschou 2017; Malamidis, 2018; Loukakis, 2018) suggests that there has been a turn in the level of actions from large national and transnational mobilisations, which was the case during global justice movement, to small scale locally based actions. Thus, my expectation is to find that a large number of AAOs have been active at the local level and significantly less at the national or at transnational levels. Findings seem to validate my expectations and the literature as more than 90% of AAOs conduct activities at the local level, only a third of them are active at the regional level and less than 20% are active at the national level. Transnational activities are rare among AAOs, as less than 5% are active at European and almost 2% at

the global level. As for differences between the different organisations types, all organisation types are mostly active at the local level. Social economy enterprises, cooperatives, and NGOs are the organisations that are more active at regional, national, European and global levels.

Table 4. 12 AAOs scope of actions by AAOs type

Type of organisation	Local level	Regional level	National level	European level	Global level	Total N
Autonomous protest groups and antifascist networks	94,60%	22,60%	11,80%	3,2%		93
Chi square test	*.463, p=.496*	*5.413, p=.020*	*2.315, p=.128*	*1.218, p=.270*		
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	95,70%	22,40%	8,0%	1,40%		138
Chi square test	*2.060, p=.151*	*4.784, p=.029*	*11.400, p=.001*	*6.212, p=.013*		
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	95,470%	31,90%	19,1%	4,30%	2,10%	47
Chi square test	*Fisher: .762*	*.018, p=.892*	*.138, p=.710*	*Fisher: 1.000*	*Fisher: 1.000*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	86,10%	55,60%	35,8,00%	13,90%	6,60%	151
Chi square test	*15.855, p=.000*	*51.151, p=.000*	*52.335, p=.000*	*28.241, p=.000*	*Fisher: .000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	100,00%	5,40%				37
Chi square test	*Fisher: .097*	*13.604, p=.000*				
Churches and charities	97,10%	20,60%	2,90%			34
Chi square test	*Fisher: .498*	*2.468, p=.116*	*5.208, p=.022*			
Total	93,00%	32,80%	17,20%	5,60%	2,20%	
	465	163	87	29	11	500

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

4.1.3 Constituency Groups

The next aspect of the AAOs that I will examine is that of the constituency groups of AAOs. These are defined as groups that are involved in solidarity practices either as receivers of solidarity or as active participants supporting them. For example in a direct producers-consumers food network, parties gain from the participations (producers sell at higher prices and consumers also buy cheaper than in the

mainstream market), thus I consider them as beneficiaries of this food network. Similarly, participants in a time bank are also beneficiaries and participants of the specific action. Examining the groups of people who receive solidarity support from AAOs is very important as it provides evidence on those that were most hidden by the crisis.

In general, literature about solidarity initiatives, groups and organisations in Greece examining the newly established organisations mostly mention those that are in need or victims of the crisis as main beneficiaries (Kousis et al, 2018). For instance, studies about solidarity clinics and social medicine describe the low income, unemployed and uninsured as those that get benefits from these services (Adam and Teloni, 2017; Vaiou & Kalandides, 2015). Similarly, works on solidarity networks describe the participants as local residents aiming to cooperate in response to the crisis and try to assist poverty-stricken households (Vaiou & Kalandides, 2015). Moreover, solidarity kitchens and community gardens had been established to offer solidarity to households facing food issues (Vathakou, 2015). It is also important to mention that the type of constituency group that helped by the AAOs activities is also dependent on the type of the activity. For instance, educational activities mostly target children and students (Kantzara, 2013; Theocharis, 2016), NGO shelters are referred to homeless people (Arapoglou & Gounis, 2015). However, the research also indicates that NGOs and voluntary associations that pre-existed the crisis mostly help socially excluded groups from the Greek society such as people with disabilities or with healthcare needs, kids, migrants and refugees (Simiti, 2017; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014). Finally works in the field of social economy and alternative ways of consumption in Greece reveal that these activities mostly concern themselves with helping, on the one hand, socioeconomically vulnerable individuals and, on the other hand, small business, consumers and producers as well as local communities (Kalogeraki et al, 2018; Loukakis, 2018; Vathakou, 2015; Rakopoulos, 2014a).

Moving to the findings, 40% of the AAOs target all those that are interested in participating in their activities, for example participants in barter clubs or people who want to do transactions by using alternative coins. Almost one out of three AAOs try to assist poor and marginalized people and communities and almost the same number of AAOs try to offer aid to immigrants and refugees. The latter underlines the mobilisation of civil society in order to provide help in the so-called European refugee crisis and the increasing number of refugees, especially during 2015. Approximately 27% of AAOs aim to offer solidarity to unemployed, uninsured or precarious workers followed by AAOs that assist children, youths and students. The next two categories are related to citizen-consumers and small producers as well to local communities (22% and 17% respectively). The rest of the constituency groups' categories appear less

frequently and are concerned with minorities, the environment or animals, people in prison, women and more. Finally, the other category includes groups such as the general public, LGBT, professionals and researchers.

Table 4. 13 AAO constituency groups

Kinds of constituency groups	Frequency	Percent %
Children	129	25,8
Youths or Students	127	25,4
Elderly/pensioners	31	6,2
Women	28	5,6
Parents or Families	80	16
Minorities or victims of hate crimes	52	10,4
Immigrants/refugees	139	27,8
Disabled / people with health needs or vulnerable people	79	15,8
Poor/marginalized people or communities	148	29,6
Imprisoned	38	7,6
Homeless	48	9,6
Unemployed, uninsured or precarious workers	135	27
Citizen-consumers/small enterprises-producers	87	17,4
Artists/cultural actors	23	4,6
Every interested person	203	40,6
Local community/ies	111	22,2
Environment/animals	42	8,4
Other	63	12,6
No mention/cannot be discerned	7	1,4

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, N=500

In order to explore whether there is a relation between the type of AAOs and specific constituency groups, the table below provides data about the groups' type and their link with the ten most mentioned constituency groups' categories. Overall, findings show that there is a statistically confirmed relation

between the type of the constituency groups and the AAOs type. In more details, protest groups and autonomous spaces target every interested person and unemployed, uninsured or precarious workers as well but they put much of their effort in helping immigrants and refugees. The same groups are barely active in offering solidarity to children, parents or families and disabled or people with health needs. Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives mostly target every interested person, poor and marginalised people and communities as well as unemployed, uninsured or precarious workers, while they are almost absent from solidarity to health infected or disabled people. Half of social economy enterprises and cooperatives focus on the relations between citizen-consumers and small producers, followed by every interested person and local communities. Only a few of these types of organisations and groups conduct activities have immigrants and refugees as beneficiaries.

A very different pattern is revealed when the NGOs are examined: NGOs, the most populated category, target every constituency group of the table but some more than others. In more details, NGOs are positively linked with offering solidarity to children, youths and students as well as disabled and people with health needs. The category that only few NGOs are active in is that of citizen-consumers and small producers. As for the constituency groups that the hybrid organisations target, they seems to be those that are crisis affected, as they are the poor and marginalised people and communities as well as the unemployed, uninsured or precarious workers. Moving to churches and charities, half of them target the poor, communities, followed equally by children and people with disabilities or people with health needs. Both churches and hybrid organisations do not focus at all on consumers-producers and only one of each category offers solidarity to local communities.

Summing up the findings, there is solid evidence that different type kinds of organisations and groups target different people in need. Informal solidarity groups such as neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups are more open to every interested person, promoting active participation instead of the idea that people are only recipients of solidarity provision. The same groups also target refugees in their solidarity practices. Social economy enterprises focus on the consumer-producer relationship and local communities. The rest of the AAOs focus on more specific groups of people. In more detail, NGOs are mainly focused on children, youth and people with health needs or disabilities. Meanwhile, hybrid organisations and churches target the poor and marginalised people and communities.

Table 4. 14 Ten most mentioned Constituency Groups by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Every interested person	Poor/ marginalized people or communities	Immigrants/ refugees	Unemployed/ uninsured or precarious workers	Children	Youths or students	Local community/ ies	Citizen-consumers/ small enterprises-producers	Parents or families	Disabled / health inflicted or vulnerable	Total N
Protest Groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	57,00%	11,80%	41,90%	33,30%	4,30%	17,20%	25,80%	12,90%	1,10%	2,20%	93
	12.725, p=.000	17.317, p=.000	11.374, p=.001	2.325, p=.127	27.587, p=.000	4.050, p=.044	.860, p=.354	1.607, p=.205	18.935, p=.000	16.000, p=.000	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	55,80%	39,90%	33,30%	34,80%	23,20%	21,00%	27,50%	27,50%	15,20%	2,90%	138
	18.254, p=.000	9.620, p=.002	2.908, p=.088	5.857, p=.016	.679, p=.410	1.935, p=.164	3.143, p=.076	13.626, p=.000	.087, p=.768	23.848, p=.000	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	53,20%	10,60%	6,40%	14,90%	17,00%	17,00%	31,90%	46,80%	12,80%	10,60%	47
	3.410 ,p=.065	8.951, p=.003	11.855, p=.001	3.858, p=.050	2.088, p=.148	1.922, p=.166	2.835, p=.092	31.217, p=.000	.404, p=.525	1.039, p=.308	
NGOs and voluntary associations	22,50%	25,20%	26,50%	14,60%	42,40%	36,40%	19,90%	9,90%	22,50%	31,80%	151
	29.334, p=.000	2.041, p=.153	.185, p=.667	16.959, p=.000	31.080, p=.000	13.874, p=.000	.681, p=.409	8.391, p=.004	6.835, p=.009	41.567, p=.000	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	24,30%	59,50%	13,50%	51,40%	16,20%	21,60%	8,10%		18,90%	13,50%	37
	4.389, p=.036	17.096, p=.000	4.063, p=.044	12.021, p=.001	1.917, p=.166	.301, p=.583	4.594, p=.032		.253, p=.615	.157, p=.692	
Churches and charities	14,70%	50,00%	17,60%	23,50%	44,10%	32,40%	2,90%		32,40%	44,10%	34
	10.143, p=.001	7.285, p=.007	1.874, p=.171	.223, p=.637	6.394, p=.011	.931, p=.335	7.834, p=.005		7.259, p=.007	21.989, p=.000	
Total	40,60%	29,60%	27,80%	27,00%	25,80%	25,40%	22,20%	17,40%	16,00%	15,80%	500

The next aspect of the profiles of the AAOs I investigate is the network features. As I pointed out in the literature review, networks are important in the process of shaping social movements (Diani, 2007). Resource mobilisation theory suggest that networks are also important for organisations in order to share material, information and human and cultural resources, which are crucial for the ability of the organisation to conduct its activities and to stay active in the long term (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Edwards & McCarthy 2004). Thus, in the following, I try to examine the network features to provide an answer to the question of whether and to what extent the AAOs were connected to each other or if they act more independently. I examine these network features by looking at two different aspects of the AAOs. First, I present the AAOs' umbrella features, which provide data about AAOs belong to, or are themselves, umbrella organisations. Second, I examine if the AAOs mention partners on their websites and if so, what kind of partners they list.

Starting with the umbrella features[64], only 5% of the total population of AAOs are umbrella organisations (25). Almost half of them operate at the national level, about a third at sub-national (regional and local) and the rest at the transnational level (European and global). Finally, with respect to the members that these umbrella groups consist of, approximately the 60% are members that belong to the same organisation—e.g. local branches of Doctors Without Borders—and 40% are independent organisations and groups.

With respect to the AAOs that are members of umbrella organisations, less than 18% (89) of the total population mentions belong to a larger umbrella network. Data shows that mostly NGOs and, to a lesser extent, hybrid and social economy enterprises are parts of umbrella organisations. With respect to the scope of these umbrellas, as figure 4.1. indicates, almost half of them are national level umbrellas, then about one out of four are global level organisations and the rest are almost equally distributed at the local and European levels.

Summing up the findings on the umbrella features, the vast majority of the AAOs are independent organisations that do not belong in bigger umbrella organisations. A possible explanation of this finding has to do with the nature of civil society in Greece. The voluntary and NGO sector in Greece is mostly dominated by small scale organisations, which do not have branches, and so big umbrella networks are

---

[64] Because of the low number of cases, I do not present these findings in tables.

rare and, when they do exist, they mostly are NGOs, and most of them are international such as Doctors Without Borders, the Red Cross, and Amnesty International.

Figure 4. 1 Amount of AAOs that belong to umbrella organisations and their regional scale*
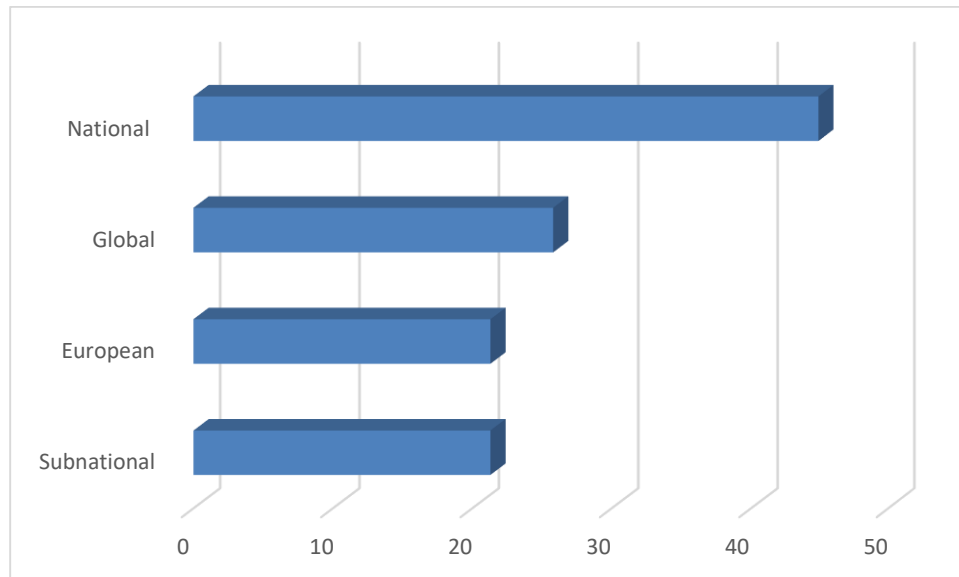
Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, N=89

The next network feature that I examine is that of partners that the AAOs have. Partners are defined as other groups, organisations, networks, economic or political actors which are somehow linked with AAOs and are mentioned in AAOs media outlets as collaborators, partners, sponsors, friendly websites, or webpages that the reader is encouraged to visit. Overall, the majority of AAOs mention partners on their media outlets and only 36% do not mention any partners. As for the rest of AAOs, more than one third mentions from 1 to 10 partners, almost 15% of them mention 11 to 30 partners and 10.3% mention more than 31 partners.

An examination of the number of partners in to organisation type shows that social economy enterprises and cooperatives are the most isolated AAOs, followed by churches and charities, while NGOs and hybrid organisations are the most connected. In more details, more than half of neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups report partners and, when they do so, they likely they will be less than ten. The only difference between these two kinds of AAOs is that the latter mention more partners in the category 11-30 while the first mention more than 30. Social economy and church and charities seems to follow the

same pattern, where slightly more than the half of the AAOs report patterns and they are almost in every case less than ten. On the other hand, NGOs are the most connected of the AAOs types and they are the organisations that report the biggest number of partners, as they score high in both 11 to 30 and more than 31 categories. Finally, hybrid organisations are very well connected with other organisations (almost 80% of AAOs report partners) and their only difference with NGOs is that they more often report 1 to 10 partners.

Table 4. 15 AAOs number of Partners by AAOs type

Type of organisation	None	1 to 10	11 to 30	More than 31	Total
Protest Groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	44,90%	28,10%	15,70%	11,20%	89
Chi square test	*3.647, p=.056*	*5.308, p=.021*	*.063, p=.802*	*.148, p=.700*	
Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	45,20%	33,30%	18,50%	3,00%	135
Chi square test	*6.611, p=.010*	*2.392, p=.122*	*1.962, p=.161*	*10.551, p=.001*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	48,90%	40,00%	6,70%	4,40%	45
Chi square test	*3.484, p=.062*	*.028, p=.867*	*2.640, p=.104*	*fisher: .296*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	19,70%	43,50%	17,70%	19,00%	147
Chi square test	*24.686, p=.000*	*1.959, p=.162*	*1.317, p=.251*	*18.447, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	20,60%	64,70%	8,80%	5,90%	34
Chi square test	*3.840, p=.050*	*10.297, p=.001*	*1.058, p=.304*	*fisher: .560*	
Churches and charities	47,10%	41,20%	2,90%	8,80%	34
Chi square test	*1.883, p=.170*	*.084, p=.772*	*4.113, p=.043*	*fisher: 1.000*	
Total	36,20%	38,80%	14,90%	10,10%	484

As for the profile of partners that the different organisation types have, the literature suggests some assumptions worth exploring. Previous studies showed that the NGO sector was very close to the state as it was the main provider of resources. Recent studies mention that because of the cuts and austerity, the states' capacity to provide funding to NGOs was limited, thus it may be interesting to investigate the importance of the state as a partner in solidarity provision (Simiti, 2017; Polyzoidis, 2015). Moreover, the

economic crisis affected not only people but also private companies. This fact could limit their ability to participate in or support solidarity practices (Pekka-Ekonomou et al. 2013, Arapoglou and Gounis 2015, Sotiropoulos and Bourikos 2014, Simiti 2017). Thus, I want to explore the extent to which businesses are partners of AAOs in solidarity provision. Additionally, since a lack of domestic resources made many formal organisations turn their attention to the supranational level and more specifically to the EU and European social fund as partners, I opt to investigate the percentage of Greek AAOs that seek international funding. Finally, literature suggests that groups and organisations tent to collaborate with similar types of organisations as they already have built bonds of trust with them (Daskalaki 2017, Simiti 2017, Bekridaki and Broumas 2017, Vathakou 2015).

Moving to the findings, the general picture shows that AAOs collaborate with state-related actors, civil society organisations and private businesses. In more details, a bit less than half of the AAOs report municipality, regional or state agencies and bodies as their partners, followed by informal grassroots solidarity initiatives. One explanation of this finding could be that many, mainly formal, AAOs collaborate with various actors at different regional scales and of different types to conduct common solidarity activities or to get access to crucial organisational, material or other resources. On the other hand many informal AAOs tried to establish networks with other informal groups and organisations in order to share scarce resources. NGOs are also very important collaborators as almost 40% AAOs mention them as partners. About a third of the AAOs report private businesses and enterprises as sponsors or supporters in their activities. Churches and charities also are part of AAOs networks, this fact is easy explainable as churches and charities engaged in significant solidarity work during the economic crisis so it would be expected that they would collaborate with other organisations in order to achieve their goals (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Makris & Bekridakis, 2013).

 In more detail, Neighbourhood assemblies mostly mention as partners other neighbourhood assemblies and to a lesser extent NGOs, other solidarity organisations and state actors. Protest groups mostly collaborate with neighbourhood assemblies as well as other protest groups and sometimes with information platforms. Social economy enterprises mostly collaborate with other solidarity organisations, private businesses and about a third of them with state actors. NGOs mostly collaborate with state actors, private businesses and other NGOs. Hybrid AAOs associate mostly with state actors, as they are result of an EU and state funded project. With respect to the churches and charities, these mostly mention as partners other church and charities, state agencies and corporations or other private businesses. Finally,

with respect to the transnational dimension of the partners, about one third of NGOs and hybrid organisations report partners beyond the Greek borders, followed by churches and charities. These organisations try to find resources outside of crisis-ridden Greece, looking mostly at the European Social Fund or other EU agencies (Simiti, 2017; ESF, 2015; Matsaganis, 2013).

Some conclusions can be made from these findings. The first is that solidarity provision is largely a collaborative task as two out of three AAOs mention partners in their websites. The findings from Table 4.14 indicate that 36% of AAOs do not mention any partner but, having in mind that some AAOs do not mention any partners are members of umbrella organisations and are thus linked with other members of the umbrella group, the percentage of the isolated AAOs drops slightly to less than 33% of the total population. Secondly, AAOs tend to associate more with AAOs of the same type. This probably can be explained by the fact that similar organisations can share values and work ethics, making collaborations easier. Moreover, organisations that have been active many years have already built bonds of trust with other AAOs thus, often, there is little room for new collaborations.

Finally findings indicate that there are two main pillars that collaborations are built around. The first is that of neighbourhood assemblies, which the main partner category are for neighbourhood assemblies, protest groups and information platforms. The second is that state actors at any level (municipalities, regions and center state) are often the main partner category for NGOs, profession-related initiatives, hybrid AAOs, churches and charities and other AAOs. This probably has to do with access to the resources by each organisation. Informal and newly established organisations such as grassroots solidarity initiatives and protest groups often do not receive state funding (either by choice or lack of access) thus they try, through collaborations, to find the necessary resources to support their operations. On the other hand, formal organisations collaborate with state agencies and to a lesser extent with the EU and other supranational agencies in order to insure the necessary funding.

Table 4. 16 AAOs most mention types of partners by AAOs type

Type of organisation	Protest groups/ Indignados	Informal citizens/ grassroots solidarity initiatives	Information platforms	NGOs/ Volunteer Associations	Associations	Cultural/ Arts/Sports Associations	Other solidarity related organisations	Churches and charities	Companies/ private businesses	Universities/ Research institutes	Municipalities/ Regional or state agencies and bodies	Supranational agencies and bodies	N
Protest Groups	59,2%	75,5%	36,7%	14,3%	18,4%	14,3%	24,5%	6,1%	2,0%		16,3%	4,1%	49
neighbourhood assemblies	21,6%	70,3%	14,9%	33,8%	13,5%	18,9%	24,3%	8,1%	20,3%	4,1%	27,0%	1,4%	74
Social economy enterprises		21,7%	4,3%	21,7%	8,7%	26,1%	34,8%	4,3%	34,8%	17,4%	34,8%	13,0%	23
NGOs and voluntary associations	2,5%	21,2%	12,7%	55,9%	24,6%	17,8%	12,7%	38,1%	55,1%	26,3%	59,3%	29,7%	118
'Hybrid' Enterprise-Associations		7,4%		33,3%	29,6%	11,1%	11,1%	18,5%	25,9%	3,7%	81,5%	33,3%	27
Churches and charities		5,6%	5,6%	33,3%	33,3%		11,1%	55,6%	50,0%	22,2%	55,6%	22,2%	18
Total	15,5%	39,5%	14,9%	38,2%	20,7%	16,5%	18,8%	22,7%	34,0%	13,9%	44,7%	17,5%	309

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, of AAOs that mention partners on their website N=309

4.2   Cultural features

The final aspect of AAOs that I will examine is their cultural features. Before getting into further detail, it is important to recall what the Alternative Action Organisations are. According to the definition that I provided in the previous chapters, AAOs are collective bodies active in organising public solidarity actions offering an alternative to the mainstream economic, social and cultural systems. As groups and organisations which are engaged in collective actions, their members and similar type of AAOs should act on the basis of shared cultural items such as beliefs, similar goals and common values. This set of cultural features is very important as it helps the participants of solidarity mobilisations to shape a collective identity. Collective identity is crucial for the formation of collective action and social movements and is not referring to single objects that social actors could have but as a process through which actors anticipate their selves as part of broader groups (Melucci, 1996; Poleta & Jasper, 2001). Moreover, Diani argues that collective identity is a requirement for the existence of social movements (along with a network of interaction between groups and collective action largely displayed outside the institutional sphere) and these are based on the basis of shared beliefs and solidarity among the members of the movement (1992, p. 8-9). As for the key components that collective identity is made of, Della Porta and Diani (1999) point out that collective identity can be based on "shared orientations, values, attitudes, worldviews, and lifestyles, as well as on shared experiences of action" (p.92). Thus, existence of common cultural items among the AAOs that took part in solidarity mobilisations is crucial in order to investigate the procedures of collective identity making.

Beyond the importance of cultural features in shaping collective identity among the members of solidarity initiatives, culture is very important as a framing process. As I showed in the literature review, theorists of cultural framing argue that activists create things by using culture such as symbols, claims, and identities in a movement's environment in order to engage people in collective action. Moreover, they produce and maintain the meaning of things and events to bystanders, adherents and antagonists (Snow, 2004). In order to investigate the cultural features of AAOs, I first examine the aims and goals that they have as indicators of their approaches and worldviews. Following this, I discuss the "solidarity orientation" of AAOs, as an expression of their attitude toward solidarity and, finally, I focus on the values under which they take action in an attempt to see how their collective identity is formed.

4.2.1 Aims and goals of AAOs

Starting with the aims and goals of AAOs, a bit less than the one third try to promote and achieve social change, health education and welfare as well as reduce the negative impacts of the crisis or austerity. Following this, about one fourth of AAOs promote collective identities and community empowerment, and promote equal participation in society, while about one fifth promote aims related to alternative non-economic lifestyles and practices, individual changes, democratic practices and protecting rights.

Table 4. 17 AAO aims and targets

AAO aims	Frequency	Percent*
To reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis/austerity	139	28,2
To reduce poverty and exclusion	70	14,2
To combat discrimination/ promote equality of participation	122	24,7
To increase tolerance and mutual understanding	54	11
To promote alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values	78	15,8
To promote and achieve social change	150	30,4
To promote and achieve positive/individual change	107	21,7
To promote sustainable development	58	11,8
To promote health, education and welfare	146	29,6
To promote alternative non-economic practices, lifestyles and values	110	22,3
To promote dignity	49	9,9
To promote individual rights and responsibility	32	6,5
To promote self-determination, self-initiative, self-representation and self-empowerment	48	9,7
To promote democratic practices/defense of rights/improve public space	102	20,7
To promote collective identities and community empowerment	124	25,2
To promote self-managed collectivity	54	11
To promote social movement actions and collective identities	69	14

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

I now further analyse the aims promoted by more than 20% of the AAOs to identify some common patterns between the aims promoted by specific type of organisations. As data reveals, protest groups mostly aim to create collective identities and community empowerment, followed by aims of social change and promotion of alternative non-economic (non-monetary, alternative economic) practices, lifestyles and values. Moreover, about a third of this type of AAO has the goal of promoting democratic practices. Overall, the goals of protest groups can be summarised as an attempt of changing the dominant

capitalistic society to one where there are more bonds between people, more democracy and based on an alternative economic model.

With respect to the neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, these have many similarities with protest groups. These mostly aim to reduce the negative impacts of the crisis or to promote collective identities and community empowerment. Moreover, about 40% of them have the goal of achieving social change or promoting alternative non-economic practices and lifestyles. These findings can be explained by the fact that the majority of these organisations were founded during the crisis as a response, by society, to austerity. Moreover, many participants in solidarity activities saw crisis as an opportunity to change the "till then way of living" by promoting closer relationships between people as well as alternative economic models, practices and lifestyles (Rakopoulos, 2014; Arabatzi, 2017; Kousis et al, 2018). As for the social economy initiatives, these largely aimed to promote alternative economic models and to a lesser extent about social change. These aims are in line with the aims that almost every organisation in the field has (Kalogeraki, et al, 2018).

Moving to the aims of NGOs, these had the goals of promoting health, education and welfare, and at the same time aim to combat discrimination in society. Almost one third of NGOs promote aims related to positive individual changes and approximately one out of four aims about achieving social change. Aims promoted by NGOs reveal the character of this type of AAO. Most of the NGOs' existence preceded the crisis and their main activities were about providing services, defending rights and promoting equal participation in society by marginalised and vulnerable groups such as children and youths, homeless, minorities and migrants and the environment (Frangonikolopoulos, 2014; Sotiropoulos, 2012; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Botetzagias & Karamichas, 2009).

The aims promoted by hybrid organisations are in line with the aims promoted by the *National Network of Immediate Social Intervention* (see footnote above): immediate social provision to those affected by the negative effects of the crisis. Moreover, about one third of these organisations express aims related to the promotion of health and welfare, indicating the social policy orientation of these AAOs. As for churches and charities, these mostly try to provide health education and welfare and, to a lesser extent, to reduce the negative impacts of the crisis. The latter is an indication of the role that church-related initiatives play during the crisis. The church has always been active in philanthropy and charity but in a period of crisis, the already-established activities were not enough to cover the increasing needs and thus

the Greek Orthodox Church used its organisational capacity and their resources to establish soup kitchens, shelters, social clinics and similar practices[65] (Makris and Bekridakis 2013).

---

[65] Most of these activities are carried out by a church-owned NGO called "Apostoli", established in the beginning of the crisis (2010) with the mission to relieve people from the suffering of the crisis. For more information: http://mkoapostoli.com

Table 4. 18 Most-mentioned aims by type of AAO

Type of organisation	To reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis	To combat discrimination	To promote and achieve social change	To promote health, education and welfare	To promote collective identities and community empowerment	To promote alternative noneconomic practices, lifestyles and values	To promote and achieve positive/individual change	To promote democratic practices/defence of rights/improve public space	N
Autonomous protest groups	17,20%	34,40%	38,70%	8,60%	41,90%	38,70%	12,90%	34,40%	93
Chi square test	*7.043, p=.008*	*5.656, p=.017*	*3.729, p=.053*	*24.174, p=.000*	*17.476, p=.000*	*18.080, p=.000*	*5.305, p=.021*	*13.319, p=.000*	
neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity	46,40%	13,80%	39,10%	24,60%	44,90%	30,40%	17,40%	28,30%	138
Chi square test	*30.292, p=.000*	*12.439, p=.000*	*6.866, p=.009*	*2.252, p=.133*	*40.369, p=.000*	*7.484, p=.006*	*2.173, p=.140*	*6.839, p=.009*	
Social economy enterprises	14,90%	8,50%	25,50%	19,10%	19,10%	31,90%	14,90%	10,60%	47
Chi square test	*4.654, p=.031*	*7.381, p=.007*	*.581, p=.446*	*2.719, p=.099*	*.947, p=.330*	*2.835, p=.092*	*1.451, p=.228*	*3.147, p=.076*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	13,90%	38,40%	25,80%	45,70%	8,60%	11,30%	33,10%	17,90%	151
Chi square test	*22.345, p=.000*	*21.489, p=.000*	*2.137, p=.144*	*26.894, p=.000*	*30.997, p=.000*	*14.995, p=.000*	*16.240, p=.000*	*.978, p=.323*	
'Hybrid' Enterprise-Associations	62,20%	5,40%	18,90%	29,70%	5,40%	0,00%	18,90%	0,00%	37
Chi square test	*22.339, p=.000*	*8.059, p=.005*	*2.489, p=.115*	*.000, p=.986*	*8.182, p=.004*	*11.402, p=.001*	*.195, p=.659*	*10.367, p=.001*	
Churches and charities	32,40%	26,50%	11,80%	50,00%	0,00%	2,90%	26,50%	0,00%	34
Chi square test	*.280, p=.596*	*.055, p=.815*	*5.988, p=.014*	*7.285, p=.007*	*7.834, p=.005*	*12.160, p=.000*	*.467, p=.494*	*9.465, p=.003*	
Total	28,40%	24,70%	30,40%	29,60%	25,00%	22,20%	21,80%	20,60%	500

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

4.2.2 AAO solidarity approaches

The next cultural element that I examine, which can be used as indicator for the formation of collective identities among the members of the AAOs, is the attitudes shared by the subjects of collective action (Diani, 1992). The respective approaches towards solidarity adopted by AAOs could show that some AAOs share common beliefs regarding solidarity provision while others adopt very different solidarity approaches. Some organisations adopt a mutual help solidarity approach, based on the concept of democratic solidarity, which constitutes both a self-organisation and a social movement (Ould Ahmed, 2014, p. 430; Laville, 2010, p. 231-234). Meanwhile, some other organisations adopt a top-down approach based on charity or philanthropic solidarity, leading to a situation of personal dependency by beneficiaries (Laville 2010:231-234). Based on this distinction, I first explore the solidarity approaches that AAOs adopt and then look for specific relationships between type of AAOs and kinds of solidarity approaches. As I discussed in the literature review, I expect that informal AAOs such as grassroots solidarity initiatives and protest groups will follow a mutual help or a collaborative form of solidarity while formal and well-established AAOs active in the provision of goods and services follow a top down solidarity approach.

Findings suggest that the majority of AAOs follow a mutual help approach, indicating that people were mobilised based on their common interests, trying to find ways of coping collectively with negative effects of the crisis. Following this, AAOs mobilised in order to help other people in need, adopting an altruistic approach to solidarity. The latter is supplemented by almost one out of three AAOs which adopted the provision of services and products, following a top-down approach to solidarity. This solidarity from above is closely connected with philanthropy and altruism. Finally, fewer AAOs chose a cooperative form of solidarity implying close collaboration between different groups.

Moving to the solidarity approaches followed by specific actors, almost every protest and autonomous group had a mutual help approach, while about one third of cases had an altruistic approach to solidarity and even less had a collaborative approach. The pattern followed by neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives is similar, but they report less of a mutual help approach while reporting more of an altruistic solidarity approach. Social economy initiatives have more of a mutual help approach and then, in roughly equal parts, an altruistic and a top-down approach. NGOs and churches and charities follow a similar pattern: mostly adopting a top-down approach of solidarity and to a lesser extent an altruistic one. Finally, hybrid organisations follow, in equal parts, approaches focusing on altruism and distribution of goods and services.

In summary, these findings seem to be in line with my expectations, as there are two clear patterns followed by AAOs. The first is that of informal groups (neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups) which follow a mutual help approach, closely following Laville's (2010) observation that democratic solidarity is connected with self-organisation and social movements. The second is that of solidarity from above where organisations distribute good and services to beneficiaries. This approach is taken mostly by formal organisations such as NGOs, churches and charities. This differentiation between types of AAOs is an indication of their different attitudes towards solidarity and can be perceived as an element of their shared collective identity. The rest of the AAOs (social economy enterprises and hybrid organisations) stand between these two major patterns, each adopting diverse kinds of solidarity approaches.

Table 4. 19 Solidarity approaches by type of AAO

Type of organisation	Mutual-help	Support/assistance between groups	Help/offer support to others	Distribution of goods and services to others	N
Autonomous protest groups and antifascist networks	90,30%	22,60%	33,30%	2,20%	93
Chi square test	*78.067, p=.000*	*.739, p=.390*	*2.241, p=.134*	*52.655, p=.000*	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	75,40%	26,10%	45,70%	9,40%	138
Chi square test	*53.008, p=.000*	*5.451, p=.020*	*2.357, p=.125*	*52.705, p=.000*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	44,70%	17,00%	34,00%	36,20%	47
Chi square test	*.387, p=.534*	*.188, p=.665*	*.818, p=.366*	*.072, p=.788*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	19,20%	21,20%	41,10%	64,20%	151
Chi square test	*76.848, p=.000*	*.444, p=.505*	*.066, p=.797*	*85.351, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	16,20%	0,00%	48,60%	48,60%	37
Chi square test	*1718, p=.000*		*1.186, p=.276*	*3.595, p=.058*	
Churches and charities	2,90%	0,00%	32,40%	73,50%	34
Chi square test	*30.969, p=.000*		*.934, p=.334*	*24.752, p=.000*	
Total	49,00%	19,40%	40,20%	34,40%	500

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

4.2.3 The values through which AAOs frame their activities

The last aspect of AAOs that I examine is that of the values through which they frame their activities. This cultural framing procedure is very important as it signifies and gives a meaning to the work done by AAOs. Values in solidarity mobilisations are the relatively coherent set of beliefs that operate as the *collective action frames* (as they described in the literature review in Chapter 2), which means that they legitimate and inspire solidarity-oriented collective action (Snow et al, 2019; Benford & Snow, 2000). Findings on organisations' values can also reveal evidence that members of AAOs could share a collective identity which shapes how they undertake their activities.

As the table below shows, the majority of AAOs (70%) express their values on their websites. Of these, almost half promote values related to empowerment and participation such as: community building/empowerment, freedom and emancipation, self-reliance or self-sufficiency, participatory democracy, mutual understanding, collaboration across interested parties. Community empowerment is the most expressed value of this group, mentioned by 59% of AAOs, followed by participatory democracy, expressed by 22% of AAOs who expressed their values on their websites. Slightly more than 40% promote solidarity as a core value under which they frame their activities. Almost 30% of AAOs share humanitarian/philanthropic values such as: truthfulness, honesty and sincerity, trust, dignity, voluntarism and respect. This is followed by rights-based values, which includes values such as: equality, civil rights and liberties; human, women's or children's rights; fairness/ ethics and social justice. Of the AAOs that mention values, rights based values are promoted by one third them, and human rights and civil rights were the two most promoted values within this category. The category of diversity and sustainability is chosen by less than 20% of AAOs and includes values such as ecology, environment, sustainability, intergenerational justice, respect for difference, and tolerance, although 85% of AAOs promote ecology and sustainability as a value.

Table 4. 20 Values promoted by AAOs

Values promoted by AAOs	Frequency	Percent*
Solidarity	146	41,7

Humanitarian/philanthropic	107	30,6
Rights-based ethics	101	28,6
Empowerment and participation	177	50,6
Diversity and sustainability	65	18,6
Economic virtues	10	2,6
Community and order	16	4,6
Not mentioned	150	30,0**

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, of the AAOs that mention values N=350

**of the total population N=500

As for the values expressed by the different AAO categories, protest and autonomous groups mostly promote values related to empowerment and participation, followed by values related to solidarity and individual and collective rights. More than half of the neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives act roughly equally in the name of values related to empowerment and participation as well as solidarity. Moreover, about a third of the same AAO category promotes humanitarian and philanthropic values. Social economy enterprises and cooperatives also promote empowerment and participation-related values, followed by solidarity and altruism as well as philanthropy-related values. With respect to NGOs, this group promotes mostly rights-based values as well as values related to diversity and sustainability. Moreover, almost one third of NGOs promote values that belong to the humanitarian and philanthropic category. Finally, hybrid AAOs promote a mixture of solidarity and philanthropy, while churches and charities also promote solidarity and philanthropy, but they also add rights-based values on their self-description.

Summing up the findings, despite the fact that the sample consists only of organisations and groups that were active in solidarity mobilisations, data shows that solidarity is the most promoted value only for some AAOs, while the majority promote mostly other values. Only the AAOs in the categories of hybrid organisations and churches and charities promote values of solidarity more than those of other

169

categories. Informal AAOs (protest groups and grassroots solidarity initiatives) primarily promote values related to empowerment and participation and to a lesser extent those values related to solidarity. Almost the same applies for the AAOs belonging in the solidarity economy category. With respect to NGOs, solidarity is the least observed category as they mostly promote rights-based values and values related to sustainability and diversity. The latter is to be expected as many NGOs have environmental protection among their goals and environmental and ecology initiatives are among the organisations which consist of the NGO category.

Table 4. 21 AAOs promoted values by AAO type

Type of organisation	Solidarity and altruism	Humanitarian /philanthropic	Rights-based ethics	Empowerment and participation	Diversity and sustainability	Total N
Autonomous protest groups and antifascist networks	44,2%	20,8%	33,8%	76,6%	3,9%	77
Chi square test	*.242, p=.623*	*4.460, p=.035*	*1.159, p=.282*	*26.804, p=.000*	*14.059, p=.000*	
Neighborhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	56,6%	32,7%	17,7%	59,3%	19,5%	113
Chi square test	*15.285, p=.000*	*.371, p=.543*	*10.120, p=.001*	*5.077, p=.024*	*.089, p=.799*	
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives	35,3%	32,4%	23,5%	47,1%	17,6%	34
Chi square test	*.638, p=.424*	*.056, p=.812*	*.521, p=.441*	*.186, p=.666*	*.021, p=.884*	
NGOs and voluntary associations	23,5%	32,7%	40,8%	29,6%	33,7%	98
Chi square test	*18.635, p=.000*	*.278, p=.598*	*9.482, p=.002*	*23.966, p=.000*	*20.528, p=.000*	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	46,7%	33,3%	13,3%	26,7%	0,0%	15
Chi square test	*.158, p=.691*	*fisher: .781*	*fisher: .247*	*3.583, p=.058*		
Churches and charities	46,20%	46,20%	38,50%	15,40%	7,70%	13
Chi square test	*.109, p=.741*	*1.545, p=.214*	*.607, p=.436*	*6.687, p=.010*	*1.057, p=.304*	
Total	41,70%	30,60%	28,90%	50,60%	18,60%	350

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

4.3   A typology of AAOs active in Greece during the economic crisis

In the previous sections, I described the main organisational, social, political and cultural features of the AAOs under study, including their action repertoires as well as the groups of people that gain benefit from their solidarity practices. Thus, starting with more general categories to classify AAOs, I used statistical analyis to highlight the general tendencies followed by AAOs. This was done to identify the main characteristics of AAOs and to give a general profile of each type of AAO. At this point I use the variables I identified in the previous sections in order to propose a typology of the AAOs that were active in solidarity provision in Greece during the economic crisis and the years following.

The rationale behind this step is the idea that organisational profiles on their own are not enough to describe the different aspirations, motivations and backgrounds that AAOs have. As I showed in detail in the literature review, according to a typology proposed by Kousis and Paschou (2017), there is a wide spectrum of organisations and groups, which are active during hard economic times and try to assist those in need. These organisations can have different motives and solidarity approaches, political aspirations (or, alternatively, lack political aspirations) and can have their origin in the collaboration between state and private sector, in alternative solidarity oriented economic activity or in social movements. Hence, there are different possible combinations of the features exhibited by AAOs, which can reveal very different patterns of organisations, such as: the type of organisation, the solidarity approach adopted by AAOs, their aims and goals, the values promoted through their activities, the strategies followed in order to achieve their aims and finally the type of political activities that they are engaged with.

In order to make this classification, I used principle components analysis[66] as described in the methods chapter, applying Varimax rotation with Kaizer normalisation. To construct the components, I only retained components with eigenvalues greater than one (1) which resulted in fifteen (15) components, explaining more than half of the cases (61,5%). As for the typology construction, I have used as explanatory basis the typology proposed by Kousis and Paschou (2017) in order to find the theoretical approaches through which each component could be analysed. Moreover, I have adjusted and concretised the typology developed by Kousis and Paschou in order to better describe Greek solidarity mobilisations. Before presenting the findings, it is crucial to mention that, to build this typology, I have excluded the direct social actions strategy, it is mentioned by more than 90% of the AAOs, thus, it would

---

[66] As I already stated in the Chapter 3, I also conducted the same analysis using tetrachoric correlations, which produced exactly the same number of components.

have little to offer in the construction of the typology. Hence, in the modelling below, I take for granted that direct action as strategy is applied by every component, no matter if it has positive association with other strategies or not. However, in presenting the components, I chose not to mention direct actions and put more emphasis on the different strategies that differentiate the components from each other.

Table 4. 22 Modelling results

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Type of organisations															
Protest Groups, antifascist networks and autonomous spaces	0,794	0,261			-0,108										
neighbourhood assemblies—grassroots solidarity initiatives	-0,223	0,107	0,789					0,205	0,103	-0,139			-0,112		
Information platforms and networks				-0,246	-0,172		0,115				-0,206		0,712		0,104
Social economy enterprises and cooperatives		-0,198			0,145	0,115	-0,133			0,647	-0,113				-0,159
NGOs and voluntary associations	-0,303		-0,434	0,145	0,310		0,475	-0,189		-0,171		0,117		-0,104	
Profession related initiatives									-0,103					0,833	
'Hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units	-0,117	-0,100	-0,328	-0,190	-0,262		-0,195	0,270	-0,330		0,244	-0,285		-0,189	
Churches and charities		-0,267			-0,230	-0,188	-0,286	-0,203	0,286	-0,167		0,259			0,138
Solidarity Approaches															
Mutual help	0,485	-0,173	0,504		0,143	-0,245	-0,131		-0,282		0,188	0,220	0,134		
Collaboration between groups						-0,108				0,169					-0,705
Altruistic	-0,126	-0,163			-0,141							-0,812			
Top-down	-0,275	-0,337	-0,468		-0,103	-0,102					-0,290	0,481			0,153
Mixed: based on mutual help		0,613	0,111	-0,124		0,426					-0,254		-0,199	-0,110	
Mixed: based on top-down			-0,141				0,410	-0,149	0,143		0,626			0,178	
Aims															
To reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis/austerity/cuts				-0,137	-0,178		-0,189	0,560	0,212	-0,176	0,178	-0,245	-0,156	0,116	
To reduce poverty and exclusion					-0,122				0,139		0,634				
To combat discrimination / to promote equality of participation in society		0,105	-0,118	0,772			0,134	-0,114					0,100	0,141	
To increase tolerance and mutual understanding				0,795					-0,138					-0,123	
To promote alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values/ economic empowerment		-0,104	0,151	-0,117	0,115	0,227	-0,137	0,516		0,179		0,124			-0,426
To promote and achieve social change at the collective/societal level	0,164				0,196	-0,108	0,271	0,576			-0,174			-0,190	0,119
To promote and achieve positive/individual change		-0,208		0,140	-0,179		0,685	0,110						-0,109	
To promote sustainable development		-0,194			0,661					0,281					
To promote health, education and welfare	-0,175	-0,345	-0,170	0,133			0,248		0,389	-0,179		-0,151		0,213	
To promote alternative noneconomic practices, lifestyles and values	0,386	-0,121	0,321	-0,174	0,257	0,279		-0,219		-0,127	-0,165	-0,123			0,103
To promote dignity		0,257					0,172	-0,136	0,632	0,104	0,213				
To promote individual rights and responsibility			-0,157	0,367		0,307					0,131		0,525		
To promote self-determination, self-initiative, self-representation and self-empowerment				0,129		0,729						0,120	0,113		
To promote democratic practices/defense of rights/improve public space		0,611	0,134	0,106									0,208		

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
To promote collective identities and community responsibility/empowerment	0,194	0,194	0,529	-0,108		0,206									
To promote self-managed collectivity	0,456			-0,139		0,399		-0,157			-0,130		-0,190		
To promote social movement actions and collective identities	0,785														
Values															
Humanitarian philanthropic				-0,106				0,112	0,697		0,107		0,107	-0,113	
Right based ethics		0,194		0,279					0,263				0,487	0,201	
Empowerment and participation	0,351	0,254	0,270	-0,126		0,475									
Diversity and sustainability	-0,104	0,112			0,712						-0,106		-0,102		0,129
Economic virtues	-0,113								0,614		0,137				-0,103
Community and order	-0,105				0,118				0,557	0,244				-0,127	0,509
Solidarity and altruism		0,155	0,199	-0,101	-0,198		0,156		0,468	0,128	0,141		-0,200	0,278	0,140
Strategies															
Protest actions	0,517	0,662		0,100				0,124			-0,123				
Raise awareness	0,133	0,284		0,165	0,281		0,554				-0,122			0,125	
Lobbying		0,265	-0,280		0,410		-0,114	0,107			-0,146	0,196		0,178	
Policy change	-0,187	0,231	-0,269	0,235	0,243			0,136	-0,137		-0,218	0,138	0,258		
Change government or establishment	0,720					0,141									
Engagement with political repertoire															
Protest related	0,474	0,675		0,108				0,122			-0,138				
Conventional—non protest	-0,234	0,521		-0,135	0,101	0,226	0,166	-0,219	0,122			0,264	-0,165	0,183	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 75 iterations.

Moving to the findings, the first component mainly includes protest groups, which adopt a mutual help form of solidarity. Their core aims are the promotion of social movement actions and identities and the promotion of self-managed collectivities. They also aim to promote alternative non-economic practices and lifestyles as well as collective identities and community responsibility/empowerment. The values according to which they frame their action are mainly related to empowerment and participation. With respect to the strategies that they follow, their general belief is that through changing the government or establishment and via protest strategies, their aims will be easier to fulfil. Finally, they adopt a protest-related political repertoire. Some typical examples of AAOs that are positively associated with this component are squats, autonomous spaces, self-managed collectivities and the first level of autonomous trade unions such as workers' associations in a single enterprise. In an effort to classify the AAOs of this component, having in mind Kousis and Paschou's (2017) classification, they are definitely social movement actors and stand between anarchism and what Chatterton and Pickerill (2010) introduced as autonomous geographies, and are somewhat closer to the former.

The next component consists mostly of protest groups and to a lesser extent of grassroots solidarity initiatives. Their main solidarity approach is the mutual help but they also adopt other forms such as the collaborative or altruistic. They mostly aim for the promotion of democratic practices/defense of rights and improvement of public space, the promotion of dignity as well as for promotion of collective identities and community empowerment. Similar to the previous component, they also frame their activities under the name of empowerment and participation of values as well as rights-based values and, to a lesser extent, in the name of solidarity. Protest is the main strategy chosen in order to achieve their aims but they also use other tactics such as raising awareness and lobbying. They are also very active at the political arena as they conduct both protest and conventional political activities. Typical examples of these groups are anti-racist and antifascist networks and migrant groups, single cause protest groups (e.g. against privatization of water) and grassroots environmental groups. The groups that constitute this component are definitely social movement actors, mostly having a radical left ideology which, in the typology developed by Kousis and Paschou, stands in the space between degrowth (D'Alisa et al, 2014) and anarchism.

The following component is made up of neighbourhood assemblies that follow mostly mutual help and in some cases are more mixed, based on mutual help solidarity approaches. Their goals are related to the promotion of collective identities and community empowerment and the promotion of alternative economic and non-economic practices, lifestyles and values. Some of the AAOs of this component also try

to promote democratic practices/defense of rights and improvement of public space. The core values under which they frame their actions are those of empowerment, participation and solidarity. At the same time they do not correlate positively with any of the listed strategies or political activities. Hence I assume that they try to achieve their aims using direct actions as their main strategy. Some typical examples of the AAOs that belong in this component are exchange networks, people's initiatives, eco-communities and neighbourhood assemblies. As for the classification of this component, it also has a social movement orientation and stands between what Forno and Graziano (2014) named as sustainable community movement organisations and degrowth (D'Alisa et al. 2014) and seem to be closer to the former.

The next component does not associate positively with statistical significance with any type of organisation and seems to consist of AAOs from different types, but most of them are NGOs. They do not have a specific pattern in their solidarity approaches. With respect to the aims that they express, these are related with the promotion of equality of participation in society and against discrimination as well as with an increase of tolerance and mutual understanding. Some of the AAOs of this component are also promoting aims about individual rights and responsibility. Rights-based values is the framing that they use in order to describe themselves and they adopt strategies such as policy change and to, a much lesser extent, protest. Finally, they use protest activities such as a political actions repertoire. Some characteristic cases of this component are informal and formal migrants and refugee support organisations and groups, and NGOs focusing on the defense of rights. As for the classification of this component, these are social movement-oriented AAOs that are very active in political advocacy in contentious and conventional ways, probably moving beyond the Kousis and Paschou (2017) typology.

The fifth component is positively linked with NGOs and with some social economy initiatives that try to promote sustainable development and alternative non-monetary economic practices, lifestyles and values. Some of these AAOs also try to achieve social change at the societal level. However, they do not strongly associate with specific solidarity approaches but are closer to the mutual help approach. Their core values are those that belong in the group sustainability and diversity, though at times values related to community and order do appear. They can be classified as political advocacy groups as they try to achieve their aims through a range of political strategies such as lobbying, policy change and raising awareness. Moreover, they seem to use political repertoires, but not so often, which most of the time consist of conventional non-protest activities. Typical cases that fit this component are the environmental groups and NGOs, groups for stray animals, eco-communities and agriculture collectives. In most of cases

they have a social movement orientation and stand between alternative economy (the eco-communities and the agricultural collectives) and the third sector (the formal environmental groups and NGOs part).

The next component has no clear relationship with specific AAOs types but it appears that a significant part of it comes from social economy enterprises and cooperatives category. They have adopted a mixed approach, based on mutual help and promote a range of aims. Their goal is to promote self-determination, self-initiative, self-representation and self-empowerment, and self-managed collectivities as well as individual rights and responsibility. Moreover, a part of the AAOs of this component aim for the promotion of alternative economic and non-economic practices, lifestyles and values, and for the promotion of collective identities and community responsibility/empowerment. They frame their activities through values of empowerment and participation. They are weakly connected with the strategies of changing government or the political establishment. Finally, they seem to be active at the political level by adopting conventional repertoire. Some typical examples of the AAOs of this component are self-managed collectivities, fare trade shops and neighbourhood solidarity assemblies. As for the classification of this component it has many similarities with Sustainable Community Movement Organisations as well as with the concept of solidarity economy been closer to the later.

The seventh component is positively linked with the NGOs which try to achieve mostly positive/individual changes and in less extent social change. They also promote health, education and welfare and they have adopted mixed based on top down solidarity approaches. They do not have a strong connection with specific values but they are closer to solidarity and altruism. The strategy that they mostly follow is that of raising awareness and they often are engaged with politics using conventional repertoire of action. Some prominent cases of this category are heath related and humanitarian NGOs and voluntary associations e.g. Hellenic Red Cross. As for the classification of this component it is a clear example of what is described as third non-profit sector.

Moving to the next component, it is positively linked with 'hybrid' enterprises/associations with local, regional and state government units and with neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives. They do not link with specific solidarity approaches but they have a very clear target. They try to reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis and austerity and at the same time they try to achieve social change by promoting alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values. They frame their activities in the name of solidarity and altruism. As for the strategies that they apply, they do not have a strong link with any of the listed strategies, thus I assume that they try to fulfil their targets by applying direct actions as a strategy. The political arena is not their primary activity field but when they are active

they apply the repertoire of contentious politics. Some typical AAOs of this component are neighbourhood assemblies, grassroots solidarity initiatives, time banks and social groceries or groceries without middlemen. With respect to the typology, this component shares features of both social innovation (presence of institutional forces, aiming for satisfaction unmet needs) and alternative economy initiatives (informal groups aiming for alternative economic lifestyles) but I would argue that they are closer to the latter as they also have as a goal the social change and they also frame their actions according to solidarity values.

The ninth component is positively linked with church and charity-related AAOs. They have not adopted a specific approach of solidarity but they are closer to the mixed based top-down approach. Their core aims are related with the promotion of dignity, the promotion of health, education and welfare as well as the reduction of the negative impacts of the economic crisis and austerity. With respect to their values, they mostly promote humanitarian—philanthropic values and much less values related to rights and ethics. They are not linked with any strategy, thus I assume that they mostly follow the direct actions strategy. They are also not very active in the political arena but when they are engaged with politics they follow the conventional-non protest repertoire. Some AAOs that behave according to the characteristics of this component are health or child oriented charities, voluntary associations and groups of parents. This component could be classified as a charity with low or no political engagement aiming to provide services to those in need. This type of organisation are absent from Kousis and Paschou's (2017) typology, thus I add this type in the classification system to enrich the existing literature.

The next component is linked with social economy enterprises and cooperatives. This type of AAO has adopted an approach to solidarity that is collaborative—trying to promote solidarity by collaborating with other groups and organisations. They focus on the promotion of sustainable development alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values such as new ways of production and consumption. The values that they promote via their practices are related with economic virtues, community and order. They are not linked with any of the listed strategies, thus I assume that the route that they have chosen in order to achieve their aims is that of direct actions. Finally, political activities are almost absent from their actions repertoire. Social cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives and social economy enterprises are the most commonly found organisations among this component. In terms of classification, the AAOs of this component can be classified as organisations active in the field of social economy.

The following category fits neatly to what is described by different scholars as social innovation. This category comes from the hybrid organisations category, which is a collaboration of state, civil society and

private actors. In most cases, they apply mixed approaches, based on top-down solidarity. According to their websites, reduction of poverty and social exclusion and promotion of dignity are their core aims. The framing they give to their actions are mostly related to values of community and order and less with philanthropic values. Because of their unique composition, these actors are close to state authorities thus they try to achieve their aims through lobbying and changing of policies. However, they are not linked with any specific political repertoire of actions. Typical examples of these groups are social groceries, community gardens, time banks, solidarity clinics and more. As for the classification of this component, the majority of these AAOs fit in what Moulaert (2013) and others (Mulgan, et al, 2007) call social innovation.

The next component consisted mainly of churches and charities and a small proportion of NGOs. These organisations mostly promote top-down solidarity even though in a few cases they promote a mutual help approach. They do not have any strong links with specific aims and goals but they do advocate for the promotion of self-determination, self-initiative, self-representation and self-empowerment and alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values. They also do not have any strong connection with specific frames but are somewhat aligned with values related to economic virtues. As for the strategies that they follow, on their websites they mention that their goals will be achieved by changing specific policies. They are also active in politics as they use the conventional repertoire. Church-owned and led charities and initiatives are typical AAOs within this component. As for the classification of this component, it is different from the rest of the charities that I described above as they differ in aim and in engagement at the political level. Hence, this group stands between philanthropic organisations and what is described as the third sector (Evers & Laville, 2004; Anheier & Seibel, 2013).

The twelfth component is related with information platforms and networks. This type of AAOs do not adopt specific approaches to solidarity, as usually they offer information to their beneficiaries, not practical help, but they are close to a mutual help approach. Mostly their aims are about the promotion of individual rights and responsibility and promotion of democratic practices, defense of rights and improving public space. The core framing of these AAOs are rights-based values and, less often, empowerment and participation. They are not strongly linked with specific strategies in order to fulfil their aims but they are somewhat linked to lobbying and raising awareness. Finally, they are not associated with any political activity. These AAOs try to offer an alternative to the mainstream media either by offering independent news or by offering information on where solidarity initiatives are. They are

definitely social movement actors, which, on the schema of Kousis and Paschou (2017) could fit somewhere between solidarity economy and anarchism.

The AAOs that are positively linked with the next component are those of initiatives founded by professional associations. They haven't adopted a specific solidarity approach but are closer to that of mixed top-down approaches. As for the aims that they try to achieve, they mostly try promote health, education and welfare. They also aim to achieve positive social change and promote alternative economic practices and lifestyles. They are also linked with aims of promoting of equality and participation in society as well as the reduction of the negative impact of austerity and crisis. The group of values under which they frame their actions are those of solidarity and altruism and rights-based values. They try to achieve their targets by applying direct actions as a strategy and it seems that they do not organise or take part regularly in political activities, but when they do, most of time they are conventional non protest actions. Typical examples of groups that correspond to this component are initiatives created by professional associations such as solidarity clinics and solidarity school tutorship. The AAOs of this component are mostly founded during the crisis period and have the aim of supporting the victims of the crisis. As for the classification of this component, the majority of these AAOs fit the social innovation model while another smaller group of AAOs is closer to the concept of social economy.

The final component does not associate positively with specific kinds of organisations. AAOs that belong in this component are close to the top down form of solidarity. As for their goal and aims they also do not have any strong linkage with any of the listed aims. They are somewhat close to the aims of promoting social change. Moreover, they tend to frame their activities according to the values of community and order. Finally, they don't associate with any of the listed strategies or political activities, thus they may try to achieve their aims via direct actions. While they are associated with seeking policy change, they do not make use of any political action repertoire. People's initiatives, solidarity clinics and some barter clubs are some AAOs that belong in this component. With respect to the classification of this component, most probably they have been generated by the leftovers of the other components but its top-down approach, the aims that they promote and the values that they promote place them somewhere between the third sector and the philanthropic organisations, and are closer to the former (Evers & Laville, 2004; Anheier & Seibel, 2013).

To summarize the findings of the modeling, it is safe to argue that solidarity provision in Greece during the crisis period was a result of mobilisation by different groups and organisations with different aims, values and political orientations. In detail, data shows that collective actors come from a wide spectrum

of politics—covering anarchist groups, leftist activists, groups made up of citizens without clear political orientations as well as churches and charities. Moreover, it is very clear that, along with the solidarity provisions, many groups were also active in the political arena, trying to combat austerity and neoliberalism both through participation in contentious politics and solidarity provision. It is also clear that, at least for the groups that are close to extremely left and anarchist ideologies, solidarity provision is a political action per se. Moreover, many of these groups tried, through solidarity provision, to raise awareness and promote collective identities as well as goals that move beyond the established capitalistic forms of production, consumption and lifestyles. On the other hand, there were also organisations, mostly formal, which were driven by non-social change aims and goals. These organisations mostly tried to "replace" or offer an alternative to the welfare state, demolished by austerity policies. Similarly, other organisations do not have any political aspect and mobilised only in order to assist those in need of having philanthropic and charity-based aims. In an attempt to summarize the findings in a schematic way, the following figure provides the proposed typology of the AAOs, classified from anarchism to charity and from social movements' orientation to philanthropy.

Anarchist/ autonomous groups adopting mutual help solidarity, aiming to promote social movement actions and identities acting in the name of empowerment and participation applying protest strategies and protest repertoires.

Neighborhood—people's initiatives, adopting mutual help aiming to promote collective identities, community empowerment and alternative non-monetary practices with empowerment and solidarity values.

NGOs and solidarity economy initiatives which aim for sustainability and alternative non-economic practices, their values promote diversity and sustainability and they use lobbying, raising awareness and policy change as strategies. Sometimes they use conventional political repertoires.

Hybrid organisations with mixed approaches based on top down solidarity, aiming to reduce poverty and social exclusion as well as promoting dignity, framing their actions with values of community and order, adopting lobbying as strategy.

Health and humanitarian NGOs, applying mixed values based on top down solidarity approaches, aiming for positive individual change and promotion of welfare, they use raising awareness as strategy and rarely use conventional political repertoires.

Social economy groups and cooperatives closer to collaborative forms of solidarity promoting sustainable development and framing actions according to economic virtues and community and order, using direct actions as strategy and no link with political repertoires.

Charities and health or children related organisations aiming to promote dignity, welfare and reduce the negative impacts of crisis, framing their actions by humanitarian/philanthropic values, having direct actions as their strategy. Low or none political engagement.

Anarchist - Degrowth - SCMOs — Solidarity Economy — Alternative economy — Social innovation — Social Economy — Third Sector — Charity

Social movement orientation - political advocacy - policy orientation - social provision - Philanthropic orientation

Antifascist/protest groups which adopt mixed approaches based on mutual help aiming for promotion of democratic practices and defense of rights with empowerment and rights based values, following protest and conventional strategies repertoire.

Migrant and rights defend NGOs, no specific solidarity approach, aiming for increasing tolerance and equal participation in the society framing their actions with right based values, adopting policy change as core strategy and following protest related repertoire.

Information platforms, close to mutual help solidarity approaches aiming for promotion of individual rights and responsibility framing their activities under right based values.

Social economy initiatives which apply mixed based on mutual help solidarity approaches. They aim for self-empowerment and for alternative economic and noneconomic lifestyles. They promote empowerment related values and

Professional associations which are close to mixed based on top down solidarity approaches aiming for promotion of health and welfare, they frame their actions with solidarity and rights based values occasionally usage of conventional political repertoire

Neighborhood assemblies and hybrid organisations which aim for reducing impacts of crisis, promotion of alternative economic practices and social change, framing their actions in the name of solidarity applying mostly direct actions strategy.

Different AAOs close to top down solidarity approaches framing their actions with community and order related values.

Church and charities, which apply top down solidarity approach, not with specific aims, close to economic virtues framing, having policy change as strategy using conventional political repertoire

182

Chapter 5: Sustainable solidarity? The cycle of solidarity in Greece during the economic crisis (2009-2015)

In the previous chapter, I mapped the field of solidarity mobilisations in Greece by looking at the organisational, political and cultural profile of the actors involved and then by suggesting a typology which classifies the solidarity organisations on the basis of their solidarity approaches, aims, values, strategies and engagement in political activities. This detailed profiling of the actors was the necessary first step towards an analysis of how these mobilisations evolved. According to the most influential collective action and social movement literature, the actors are those who realise the opening of the opportunities and conduct and frame the collective action events (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015; Tarrow, 2011).

In this chapter I use the concept of cycle to shed light on the evolution of these particular solidarity mobilisations. As discussed in the literature review chapter, collective action events often follow a cyclical trajectory. The principal idea behind my attempt to apply the concept of Cycle in the solidarity mobilisations is that, during the years of economic crisis in Greece, the anti-austerity campaigns followed two connected routes. The first was that of anti-austerity protest mobilisations (Vogiatzoglou, 2017; Serdedakis &Tombazos, 2018; Diani & Kousis 2014; Ruding & Karyotis, 2015; Kanellopoulos & Kousis, 2015; Psimitis, 2011) and the second was that of solidarity mobilisations. Applying the idea of a cycle in solidarity activism allows me to examine the full set of interactions between the collective actors, authorities, people in need, policies and the political, social and economic environment of the period. Hence, in this chapter I look for elements that prove the existence of the Greek cycle of solidarity. These elements concern directly the actors involved. Actors are important because they use different mechanisms of mobilisation from which collective actions emerge (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015; Tarrow, 2011).

More specifically, the evolution of the mobilisations is connected with the actors. In the opening of a cycle, new as well as already established actors take advantage of the situation, respond to the opportunities and threats and organise collective action (Tarrow, 2011). Then, through diffusion mechanisms, new actors get mobilised even without being in contact with other already mobilised actors. Finally, the demobilisation phase characterises the end of the cycle during which some actors back off, and some others transform their organisational types or aims and goals.

Moreover, actors are also important because they produce innovations, which are crucial features of the concept of Cycle (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004).

Thus, in the context of this dissertation and following Tarrow's definition of the concept of "cycle of contention" for protest mobilisations (1998), I look for innovations that are produced by solidarity actors during the economic crisis period. More specific, I examine the diffusion of the AAOs, the innovation in their repertoires of actions, strategies and frames as well as the changes in their organisational type and in their networks. . Then, in the final part of the thesis, I investigate what happened to these organisations in the latest phases of the cycle and more specifically during the demobilisation at the end of the cycle. Using the Resource mobilisation theory, I examine the sustainability of the AAOs and the type of resources that contribute to their capability to stay active. The long term viability of the Greek AAOs is an aspect rarely mentioned in the social movement literature, which I intent to explore.

5.1 The Greek Cycle of solidarity

As I described in the literature review section, the idea of cycles and uneven distribution of collective action such as contention in time and space in not something new. Many collective action and social movements scholars argued about reoccurring collective action phenomena. In one of the most distinguished contribution in the field, Sidney Tarrow (1998) described the idea of Cycles in social movements. Tarrow introduced the term "cycle of contention" which describes a procedure of raising and falling of social movements' activity. The central idea is that there are cyclical openings in political opportunities which create the circumstances for collective action. In Tarrow's work, there are some specific features that characterise the cycle of contention: a) a rapid diffusion of collective action and mobilisations, b) coexistence of organised and unorganised activists, c) innovation in the forms of contention, d) the creation or major change in collective action frames, discourses and frames of meaning, e) increased interactions between challengers and authorities. In the following, I use the concept of cycle to study the rise and fall of solidarity organisations in Greece during the difficult economic times of the crisis. I use the concept of cycle because previous works on solidarity have shown that solidarity, similarly to contention, appears and re-appears in times of crisis as a survival strategy. However, none of these works has studied

solidarity provision as a form of collective action. More importantly, no research has been conducted, in either fields (solidarity and collective action), on how solidarity as a collective action form unfolds during solidarity mobilisations. Hence, in my analysis, I identify the core features of the cycle of contention, as described by Tarrow, in the Greek solidarity mobilisations. From this, I suggest that, in the same way as other forms of collective actions, solidarity can follow a cyclical path: an identifiable start followed by a rapid spread and, finally, a demobilisation phase. At the same time, I argue that this cycle of solidarity produces innovations in the action repertoires and frames of the AAOs, increases the interaction between activists and authorities as well as mobilises already established and new actors—as cycles of contention do. Moreover, the theoretical framework of cycle allows me to take into account all different actors, practices, frames and networks in the study as well as their interaction with the political, economic and social environment of the period, contrary to the majority of researches of the field which tend to focus on single actors, fields, events or localities. Finally, I aim to show that the concept of cycle can also be applied to the broader field of collective actions, not only to contention.

5.1.1 Rapid diffusion of collective action and mobilisations

The first step of the cycle that Tarrow (1998) mentions is the rapid diffusion of collective action and mobilisations, the main rationale behind this is that social movements create the opportunities for other actors to join in the movement. The figure 5.1 depicts the new AAOs establishment ratio during the crisis. The starting point of the crisis has been set as the month of October 2009 (when the PASOK, newly elected at the head of the country, revealed the vast state deficit) and the data show that 15% of the new organisations were established during the first year of the crisis (October 2009-2010), 24% during the second year (2011) and almost 30% in 2012 (the year of the pike regarding the creation of new AAOs). The year 2013 was the last one where a significant number of new AAOs were established. After that, the ratio dramatically dropped to 3% in 2014 and then less than 3% for the period 2015-2016. Summing up the figure findings, the period from the late 2009 to 2013 was a period of intense mobilisation during which more than half of the AAOs (255 out of 500) under investigation were created. Given that the other 245 organisations in my randomly chosen sample were created in a period that goes as far back as

140 years ago[67], I can argue that the crisis was a period of rapid diffusion of solidarity organisations.

Figure 5. 1 Ratio of new established AAOs during the years in crisis
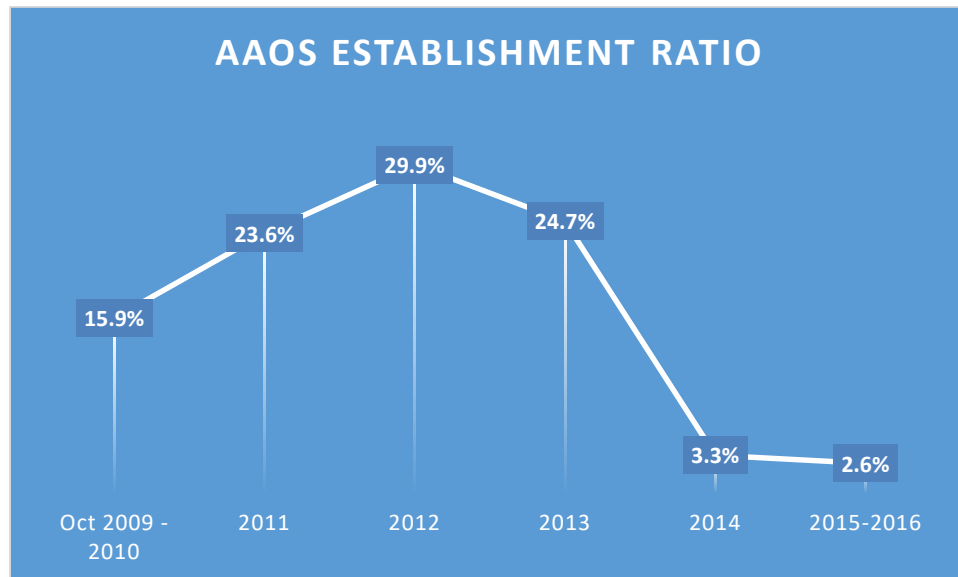
To further my argument (that the there was a rapid diffusion of the solidarity mobilisations during the first three years of crisis), I provide a series of maps in which I illustrate the diffusion of new AAOs, per year, across the country. For the pre-crisis period, there is available data concerning 221 cases in 31 different cities and locations (based on their postal code). The largest part of these organisations (82) is based in municipalities around Athens, which constitute the Athens metropolitan area. Then approximately 45 AAOs are based in the city of Athens, 25 in Thessaloniki, 9 in Patra and the rest in other locations.

---

[67] The oldest coded AAO was the Hellenic Red Cross which was created on the 10th of June 1877 by queen Olga, http://www.redcross.gr/default.asp?pid=7&la=1

5. 1 AAOs distribution before Crisis
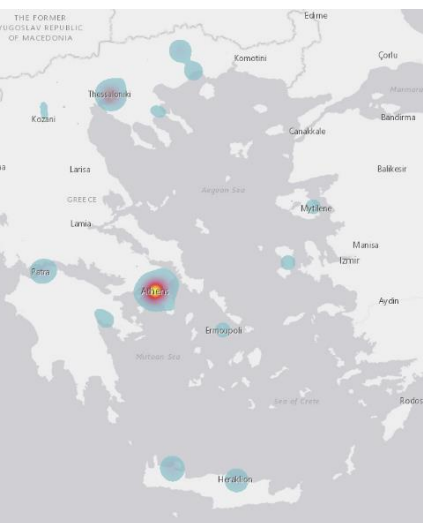
Map 5. 2 AAOs spread 2010
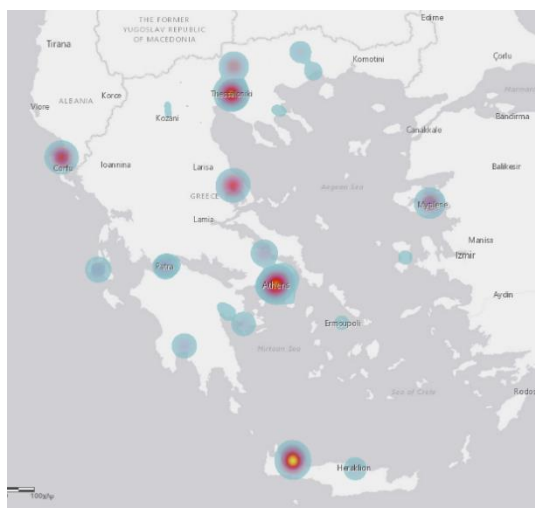
Map 5. 3 AAOs spread 2010
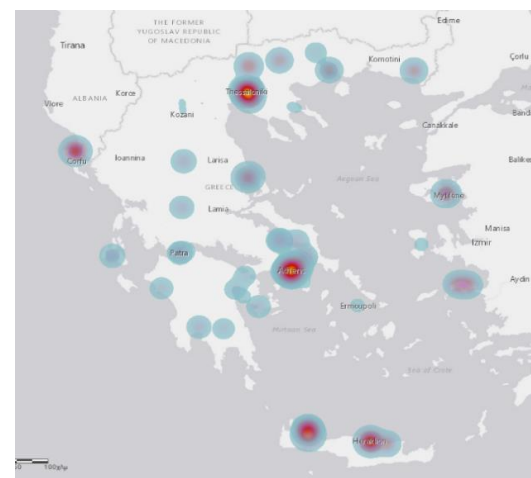
Map 5. 4 AAOs spread 2012
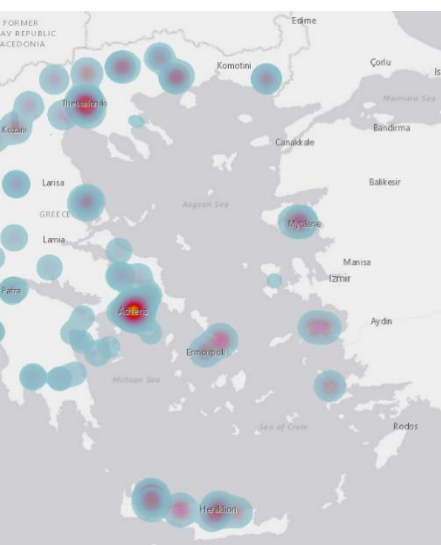
Map 5. 5 AAOs spread 2013
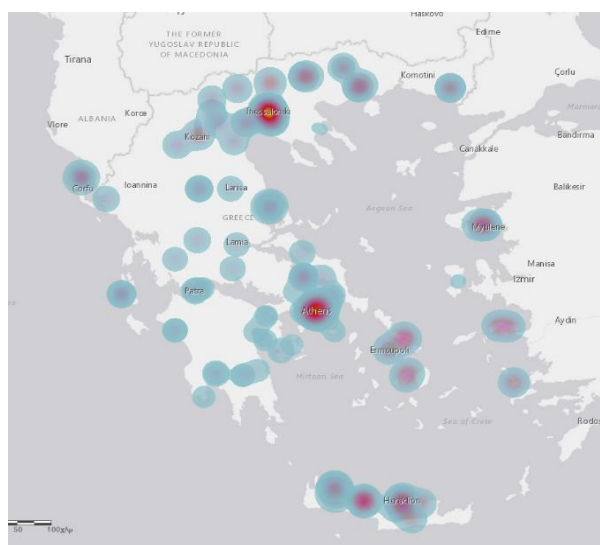
Map 5. 6 AAOs spread 2016
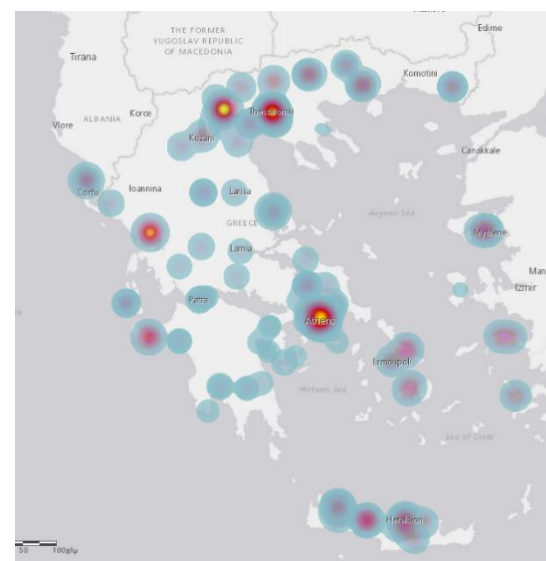
In the first year of the crisis (map 5.2), 43 new AAOs were established, they were mostly based in the city of Athens or in the Athens metropolitan area, but also in 13 other cities and islands.

As for the second year of the crisis (map 5.3), the available data for the 65 new AAOs shows that they were diffused in 21 new places, such as islands on the border with Turkey , small and medium size cities in northern Greece, as well as in big Greek cities such as Athens, Thessaloniki, Patra, Heraklion, Larisa and Volos.

In 2012, third year of the crisis (map 5.4), 82 new AAOs were established, based in 33 different cities and islands. The majority of them is again based in the greater Athens area, following by those in the city of Athens. The geographical spread of the AAOs now covers the biggest part of the country including north-eastern islands at the border with Turkey.

The year 2013 is the last year that a significant number of AAOs were established (map 5.5): 65 new AAOs were founded during that year and, after that, AAOs covered every geographic regions of the country and every counties as well. The new AAOs spread in 21 different areas including a small Cyclades Island called Paros, small towns in Crete such as Arkalochori and Archanes, the city of Hgoumenitsa at the border with Albania and other places across the country.

During the next three years (2014-2016) only a few (16) new AAOs were established (map 5.6), most of them in Athens or the Athens metropolitan area, but some of them were created in unexpected places such as an initiative in the small city of Arta, or another in a small village witch called Kopano in the county of Imathia in the northern part of the country. During the crisis, AAOs covered approximately 35 additional cities, islands or localities compared to the pre-crisis period. I therefore suggest that, during the crisis, there was a rapid increase in the number of AAOs as well as a rapid diffusion of the spatial coverage of these AAOs.

5.1.2 Coexistence of organised and unorganised activists

The next feature that I examine is that of coexistence of organised and unorganised activists. In order to do so, I divide the population in two groups, one that includes the AAOs founded before the crisis and one with the AAOs founded during the crisis, and I compare the two groups on the basis of their type of organisation. Then, I provide data about the number of partners mentioned in their websites, and finally I describe the type of partners.

Overall, 55% of the AAOs of my sample were established during the crisis period while the rest were founded before. This finding is striking as a significant part of the literature regarding the solidarity initiatives in Greece puts emphasis on the newly created organisations and underestimates the important work that many already established organisations have done as solidarity providers.

With respect to the composition of the two groups, the group of the AAOs founded before the crisis consists mainly of NGOs, and, in a smaller proportion, Church and charities, Neighbourhood assemblies and Protest groups. As to the AAOs established during the crisis period, one third of them belongs to the Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives category, one fourth to the Protest groups and antifascist networks while the rest mostly come from the categories of Social economy enterprises and 'Hybrid' enterprise-associations with local, regional state government units.

To summarise, NGOs and Church and charities types of organisations were mostly created before the crisis period, while Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, Protest Groups, Social economy enterprises and 'Hybrid' organisations were mostly founded during the crisis. Altogether, this suggests a change in the organisational types adopted by the activists from formal to more informal types of organisations. This could be connected to the lack of the resources that the new organisations face (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996; Freeman et al., 1983) or to the urgency of the needs that need to be attended to in times of crisis. Moreover, the rise of social economy initiatives indicates an attempt and/or a demand for alternative ways of consumption, outside of the mainstream capitalistic market (Rakopoulos, 2015; Cabot, 2016). Finally, the 'Hybrid' organisations could represent an attempt of the third sector to replace the social provisions of the welfare state, which was heavily dismantled by the austerity policies.

Table 5. 1 AAOs type by period of establishment

Type of organisation	Before Crisis N=222	During Crisis N=271	Chi-square test	Total N (493)*
Protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous places	11,3%	24,7%	14.570, p=.000	18,7%
Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	12,6%	40,2%	46.335, p=.000	27,8%
Social economy enterprises and Cooperatives	5,9%	12,2%	5.764, p=.000	9,3%
NGOs and voluntary associations	55,0%	9,6%	119.523, p=.000	30,0%

'Hybrid' enterprise-associations with local, regional state government units	2,7%	11,1%	12.622, p=.001	7,3%
Church and charities	12,6%	2,2%	20.551, p=.000	6,9%
Total	100,00%	100,00%		100,00%

the year of establishment is not available for seven (7) cases

The table 5.2 shows the number of partners of the AAOs in relation to their founding period. These results illustrate the general difficulty and length of time needed to establish networks of collaboration. For example, far more AAOs founded during the crisis report no partners compared to those founded prior to the crisis. On the other hand, AAOs established during the crisis report small-scale networks (1-10 partners) more often than the AAOs founded before the crisis. As for the medium size networks (11-30) there are not significant difference between the two groups, although they were slightly more reported by the AAOs founded before the crisis. Finally, regarding the AAOs with a larger networks (more than 31 partners), they mostly consisted of organisations established before the crisis. Therefore, this table findings seem to prove the coexistence of organised and unorganised activists.

Table 5. 2 AAOs number of partners by period of establishment

AAOs number of partners	Before Crisis	During Crisis	Chi-square test	Total
None	31,50%	39,70%	3.467, p=.063	36,00% 172
1 to 10	35,20%	42,00%	2.303, p=.129	38,90% 186
11 to 30	16,70%	13,40%	1.024, p=.311	14,90% 71
More than 31	16,70%	5,00%	17.630, p=.000	10,30% 49

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, N=478

The AAOS established in the pre-crisis period are mostly associated with State actors (in central, regional or local level), NGOs, Companies and private business, the Church and charities, Supranational agencies and bodies (such as EU agencies or European Social Fund) and Universities and research institutes. Those established during the crisis are more significantly linked to Informal

citizens/grassroots solidarity initiatives and protest groups, even though they also collaborated, to a lesser extent than those founded before the crisis, with State actors, NGOs and voluntary associations and Companies or private business. These results seem to echo the groups' compositions: the AAOs established before the crisis are mostly formal organisations which associate mostly with other formal organisations and state actors, while those founded during the crisis are informal organisations which establish networks with similar type organisations. These two "networks" seems to be connected together by the existence of some NGOs and State actors which collaborated with both sides. Of course, this interpretation needs further network analysis to be validated.

Table 5. 3 AAOs type of partners by period of establishment

AAOs partners categories	Before Crisis N=148	During Crisis N=158	Chi-square test	Total N=306
Protest groups/Indignados	10,1%	20,9%	6.678, p=.010	15,7%
Informal citizens/grassroots solidarity initiatives	23,6%	55,1%	31.458, p=.000	39,9%
Information platforms	15,5%	14,6%	.058, p=.810	15%
NGOs/volunteer associations	50,0%	27,8%	15.828, p=.000	38,6%
Associations	22,3%	19,0%	.512, p=,474	20,6%
Cultural/arts/sports associations	19,6%	13,3%	2.221, p=,136	16,3%
Other solidarity related organisations	13,5%	24,1%	5.523, p=.019	19%
Church and charities	34,5%	10,8%	24.824, p=.000	22,2%
Companies/private business	45,9%	23,4%	17.202, p=.000	34,3%
Universities/research Institutes	23,6%	5,1%	21.855, p=.000	14,1%
Municipalities/regional or state agencies and bodies	53,4%	36,1%	9.265, p=.002	44,4%
Supranational agencies and bodies	25,0%	10,1%	11.805, p=.001	17,3%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

5.1.3 Innovation in the forms of contention

Tarrow also suggests that one of the specific features that characterises the cycle of protest is the innovation in forms of contention, which can be translated as an innovation in the organisations' action repertoires. As in the descriptive part of the analysis (4.1) I first present the tables that refer to the covering needs related repertoire and then the political action repertoire. The data included in the next five tables show whether there is a difference in the repertoire of actions between the AAOs founded before and during the crisis.

More specifically, I focus on the five most mentioned needs related actions for each AAOs. This comparison is an attempt to investigate any change or innovation in solidarity repertoire. It is important to highlight that during the coding there was no time dimension with respect to conducted activities, therefore there is no certainty whether (and to what extent) AAOs founded before the crisis had always had these activities or if they expanded their action repertoire because of the crisis and the increased needs. Hence, I am not able to specify which actions are part of the standard repertoire which they used before the crisis and which of them are adopted during the crisis. However, the comparison of repertoires between the two AAOs groups reveal the actions conducted mostly by AAOs founded during crisis, which can be considered as an indicator of innovative repertoires in response to society's increasing needs.

Table 5.4 includes the AAOs culture-related activities, a very prominent feature studied in social movements research. Alberto Melucci, for example, suggests that social movements are not political but, in practice, cultural phenomena (1989). It is therefore hardly surprising that Culture is the most mentioned actions category by AAOs websites. In more details, 70% of the AAOs that conduct cultural activities organise music concerts, theatre performances, cinema nights, festivals and similar activities. Moreover, the AAOs that were established during the crisis organise more cultural activities than those founded before. These results suggest two things. First, there is a need for cultural activities coming from a big part of society that, during the crisis, had no access to these activities due to limited family income. Second, there is an attempt by the AAOs to create bonds between their members and participants and to build collective identities via participation in same cultural events (Diani 1992).

The second most often mentioned category is that of Educational activities to the public. These actions are almost equally organised by AAOs founded before and during the crisis and mostly refer to non-formal education connected to raise awareness such as open seminars on child poverty, conversation clubs for learning languages, lectures to the public about the crisis or to the more

politicised AAOs about the neo-Zapatistas movement etc. The category of Social hangouts is also very significant, as they have dual function. On one hand, these hangouts constitute one source of extra revenues, as they generate vital profits for the sustainability of AAOs, and on the other hand they are important mechanisms to increase the bonding of their members and to build collective identities. In his definition of social movements, Mario Diani (1992, p.11) argued that social movements are engaged in political and/or cultural battles. The high levels of cultural actions identified here are indications that AAOs do not only offer an alternative to the dominant capitalistic system but also to the mainstream cultural system.

Table 5. 4 AAOs cultural practices by period of establishment

Solidarity actions related to culture	Before Crisis N=176	During the Crisis N=190	Chi-square test	Total N =366
Art/theatre/cinema/music actions	65,9%	74,7%	3.423, p=.064	70,50%
Sports	10,2%	8,4%	.354, p=.552	9,30%
Social hangouts	36,4%	42,1%	1.262, p=.261	39,30%
Educational activities to the public	71,0%	62,6%	2.895, p=.089	66,70%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

** Of the AAOs that report Culture category activities (N=366)

With regards to the AAOs mentioning the Urgent/basic needs category of action, the main activities are provision of clothes, shoes and other items as well as free health services and medical provision (table 5.5). The first activity is about AAOs collecting and distributing items to those in need and the latter concerns AAOs providing free health services and medications. As I showed in detail in the previous chapter, these kinds of activities are related with three facts a) the high number of unemployed and uninsured people, b) the 5 euros as entrance fee in public hospitals that people had to pay (even unemployed or people without any income) c) full prices for medicines that people without insurance had to pay and 25% of the medicine price that people with health insurance had to pay . Hence, there was great need for health related solidarity practices as a part of the population could not afford them.

About one third of the AAOs were active in social support and helpline activities, which include telephone calls and live chats to provide social assistance or mentoring to beneficiaries. The next most

mentioned actions are those related to emergency support to refugees and migrants. These kinds of actions are an outcome of the European refugee crisis as, during the economic crisis, Greece also became one of the main entrance points for refugees in Europe. Therefore, despite the very testing years of continuous crisis, some parts of the Greek society still tried to assist those that were the most in need. Food provision activities were organised by 25% of AAOs that engaged in urgent needs actions and included free provision of cooked food during soup or solidarity kitchens, or social groceries (initiatives that provide free or low cost uncooked food and home related products).

Educational activities and shelter, housing and accommodation are actions organised by almost 20% of AAOs. Both of them address needs that did not appear but increased during the years of crisis and austerity. The Shelter activity is related to homelessness, a phenomenon that of course pre-existed the crisis but the number of "neo-homeless" was significantly increased as many people lost their jobs and houses due to the crisis, (Theodorikakou et al, 2013; Arapoglou & Gounis, 2015). The same applies to Education actions, which consisted mostly of tutorials for students in need and, to a much lesser extent, to language lessons for migrants. The former is related to the way Greek students can access universities. During the last year of high school, students have to pass a series of very demanding examinations called "*Panellinies*". As I noted in the previous chapter these are very important examinations and it is almost a rule that Greek families pay for extra private tuitions. However, due to the crisis, many families could not afford these, hence free tuitions to increase the chances of affected students was a necessity that solidarity mobilisations addressed (Kantzara, 2014; Theocharis, 2016). Under the same logic, other AAOs offered foreign language or music instrument lessons.

The next category is related to Free psychological support and mental health services, as the crisis witnessed an increase of stress, depression and other mental health issues (Kentikelenis, Karanikolos, Reeves, McKee, & Stuckler, 2014). Another action mentioned is that of Mediation between people and public services. It includes free legal or consulting services to beneficiaries to access state or banks services. Given the very large part of the population who had loans and mortgages and was at risk of losing their homes, consulting services about bank issues were particularly relevant to crisis times. The final category is about initiatives that act against the direct and indirect taxation was significantly increased as well as against house evictions. As I already stated, these activities started in 2011 I order to secure electricity supply to everyone who needed it.

These findings indicate some clear patterns followed by the two groups of AAOs. AAOs founded before the crisis were more active in actions related to accommodation, health and mental health provision, social support, education and mediation in accessing state provisions. AAOs founded during

the crisis were more active in practices related to food, clothes and shoes provisions, refugee's relief and against taxation.

Urgent/basic needs actions	Before Crisis n=142	During Crisis n= 169	Chi-square test	Total N =311
Shelter/housing/accommodation	37,3%	6,5%	44.832, p=.000	20,6%
Food provision	21,8%	29,0%	2.072, p=.150	25,7%
Health/social medicine	39,4%	30,2%	2.931, p=.084	34,4%
Mental health, and related consultations	27,5%	7,7%	21.665, p=.000	16,7%
Social support/help Line	51,4%	14,8%	47.936, p=.000	31,5%
Clothing/shoes/other items provision	31,7%	45,0%	5.725, p=.017	38,9%
Education	26,8%	16,0%	5.428, p=.020	20,9%
Against taxation/evictions	5,6%	17,2%	9.780, p=.002	11,9%
Provision of mediation to access state services/agencies	25,4%	8,3%	16.661, p=.000	16,1%
Emergency refugee/immigrant relief/support	21,1%	34,9%	7.178, p=.007	28,6%
Emergency support to women and children	9,9%	5,3%	2.316, p=.128	7,4%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

** Of the AAOs that report Urgent needs category activities (N=315)

With respect to the actions classified under the economy-related solidarity repertoire, 53% of the AAOs that engaged with economy-related solidarity activities were established during the crisis (table 5.6). One third of the AAOs that are active in the field organised Fund-raising activities such as bazaars , Christmas markets, collecting money for social cause etc. This finding echoes the crisis context of taxes increase, high unemployment, cuts in wages, pensions and benefits etc., where it became more and more difficult for AAOs to rely solely on donations or membership fees for their economic survival. They had to be creative and adaptive to find revenues from other sources. The next most commonly found activity is that of Services and products provisions. Usually, this type of action is related to social cooperatives. As the table 5.6 shows, most of the AAOs that organise these kinds of activities were established during the crisis, and this was probably a consequence of a new law passed in 2011, concerning social economy and social cooperatives, that allowed groups of people to set up limited profit cooperatives where the workers are also owners and share the profits (Nasioulas, 2012).

Other popular actions among the economy category are the Training programs, which are educational programmes mostly aimed at increasing chances of employment for unemployed or people with difficulties to access the labour market. These activities, which demand a lot of resources (money, people, classes, training places), were mostly organised by AAOs that were established before of the crisis, as they had a chance to reach a certain level of professionalism and formality which allowed them to have access to such resources. On the other hand, the next three categories (Barter clubs and local exchange trading systems, Alternative coins and currencies and Social finance to small entrepreneurs or small farmers) were mostly organised by AAOs established during the crisis (and they concern 15%-20% of the AAOs that engaged in economy-related activities). This reflects the society's necessity to find ways to meet its needs by bypassing, in times of crisis, the mainstream capitalistic monetary and financial system. Similar findings were uncovered in studies of the economic crisis in Argentina (Primavera, 2010).

To sum up, two patterns regarding the economy-related activities were identified, on one hand the newly established AAOs conduct more activities related to social and solidarity economy such as exchange systems, alternative currencies or buying products and services from small cooperatives as an alternative to the dominant capitalist system. On the other hand, AAOs that operated before the crisis are more oriented towards fund-raising or training programs to support the social and economic integration of their beneficiaries.

Table 5. 6 AAOs economy related practices by period of establishment

Solidarity actions related to economy	Before Crisis n=94	During Crisis n=106	Chi-square test	Total N = 200
Barter/local exchange trading systems	8,5%	28,3%	12.680, p=.000	19,0%
Financial support/social finance	11,7%	20,8%	2.963, p=.085	16,5%
Alternative coin	7,4%	21,7%	7.936, p=.005	15,0%
Services and or product provision	14,9%	28,3%	5.220, p=.022	22,0%
Fund-raising activities	51,1%	19,8%	21.533, p=.000	34,5%
Second hand shops	21,3%	6,6%	9.185, p=.002	13,5%
Training programs	30,9%	13,2%	9.189, p=.002	21,5%
Economic development support	3,2%	2,8%	.022, p=.881	3,0%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

The next category that I look at is energy and environment (table 5.7). Existed literature indicated that in times of crisis (Lekakis & Kousis, 2013) or when economic investment and development needed (Kousis, 1999) environmental issues come in the second place. Overall, there is no significant difference between the numbers of AAOs founded before or during the crisis when it comes to the general category, however there are significant differences regarding the specific actions that the AAOs organised.

With respect to the data both groups are almost equally participate in activities towards protecting the environment. About one fourth of these AAOs conducted actions related to recycling and waste management or with animal rights. The latter are mainly actions in favour of stray and abandoned animals or mistreated animals. Such a phenomenon of increase in the number of stray animals has already been noted in other crisis-affected countries, such as Spain (Fatjó et al, 2015). However, in Greece, data show that the majority of the AAOs engaged in animal-related actions were founded before the crisis. This is an indication that, in hard economic times, animal rights and environment are not perceived as a priority by the AAOs, as opposed to more demanding societal problems.

Table 5. 7 AAOs energy and environment related actions by period of establishment

Solidarity actions related to energy and environment	Before Crisis N=59	During Crisis N=53	Chi-square test	Total N=112
Protection of the environment/wild life	66,1%	67,9%	.042, p=.838	67,0%
Renewable energy/climate change	20,3%	9,4%	2.579, p=.108	15,2%
Anti-carbon/anti-nuclear	15,3%	0,0%	8.791, p=.003	8,0%
Waste management/recycling	23,7%	20,8%	.142, p=.706	22,3%
Animal rights	33,9%	7,5%	11.515, p=.001	21,4%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

** Of the AAOs that report energy and environment category activities (N=112)

The table 5.8 covers alternative consumption practices, which in their vast majority (73%) are conducted by AAOs established during the crisis. This is a clear evidence of an innovation regarding the solidarity repertoire. The most commonly organised practice is that of Consumer-producer

networks or what is called "community supported agriculture". As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one of the most prominent action against austerity was the anti-middleman movement, a network bypassing the regular market and producers that sells, at fair prices, their products directly to consumers. These kinds of practices have many similarities with the Italian *Gruppo d'acquisto solidale—GAS* (Grasseni, 2014)*,* and it could constitute a good example of diffusion of repertoire between Italian and Greek activists. However, this is just a speculation as my research does not look at the relations between Italian and Greek initiatives.

Another innovated activity which organised as a response of the crisis is that of community gardens as an action under the umbrella of the *National Network of Immediate Social Intervention.* . Innovative solidarity practices can be characterized also the two remaining categories: fair trade actions and DIY (do it yourself—fix it movement). The majority of the AAOs involved in these activities were established during the crisis. These results confirm the obvious intuition that the reduction of income in a significant part of the Greek population forced people to find alternative ways to cover their needs (or to try and keep their standards of living) outside the capitalist marketplace.

Table 5. 8 AAOs alternative consumption practices by period of establishment

Solidarity actions related to Alternative Consumption	*Before Crisis* *N=28*	*During Crisis* *n=76*	*Chi-square test*	*Total* *N=104*
Community/producer-consumer actions	50,0%	46,1%	.128, p=.721	47,1%
Community gardens	21,4%	18,4%	.119, p=7330	19,2%
"Freecycle", DIY, fix-it movement, reuse	17,9%	10,5%	1.005, p=.316	12,5%
Fair trade	7,1%	11,8%	2.579, p=.108	10,6%
Other	28,6%	11,8%	4.188, p=.041	16,3%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

** Of the AAOs that report Alternative Consumption category activities (N=104)

The comparison of the political repertoires used by the AAOs founded before and during the crisis reveal some interesting data (table 5.9). Overall, the AAOs established during the crisis adopted a more militant repertoire of actions that those founded before, which tend to be more engaged with

soft protests rather than more contentious protest activities. Promotional activities are almost equally adopted by both categories of AAOs, while AAOs founded before the crisis used more the Verbal/written statements actions as well Other non-protest political practices. With respect to the contentious forms of action, the AAOs founded before the crisis engaged slightly more in conventional and soft protest actions whereas the AAOs established during the crisis are much more active in Demonstrative protests, boycotts, strikes and occupations. These findings are not surprising as most of the new AAOs were founded during the large protests of the crisis or during the Greek Indignados movement. Therefore, many of these activists were already active in protests as well as in solidarity projects.

Table 5. 9 AAOs political repertoire by period of establishment

Political repertoire of the AAOs	Before Crisis N=161	During Crisis N=173	Chi-square test	Total N = 337
Verbal/written statements	63,98%	49,13%	7.466, p=.006	56,1%
Promotional actions/public reports	76,40%	72,25%	.749, p=.387	73,9%
Other non-protest actions	20,50%	6,36%	14.574, p=.000	13,1%
Conventional/soft protest actions	29,19%	24,86%	.797, p=.372	26,7%
Demonstrative protest actions	25,47%	35,84%	4.206, p=.040	31,2%
Other protest actions	5,59%	12,14%	4.375, p=.036	8,9%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

** Of the AAOs that report political activities (N=334)

The final feature analysed is the activities scope (Table 5.10). Social movements literature suggests that activists try to achieve social, economic and political changes from below by organising small-scale locally based everyday actions and practices (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Forno & Grazzianno, 2014; Kousis & Paschou, 2017). This pattern is completely different than that of activists from the previous period such that of the global justice movement, who tried to achieve their goals through large national and transnational mobilisations and protests. Findings here seem to be in accordance with this theory as 95% of the AAOs founded during the crisis conducted activities at the Local level,

whereas only a fifth of them is active at the Regional level, and only an extremely low proportion at the National level or higher. On the other hand, even though most AAOs established before the crisis are also active at the Local level, they are statistically significantly more active at the other levels: regional, national, European and global. This could reflect the focus of newly established AAOs on immediate solutions to urgent problems, or the fact that larger scale actions require a lot of resources (organisational, human, material) that, in most cases, AAOs established during the crisis did not have.

Table 5. 10 AAOs activities scope by period of establishment

AAOs activities' scope	Before Crisis N=222	During Crisis N=271	Chi-square test	Total N=493
Local level	90,10%	95,60%	5.711, p=.017	93,10%
Regional level	45,90%	21,80%	32.429, p=.000	32,70%
National level	26,60%	10,00%	23.388, p=.000	17,40%
European level	11,70%	0,70%	27.432, p=.000	5,70%
Global level	5,00%	0,00%	13.734, p=.000	2,20%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed,

Therefore, all AAOs, irrelevant of the year of establishment, tried via a wide range of actions to provide relief to those in need. Almost every category of the solidarity activities, except those that belong to the Energy and environment category, are more often organised by AAOs established during the crisis than those founded before. In each action category there are also specific activities mainly conducted by AAOs established during the crisis, this is for example the case with actions related to economy, culture and urgent needs relief. These findings show that the AAOs tried to provide an alternative to the mainstream ways of culture or consumption. Moreover, they show that there is a certain level of innovation regarding the covering needs repertoire of these AAOs. With respect to the political repertoire of actions, there are no significant changes regarding the level of political engagement (65% of AAOs in each group) but there some innovations regarding the type of

actions that they chose, as the groups established during the crisis are more involved in Demonstrative protests, strikes and occupations. This could also be an indication that there were some innovations in the AAOs repertoire of actions.

5.1.4 Major change in collective action frames, discourses and frames of meaning

Another element that had to be investigated to classify the Greek solidarity mobilisation as a cycle of solidarity, according to Tarrow's (1998) criteria, is the change in collective action frames, discourses and frames of meaning. In order to do so, I looked at the aims of the AAOs (table 5.11), their solidarity approaches (table 5.12) and the values under which they framed their actions (table 5.13).

The AAOs founded before the crisis expressed aims related to the promotion of health, education and welfare, against discrimination and positive individual changes. They also focused on poverty and, for some of them, on increasing tolerance and mutual understanding. In contrast, AAOs that have been established during the crisis mostly pushed for aims related to the reduction of the negative impacts of the crisis and austerity, then they tried to foster collective identities and community empowerment as well as alternative non-economic actions and lifestyles. They also promoted more social movement-type of actions. Aims related to achievement of social change and advocating of democratic practices and social rights are pretty much equally promoted by both groups. To summarise, there are some clear differences between the aims that the two groups of AAOs chose to work towards. Aims promoted by AAOs founded before the crisis are related to equality and access to society and welfare, mirroring the needs that vulnerable parts of the Greek population had before the crisis. On the contrary, aims promoted by the AAOs established during the crisis can be classified in two groups: the AAOs helping people to cope with the negative effects of the crisis (survival-oriented) and the AAOs trying to promote new identities, new economic attitudes, new lifestyles and alternatives to the mainstream cultural and economic models.

Table 5. 11 AAOs aims and goals by period of establishment

AAOs Aims promoted	Before Crisis N=222	During Crisis N=271	Chi-square test	Total N=493
To reduce the negative impacts of the economic crisis/austerity	14,9%	39,1%	35.445, p=.000	28,2%

201

To reduce poverty and exclusion	16,7%	12,2%	2.019, p=.155	14,2%
To combat discrimination/ promote equality of participation	33,8%	17,3%	17.712, p=.000	24,7%
To increase tolerance and mutual understanding	16,2%	6,6%	11.469, p=.001	11,0%
To promote alternative economic practices, lifestyles and values	8,1%	22,1%	18.042, p=.000	15,8%
To promote and achieve social change	27,9%	32,5%	1.191, p=.275	30,4%
To promote and achieve positive/individual change	30,6%	14,4%	18.938, p=.000	21,7%
To promote sustainable development	11,7%	11,8%	.001, p=.974	11,8%
To promote health, education and welfare	35,6%	24,7%	6.908, p=.009	29,6%
To promote alternative non-economic practices, lifestyles and values	18,5%	25,5%	3.443, p=.064	22.3%
To promote dignity	9,0%	10,7%	.390, p=.532	9,9%
To promote individual rights and responsibility	10,4%	3,3%	9.963, p=.002	6,5%
To promote self-determination, self-initiative, self-representation and self-empowerment	11,7%	8,1%	1.793, p=.181	9,7%
To promote democratic practices/defence of rights/improve public space	21,2%	20,3%	.057, p=.811	20,7%
To promote collective identities and community empowerment	15,3%	33,2%	20.758, p=.000	25,2%
To promote self-managed collectivity	9,5%	12,2%	.924, p=.336	11,0%
To promote social movement actions and collective identities	10,8%	16,6%	3.404, p=.065	14,0%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed, N=493

Stark differences can be found when the solidarity approaches of both groups of AAOs are compared (table 5.12). The AAOs founded before the crisis mostly followed a Distribution of goods and services approach which can be described as top-down solidarity approach. In contrast, the vast majority of AAOs established during the crisis follow a Mutual help solidarity approach. This is a very significant difference and echoes the different beliefs and values that AAOs may have with regards to the promotion of solidarity. Both groups promote almost equally the other two types of solidarity

collaboration: Support or assistance between groups (collaborative solidarity approach) and Help or offering support to others (altruistic solidarity approach).

Table 5. 12 AAOs Solidarity approaches by period of establishment

AAOs solidarity approach	Before Crisis n=222	During Crisis n=271	Chi-square test	Total n=493
Mutual help	35,10%	60,50%	31.457, p=.000	49,10%
Support/assistance between groups	18,90%	19,60%	.032, p=.858	19,30%
Help/offer support to others	37,80%	42,40%	1.072, p=.301	40,40%
Distribution of goods and services to others	49,10%	22,50%	38.190, p=.000	34,50%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

With regards to the values promoted by the AAOs (table 5.13), a first finding is that, when it came to openly promote values, the AAOs founded during the crisis were twice as more likely to do so than the AAOs founded before the crisis. This could be an attempt of the new AAOs to justify and give a meaning to their actions. As for similarities and differences between the two categories of AAOs, the ones established before the crisis tended to promote more Right-based ethics as well as values related to Diversity and sustainability. This is probably connected with the types of organisation that were active in Greece prior to the crisis as well as with the specific beneficiaries of these organisations. They also promoted Humanitarian and philanthropic values but in a lesser extent than the AAOs founded during the crisis. Solidarity and altruism are positively linked with the AAOs founded during the crisis, although they can be found in a quarter of the AAOs established prior. This finding can be explained by the different meanings that the value of solidarity takes for different actors. For example solidarity can have a pure political meaning when mobilised by social movement actors, but can be framed as philanthropy when used by representatives of the church, synonymous to altruism when promoted by many civil society actors, or associated to social policies as many municipalities do. Thus, it is not surprising to find this category in both AAOs groups. The AAOs founded during the crisis are

also positively linked with values related to Empowerment and participation. This was also expected as many of these AAOs were created during the mass mobilisations of the Greek Indignados movement, and in many cases the founders took part in both mobilisations (Theoharis, 2016; Arabatzi, 2014). It is therefore logical that a significant part of these AAOs share the same values as the Greek Indignados movement, namely democracy and participation (Simiti, 2014, Sotirakopoulos & Sotiropoulos, 2013).

Table 5. 13 AAOs values promoted by period of establishment

AAOs Values promoted	Before Crisis n=144	During Crisis n=204	Chi-square test	Total* N=348
Solidarity and altruism	27,1%	52,5%	22,306, p=.000	42,0%
Humanitarian/philanthropic	29,9%	31,4%	.091, p=.763	30,7%
Rights-based ethics	40,3%	21,1%	15.105, p=.000	29,0%
Empowerment and participation	41,0%	57,8%	9.613, p=.002	50,9%
Diversity and sustainability	27,1%	12,3%	12.367, p=.000	18,4%
Economic virtues[68]	1,4%	3,4%	1.398, p=.237	2,6%
Community and order[69]	3,5%	5,4%	.709, p=.400	4,6%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

5.1.4.1 Master Frame

Literature suggests that in the beginning of cycles of contention, some collective action frames emerge. These frames operate as patterns and constraints and affect the evolution of collective

---

[68] This category includes values such as: economic prosperity, accountability, competitiveness and merit, and professionalism.
[69] This category includes values such as: security and stability, nationalism/national belonging, tradition, social equilibrium, and social cohesion.

action during the cycle, as they influence the orientation and the activities of social movements within the cycle (Snow et al, 2019; Snow, 2013, 2004; Benford & Snow, 2000). In order to investigate the evolution of the frames during the years of crisis, I look at the aims, solidarity approaches and values promoted by AAOs in relation to the year of establishment. The assumption behind this investigation is that from the beginning of the mobilisations until the end of the cycle, AAOs should promote mostly the same frames diachronically.

With respect to the aims and goals of the AAOs (figure 5.2), data partly support the existence of a master frame. Specifically, the aims promoted during the first two years of the mobilisations were directly connected to the anti-austerity protests, which explains that they were mainly about pushing for social change and promoting collective identities and community empowerment. After 2011, the main aims were about reducing the negative impacts of the crisis and austerity. However, the most mentioned aims of the early cycle period remained relevant throughout as they were the second or third most frequently promoted aims until 2014. Form 2014 onwards, reduction of the negative effects of the crisis as well as promotion of health education and welfare are the two mostly mentioned aims. At this point, it is worth noting that the period 2014-2016 witnessed a very little number of new AAO creations, I therefore consider this period to be the end of the cycle. To conclude, these findings partly confirm the existence of a master frame and highlight the dynamic changes of framing during the cycle.

Figure 5. 2 Top promoted aims by AAOs starting year
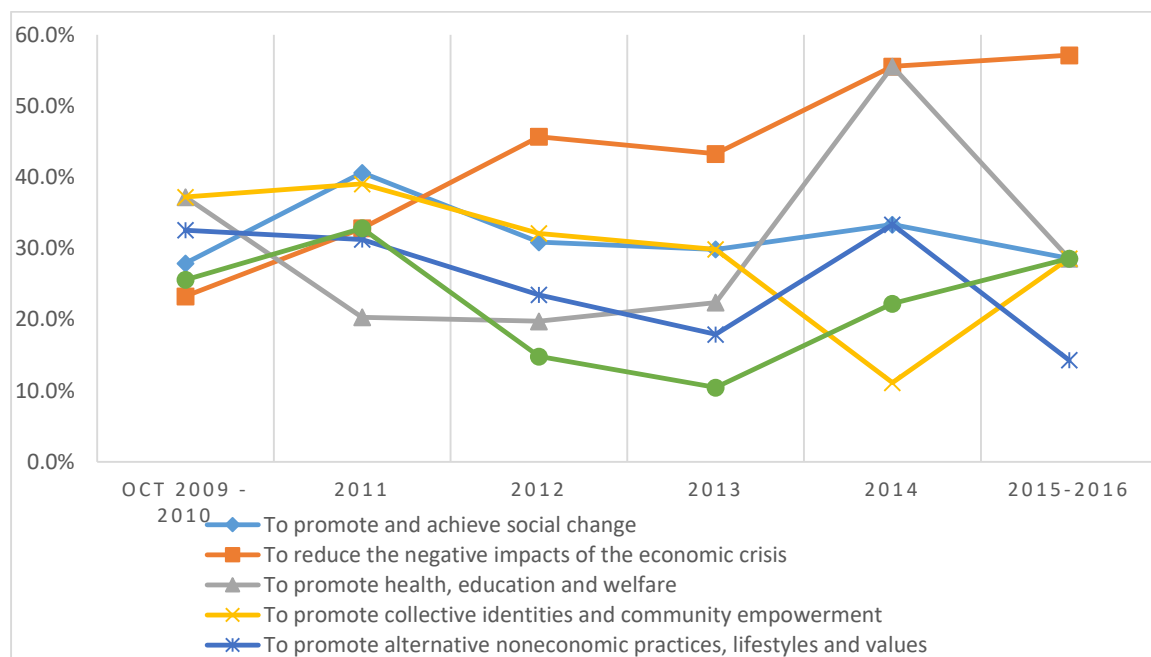
Figure 5.3 depicts the solidarity approaches that the new organisations applied by year of establishment. As data show, the Mutual help solidarity approach was the most promoted one throughout the years of crisis, with the only exception being the year 2014.

Figure 5. 3 Solidarity approaches by AAOs starting year
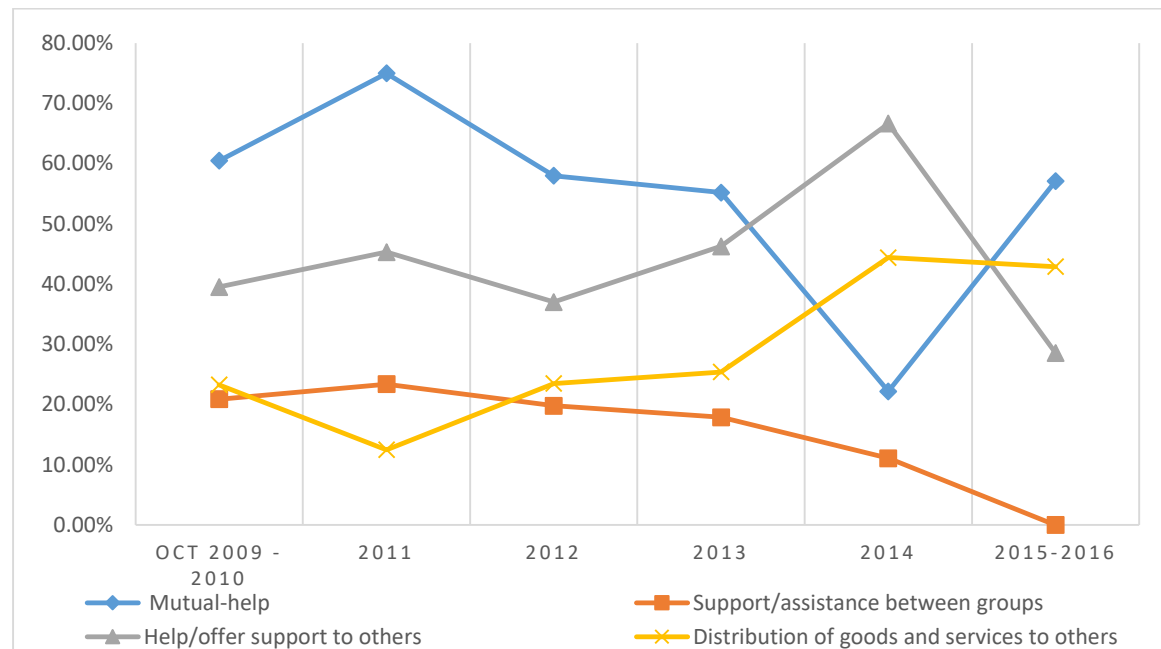
The figure 5.4 provides information regarding the most promoted values of the AAOs in relation to their year of establishment. As data reveal, empowerment and participation as well as solidarity were the top values under which the AAOs framed their activities, except in 2014 (Humanitarian philanthropic).

Figure 5. 4 Values promoted by AAOs starting year
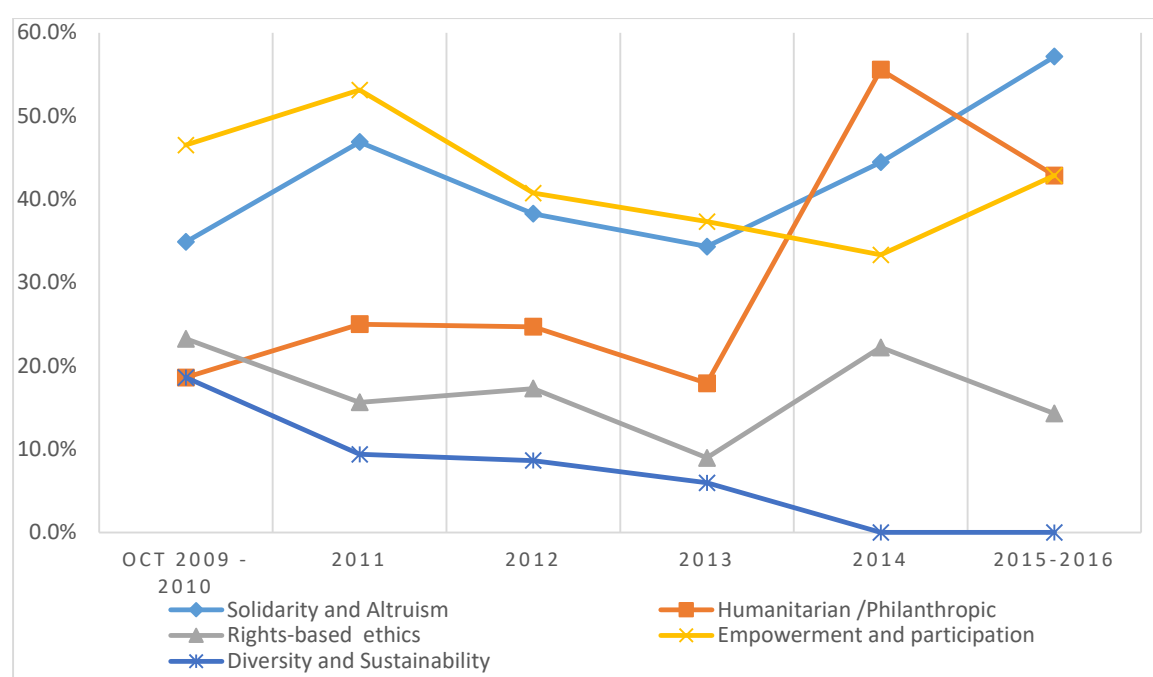
Summing up the findings about the evolution of aims, solidarity approaches and values during the years of crisis, I argue that there was a master frame that affected the whole framing of the period. Empowerment and solidarity were the dominant value frames from the beginning of the mobilisations until the end of the cycle. Similarly, the Mutual help solidarity approach was adopted by most AAOs, irrespective of the year of establishment. Hence, I suggest that these values and attitudes towards solidarity formulated at the beginning of the cycle spread also on the later stages, affecting the newly established AAOs.

5.1.5 Increased interactions between challengers and authorities

Tarrow (1998) argued that during a cycle of protest there is an increase of interactions between challengers and authorities. In order to show these interactions between AAOs and state actors, I focus on the AAOs strategies, as mentioned on their websites (table 5.14). However, not all of the strategies listed below indicate interaction between activist and authorities. Hence, in the context of deciphering the interactions between AAOs and authorities, I do not pay attention on data about direct action and raising awareness strategies as they are not relevant.

strategies that do indicate an interaction with authorities are Protest participation and Changing government or establishment, which are tactics that the AAOs established during the crisis tend to

mention more. On the contrary, AAOs founded in the pre-crisis period are more engaged in Lobbying and Policy making procedures. As for the percentage of the AAOs engaged in any strategy that requires interaction with authorities, there are no significant differences between the two groups.

Table 5. 14 AAOs strategies by period of establishment

Routes that AAOs follow in order to achieve their aims	Before Crisis N=222	During Crisis N=271	Chi-square test	Total N=493
Protest actions	24,8%	32,1%	3.196, p=.074	28,8%
Direct actions	91,9%	88,9%	2.128, p=.270	90,4%
Raise awareness	72,5%	57,9%	11.344, p=.001	64,6%
Lobbying	5,4%	1,1%	7.634, p=.006	3,0%
Policy Change	14,4%	1,8%	27.774, p=.000	74,4%
Change government or establishment	9,0%	15,5%	4.674, p=.031	12,6%
Engagement in any strategy that requires interaction with the state	38,7	38,0		38,3

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed,

Illustrating the results of the survey, the figure 5.5 shows how the AAOs experienced the evolution of their interactions with authorities, in both conventional and contentious politics. In general, the findings show that, during the crisis, interactions of AAOs and state authorities increased or remained at the same level. With respect to Protest participation, there is no dominant pattern. As for participation in policy-making procedures at any level, approximately half of the AAOs perceived an increase compared to the pre-crisis period. On the other hand, less than 15% of AAOs report a decrease in their participation in policy-making procedures. It is worth noting that, at a first glance, the results given in the table 5.14 and the ones in the figure 5.5 seem contradictory. However, as already mentioned, the previous tables do not illustrate the changes in strategies before and during the crisis, but the different strategies that the AAOs adopted in relation to their period of establishment. Thus, combining the findings, I argue that during the crisis the absolute number of

AAOs[70] that followed strategies which require interactions with the authorities increased, and the frequency of these activities also increased. For instance, the AAOs founded before the crisis are more involved in policy-making procedures (table 5.14) than those established during the crisis, and the frequency of these procedures increased (figure 5.5). Therefore, this indicates that, during the crisis, there is an increase of interactions between the solidarity organisations and authorities, in accordance with Tarrow's description of the cycle of protest (1998).

Figure 5. 5 AAOs interaction with authorities during the crisis
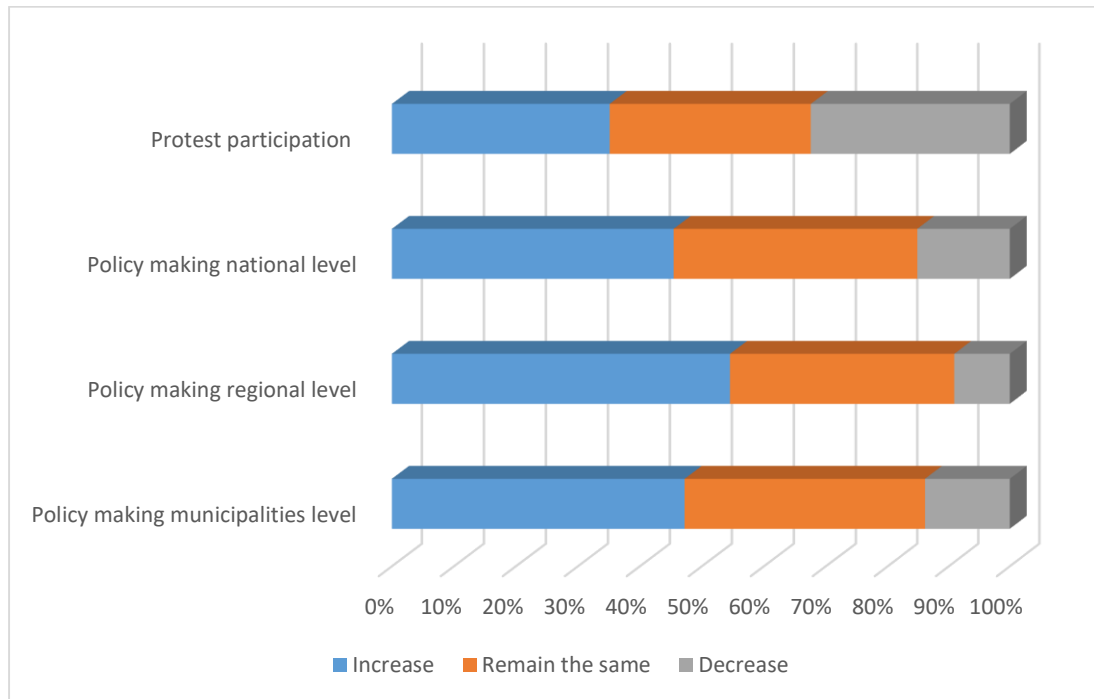
5.2 AAOs lifespan and circle of life

As described in the literature section, the intense mobilisation phase is gradually followed by a phase of demobilisation which leads to the end of the cycle. According to collective action theorists, the end of the cycle corresponds to the moment when the relations between challengers and authorities have been re-stabilised. There are many possible endings of the cycle, which vary from revolution to elections or harsh repression. The organisations that took part in the mobilisations could adopt a

---

[70] The percentage of AAOs that followed strategies requiring interactions with the authorities in relation to the total population remained the same.

more radical or reformist orientation, or they can stop their operation due to lack of resources (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004; Kriesi, 1996). Accordingly, this last part of the dissertation focuses on the organisations that stopped their operations during or at the end of the cycle. I use the Resource mobilisation theoretical framework in order to investigate the life span of AAOs and to identify which factors foster or restrict their ability to stay active. The sustainability of solidarity organisations, especially in crisis stricken Greece, is an important aspect of the solidarity mobilisations which has received limited attention by academics so far. Unfortunately, as mentioned in the methods chapter, due the fact that the present analysis uses data taken directly from the organisations' websites, it was difficult to assess exactly whether an AAO is still active or not. However, the date of the last online activity of the AAOs is known—i.e., the last time that AAOs posted something on their social media or updated their website. On the basis of this indicator, I consider as "inactive online" all of the AAOs that do not have any presence on the internet for more than a year. Thus, following, I compare these with the organisations that are still active online to find the specific elements that seem to be positively associated with the sustainability of the AAOs.

Starting with the small, the table 5.15 compiles data about the composition of the two groups. In total, approximately one third of the AAOs (32.6%) have stopped their activities or they have not advertised them through any of their media outlets. As for the composition of the two groups under comparison, the inactive online category consisted mostly of Protest groups and Neighbourhood assemblies, followed by NGOs, Church and charities as well as Hybrid organisations. In contrast, active online AAOs are mainly NGOs, Protest groups and Neighbourhood assemblies, as all other types of organisation score low frequencies.

Table 5. 15 AAOs online activity by AAOs type

Types of organisation	Inactive online N=163	Active online N=337	Chi-square test	Total N 500
Protest Groups, antifascist networks and autonomous places	19,60%	18,10%	1.070, p=.680	18,60%
Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	29,40%	26,70%	.413, p=.520	27,60%
Social economy enterprises and Cooperatives	9,80%	9,20%	.049, p=825	9,40%
NGOs and voluntary associations	17,80%	36,20%	17.665, p=.000	30,20%
'Hybrid' Enterprise-Associations with local, regional state government units	11,00%	5,60%	4.684, p=.030	7,40%
Church and charities	12,30%	4,20%	11.417, p=.001	6,80%

Total	100,00%	100,00%		100,00%	

To illustrate the relations between activities and types of AAO, the table 5.16 below shows the means of activity status per type of organisation. The highest activity scores can be found in NGOs, for which more than 80% of the AAOs are still active. In contrast, the lowest activity rate can be found in the church and charities, Hybrid organisations and Protest groups. The findings regarding the highest activity scores do not come as a surprise and are in accordance with the literature: already established organisations with access to resources such as NGOs or organisations active on the internet like information platforms that require minimum resources have higher activity rates (Loukakis et al, 2018; Earl, 2011; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). However, findings regarding lowest activities rates are more interesting. Church and charities scored the lowest rate which is fairly unexpected given that, according to social movements and collective action resources mobilisation theory, churches have supposedly access to all possible types of resources: human, material, financial, informative, cultural and moral. Investigating further, it turned out that most of the AAOs of this category are actually still in operation, but without updated websites or other media outlets. On the other hand, the low activity rate of Hybrid organisations indicates physical inactivity, as in most cases these organisations had been established under the funding of *The National Network of Immediate Social Intervention* or other EU-related funding e.g. *European Social Fund*. Therefore, when the funding period expired, they either chose to stop their activities or they failed at finding other resources and also had to stop their operation.

With respect to the Protest groups, and to some extent to Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, their lower rates compared to other AAOs activity rate could be due to lack of resources or related to the 2015 elections, when the SYRIZA party won the elections. Indeed, from the first days of the crisis, there was a rise in protest events across the country, especially large protest events (Kanellopoulos & Kousis, 2018) and anti-austerity campaigns (Dianni & Kousis, 2014; Kousis, 2016). SYRIZA, as an opposition party, took part in most of the protests during that period and was a political ally that fostered mobilisations (Serdedakis & Tobazos, 2018). However, after SYRIZA won the elections in 2015 the number of protest events reduced significantly (Roose et al, 2018; Vogiatzoglou, 2017) and many protest groups or neighbourhood assemblies stopped their activities or split up.

Table 5. 16 Means[71] of online activity by AAO type

Type of organisation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives	,6559	93	,47764
Protest groups, antifascist networks and autonomous places	,6522	138	,47802
Social economy enterprises and Cooperatives	,6596	47	,47898
NGOs and voluntary associations	,8079	151	,39523
'Hybrid' enterprise-associations with local, regional state government units	,5135	37	,50671
Church and charities	,4118	34	,49955
Total	,6740	500	,46922

With regards to the organisational features of the two groups, the table 5.17 show the number of media outlets (website, Facebook, Twitter, and blog) that the AAOs use in relation with their activity status. The more media outlet an organisation has, the more likely it is to be active. The vast majority (85%) of inactive AAOs had only one media outlet while the majority (66.5%) of the active online AAOs have more than one media outlets.

Table 5. 17 AAOs number of media outlets that they use by activity statues

Number of media outlets	Inactive online N=163	Active online N=337	Chi-square test	Total N 500
1	85,89%	33,53%	120.488, p=.000	50,60%
2	12,27%	36,80%	32.226, p=.000	28,80%
3	1,84%	25,52%	42.099, p=.000	17,80%
4	0,00%	4,15%	6.967, p=.008	2,80%
Total	100,00%	100,00%		100,00%

As to the structural features of the two AAOs groups, active organisations tend to mention their structural features more frequently than the inactive ones (table 5.18). Moreover, active online organisations seem to be more formal and well-structured than the inactive ones. Every structural features were more frequently mentioned by the active online organisations than the inactive ones,

---

[71] The online activity of the AAOs, expressed as Means, varies from 0, when AAO is inactive online, to 1 when the AAO is active online. The highest mean score, the more of the AAOs within each specific category are active.

the only exceptions being the neighbourhood/open assemblies and the spokesperson/media person. These findings seem to be in line with what the literature of RMT suggests, i.e., that formality is positively linked with the sustainability of movement organisations. Summing up, the table 5.18 do show that the AAOs that had the opportunity to develop some levels of formality are, in their majority, still active online.

Table 5. 18 AAOs number of structural features by activity statues

Structural features	Inactive online N=100	Active online N=232	Chi-square test	Total N 332
Board	24,00%	40,52%	8.322, p=.004	35,50%
President/leader/chair	22,00%	33,62%	4.483, p=.034	30,10%
Secretary	17,00%	31,03%	7.015, p=.008	26,80%
Treasurer	11,00%	25,00%	8.319, p=.004	20,80%
Paid staff	10,00%	11,21%	.105, p=.746	10,80%
Written constitution	12,00%	16,38%	1.048, p=.306	15,10%
Spokesperson/media-PR	10,00%	8,19%	.287, p=.592	8,70%
General assembly/general body	24,00%	29,31%	.984, p=.321	27,70%
Neighbourhood/open assembly	40,00%	26,72%	5.787, p=.016	30,70%
Committees or work group	22,00%	28,02%	1.308, p=.253	26,20%
Not Available	38,65%	31,16%	2.765, p=.096	33,60%

Focusing on the solidarity approaches (table 5.19), both groups almost equally used the approaches of Mutual help, Support between groups and the Distribution of goods and services. The only statistically significant difference that could be found is the one concerning the altruistic solidarity approach (help/offer support to others), which is adopted more often by the organisations active online.

Table 5. 19 AAOs number of solidarity approaches by activity status

AAOs solidarity approach	Inactive online N=163	Active online N=337	Chi-square test	Total N 500
Mutual-help	50,30%	48,40%	.165, p=.684	49,00%
Support/assistance between groups	19,60%	19,30%	.008, p=.927	19,40%
Help/offer support to others	28,80%	45,70%	12.995, p=.000	40,20%
Distribution of goods and services to others	33,10%	35,00%	.173, p=.677	34,40%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed

As for the routes that the AAOs followed in order to achieve their aims (table 5.20), no significant differences between the two AAOs groups could be found. The only exceptions are the raising awareness and the policy change strategies, which are more frequently used by the AAOs still active online.

Table 5. 20 Routes that AAOs follow in order to achieve their goals by activity status

Routes that AAOs follow in order to achieve their Aims	Inactive online N=163	Active online N=337	Chi-square test	Total N 500
Protest actions	26,38%	29,97%	.690, p=.406	28,80%
Direct actions	89,57%	90,80%	.192, p=.661	90,40%
Raise awareness	45,40%	73,89%	38.990, p=.000	64,60%
Lobbying	1,84%	3,56%	1.117, p=.290	3,00%
Policy Change	5,52%	8,31%	1.245, p=.000	74,40%
Change government or establishment	14,72%	11,57%	.991, p=.620	12,60%

* Dummy variables, multiple answers allowed,

After this brief discussion of descriptive statistics, I now turn to the explanatory part. Below is proposed a logit regression model using the activity status of AAOs (dummy variable) as dependent

variable in order to test my hypotheses about distinct resources impacting differently the chances of AAOs to stay active online (see the theory section). In brief, I first examine how cultural resources are materialised in the practices and strategies used by AAOs. Then, I investigate the impact of organisational resources, indicated by the number of online media outlets that AAOs maintain and by the level of formality that they have on their organisational structure. Then, I look at the importance of human resources and more specifically at the impact of members and volunteers as well as paid staff.

As table 5.21 shows, Culture activities alone are negatively linked with the ability of the organisation to stay active online, but without any statistical significance. When it comes to strategies, Raising awareness positively contributes to the online sustainability of the AAOs. As for the other two strategies, protest participation and change policies, the first contributes positively and the latter negatively, but both of them do not have any statistical significance. With regards to the solidarity approaches that the AAOs promote, Altruistic solidarity is one of the cultural resources which fosters the ability of the AAOs to stay active online, contrary to the Collaborative solidarity. The other two solidarity approaches (Mutual help and Top down) do not contribute to the model.

With respect to the organisational resources, the analysis suggests that operating multiple online outlets (Facebook, Twitter, blog and website) increases the AAOs' chances of staying active. The same also applies to the presence of a News section or a newsletter in the AAOs websites. Contrary to my expectations, and to what literature suggests, a formal organisation structure or horizontal decision-making structures do not affect the online survival of the organisation.

Finally, examining the material and human resources, only Calls for members and volunteers were positively linked to the activity status of AAOs. Thus, when organisations called for volunteers and new members to join, this increased their chances of remaining active, although at a low statistically significant level. On the contrary, the ability of the AAOs to hire and pay employees did not have any statistical significance in this context.

Overall, some resources seem to indeed affect the online sustainability of the AAOs, while others seem to not affect it at all. The impact of cultural resources is low and seems limited to the Raising awareness strategy. A possible explanation could be that through raising awareness campaigns and events AAOs can broaden their audience, reach bystanders and transform them into adherents, increasing their resources. They are therefore more likely to remain active. The same conclusion could be drawn concerning AAOs with many media outlets and news sections/newsletters. Similarly, operating more outlets means that the AAOs can reach a broader audience, and achieve this same

mechanism of transformation the bystanders into active members. Contrary to the literature, and to my expectations, formality and professionalization of the AAOs do not affect their ability to stay active online, while the existence of volunteers or members do have a positive impact on their likelihood to remain active. This could be due to the high number of informal or low formality AAOs. To summarise, resources alone are not enough as an explanatory framework of the decreased number of active AAOs, attention should thus be turned to other factors. However regression findings indicate that organisational and cultural resources increase the potential of an AAO to stay active more than other resource types.

Table 5. 21 Logit Regression: variables influencing the ability of AAOs to stay active online

	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
				Lower	Upper
Cultural/informative resources					
Organising cultural activities	-0,297	(0,303)	0.743	0.41	1.347
Protest as strategy	0,457	(0,327)	1.579	0.831	3
Raising awareness as strategy	0,891***	(0,278)	2.437	1.413	4.204
Policy change strategy	-0,320	(0,528)	0.726	0.258	2.042
Mutual aid solidarity	0,001	(0,380)	1.001	0.475	2.11
Collaborative solidarity	-0,830*	(0,332)	0.436	0.227	0.836
Altruistic solidarity	0,589°	(0,303)	1.801	0.995	3.26
Top down solidarity	0,099	(0,425)	1.104	0.48	2.54
Organisational resources					
Number of media used	1,913***	(0,244)	6.774	4.198	10.931
News sections/newsletter	0,838**	(0,287)	2.312	1.319	4.054
Horizontal structure	-0,112	(0,355)	0.894	0.446	1.791
Formal structure	0,037	(0,083)	1.037	0.881	1.222
Material—human resources					
Employees	-0,323	(0,449)	0.724	0.3	1.747
Call for members or volunteers	0,430°	(0,258)	1.537	0.926	2.55
Constant			-3.074		
pseudo R2			0.452		
N			500		

° p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The Greek economic crisis was an economic and societal phenomenon that worsened the standard of living for the majority of people in Greece. Austerity policies and a failing economy resulted in high levels of unemployment and led to approximately one third of the population being under poverty and social exclusion (Eurostat, 2020). Hence, solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the years of the economic crisis were a necessity for a significant part of the Greek population in order to survive. Thousands of groups and organisations—formal and informal, newly or already established—were mobilised to cover needs left unmet due to the collapse of the welfare state and due to the deterioration of the market (Kousis et al, 2018; Simiti, 2017; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014).

This phenomenon of civic solidarity mobilisations gained the attention of Greek and international scholars who then tried to study its many different manifestations. Most of these studies were focused either on a single field, such as the provision of health and medical services (Teloni & Adam, 2018), food provision (Rakopoulos, 2014a, 2014b), education-related practices (Karantza 2014), social economy initiatives (Kalogeraki et al, 2018), or in a specific geographical area such as the city of Chania (Papadaki & Kalogeraki, 2017) or in the area of Exarcheia in Athens (Daskalaki, 2017; Capuccini, 2018). However, our understanding of the full spectrum of the actors that took part in the solidarity mobilisations is limited. Further, there is still a need to better understand how solidarity, as a form of collective action, was organised during the economic crisis. Moreover, our knowledge is limited of the evolution of these solidarity mobilisations over time. In detail, there is no available data about the diffusion of the mobilisations geographically as well as socially. In general, research on the longevity of the mobilisations is limited – we do not have data on when these initiatives were established and how they were evolved. Finally, and following from that, the sustainability and the factors that contribute to the viability of the mobilisations is also a largely unexplored territory, with only one exception (Loukakis et al, 2018).

The objective of this study was therefore twofold. First, it attempted to link two bodies of the literature—that of collective action, social movements and that of solidarity studies. While scholars make use of different approaches to solidarity and understand it in different ways to analyse the solidarity actors, they largely do not do so under the lenses of collective action theories. Second, the study aimed to further our knowledge of the cyclical trajectories that collective action may take by broadening the concept of "cycle of contention into "cycle of collective action" in order to include

other non-protest related or non-disruptive forms of collective action that take place at the same time as protest and contention.

In alignment with these two objectives, this dissertation sought to address two research questions. The first question focused on the main organisational features of the solidarity mobilisations in Greece under the economic crisis. In practice, this meant studying the different actors that mobilised in order to offer solidarity to those in need. To do so, I used a synthetic approach, combining different theories of collective action in order to identify the organisational, political and cultural features of the AAOs. More specifically, I used resource mobilisation theory in order to identify organisational features such as organisational types, structures as well as the characteristics of their networks. Then I used both grievances and deprivation theories along with political opportunities structure in order to identify repertoires of action, strategies and the people that they aim to assist. Finally, I used cultural framing theories in order to investigate the aims, the solidarity approaches and the values under which the AAOs frame their actions and practices.

More than that, in order to define the context in which AAOs are embedded and to understand how the AAOs differ, I used theories about solidarity provision and civic engagement in times of economic crisis. In detail, I drew on work done by Kousis and Paschou (2017) and their typology of different actors that were engaged in alternative forms of resilience. Having this classification as a starting point, I used some of the identified features (namely: organisation type, solidarity approach, aims, values, strategies and political repertoire) in order to construct a typology of the solidarity actors in Greece during the economic crisis. The core aim of this procedure was to distinguish the different type of actors not on the basis of the solidarity activities that they organised or by the constituency groups and beneficiaries that may have but by their political character and orientation.

The second part of the research question also drew on collective action literature and focused on the evolution of solidarity mobilisations. In detail, the question that I had to address is: *Can we speak of a cycle of solidary, and, more generally, of a broader cycle of collective action in Greece in the aftermath of the economic crisis?* Borrowing the concept of cycle of contention, I identified five types of changes—innovations that would need to be observed in order to argue in favour of the existence of a Greek cycle of solidarity. These preconditions have been defined by Tarrow (2011) and include a) the rapid diffusion of collective action, b) the co-existence of organised and un-organised actors, c) innovation in the repertoire of actions, d) change in collective action frames and e) increased interaction between activists and authorities. Finally, I drew on the collective action literature to explore the sustainability and viability of the AAOs. The ability of the solidarity actors to stay active is connected with the end of the cycle and the demobilisation phase. In more words, I drew on resource

mobilisation theory to develop some hypotheses on the organisational features that contribute on the sustainability and viability of the AAOs.

This study's central argument is that solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis were an outcome of the efforts of a diverse range of actors. These can be either formal or informal, founded during the crisis or well before it and re-activated during the crisis, they can have a political orientation or not. They cover a wide range of activities—from anarchist initiatives which are much politicized and militant aiming for social and political change, to social and solidarity economy actors aiming to build an alternative to the dominant capitalist way of living. They also include NGOs and third sector actors, which have, in a way, replaced the social policy provision by the state, as well as church and charities, which provide solidarity with the aim to relieve people from poverty and the effects of the crisis, acting in the name of charity and philanthropy. About five years after the beginning of the crisis, a demobilisation phase was visible, as reflected by the very few new AAOs that were created, while many stopped their operations. I argue that mostly organisational and, to a lesser extent, cultural resources are important for the long-term sustainability of AAOs. Further, I argue that a Greek cycle of solidarity certainly did take place, running roughly parallel to anti-austerity protests campaign and cycle of contention (Diani & Kousis, 2014; Vogiatzoglou, 2017; Psimitis, 2011; Serdedakis, 2018). Finally, I support the idea of looking at all possible forms of collective action that takes place in a specific period together as part of a broader cycle of collective action.

In this concluding chapter of the dissertation I first describe the main findings. Then I discuss and highlight the implications that these findings have and the lessons that we can draw for the study of collective action, solidarity, and social movements. Finally, I try to indicate some new directions for future research on the study of solidarity mobilisations and of the actors that took part on them.

6.1. Main findings

Empirically, this dissertation examines the groups and organisations that were active in the field of solidarity provision during the economic crisis in Greece. Hence, I focus on the actors that took part of solidarity mobilisations as a form of collective action. As I stated in previous chapters, these actors are very important as they conduct and facilitate collective action initiatives. Additionally, they operate as advocacy groups, as they often make public claims and frame the collective action and provide opportunities for participation.

In the first two parts of chapter 4 I outlined a profile of AAOs by highlighting their organisational, cultural and political features. As the data presented a huge range of formal organisations (such as NGOs, voluntary associations and social economy enterprises and cooperatives), informal groups

(such as neighbourhood assemblies, solidarity networks, people initiatives, squats and self-managed collectivities), social policy actors (such as municipalities and collaborations of state and civil society actors) and religious organisations or organisations affiliated with religious institutions (such as churches and charities) were mobilised in order to support those in need. Mapping the field was a very important task and one of the key contributions of this dissertation for two reasons: First, because it is one of the few (Loukakis, 2018; Kousis et al, 2018; Hadjimichalis, 2017; Livewhat WP6 report, 2015) nationwide studies of solidarity initiatives in Greece during the crisis, as most of the academic research is issue- or spatial-based. Second, it is one of the few studies (Simiti, 2018; Clarke et al. 2015; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014) that highlights the work of formal organisations as well as solidarity providers. Most of the contemporary research on the field tends to ignore the contribution of the pre-crisis established civil society and focuses on the newly-founded groups and organisations. Moreover, this is likely one of the only works that investigates not only the charity work done by the Greek Orthodox Church—as was done by other researchers (Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Makris & Bekridakis, 2013)—but also the organisational, cultural and political profiles of religious organisations that offered solidarity to those in need.

Another aspect of AAOs discussed in the dissertation is that of organisational structure, which in the vast majority of the organisations is characterised by low levels of formality. In general, Greek solidarity and civic organisations do not have fully developed and strict organisational hierarchies—important decisions are taken mostly by a small group of people who usually run the AAOs. Moreover, AAOs established during crisis, such as people initiatives and neighbourhood assemblies, seem to be affected by the Greek Indignados movement, hence they were governed by open assemblies and forms of direct democratic decision-making.

Moving to the activities organised and conducted by AAOs, data suggests that AAOs are active at two levels: as actors that try to meet the increased needs and, at the same time, some of them are also active in the political arena. Hence, I decided to investigate in detail the AAOs' needs related and political repertoires. Starting with the needs related repertoire, data revealed that they organise and conduct a wide range of activities in order to provide help, not only to those in need, but also to bring solidarity to everyday relations. In detail, the majority of AAOs, no matter the type, conduct cultural activities (such as arts, concerts, theatrical acts, social hangouts and more). One obvious observation resulting from this finding is that mainstream or pay-to-attend cultural activities were not affordable for a huge part of the population, who then turned their attention to non-paying or alternative forms of entertainment. Another reason of the wide appearance of these activities is that, through these activities, AAOs do fund and generate resources, which was a necessity in order to continue their

operation. However, my general impression is that this is only one side of the coin. In my understanding, most of these organisations and groups used cultural activities in order to build bonds among their members and shape collective identities through participation (Jasper & Polletta, 2018; Della Porta & Diani, 1998; Diani, 2007; Melucci, 1989). Moreover, as Melucci (1989) has stated, cultural activities are part of the social movements as an alternative to the mainstream cultural and the dominant capitalistic system.

Not surprisingly, the majority of AAOs try to cover people's urgent and basic needs such as food, shelter, health services and medical provision, clothes and shoes as well as free tuition classes, legal advice, and activities against taxation (such as not paying tolls or illegal electricity connections). All these activities are direct outcome of the crisis and indicate different problems of the everyday life that solidarity mobilisations tried to address.

Moreover, AAOs organised a wide range of activities not directly connected with the negative effects of the crisis but aimed at the promotion of new alternative ways of doing things and toward different lifestyles. These kinds of economic activities—such as barter clubs, alternative coins or even the provision of services and products by new cooperatives and social enterprises—are incidences of practices that move beyond surviving the crisis and aim to promote another way of living. A possible explanation could be that the crisis has shaken up worldviews and values for a huge part of the population. Thus, during the crisis people began to rethink their way of living and tried to find alternatives to the "fake consumption society" that they used to live in. The same applies for the promotion of political consumerism and alternative consumption and self-organised spaces during the crisis. Through these actions, people are opting for an alternative way of living outside of the mainstream capitalistic standards of living. Finally, findings indicated a wide range of activities unexplored so far by the recent literature such as environmental actions and alternative media. The latter is an indication that people during the crisis mistrust not only the political system but also the media system and thus try to established new communication channels. Media attention is very important also for the formation of the cycle (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004) as they control the information flow and which message will be spread during mobilisations. Thus, media controlled by the activists are per se valuable resources for mobilisations.

With respect to the political activities almost two out of three AAOs mention political repertoires of action. In detail, most of them list raising awareness activities such as promotional and dissemination activities as well as writing reports. Contentious repertoires of action such as protest-related activities was not widely used by the AAOs as only one third of them referred to it on their website. These findings seems to confirm the recent literature that deals with organisations active in everyday

politics. These organisations invest in the transformative power of solidarity activities themselves rather than protests and mass demonstrations (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Loukakis, 2018; Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Forno & Graziano, 2014). Of course, as the same literature suggests, protest and contention are not absent from the organisations' repertoires but it is more of a peripheral—rather than central—tool.

The above-mentioned conclusions about the strategic choice of the AAOs to fulfil their goals and targets via direct everyday solidarity activities be better understood by investigating their strategies. Almost every AAO used direct solidarity actions as strategy in order to achieve their aims, while to a lesser extent they follow raising awareness and protest as strategies. Thus, findings are in line with the recent literature which has shown that groups and organisations try via everyday practices to change the society from the below (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Forno & Graziano, 2014). Analysis seems to confirm the research findings that suggest a turn from large national and global-level protests such those in the Global Justice movement to small everyday actions and practices (Forno & Grazziano, 2014; Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Malamidis, 2018).

Overall, the data on the relationships between constituency groups and the AAOs confirm and extend the recent literature about solidarity in times of crisis in Greece. The analysis showed that there is a statistically confirmed relation between specific AAOs and specific constituency groups. In detail, data on the groups of people that the AAOs try to assist suggest that there are at least two clear patterns in the relationship between constituency groups and the AAOs—with two AAOs being outliers to this pattern. On the one hand, there are the neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, the protest groups and, to a lesser extent, the social economy initiatives that try to support the "victims of the crisis". Victims of the crisis were defined broadly and included every interested person, poor and marginalised people and communities, uninsured, unemployed and precarious workers, local communities as well as refugees and immigrants. The AAOs that try to offer solidarity to the above-mentioned groups are in their vast majority newly established and trying to find alternative and in most times cooperative ways of covering needs during the crisis. However, I should mention that despite the fact that they are formal actors and act in the name of social policy by local municipalities, hybrid organisations also fit in the same pattern because they are also new established organisations and they try to assist the same groups of people. Summing up the above findings, there was a clear pattern that ad hoc, informal, and locally-based initiatives tended to be solidarity providers for the people that suffered from the crisis (Kousis et al, 2018; Adam & Teloni, 2017; Vaiou & Kalandides, 2015; Kantzara, 2013; Theocharis, 2015) but at the same time the findings highlight the importance of the hybrid organisations as solidarity providers to the same groups of people.

On the other hand, NGOs and formal organisations such as church and charities focused more on specific groups such as children and students, families, homeless, people with health issues, and people with disabilities. These types of organisations formation mostly preceded the crisis, and thus they were already specialised. However, the unprecedented increase of needs forced these AAOs to expand their range of practices in order to include new beneficiaries (Simiti, 2017; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014).

As I presented in detail in chapter 4, there is a type of organisation that does not fit in the two patterns described above. This is the category of social economy and cooperatives, which mostly seek to assist socioeconomically vulnerable individuals, small businesses, consumers and producers, as well as local communities. This finding shows that there is a category of AAOs that seeks, in the middle of the crisis, an alternative to the mainstream capitalistic way of consumption. This finding also provides support to the recent literature about alternative ways of consumption in Greece during the crisis (Kalogeraki et al, 2018; Loukakis, 2018; Vathakou, 2015; and Rakopoulos 2014a).

Following this, analysis of the networks of the AAOs showed that overall AAOs are independent organisations, as in the vast majority they are not umbrella organisations or part of umbrella organisations. However, findings suggest that solidarity provision is a collaborative work, as approximately 65% of the AAOs do mention partners and collaborators on their websites. This important fact demonstrates that in times of crisis, where the shortage of the resources is the rule, AAOs try to cooperate with other organisations, state and supranational actors and private businesses in order to accumulate the necessary resources to be able to continue their activities. Hence, this finding is in line with resource mobilisation theory and its claims about the importance of networks as social-organisational resources (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; Edwards, McCarthy & Mataic, 2019).

A closer look at the prolife of the partners revealed a pattern that AAOs tend to associate more with AAOs from the same type. This probably can be explained by the fact that similar organisations often share similar goals, values and ethics, making collaboration easier. Additionally, older organisations may have already built bonds of trust with other AAOs, probably leaving little room for new collaborations. Findings also indicated that there are two main collaborative patterns. The first is that of neighbourhood assemblies, which associate mainly with other neighbourhood assemblies, as well as protest groups and information platforms and the second is that of state actors at any level (municipalities, regions and center state) which are the main partners for NGOs, profession-related initiatives, 'hybrid' AAOs, churches and charities and other AAOs. This probably has to do with the access to resources that each organisation has. Informal and newly established organisations such as grassroots solidarity initiatives and protest groups often do not receive state funding (either by choice

or by lack of access) thus they try, through collaborations, to find the necessary resources that will help their operation. These kinds of collaborations have been shaped on the basis of trust between the groups, which is possibly shaped and connected to the similar cultural features shared by similar type AAOs (Daskalaki, 2017; Simiti, 2017; Bekridaki & Broumas, 2017; Vathakou, 2015). On the other hand, formal organisations collaborate with state agencies and to a lesser extent with EU and other supranational agencies in order to insure the necessary funding (Simiti, 2017; Matsaganis 2013).

The last aspect of the AAOs investigated in the descriptive analysis was that of the cultural features. Cultural features of the AAOs are formed by the shared beliefs, similar goals and aims as well as by common values held by AAOs. According to new social movement theorists and other collective action scholars, cultural features are very important because they shape collective identity among the members of the movements (Melucci, 1996; Diani, 1992; Polletta & Jasper 2001). Moreover, scholars active in the field of cultural framing argue that cultural features of organisations produce and maintain the meaning of things and events to bystanders, adherents and antagonists (Snow, 2004). Hence, the cultural features of the AAOs highlight the meaning and the message that the organisations want to spread in society through their solidarity activities.

In an attempt to examine the applicability of the above findings to the Greek AAOs, I first examined these groups' aims. Overall, aims of the AAOs illustrate their diverse aspirations: some of them are related to the effects of the crisis, others are related to social inclusion and equal participation in society, others are more prefigurative, opting for alternatives to the dominant capitalistic system. Finally, some other AAOs fight for the promotion of collective actions and collective identities. In general, the analysis of these aims showed that specific aims are significantly connected to specific organisation types.

Hence, protest groups as solidarity actors aim for changing the dominant capitalistic society in which there will be collective identity between its members, more democracy and this new society will cover its needs via alternative non-economic models (Daskalaki, 2017). A majority of neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, as a result of the crisis, aim for reducing the negative impacts of austerity. Moreover, almost half of them try to achieve social change or to promote alternative non-economic practices and lifestyles. These findings show that organisations have attempted to move beyond the causes of the crisis and to establish a new non-capitalistic economic model. This tendency is in line with what has been described, by other works in the field, as an effort to change the "until then[72] way of living" (Rakopoulos, 2014; Arabatzi, 2017; Kousis et al, 2018).

---

[72] This statement is referring to the pre-crisis era

As for the social economy initiatives, these more often aimed to promote alternative economic and non-economic models (non monetary or outside of the mainstream economic models) and, to a lesser extent, they fight for social change. This is in line with findings in the recent literature (Kalogeraki et al, 2018). Moving to the NGOs' aims, as most of this type of AAOs were founded before the crisis, their main activities were about providing services, defending rights and promoting equal participation in the society to marginalised and vulnerable groups such as children and youths, homeless, minorities and migrants and the environment (Frangonikolopoulos, 2014; Sotiropoulos, 2014; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014; Botetzagias & Karamichas, 2009). Hence, their expressed aims – such as promotion of health, education and welfare—are to combat discrimination in society and promote positive individual changes that reflect the aspirations mentioned above.

Hybrid organisations, which were an emergent institutionalised response to the crisis, expressed aims related to the reduction of the negative effects of the crisis as well as trying to restore the shrinking welfare state through, for example, the promotion of healthcare, education and welfare. Finally, AAOs that belonging to the category of churches and charities also aimed to promote healthcare, education and welfare and did not often mention the reduction of the negative effects of the crisis. A possible answer to that is that the Greek Orthodox Church existed long before the crisis and had long been active in the field of solidarity or philanthropic provision but in times of crisis it increased these activities but without changing the core aims of the organisations (Makris & Bekridakis, 2013).

Moving to the next cultural feature of the AAOs, Mario Diani (1992) and della Porta and Diani (1999), point out the importance of common attitudes by claiming that shared attitudes and worldviews contribute to shaping collective identity. In my analysis, the revealing aspect of the different worldviews of the AAOs is their attitude toward the solidarity provision. In more words, findings indicate two clear patterns regarding solidarity approaches, the mutual-help and the top down approach. The first is that applied by informal groups (neighbourhood assemblies and protest groups), which is about that people were mobilised on the basis of their common interests in an attempt to find ways of coping collectively with the negative effects of the crisis. This approach is connected with what Laville (2010) calls "democratic solidarity", a type of self-organisation that is connected with social movements. In contrast, the top-down solidarity approach is not participatory and distinguishes people in the category of donors and recipients who are in a state of personal dependency (Laville, 2010, p.231-234). This pattern was followed mostly by formal AAOs such as NGOs and churches and charities. The difference in solidarity approaches between AAOs can be perceived as an element of their shared collective identity.

The last aspect of the cultural features of the AAOs that I looked for is that of values under which they frame their activities. Values of the AAOs, from my analysis, can be seen as a coherent set of beliefs which operate as the *collective action frames* (as described in the theory section), which means that they legitimate and inspire solidarity oriented collective action (Snow et al, 2019; Benford & Snow, 2000). As the findings indicate, this framing is very important for solidarity mobilisations since about seven out of ten AAOs use values to frame their actions and practices.

As data revealed, despite the fact that the focus of the analysis is on the groups and organisations that offered solidarity in hard economic times, solidarity is not the most-mentioned value among AAOs. Surprisingly, more than the half of the AAOs that indicate values in their websites, act in the name of empowerment and participation, followed by AAOs that mention solidarity and finally by those acting according to humanitarian and philanthropic values. As was the case with other cultural and structural features, values are also related to specific types of organisation. Specifically, AAOs belonging to the categories of hybrid organisations and church and charities promote values of solidarity more than those of the other categories. Informal AAOs (protest groups and grassroots solidarity initiatives) primarily promote values related with empowerment and participation and to a lesser extent values related to solidarity. Almost the same applies for the AAOs that belong in the solidarity economy category. With respect to NGOs, solidarity is the least observed category as they mostly promote values oriented around rights, sustainability and diversity. The latter is not unexpected, as many NGOs have environmental protection among their goals and environmental and ecology initiatives are among the groups that compromise much of the other category. This finding about the plurality of the values that the organisations use in order to frame their activities is an important finding largely overlooked by the literature, which in great part focuses on initiatives that promote solidarity. The fact that most of the AAOs frame their activities in the name of empowerment and participation indicates that, in great part, solidarity is not regarded as a goal in itself by AAOs but as a means to achieve their broader aspirations. This finding can also be supported by the findings of the strategies that the AAOs adopt, and is in line with and enriches the existing literature about the aims and framing of the AAOs actions (Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Forno & Graziano, 2014).

6.1.1 A typology of the main actors of Greek solidarity mobilisations

The second objective of this dissertation was to provide a typology of the core actors that took part in solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the times of economic crisis. Using the typology of "alternative forms of resilience", provided by Kousis and Paschou (2017), as a starting point, I used

dimension reduction and modelling statistics in an attempt to identify components with common characteristics, which could indicate more complex actor profiles. Thus, in the analysis, I included features such as organisation type, solidarity approach, their aims and values as well as the strategies that they applied, and whether they engage in protest or conventional political activities. The rationale behind this step is that simple organisational profiles are not enough to give a full picture of the reality and thus there is a need for a classification which takes into account not only the AAO type but also the different aspirations, motivations and political repertoires that AAOs, as solidarity actors, may have.

The analysis indicated fifteen different categories of actors, which stands between and beyond the nine initial theoretical approaches that the Kousis and Paschou (2017) typology included. These components are classified according to the politicization of the groups that constitute each component. Hence, groups have been categorized from those highly politicised to those that are less politicised and from those with a high orientation toward social movements to those that have a charity orientation. In the following, I briefly present each group, starting from the most militant that frame solidarity as a political term ending with those that identify solidarity as a form of philanthropy:

I.   Anarchist/ autonomous groups, which apply mutual help solidarity approaches and aim for the promotion of social movement actions and collective identities and frame their actions according to values of empowerment and participation. Moreover, they use protest strategies and protest repertoires.

II.   Antifascist/protest groups which adopt mixed approaches to solidarity largely based on mutual help. They mostly belong to the anarchist and far left political spectrum and they aim for the promotion of democratic practices and defense of rights. They frame their actions according to empowerment and participation and rights-based values. They make use of protest, conventional strategies, and finally they are active in the political arena.

III. Neighbourhood assemblies and people's initiatives, which adopt mutual help solidarity approaches. Their goal is to promote collective identities, community empowerment and alternative non-economic practices. They also frame their action in terms of empowerment and participation and solidarity values. They mostly follow direct solidarity actions as a strategy.

IV.   NGOs defending migrant and human rights largely do not follow a specific approach to solidarity. They mostly aim for increasing tolerance and equal participation in society and frame their actions according to rights-based values. They see policy change as a core strategy and they draw on a protest-oriented political repertoire.

V. NGOs and solidarity economy initiatives aiming for sustainability and alternative non-economic practices. They do not have a specific solidarity approach and their values promote diversity and sustainability. Their core strategies are lobbying, raising awareness, and policy change. Occasionally, they draw on a conventional political repertoire.

VI. Information platforms are closer to mutual help solidarity approaches. These groups aim for the promotion of individual rights and responsibility and frame their activities in line with rights-based values.

VII. Social economy initiatives that draw on mixed solidarity approaches based on mutual help. They aim to promote self-empowerment and alternative economic and non-economic practices, lifestyles and values. They promote empowerment and participation related values, they use direct actions as strategy and they conduct conventional political activities.

VIII. Hybrid organisations applying mixed top-down solidarity approaches. Their goal is to reduce poverty and social exclusion as well as to promote dignity of people. They use community and order as values in order to frame their actions. Finally, they use lobbying and direct solidarity action as strategies and they do not draw on a political repertoire at all.

IX. Professional associations that are mostly mixed based on top-down solidarity approaches. They try to promote health and welfare and frame their actions according to values of solidarity and rights. They mostly make use of direct solidarity actions as a strategy and they occasionally make use of a conventional political repertoire.

X. Neighbourhood assemblies and hybrid organisations that aim to reduce the impacts of crisis, promotion of alternative economic practices and social change. They make use of solidarity as a core value. They mostly apply direct action strategy and they do not make use of any kind of political repertoire.

XI. Healthcare-oriented and humanitarian NGOs, applying mixed top down solidarity approaches, aiming for positive individual change and promotion of welfare. They use raising awareness as their main strategy and rarely use a conventional political repertoire.

XII. Social economy groups and cooperatives closer to collaborative forms of solidarity. They promote sustainable development and they frame their actions according to values of economic virtues, community and order related. These AAOs mostly use direct action as strategy with no link to political related activities.

XIII. Various different types of AAOs closer to top-down solidarity approaches. They do not share specific aims but they frame their actions around community and order related values.

XIV. Church and charities, which apply top-down solidarity approaches. They do not have specific aims and they are closer to economic virtues framing. Aside from conducting direct solidarity

actions, they also draw on policy change as a strategy. Finally, they make use of the conventional political repertoire.

XV. Charities and healthcare or children-related voluntary associations. Their goals are related to the promotion of dignity and welfare and to the reduction of the negative impacts of crisis. They draw on humanitarian/philanthropic values in order to frame their actions. They follow direct solidarity actions as their strategy and they show low or none political engagement.

6.1.2 The Greek Cycle of solidarity

After descriptively examining the profile of solidarity actors and then offering a more elaborated typology of the key actors of the solidarity mobilisations in Greece, the next and maybe the most important step was to study the evolution of solidarity mobilisations over time. To do so, I used the concept of cycle or wave of contention (Tarrow, 2011; Koopmans, 2004). The core idea behind this step is that solidarity as a form of collective action appears and reappears in different historical movements mostly in times of crisis and economic hardships as a societal survival strategy (Mouleart & Ailenei, 2005; Kousis & Paschou, 2017; Ould Ahmed, 2014). Hence, my aspiration was to analyse the rise and evolution of solidarity mobilisations under the theoretical framework of the cycle. In order to achieve this I had to focus again on the actors as according to collective action scholars, actors are those that get the advantage of the opening of opportunities in order to conduct collective action. They are responsible for mobilisation at the early stages of the cycle as well as for the diffusion of collective action. Moreover, solidarity actors frame collective action and most importantly they produce innovations that justify the existence of the cycle.

Hence, in the analysis, I tried to identify some specific changes and innovations produced during the cycle as described by Tarrow, namely a) diffusion of collective action, b) innovation in the forms of action[73], c) combinations of organised and unorganised participation, d) creation of new or transformed collective action frames, e) intensified interaction between challengers and authorities (Tarrow, 2011, p.199). As I showed in Chapter 5, analysis confirmed that there had been changes in every one of the features discussed by Tarrow. In the following, I briefly present the findings that indicating that the five criteria outlined by Tarrow were met and I describe the stages and evolution

---

[73] As I showed in Chapter 2, Tarrow (2011) speaks about innovation in the forms of contention but in this thesis I examine solidarity mobilisations, thus I am looking for innovation in solidarity provision. However, many of the AAOs that I examined also take part in protest activities but this is a peripheral aspect of the organisations.

of the cycle by taking into account the literature of collective action and social movements, as presented in Chapter 2.

Starting with the diffusion of collective action, as I conducted organisational analysis I did not have data on when every solidarity provision episode took place. However, I was able to identify the diffusion in two dimensions, numerically and spatially. The first examines the evolution of the number of AAOs and the second their distribution across the country. Data analysis revealed that in both dimensions there was a rapid diffusion of the AAOs. Numerically, the majority of the AAOs under examination were founded after the crisis (around 60%). More specifically, 40 AAOs were founded in the first year of the crisis, 210 new AAOs had been established during the period of 2010-2013 (i.e. more than 50 new AAOs per year) and around 15 AAOs were founded during the period of 2015-2016. Taking into account the fact that analysis is based on a randomly chosen sample, and the fact that the number of the AAOs that were established during the period 2010-2013 is almost equal to the number of AAOs that were established over a period of 140 years, we can assume that the years in crisis were a period of intense mobilisation.

As for the spatial dimension of the diffusion, I compared how the AAOs are distributed across the country based on their postal code. Starting with the available data for the pre-crisis period, data on 221 cases show that they had spread to 31 different cities and locations. The largest part of these organisations (82) are based on municipalities around Athens, which constitute the Athens metropolitan area. Looking at the data on the total spatial coverage of AAOs on 2016, they cover approximately 70 cities, towns and islands. Hence, during the crisis period at least one new AAO had been established in 35 new areas (city, town, village or island) that had not existed before. Having said that, I argue that during the crisis there was a rapid increase in the number of AAOs as well as a rapid diffusion in the spatial coverage of the AAOs.

When Tarrow spoke about the co-existence of organised and unorganised participation he was mainly referring to participation in contention by actors who were members of groups and organisations as well as by individual contesters. However, this condition is not applicable for the case of solidarity mobilisations, not because there were no individual actions of solidarity but due to the fact that these types of actions are very difficult to be captured in the context of this research project. Moreover, in practice, solidarity provision is more effective when it occurs collectively rather than individually. For instance, a solidarity kitchen can cover more constituencies when it is organised by a group (as it has more resources) than by only one person (who can share extra meals but will not be able to serve a large number of people). Hence, this dissertation is oriented not to the micro (individual) but to the meso (organisational) level of analysis. However, I can check organised and unorganised participation

by indicating the number of AAOs that were founded during the crisis as a joint effort of the people to get organised in order to overpass the negative effects of the crisis. Moreover, the data allows me to speak about the percentage of AAOs that act in isolation and about the AAOs that collaborate with other organisations as well as to give the profile of their collaborators and partners.

With respect to the AAOs established before and after the crisis, data reveals that the vast majority of NGOs and church and charities had been created before the crisis. On the other hand, neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots solidarity initiatives, protest groups, social economy enterprises and 'Hybrid' organisations were in large part established during the crisis. Findings suggest a change in the organisational structures adopted by activists from formal organisations to more informal and loose organisation types. This finding is possibly connected to the lack of the resources that the new organisations mostly face (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996; Freeman et al., 1983). Another possible explanation could be that these AAOs had to cover urgent needs immediately without losing time in bureaucratic procedures. Moreover, the existence of so many new informal ad-hoc AAOs, especially protest groups and neighbourhood assemblies, is an indication of "unorganised participation" as people who do not belong in any group decide to join their forces in establishing a new initiative in order to cooperatively address the effects of the crisis. The increase in social economy initiatives indicates an attempt and/or a demand for alternative ways of consumption out of the mainstream capitalistic market (Rakopoulos, 2015; Cabot, 2016). Finally, 'hybrid' organisations signify an attempt for social provision as a substitute by the third sector of the welfare state, which was demolished by the austerity policies, and they are connected with the National Network of Immediate Social Intervention (I further discuss this below).

As for the number of partners that can be seen as an indicator of organised participation, the percentage of AAOs that were founded after crisis and do not mention any partner is bigger than that of those founded before the crisis. This can also be perceived as an indication of unorganised participation, as these AAOs are young without networking skills and capacities. On the other hand, AAOs established during the crisis more often report small scale networks (1-10 partners), while AAOs established before the crisis more often report that they participate in larger networks (more than 31 partners). Overall, analysis seems to suggest a coexistence of organised and unorganised activists in AAOs and their networks. As for the profile of the partners, AAOs established before the crisis are mostly associated with formal organisations while those founded after the crisis were mostly associated with informal organisations. These two "networks" seem to be linked by some NGOs and state actors which collaborate with both sides. This is, of course, an interpretation of the data that would need further network analysis in order to be validated.

Tarrow, in his research, looked for new innovating repertoires appearing during the cycle of contention. In order to find these kinds of innovation, I looked for changes in the repertoires used by AAOs established before and those used by the AAOs founded after the crisis. However, this analysis faces an important limitation. Due to the intensity of the crisis and the huge volume on uncover needs, some already established organisations broadened their repertoire in order to assist those in need. Unfortunately, the method of data collection that I used and the available data for the analysis cannot measure whether the repertoires reported on the AAOs' websites changed because of the crisis or whether they were the same as in the pre-crisis area. Hence, I use the comparison of repertoires in two groups (AAOs founded before the crisis vs AAOs founded during the crisis) as an indication of changes, thus innovation in the repertoire. The results indicate that some kinds of actions are conducted significantly more by AAOs founded during the crisis through both solidarity and political repertoires.

Starting with findings about the most mentioned categories of solidarity activities, as I showed in the Chapters 4 and 5, cultural activities are the most reported category. Moreover, these are reported slightly more by the AAOs founded after the crisis. Overall, both groups have no statistical significant difference in the specific kinds of solidarity activities that they conduct. However, AAOs established during the crisis organise more music concerts, theatrical acts, cinema nights, festivals and similar activities than those founded before. These findings, in my view, show two things. First, that there is a need for cultural activities by a large portion of society, which after the crisis had no access to these activities due to limited family income. Second, and more importantly, these practices show an attempt by the AAOs to create bonds between their members and participants and at the end of the day to create collective identities based on shared experiences (Diani, 1992).

As for the activities in the category of urgent and basic needs, findings indicate that there were very clear and statistically significant differences. On the one hand, AAOs founded before the crisis were more active in actions related to accommodation, health and mental health provision, social support, education and supporting people to get access to state welfare and other agencies. On the other hand, AAOs founded during the crisis were more active in practices related with food distribution, clothes and shoes provision, refugees' relief, and against taxation. Similarly, data on organisations' economy-related activities indicate two different patterns. Newly established AAOs conduct more activities related with social and solidarity economy such as exchange systems, alternative coins or buying products and services by small cooperatives as an alternative to the dominant capitalistic system. Meanwhile, AAOs established in the pre-crisis period organise more fundraising activities as

well as activities related to training and the return to job market aiming at the social and economic integration of their beneficiaries.

With respect to the activities related to the environment, there is almost no difference between AAOs regarding the year of establishment as the composition is almost equal (53% founded before crisis) but there are some differences regarding the specific actions that the AAOs organise. Data show that the majority of the AAOs conducting actions related to animal rights were founded before the crisis– an indication that in hard economic times, animal's rights and the environment in general comes in a second place as there are other more demanding societal problems that the AAOs chose to deal with. Hence, no innovations can be spotted in this specific category.

In contrast, organisations engaging with alternative consumption practices seems to have involved a lot of innovation as a majority (73%) were conducted by AAOs founded during the crisis. This is clear evidence of an innovation in the repertoire of solidarity-related activities. Data revealed that the reduction of income in a large proportion of the Greek population forced people to find alternative ways to cover their needs or to try to keep the same, as much as it is possible, status of living outside of the capitalistic marketplaces. However, it is important to mention that the activities included in this category do not have the same starting point. For instance, a vast majority of community gardens were founded by municipalities through the *National Network of Immediate Social Intervention* in order to provide occupation and fresh products to people in need. Meanwhile, consumer-producer networks or community-supported agriculture seem to have the so called "potato" or "anti-middleman movement" as a starting point. These kinds of practices have many similarities with the Italian *Gruppo d'acquisto solidale—GAS* (Grasseni, 2014)—and it could be a nice example of diffusion or repertoire between Italian and Greek activists. However, this requires more investigation in future research.

Next, I looked for differences in the usage of the political repertoire by the AAOs founded before and during the crisis. The data analysis demonstrates some interesting findings. Briefly, AAOs founded during the crisis adopted a more militant repertoire of actions than those founded before, which are less engaged with protest actions, and when they take part in protest actions, these are often soft protests as they analysed above. These findings are not surprising as most of the newly-established AAOs were founded during the large protests of the era or during the *Greek Indignados* movement, thus many activists were active in protest as well as in solidarity projects (Loukakis, 2017; Theocharis, 2016).

The next element that Tarrow identifies for the existence of the cycle is a major change in the collective action frames and discourses. In order to check whether this is applicable to the case of the solidarity mobilisation, I set three indicators that can depict changes in frames and discourses, aims, and solidarity approaches as well as values held by the AAOs. Starting with their aims, analysis revealed that there were significant differences between the groups under examination. AAOs founded before the crisis mostly aimed for equality and access in the society and promotion of health and welfare, mirroring the needs that vulnerable parts of the Greek population had before the crisis. On the other hand, aims expressed by the AAOs established during the crisis period can follow two directions. The first are survival-oriented and it consist of AAOs trying to help people to cooperatively address the negative effects of the crisis and the second is consists of AAOs trying, through their actions, to promote new identities, new economic attitudes and lifestyles and movements offering an alternative to mainstream cultural and economic models. These elements prove that there is a major change on the part of the framing that the AAOs use, from aims focused on vulnerable individuals to those that are either affected by the crisis or to those that see the crisis as an opportunity to get over the capitalistic system that creates such crises.

The next indicator of change in collective action frames is the solidarity approach followed by AAOs. The results indicate that a huge and remarkable change has been done during the crisis, as AAOs founded before the crisis mostly followed a top-down approach, expressed by the distribution of goods and services from donors to beneficiaries. In contrast, the vast majority of AAOs established during the crisis follow a mutual help solidarity approach. This is a very significant change and highlights beliefs held by AAOs regarding the promotion of solidarity.

The final aspect that under investigation regarding changes in collective action frames was the values expressed by AAOs. An initial and important finding is that AAOs founded during the crisis mentioned values more than those before. A possible explanation of could be that they attempt to justify and give meaning to their actions. In other words newly-established AAOs act as signifying agents, producing and maintaining a cultural frame–i.e., the meaning of things and events to bystanders, adherents and antagonists (Snow, 2004). As for the differences between the groups, the AAOs founded before the crisis promote more values related to rights and ethics, as well as diversity and sustainability. As for the AAOs founded after the crisis, they are linked positively with values related to solidarity, empowerment and participation. The latter is an expected outcome as I have already stated there is a connection between solidarity mobilisations and the Greek Indignados movement, thus it is not a surprise that values such as democracy and equal participation were predominant (Theoharis, 2016; Arabatzi, 2014; Simiti, 2014; Loukakis, 2017). Bringing together the findings off all

three dimensions of the framing and discourses that the AAOs use, one could argue that there is a noteworthy change in the collective action frames during the crisis.

The last feature indicating the existence of the cycle according to Tarrow is the increased interaction between activists and authorities. By this statement, Tarrow was referring to an increased number of participants in protest and contention as well as in other conventional political activities. However, we should not forget that Tarrow's definition is about cycles of contention where the stake is purely political and where participants of movements make claims to authorities. In contrast, solidarity mobilisations have limited interaction with the state as these efforts are mostly about organisations that try to offer solidarity to those in need. Of course, a part of the AAOs also had a political stake— either by making specific claims to the state or by making more general claims about change of the societal or political system. However, this kind of interaction between solidarity organisations and state is of secondary importance due to their focus on solidarity activities.

In order to see if there is actually a change in the interaction of AAOs and authorities I examined the strategies that they followed in order to achieve their aims. Overall, findings suggest that there is no change regarding the percentage of AAOs making use of strategies that require interaction with state. However, what had changed during the crisis is the type of interaction, as AAOs founded before the crisis focus more on lobbying and policy changes as strategies than AAOs founded during the crisis. Meanwhile, the latter protest more than the first and make more claims that changing the government or political establishment will fulfill their goals and targets. As the data from organisational analysis does not offer a clear image of the interaction of activists with the state, I turn to the findings of the online survey, which indicates that during the crisis, the interactions between AAOs and state authorities increased or remained at the same level in areas such as: protest participation, involvement in policy making procedures at local level, involvement in policy making procedures at regional level, and involvement in policy making procedures at national level.

Summing up the above, all the criteria set by Tarrow (1998, 2011) seem to be fulfilled. Thus, I argue that solidarity mobilisations during the Greek economic crisis can be seen as having undergone a cycle and we can speak of a "Greek cycle of solidarity". In the following, I explain this rise of the solidarity mobilisations during the Greek cycle of solidarity.

6.1.3 The evolution of the Greek cycle of solidarity

In order to highlight solidarity actors' interactions with the economic, social and political systems, I now present the evolution of the cycle of solidarity. Here, I take into consideration not only the socio-economic and political developments of the period but also the collective action theories that respond to them.

Despite the fact that the economic recession in Greece made its first marks in 2009 (OECD 2020) and the first austerity measures package was voted by the Greek socialist government of PASOK on December of 2009, the beginning of the Greek Cycle of Solidarity took place in the spring of 2010, right after the second austerity measures packages were voted on by the Greek government on February of 2010. As I showed in the introductory chapter, these austerity measures included cuts in wages and benefits as well as cuts in overtimes. The total worth of the austerity package was 4,8 billion euros. A few days later, on March of 2010, the Greek government was forced to vote on a second set of austerity measures as markets didn't respond positively to the first austerity package and Greece couldn't reach sustainable loans. The second austerity measures package included cuts in wages, cuts in benefits, cuts in Christmas bonuses, increase in taxation on vehicles, and increases in the indirect taxation such as VAT. A couple of months later, the government signed the famous first bailout package with the EU, ECB and IMF (refered to "the memorandum" in Greece). This mechanism allowed Greece to take a 110 billion loan in order to avoid bankruptcy. However, conditions of the loan were strict austerity measures, structural reforms and privatization of government assets. Some of the measures included further cuts to Christmas bonuses, cuts in wages, benefits and pensions, increases in taxation (vat, fuel, cigarettes and alcohol, property), increase in the retirement age, increase in the number of collective redundancies and many more. The total cost of the third austerity package was estimated to be more than 30 billion euros.

Society reacted strongly to all austerity packages: for example, unions reacted with general strikes in both public and private sectors. Moreover, at the time, protest events were part of everyday reality. At this point, after three harsh austerity packages affecting income (through direct cuts or through increase in taxation) and the future of the Greek people, a part of the population started to face issues covering basic needs. This is the moment that the first solidarity mobilisations took place. This is the moment when spontaneous phenomena had become more frequent and more and more people were involved in them. As for the answer to the question of who mobilised first, it is clear that already established organisations such as existing protest groups and some NGOs were there in order to cover the needs that gradually started increase. At the same time, the first protest groups and

neighbourhood assemblies stated to be founded as ad-hoc societal responses to austerity. It is very important to mention that this period was only the beginning of the crisis and the impact of austerity on people's lives was not yet visible, and thus the demand for in-practice solidarity assistance was still low. But there is a great need for political solidarity, since during this period society was forced to react to the austerity measures voted in place by the government. Bringing collective action literature to bear here, I would say that at this moment the political opportunities presented an opening for the first solidarity mobilisations. There was a newly-elected socialist government, trade unions and left parties were also protesting and there were significant economic threats (Kousis & Tilly, 2015; Goldstone & Tilly, 2001; McAdam, 1996). To sum up, as Tarrow (2011) suggests, political opportunities had opened up for "*well-placed early risers*" to initiate the cycle. Analysing the frames that the AAOs used during this period, it was about solidarity and community empowerment and participation (Chapter 5).

As I described in detail in the introductory chapter, for the three years following the beginning of the cycle of solidarity, the situation in Greece was getting worse. The bailout package didn't work and thus new loans were needed–combined with new, and more strict, austerity measures–which led the country into a recession for the next four years. Moreover, the situation for people in Greece was also getting worse as unemployment increased, people were left out of the public health system, almost 40% of the population was under poverty and, in some of the worst cases, children fainted in school from hunger[74]. All these tragic incidents became the ground for what is called the "intensification phase" by social movement scholars (Koopmans, 2004; Tarrow, 2011). At this stage, mobilisation was spread among different geographic and social levels and activists believed that everything is possible. Thus, as I showed above and in chapter 5, hundreds of new AAOs were then established in order to help those in need.

To explain the rapid numerical and spatial diffusion of the AAOs, it is important to take various incidents into account, which may explain the growth of different AAOs. As I already stated, in the beginning of the cycle a master frame started to take shape. This frame called for finding ways to cooperate within the crisis, help people in need and necessitated more solidarity and more social and political participation. This frame, which emerged at an early stage of the cycle, affected the evolution, the orientation and the activities of collective action within different stages of the cycle (Snow et al, 2019; Snow, 2013, 2004; Benford & Snow, 2000). Evidence for this is found in the finding that the most common values, aims and solidarity approaches demonstrated by the AAOs founded in

---

[74]   Source: https://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/18/world/europe/more-children-in-greece-start-to-go-hungry.html (last accessed 7/11/2019)

the early period of 2009-2010 (46 AAOs) were exactly the same as the top values, aims and solidarity approaches promoted by the AAOs founded in the period of 2011-2013 (212 AAOs).

Of course, as I stated earlier, the opening of political opportunities maybe was the most important factor in the diffusion of solidarity mobilisations. However, this didn't have the same effects with every AAO. To better explain this dynamic, it helps to once again draw on the social movement literature and the work of Goldstone and Tilly (2001) on the interaction between opportunities and threats and to McAdam's (1996) definition of opportunities. The latter identifies four main dimensions of opportunities: a) the openness (or rigidity) of the political system, b) the stability (or instability) of the broad set of elite alignments, c) the presence (or absence) of elite allies and d) the state's capacity and propensity for repression. In the period that the diffusion of the solidarity mobilisations happened, all of the four dimensions appear to have occurred. The political opportunities were opening up as there was a significant crisis in the interior of the PASOK government as many MPs who were against the austerity resigned or faced disbarment from the party–thus the government had limited control of parliament. Moreover, in the summer of 2011, the Greek Indignados movement erupted in many cities in Greece but especially in Syntagma square in the heart of Athens, which also destabilized the political situation (Theodossopoulos, 2014; Simiti, 2015). In addition, in November of 2011, Giorgos Papandreou was forced to resign from the position of Prime Minister and a new three-party government led the country in a second bailout program and voted in new austerity measures, closely followed by double elections in the spring of 2012. During this period, SYRIZA participated in both anti-austerity and solidarity mobilisations. The latter was achieved through a new umbrella organisation established by the party called Solidarity4all[75]. However, this party-related organisation selectively promoted some groups and initiatives, which can be seen as a form of competing mobilisation, which Koopmans (2004) calls "reactive mobilisation". This mechanism suggests that some elites could support a specific group instead of other, hence they increase the competition between activists. This is a very important aspect, which may partly explain some of the reasons for causing the end of the cycle.

As I have shown thus far, the political system was open, there was instability among elites, and some of those in power were on the side of collective actors. The last dimension is that of repression. Usually, states repress collective action by using police or military power. Protests usually face state

---

[75] Solidarity4all platform founded by SYRIZA as a platform which will help on the establishment of new solidarity initiatives as a mean against neoliberalism. It helps new initiatives in organisational issues as well as in dissemination, networking, and accessibility matters. After SYRIZA got the power on 2015 elections, solidarity4all opposed on the policies that government applied and finally broke away. For more information about the platform you can visit: https://www.solidarity4all.gr/el

repression because they can cause violent episodes or disruption (Tarrow, 1998). Solidarity as a form of collective action does not include the element of violence, thus there is no need for police presence. However, the state could force repression of solidarity events because many of them take place outside of the institutional economic arena. For instance, direct producer-consumer networks or local trade systems or alternative coins are financial transactions outside of the official economy, thus people do not pay VAT, which is a form of tax evasion and is illegal in Greece. Hence, tax authorities and police could impose fines and prosecute organisers and participants of these and other types of solidarity activities. Nevertheless, this kind of repression[76] was highly unlikely during the first years of the crisis as the everyday life conditions were very tough for the majority of the Greek people, thus repression of solidarity activities would have had a high political cost for those implementing it.

Aside from opportunities, Goldstone and Tilly (2001) recognise the importance of threats as factors of mobilisation. They define threats as the cost that the people should pay in case that they won't be engaged in collective action. Moreover, Kousis and Tilly (2015) raise the importance of economic opportunities and threats. Bearing this in mind, the economic crisis in Greece offered both opportunities and threats that, together, encouraged forms of solidarity mobilisation to emerge. As for the threats, these were directly connected with the economic survival of a significant part of Greek society, which realised that the best survival strategy that they have is to find ways of coping collectively with the negative effects of the crisis. Hence, many unemployed or precarious people set up social cooperative enterprises or other small social economy related businesses, others established solidarity kitchens, exchange networks or alternative coins and many more examples (Livewhat, 2016 WP6 report).

Drawing from my own findings, the interrelation between economic threats and solidarity as survival strategies in the face of these threats is directly connected to the concept of grievances and deprivation as mobilising forces (Turner & Killian, 1972; Della Porta, 2015; Giugni & Grasso, 2018; Roose et al, 2018). As Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013, p. 92) state, "At the heart of every protest are grievances." Similarly, I argue that at the heart of the solidarity mobilisations was the crisis, as people affected by the crisis established or joined AAOs as a response to grievances and deprivation caused by the crisis. Within grievances theory, it is argued that collective actors have realized the causes of deprivation and they have identified a potential solution of the problem. Thus, it was during the Greek cycle of solidarity that austerity policies and the country's economic condition

---

[76] Ultimately, authorities repressed all these kinds of activities, but not during the expansion phase of the cycle but rather at the end of it. I analyse this in detail below.

became the root of the problem and participation in groups that offer solidarity (either to those that are active in protest or to those that are active in responding to needs) became, at the very least, a temporary way of finding a solution to incidents of poverty and material deprivation.

Nevertheless, it is very important to mention that this solidarity-based survival strategy didn't apply for the majority of the population hit by the crisis, as studies show that solidarity usually appears not where it is needed more (e.g. the purest areas, where the crisis is more intense) but where the social capital is higher (Cristancho & Loukakis, 2018; Cruz et al, 2017; Lahusen et al, 2016). This probably has to do with the fact that people with lower social capital maybe do not have the same access to the necessary resources in order to establish a new AAO, or, alternatively, they do not have the necessary capacity to recognise that there are some opportunities out there. The latter is connected with the theoretical concept of perceived opportunities. According to this theory, opportunities must be perceived as such in order to become a source for mobilisation (Tarrow, 2013; Giugni, 2009; McAdam et al, 2001).

I have explained how dynamic opportunities contributed to the rise and the diffusion phases of the Greek solidarity cycle. However, specific opportunities (Giugni, 2009; Koopmans et al, 2005) also played an important role in the mobilisation of specific actors. In detail, solidarity economy initiatives significantly grew in number after 2011 when the new law for social economy and social cooperatives was voted in. According to this law, groups of people are allowed to set up a limited profit cooperative in which the workers are at the same time owners and share the profits (Nasioulas, 2012). In a similar manner, the Greek government's austerity policies and cuts in the public health system (Kentikelenis et al., 2014; Petmesidou et al, 2014), the enforcement of the entrance fee (5 euros per person per attention in public hospitals), cuts and restrictions in medicines costs, high levels of unemployment and uninsured employment led to approximately 2.5 million people not having access to the public health system (Petmesidou et al, 2014). All the above provided the opportunities needed for the social and solidarity clinics and pharmacies to be founded in order to provide a solution to those that were excluded from the public health system. Finally, around 75% of hybrid organisations were founded after 2012 when the Ministry of labour created the "National Network of Immediate Social Intervention", which put into operation the "Social Structures of Immediate Poverty Relief", with municipalities and NGOs as implementing bodies (Kourachanis, 2015). To sum up the above, specific and institutional opportunities played a key role for the creation of specific types of AAOs.

At the same time, resources also contributed to this phase of intensification. In detail, during the second and the third years of the crisis, its negative effects on the population were more than obvious as people were struggling to cover their basic needs. At this moment, along with the newly

established organisations, older ones mobilised in order to assist those in need. This was a phase in which already-established organisations increased the frequency of their activities and broadened their action repertoire, as well as the constituency groups that took place in their action in order to cover the increased needs. An example of this is the Greek Orthodox Church, which covered the everyday needs for food for about half a million people and at the same time established a new NGO called *Apostoli* which is an umbrella organisation for solidarity clinics, shelters, solidarity groceries, solidarity tuition classes, solidarity kindergartens, street work projects and many more solidarity activities.

Other already-established organisations such as NGOs acted in a similar way as the Greek Orthodox Church (Simiti, 2017). That likely happened for two reasons: first, because already-established organisations had the capacity and the necessary resources (human, organisational, networking, material and more) to conduct more and bigger actions, second, because, as older organisations, they have already have the know-how and experience in finding resources from foundations, state or EU actors such as the European Regional Development Fund or the European Social Fund (Simiti, 2017; Sotiropoulos & Bourikos, 2014). The strategic choice of already established organisations to turn their attention to state and EU agencies in order to gain more resources (funding) is also confirmed by the findings. AAOs established before the crisis report more state and supranational partners than the AAOs funded during the crisis. Hence, it is clear that resource mobilisation theory can be used as an analytic tool for investigating the expansion of the AAOs during the crisis since the analysis showed that resources really matter for their sustainability and viability.

As the time passed by and we reach the years 2014 and 2015, one could say that the end of the cycle was starting to approach. In these years the rate of new AAOs being founded dropped dramatically, as only sixteen new AAOs were founded. Another element that supports the argument that this became the end of the cycle is that almost 30% of the AAOs were inactive online.[77]

The literature of collective action and social movements can offer some explanations for better understanding the factors that caused the end of the cycle and the "death" of the AAOs. This includes the closing of political opportunities, the increase of the state repression, the exhaustion, as well as the institutionalisation, of collective action (della Porta, 2013; Koopmans, 2010; Tarrow, 2011). Specifically, in the demobilisation phase of the cycle (2014-2015) Greece was still in a crisis, three elections had taken place in less than one year during which the left party of SYRIZA took to power

---

[77] As I already showed in Chapters 3 and 5, online inactivity is an indicator that these AAOs have also stopped their offline activity, thus, in my analysis, these AAOs are assumed to be inactive.

and protest activity was still high. The only condition of the four introduced by McAdam (1996) that changed was that of repression, since in this period police and mayors in different cities[78] started to put restrictions on the direct producers' networks and markets. However, even then, there were only few instances of repression, hence we cannot speak of a situation of generalised repression. Thus, in summary, in the case of solidarity mobilisations in Greece, political opportunities were still open in the period that the cycle of solidarity was closing.

Another factor discussed in literature that may cause the end of the cycle is exhaustion. This could occur at the individual and the organisational level. At the individual level, the innovations of the early phases of contention (in repertoires, strategies, frames etc.) are not new anymore, leading to disengagement. Furthermore, the intense activism and the enthusiasm of the first days has faded, leading the participants to disappointment and a return to their private lives (della Porta, 2013). As my analysis is based on the organisational level, I have no data that can offer a portrait of individual behaviour but, as I showed in Chapter 5 in the analysis of the AAOs that stop their operation, AAOs that mention working personnel or volunteers are more likely to stay active than those that don't. Hence, it is possible that individual disengagement is one of the factors that can explain the end of the cycle. This fact can also be connected with the institutionalisation that often takes place at the end of the cycle. As Tarrow notes, institutionalisation describes a phase of increased interaction between collective actors and policy makers. In this situation, collective actors seek accommodations with the elites and electoral advantage in order to succeed, so they moderate their claims and their strategies (Tarrow, 2011, p.207). This can be the case for the Greek cycle of solidarity at the end of 2014, during the 2015 elections, and afterwards. Further, as I showed in Chapters 4 and 5, solidarity mobilisations organised almost equally by newly established informal groups and pre-crisis founded formal organisations. The first were more militant and movement-oriented while the latter were more institutionalised and policy-oriented. After the 2015 elections, a significant part of the informal AAOs increased its interactions with the government as most of them supported SYRIZA, which won the elections. This fact led to the institutionalisation of some AAOs and the end of some others.

SYRIZA, when in government, may also have affected the resources that the AAOs, which may have contributed to the end of the cycle. As I stated above, SYRIZA's participation in solidarity mobilisation through the solidarity4all platform may have triggered competing mobilisation. I think that this fact is of key importance, since after almost six years in a crisis situation, available resources were really

---

[78] For instance, mayor and police in Kallamaria stop the operation of a marked without middleman after accusation from Chamber of Commerce that this is a tax-eviction practice which lead to unfair competition on the market between illegal and legal shops. Source: https://seleo.gr/thessalonikh/175197-astynomia-apagorefse-tin-agora-xoris-mesazontes-tou-agrotikoy-pantopoleiou-stin-kalamaria (last accessed 11/11/2019).

rare thus the competition for possessing them could be very high among the AAOs. Hence, privileged access to party or governmental resources increased the viability of some AAOs but it could spell the end for some others. Moreover, their electoral victory could also have affected the human resources as some of the key actors of the solidarity mobilisations were hired in positions in the new government or in parliament, which could also have contributed to the closure of some AAOs and the end of the cycle as lack of organisational leaders is an important resource loss. However, I have to note that more detailed research is needed, not only on how SYRIZA's electoral victory affected the solidarity mobilisations but also on how the broader political context and distribution of available resources contributed to the end of the Greek cycle of solidarity.

6.2 Broader implications of the study

The findings of the study offer many lessons for the study of solidarity organising as well as for the study of collective actions and social movements. There are implications for the study of organisations specifically and contributions at a more theoretical level as well. First, the research revealed the necessity of combining approaches to collective action for studying solidarity mobilisations. Indeed, findings indicated that resources still matter and resource mobilisation theory remains relevant, not only for the study of SMOs but also for studying other organisational forms such that of solidarity actors (AAOs). With regards to understanding organisations themselves, it was found that resources are crucial for the operation of AAOs. They mostly affect the ability of solidarity organisations to conduct activities, to expand their spatial level and sustain them through time. Resources are also linked with the ability of the AAOs to stay active. As for the type of resources that are more important for AAOs, it appears that social and organisational resources (such as networks and well-developed websites) and cultural resources (such as strategies and solidarity approaches) contribute more to the viability of AAOs than other kinds of resources.

The study also revealed two other factors related to the functioning of organisations and the role resources play in this. The first is that solidarity provision, like other forms of collective action, is a collaborative project. In other words, the findings indicate that the vast majority of AAOs collaborate with other organisations and groups, mostly with the same types of groups, in order to share resources and conduct solidarity actions. Theorists of contentious politics and social movements have also pointed out that actors form coalitions with other more or less resourced actors in order to foster collective action (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). Hence, I argue that networking and formation

of coalitions was also important for solidarity mobilisations. In addition, the findings indicated that formal and informal actors co-existed in solidarity mobilisations by offering different kinds of solidarity. In practice, this means that in hard economic times different parts of society get mobilised in order to assist those in need. Simone Baglioni and Marco Giugni (2014) have also made the same argument when they looked for the civil society organisations that try to assist unemployed and precarious workers right after the global economic crisis of 2008. Hence, I argue that in times of crisis different kinds of civic mobilisation appear (such as solidarity mobilisation in the specific study) in order to assist the less privileged parts of society.

Another implication that this dissertation could have for the study of collective actions is the finding that political opportunities can also be important to forms of collective action other than protest and contention. Solidarity mobilisations in Greece during the economic crisis were an outcome of the opportunities provided by turbulence in the social, political and economic field as well as of the threats to survival faced by a significant part of the Greek population. Along with the wider opening in opportunities, specific opportunities provided by political decisions also contributed to the rise of specific categories of actors. However, it is important to mention that opportunities do not have the same effects for all actors. Other aspects such as time, the type of organisation or the political orientation of the actors can modify the existing or perceived opportunities and threats.

In the dissertation I also argue that we should go beyond the sterile clash of paradigms in the study of collective action. In the classic collective action literature, grievances and political opportunities are often seen as opposing and competing. In this thesis, I show how they are not necessarily opposed. To support this, I argue for the importance of bringing theories about grievances and deprivation back the in the centre of the analysis. While I do not argue that they alone can explain the existence of collective action episodes, I support the idea that they can be combined with other theories and especially with the concept of political opportunities structures in order to provide some explanations of the rise of collective action and about its form as it is expressed in the existence of specific repertoires and through supporting specific groups of people. More specifically, in the context of Greek solidarity mobilisations, grievances and deprivation produced by harsh neoliberal policies and austerity contributed, along with political opportunities, to the emergence of collective action. Moreover, material deprivation and the inability of a large proportion of the population to cover basic and urgent needs led solidarity actors to adopt a specific repertoire of actions and to target specific people for assistance. Hence, my main argument is that solidarity mobilisations were a result of the opening of political opportunities and a response to the economic threats, but the form of the

collective action was shaped by the material deprivation that many people in Greece were forced to face under the austerity policies that were implemented.

Further, and following from the above, this dissertation highlights the importance of cultural framing and cultural features of solidarity actors as studying this can help to reveal the values under which solidarity actors frame their actions, the aims and goals that they have as well as the solidarity approaches that they apply. Cultural framing was also important for the construction of the typology of the different solidarity actors, which built heavily on their cultural features, and the classification of different actors was possible mainly due to these differences in the organisations' worldviews. Moreover, major changes in the framing of solidarity were amongst the preconditions for the existence of the cycle of collective action (this is further expanded on below).

Another implication of this study is the bridging of the literature of collective action with that of solidarity provision. Importantly this approach brought the actors in the centre of the analysis. Hence, I investigated in detail solidarity actors' core organisational, cultural and political features. Following this, I used modelling techniques to create a typology of the AAOs, a process which may be useful for the study of solidarity provision in and beyond Greece. This typology maps the field and classifies collective actors according to whether actors are related to social movements, to whether they are politicised or have no political demands and rather act in the name of philanthropy and charity. Moreover, the proposed typology enriches the one offered by Kousis and Paschou (2017), and can be further applied to study solidarity mobilisations in other geographic contexts also affected by neoliberal austerity policies as in Greece.

As I stated above and would like to clarify further, this approach brings the actors in the centre of the analysis. Indeed, the study indicates that repertoires of action, solidarity approaches and aims and values differ among various actors and can only be studied through a synthetic approach. More specifically, I argue that in order to rigorously study the actors that took part in solidarity mobilisations, focusing on the types of actions and beneficiaries is not enough. Special attention should be given to the cultural features of the AAOs such as their aims, solidarity approaches and values under which they frame their actions. These cultural features of the AAOs are connected with specific theoretical approaches to solidarity provision that at the end of the day shape the form of collective action that the AAOs organise and conduct. Hence, I argue that the literature on collective action can be used to identify the organisational, cultural and political features of solidarity actors and then to analyse them through the lens of the solidarity literature.

The most important contribution of this dissertation is for the study of collective action and social movements, as I argue for the existence of a Greek cycle of solidarity, illustrating that solidarity provision, as a form of collective action, may follow the same cyclical or wavy trajectory as protests and forms of contention do. In detail, solidarity mobilisations had an initial phase when a few organisations started to offer solidarity to people in need, then mobilisations spread across Greece as well as among previously inactive actors. In this "moment of madness", new AAOs appeared and solidarity initiatives were started on a daily basis across the country. However, after a few years, demobilisation mechanisms prevailed. Solidarity initiatives decreased in both size and number; only a few new actors emerged and many AAOs put a stop to their operations. Thus, this marked the end of the solidarity cycle. The concept of cycle of collective action is important because for many years, theories about these recurrent patterns in processes of collective action were largely focused on protest activities and, later, on contention more generally (Tarrow, 1998, 2011; Koopmans, 2005). However, this study showed that the concept of cycle can be applied to other forms of collective action beyond the protest and contention such as that of solidarity mobilisations. Investigation of solidarity mobilisations using the concept of the cycle will allow researchers to include in their analysis–not only collective action phases–but also the whole set of interactions between collective actors, their supporters and allies as well as their opponents and the authorities (Koopmans, 2010; Tarrow, 2011). This is a very important step in the study of collective action and social movements as: a) it allows researchers to study together longer periods of non-contentious collective action phases which may have a kind of repeatability and are not equally distributed over space and time, and b) it expands the field of research, beyond the contentious politics in order to include other non-contentious forms of collective action that may occur at the same time with contention. Hence, in this study I argue that the Greek cycle of solidarity and the Greek cycle of anti-austerity protests could be studied together using the notion of the cycle of collective action.

6.3 Further Research

While this study showed the importance of bringing together the collective action and solidarity literature for the study of solidarity mobilisation, as well as the value of broadening the concept of cycle to other forms of collective action beyond contentious politics, it raises some questions which can lead to future research and can deepen our knowledge in both fields of solidarity studies and collective action.

However, as stated in the methods section, this research faces some limitations regarding the data used. Starting with organisational analysis of the AAOs, the most important issue was that the analysis included a random sample of AAOs linked to hubs that had a website, weblog or facebook profile, as

well as a set of independent (non-hub) AAO websites which were bound to the time and resource limitations of the project. Therefore, an exhaustive set of independent websites was not possible, and thus the analysis may exclude such AAOs. An example of excluded organisations is solidarity initiatives oriented toward far right values[79]. Hence, more research is needed on far-right solidarity activism, its reach and the related motivations of these practices. Were these actors unique providers of "solidarity only for Greeks" or/and a means for increasing the electoral power of the far right?

Moreover, another issue is that it was not possible to observe the frequency of conducted activities or the time that an AAO first organised a specific solidarity activity. Hence, I am not able to say whether or not an AAO usually organised solidarity activity X, or it only happened once. Similarly, I am not in position to say whether the specific solidarity activity was part of a pre-existing AAO's repertoire or whether it was adopted during the crisis. The latter applies mostly to the AAOs that were established before the crisis. Thus, it would be interesting to find more on how AAOs decide to expand their repertoire of action. Is it an outcome of the increased needs that are not covered by the state (deprivation theories), or is it a way of getting more funding from EU and non-state sources (resource mobilisation theories)?

One of the core claims that this study tries to advance is the importance of the resources. Nevertheless, as I stated previously (chapter 6.1.3), further investigation is needed of the political situation and resource distribution during the time that the cycle of solidarity ended. Such research would allow us to understand the limitations and the extent to which solidarity mobilisations can be sustained. Key aspects of this analysis could be SYRIZA's victory in the double elections of 2015, the third bailout package, and the memorandum that was voted on by SYRIZA in September of 2015. Furthermore, follow up research is needed on how AAOs evolved, given the fact that recession and crisis continued at least until 2017[80]. Based on social movement literature, such future research would shed light on whether AAOs turned towards a) institutionalisation, b) commercialization, c) involution, or d) radicalisation (Kriesi, 1996).

Moreover, to expand on the literature showing that networks are important not only for the emergence of collective action but also for the formation of collective identity (Dianni, 1992; della Porta & Diani, 1999), more analysis is needed on the networks that the AAOs are part of, in order to

---

[79] During the crisis, Golden Dawn occasionally offered solidarity only to Greeks. For instance, they organised grocery or cooked food provision where participants had to show their identity card in order to get food. Source: https://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/337995/hrusi-augi-dorean-dianomi-trofimon-mono-gia-ellines-/ (last accessed 12/11/2019).
[80] 2017 was the first time after many years that economy in Greece showed growth. Source: ELSTAT, https://www.statistics.gr/en/statistics/-/publication/SEL15/- (last accessed 12/11/2019).

better understand their collaborations and how these collaborations and partnerships shape the form of collective action. Additionally, more qualitative research is needed in order to better understand the cultural features of AAOs and how they are affected by the crisis. Another interesting topic could be the investigation of individual perceptions and motives of engagement and possible disengagement from solidarity mobilisations, as this analysis is based on organisational data. Thus, further qualitative and quantitative research is needed in that direction.

Finally, I have argued above about the importance of examining contentious and non-contentious forms of collective action in a specific time period, also considering the concept of cycle of collective action. Having in mind the Greek cycle of solidarity and the Greek anti-austerity protest cycle, it could be useful to further investigate the interaction between the two forms of collective action. More specifically, more investigation is needed–both quantitative and qualitative–on the evolution of the two cycles as well as on their shared elements, such as the activists these cycles have in common, their frames, repertoires and more.

List of References

Abramovich, A. L., & Gonzalo V. (2007). "Experiencias de la Economía Social y Solidaria en la Argentina." *Estudios Fronterizos* 8.15: 121-145.

Abramovich, A.L., & Vazquez G. (2003). "*La Experiencia Del Trueque En La Argentina: Otro Mercado Es Posible*", available at: http://biblioteca.municipios.unq.edu.ar/modules/mislibros/archivos/41-Laexptrue.pdf last accessed on 19/08/2019

Adam, S. (2016). Social Enterprises, Social and Solidarity Economy and Youth: What Role for Policymaking?. *Child Poverty, Youth (Un) Employment, and Social Inclusion*.

Adam, S., & Papatheodorou, C. (2016). Dismantling the feeble social protection system of Greece: consequences of the crisis and austerity measures. In *Challenges to European welfare systems* (pp. 271-300). Springer, Cham.

Agostino, A. (2001). Global Barter Network: new social and economic relationships within a post development era?. *Unisa Latin American Report*,*17*(1).

Alamanou, A., Stamatogiannopoulou, E., Theodorikakou, O., & Katsadoros, K. (2011, September). The Configuration of Homelessness in Greece during the financial crisis. In *European Research Conference, Homelessness, Migration and Demographic Change in Europe, Pisa, 16th September*.

Alevizou, G. (2015). Modalities of solidarity in Greece: a civil society at the cross-roads. *Euro Crisis in the Press*.

Anheier, H.K. & Seibel, W. eds., (2013). *The third sector: Comparative studies of nonprofit organizations* (Vol. 21). Walter de Gruyter.

Apostolopoulou, E., & Adams, W. M. (2015). Neoliberal Capitalism and Conservation in the Post-crisis Era: The Dialectics of "Green" and "Un-green" Grabbing in Greece and the UK. *Antipode*, *47*(1), 15-35.

Arampatzi, A. (2014). *Resisting austerity: the spatial politics of solidarity and struggle in Athens, Greece* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds).

Arampatzi, A. (2017). Contentious spatialities in an era of austerity: Everyday politics and 'struggle communities' in Athens, Greece. *Political Geography*, *60*, 47-56.

Arapoglou, V. P., & Gounis, K. (2017). *Contested landscapes of poverty and homelessness in Southern Europe: Reflections from Athens*. Springer.

Arapoglou, V., Gounis, K., & Siatitsa, D. (2015). Revisiting the concept of shelterisation: Insights from Athens, Greece. *European Journal of Homelessness*, *9*(2), 137-157.

Aslanidis, P., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2016). Dealing with populists in government: the SYRIZA-ANEL coalition in Greece. *Democratization*, *23*(6), 1077-1091.

Baglioni, S. and M. Giugni (eds.) (2014). *Civil Society, Unemployment, and Precarity in Europe: Between Service and Policy*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

Bauhardt, C. (2014). Solutions to the crisis? The Green New Deal, Degrowth, and the Solidarity Economy: Alternatives to the capitalist growth economy from an ecofeminist economics perspective. *Ecological economics*, *102*, 60-68.

Baumgarten, B. (2017). Back to solidarity-based living? The economic crisis and the development of alternative projects in Portugal. Partecipazione e Conflitto, 10(1), 169-192.

Beeton, D. (2013). Give me Liberty or Give me Debt!. *Third World Quarterly*, *34*(8), 1499-1501.

Beissinger, M. R. (2002). *Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge University Press.

Bekridaki, G., & Broumas, A. G. (2016). The Greek Society in Crisis and in Motion-Building the Material Bases for an Alternative Society from the Bottom Up. *Available at SSRN 2853050*.

Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, *26*(1), 611-639.

Benmecheddal, A., Gorge, H., & Özçağlar-Toulouse, N. (2017). Rethinking alternative markets in the context of economic crisis and austerity in Greece. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *37*(2), 193-205.

Bosi, L., & Zamponi, L. (2015). Direct social actions and economic crises: The relationship between forms of action and socio-economic context in Italy. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *8*(2), 367-391.

Bosi, L., & Zamponi, L. (2020). Paths toward the Same Form of Collective Action: Direct Social Action in Times of Crisis in Italy. *Social Forces*.

Botetzagias, I., & Karamichas, J. (2009). Grassroots mobilisations against waste disposal sites in Greece. *Environmental Politics*, *18*(6), 939-959.

Cabot, H. (2016). 'Contagious' solidarity: reconfiguring care and citizenship in Greece's social clinics. *Social Anthropology*, *24*(2), 152-166.

Calvario, R., & Kallis, G. (2017). Alternative food economies and transformative politics in times of crisis: Insights from the Basque Country and Greece. *Antipode*, *49*(3), 597-616.

Cappuccini, M. (2017). *Austerity & Democracy in Athens: Crisis and Community in Exarchia*. Springer.

Calvário, R., Velegrakis, G., & Kaika, M. (2017). The political ecology of austerity: An analysis of socio-environmental conflict under crisis in Greece. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, *28*(3), 69-87.

Castells, M., Caraça, J., & Cardoso, G. (Eds.). (2012). *Aftermath: The cultures of the economic crisis*. Oxford University Press.

Chatterton, P., & Pickerill, J. (2010). Everyday activism and transitions towards post-capitalist worlds. *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers*, *35*(4), 475-490.

Cinalli, M., & Giugni, M. (2016). Electoral participation of Muslims in Europe: Assessing the impact of institutional and discursive opportunities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(2), 309-324.

Clarke, J., Huliaras, A., & Sotiropoulos, D. A. (2016). *Austerity and the third sector in Greece: Civil society at the European frontline*. Routledge.

Corte, U. (2012). *Subcultures and small groups: A social movement theory approach* (Doctoral dissertation, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis).

Costello, A. B., & Osborne, J. W. (2005). Best practices in exploratory factor analysis: four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis. Pract Assess Res Eval 2005; 10. *URL http://pareonline. net/getvn. asp*, *10*(7).

Cress, D. M., & Snow, D. A. (1996). Mobilization at the margins: Resources, benefactors, and the viability of homeless social movement organizations. *American sociological review*, 1089-1109.

Cristancho, C., & Loukakis, A. (2018). A Comparative Regional Perspective on Alternative Action Organization Responses to the Economic Crisis Across Europe. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(6), 758-777.

Cruz, H., Rubén Martínez, M., & Blanco, I. (2017). Crisis, urban segregation and social innovation in Catalonia. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *10*(1), 221-245.

D'Alisa, G., Demaria, F., & Kallis, G. (Eds.). (2014). *Degrowth: a vocabulary for a new era*. Routledge.

Daskalaki, M. (2018). Alternative organizing in times of crisis: Resistance assemblages and socio-spatial solidarity. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *25*(2), 155-170.

Davies, J. C., Graham, H. D., & Gurr, T. R. (1969). The J-curve of rising and declining satisfactions as a cause of some great revolutions and a contained rebellion. *Violence in America: Historical and comparative perspectives*, *1*, 547-575.

Della Porta, D. (2015). Social movements in times of austerity: Bringing capitalism back into protest analysis. Cambaridge: Polity Press.

Della Porta, D. (2013). Protest cycles and waves. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*.

Della Porta, D., Fillieule, O., & Reiter, H. (1998). Policing protest in France and Italy: from intimidation to cooperation?. *The social movement society. Contentious politics for a new century*, 111-130.

Della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (2006). *Social Movements an Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing

Della Porta, D., & Mosca, L. (2005). Global-net for global movements? A network of networks for a movement of movements. *Journal of Public Policy*, *25*(1), 165-190.

Demaria, F., Schneider, F., Sekulova, F., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2013). What is degrowth? From an activist slogan to a social movement. Environmental Values, 22(2), 191-215.

Diani, M. & Kousis M. (2014). The Duality of Claims and Events. The Greek Campaign against Troika's Memoranda and Austerity, 2010-2012. *Mobilization* 19: 387-404.

Diani, M. (2013). "Civil Society", at Snow D., Della Porta D., Klandermans B., and McAdam D (ed) "*The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*", Blackwell

Diani, M., (2007). Social Movements, Networks and. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*.

Diani, M. (1992). The concept of social movement. *The sociological review*, *40*(1), 1-25.

Dinas, E., & Rori, L. (2013). The 2012 Greek parliamentary elections: Fear and loathing in the polls. *West European Politics*, *36*(1), 270-282.

Drydakis, N. (2015). The effect of unemployment on self-reported health and mental health in Greece from 2008 to 2013: a longitudinal study before and during the financial crisis. *Social Science & Medicine*, *128*, 43-51.

Earl, J. (2015). The future of social movement organizations: The waning dominance of SMOs online. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(1), 35-52.

Eduards, M. L. (1994, March). Women's agency and collective action. In *Women's studies international forum* (Vol. 17, No. 2-3, pp. 181-186). Pergamon.

Edwards, B., McCarthy, J. D., & Mataic, D. R. (2018). The resource context of social movements. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 79-97.

Edwards, B. & McCarthy, J.D., (2004). Resources and social movement mobilization. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, pp.116-152.

Edwards, B., & Gillham, P. (2013, August). Moves of Resistance: Occupy Wall Street and the Struggle to Protest. In *Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association*.

Eisinger, P. (1973). The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities. *American Political Science Review* 67: 11–28.

Eltantawy, N., & Wiest, J. B. (2011). The Arab spring| Social media in the Egyptian revolution: reconsidering resource mobilization theory. *International journal of communication*, *5*, 18.

Evers, A. & Laville, J.L. eds., (2004). *The third sector in Europe*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Exadaktylos, T., & Zahariadis, N. (2012). Policy Implementation and Political Trust: Greece in the age of austerity.

Fatjó, J., Bowen, J., García, E., Calvo, P., Rueda, S., Amblás, S., & Lalanza, J. (2015). Epidemiology of dog and cat abandonment in Spain (2008–2013). *Animals*, *5*(2), 426-441.

Featherstone, K. (2013). ERT tells us all we need to know…. *LSE Greece@ LSE*.

Featherstone, K., & Kazamias, G. (2014). Introduction: southern Europe and the process of 'Europeanization'. In *Europeanization and the Southern Periphery* (pp. 1-22). Routledge.

Ferrera, M. (1996). The 'Southern model' of welfare in social Europe. *Journal of European social policy*, *6*(1), 17-37.

Flesher Fominaya, C., (2010). Collective identity in social movements: Central concepts and debates. *Sociology Compass*, *4*(6), pp.393-404.

Finkel, S. E., Muller, E. N., & Opp, K. D. (1989). Personal influence, collective rationality, and mass political action. *American Political Science Review*, *83*(3), 885-903.

Ford, J. K., MacCallum, R. C., & Tait, M. (1986). The application of exploratory factor analysis in applied psychology: A critical review and analysis. *Personnel psychology*, *39*(2), 291-314.

Forno F., & Graziano P. (2014). "Sustainable community movement organisations". *Journal of Consumer Culture,* 14 (2): 139-157.

Fouskas, V. K. (2013). Athens has No Voice: On the closure of Greece's Public Broadcasting Corporation (ERT). *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, *21*(1), 107-111.

Frangonikolopoulos, C.A., (2014). Politics, the media and NGOs: The Greek experience. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, *15*(4), pp.606-619.

Freeman, J., Carroll, G. R., & Hannan, M. T. (1983). The liability of newness: Age dependence in organizational death rates. *American sociological review*, 692-710.

Gamson WA, & Meyer DS. (1996). Framing political opportunity at McAdam et al. 1996, pp. 275–90

Gamson, W. A., Fireman, B., & Rytina, S. (1982). *Encounters with unjust authority*. Dorsey Press.

Giannitsis, T., & Zografakis, S. (2015). *Greece: Solidarity and adjustment in times of crisis* (No. 38). IMK Study.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A postcapitalist politics*. U of Minnesota Press.

Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. (2018). Alternative action organizations: Social solidarity or political advocacy?. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(6), 778-795.

Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. T. (2016). How civil society actors responded to the economic crisis: The interaction of material deprivation and perceptions of political opportunity structures. *Politics & Policy*, *44*(3), 447-472.

Giugni, M. (2009). Political opportunities: from Tilly to Tilly. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, *15*(2), 361-367.

Giugni, M. & F. Passy, eds. (2001). *Political Altruism?: Solidarity Movements in International Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Giugni M. (2001). "Concluding Remarks, Conceptual Distinctions for the study of Political Altruism" in Giugni M. and Passy F. "*Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in international perspective*", Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland.

Goldstone, J. A., & Tilly, C. (2001). Threat (and opportunity): Popular action and state response in the dynamics of contentious action. *Silence and voice in the study of contentious politics*, 179-94.

Goodwin, J., & Jasper, J. M. (2006). Emotions and social movements. In *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions* (pp. 611-635). Springer, Boston, MA.

Grasseni, C., (2014). Seeds of trust. Italy's gruppi di acquisto solidale (solidarity purchase groups). *Journal of Political Ecology*, *21*(1), pp.179-192.

Gritzas, G., & Kavoulakos, K. I. (2016). Diverse economies and alternative spaces: An overview of approaches and practices. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *23*(4), 917-934.

Guidi, R., & Andretta, M. (2015). Between resistance and resilience. How do italian solidarity purchase groups change in times of crisis and austerity?. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, *8*(2), 443-477.

Gurney, J. N., & Tierney, K. J. (1982). Relative deprivation and social movements: A critical look at twenty years of theory and research. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *23*(1), 33-47.

Gurr, T. R. (1970) 2015. *Why men rebel*. Routledge.

Harris B. (1988). Tetrachoric correlation coefficient in *Encyclopaedia of statistical sciences*. New York: Wiley; pp. 223–5

Hadjimichalis, C. (2017). *Crisis spaces: Structures, struggles and solidarity in Southern Europe*. Routledge.

Hîncu, R. (2013). Papandreou's decision on 2011 bailout referendum for Greece–a two-level games analysis. *Analele Ştiinţifice ale Universităţii» Alexandru Ioan Cuza «din Iaşi. Sociologie şi Asistenţă Socială*, *6*(2), 139-151.

Hofer, M. & M. Mexi. (2014). Empirical assessment of the crisis: a cross-national and longitudinal overview. In: LIVEWHAT WP1 Report, *Working paper on definition and identification of crisis*. Retrieved from http://www.livewhat.unige.ch/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LIVEWHAT_D1.2.pdf. Accessed 29 Feb 2016.

Jasper, J. M., & Polletta, F. (2018). The Cultural Context of Social Movements. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, *14*(4), 63-78.

Jenkins, J. C. (1983). Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual review of sociology*, *9*(1), 527-553.

Johnston, H., & Noakes, J. A. (Eds.). (2005). *Frames of protest: Social movements and the framing perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kallis, G. (2018). *Degrowth*. Newcastle upon Tyne: agenda publishing.

Kalogeraki, S., Papadaki, M., & Pera Ros, M. (2018). Exploring the Social and Solidarity Economy Sector in Greece, Spain, and Switzerland in Times of Crisis. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(6), 856-874.

Kanellopoulos, K. & M. Kousis (2018). Protest, elections and austerity politics in Greece. In *Living under austerity: Greek society in crisis*, Eds. Aimee Placas and Evdoxios Doxiadis. New York: Berghahn Books.

Kanellopoulos, K., Kostopoulos, K., Papanikolopoulos, D., & Rongas, V. (2017). Competing modes of coordination in the Greek anti-austerity campaign, 2010–2012. *Social Movement Studies*, *16*(1), 101-118.

Kantzara, V. (2014). Solidarity in times of Crisis: emergent Practices and Potential for Paradigmatic Change. Notes from Greece. *Studi di Sociologia,* 3, 261-280.

Kaplanoglou, G., & Rapanos, V. T. (2018). Evolutions in consumption inequality and poverty in Greece: The impact of the crisis and austerity policies. *Review of Income and Wealth*, *64*(1), 105-126.

Karyotis, G., & Rüdig, W. (2018). The three waves of anti-austerity protest in Greece, 2010–2015. *Political Studies Review*, *16*(2), 158-169.

Katsikas, D., Karakitsios, A., Filinis, K., & Petralias, A. (2014). Social profile report on poverty social exclusion and inequality before and after the crisis in Greece. *Crisis Observatory, Athens*.

Katsimi, M., & Moutos, T. (2010). EMU and the Greek crisis: The political-economy perspective. *European Journal of Political Economy*, *26*(4), 568-576.

Kentikelenis, A., Karanikolos, M., Reeves, A., McKee, M., & Stuckler, D. (2014). Greece's health crisis: from austerity to denialism. *The Lancet*, *383*(9918), 748-753.

Klandermans, B (1997). The Social Psychology of Protest. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kioupkiolis, A., & Karyotis, T. (2015). Self-managing the commons in contemporary Greece. *An Alternative Labour History: Worker Control and Workplace Democracy. London: Zed Books*, 298-328.

Koopmans, R., & Olzak, S. (2004). Discursive opportunities and the evolution of right-wing violence in Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, *110*(1), 198-230.

Koopmans, R., & Statham, P. (Eds.). (2010). *The making of a European public sphere: Media discourse and political contention*. Cambridge University Press.

Koopmans, R., & Statham, P. (1999). Political claims analysis: Integrating protest event and political discourse approaches. *Mobilization: an international quarterly*, *4*(2), 203-221.

Koopmans, R. (2004). Protest in time and space: The evolution of waves of contention. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 19-46.

Koopmans, R. (Ed.). (2005). *Contested citizenship: Immigration and cultural diversity in Europe* (Vol. 25). U of Minnesota Press.

Koopmans, L. H. (1995). *The spectral analysis of time series*. Elsevier.

Kolenikov, S. & Angeles, G., (2004). The use of discrete data in PCA: theory, simulations, and applications to socioeconomic indices. *Chapel Hill: Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina*, pp.1-59.

Kornelakis, A., & Voskeritsian, H. (2014). The transformation of employment regulation in Greece: Towards a dysfunctional liberal market economy?. *relations industrielles/industrial relations*, *69*(2), 344-365.

Kotzias, N. (2013). Greece: A debt colony. *Athens: Patakis*.

Kourachanis, N. (2015). Confronting homelessness in Greece during at time of crisis. *Social Cohesion and Development*, *10*(2), 113-129.

Kousis, M., Giugni, M., & Lahusen, C. (2018). Action organization analysis: Extending protest event analysis using hubs-retrieved websites. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(6), 739-757.

Kousis, M., & Paschou, M. (2017). Alternative forms of resilience. A typology of approaches for the study of citizen collective responses in hard economic times. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *10*(1), 136-168.

Kousis, M. (2017). Alternative forms of resilience confronting hard economic times. A South European perspective. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *10*(1), 119-135.

Kousis, M., & Tilly, C. (2015). *Economic and political contention in comparative perspective*. Routledge.

Kousis, M. (2016). The spatial dimensions of the Greek Protest Campaign against Troika's Memoranda and Austerity Measures, 2010-2012. In *Street Politics in the Age of Austerity: from the Indignados to Occupy*, Eds. Markos Ancelovici, Pascale Dufour and Heloise Nez, 147-173. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kousis, M. (1999). Environmental protest cases: the city, the countryside, and the grassroots in Southern Europe. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *4*(2), 223-238.

Kousis, M., Kalogeraki, S., Papadaki, M., Loukakis, A. and Velonaki, M., (2018). Confronting Austerity in Greece: Alternative Forms of Resilience and Solidarity Initiatives by Citizen Groups. In *Europas Zivilgesellschaft in der Wirtschafts-und Finanzkrise* (pp. 77-99). Springer VS, Wiesbaden.

Kousis, M., Kalogeraki, S., Papadaki, M., Loukakis, A., & Velonaki, M. (2016). Alternative formen von resilienz in Griechenland. *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen*, *29*(1), 50-61.

Kretsos, L., & Vogiatzoglou, M. (2015). Lost in the ocean of deregulation? The Greek labour movement in a time of crisis. *Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations*, *70*(2), 218-239.

Kriesi, H. (Ed.). (1995). *New social movements in Western Europe: A comparative analysis* (Vol. 5). U of Minnesota Press.

Kriesi, H. (1996). The organizational structure of new social movements in a political context. *Comparative perspectives on social movements*, 152-184.

Kritidis, G. (2014). The rise and crisis of the anarchist and libertarian movement in Greece, 1973–2012. *The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present*, 63-94.

Lahusen, C. (1996). *The rhetoric of moral protest: Public campaigns, celebrity endorsement, and political mobilization* (Vol. 76). Walter de Gruyter.

Lahusen, C., Kousis, M., Zschache, U., & Loukakis, A. (2018). European solidarity in times of crisis: Comparing transnational activism of civic organisations in Germany and Greece. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, *43*(1), 173-197.

Laville, J. L. (2010). The solidarity economy: an international movement. *RCCS Annual Review. A selection from the Portuguese journal Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, (2).

Latouche, S. (2009). Farewell to Growth. Oxford: Polity Press.

Le Bon, G. (1896) 1968. The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind. Dunwoody, GA: Berg.

LeFebvre, R. K., & Armstrong, C. (2018). Grievance-based social movement mobilization in the# Ferguson Twitter storm. *New Media & Society*, *20*(1), 8-28.

Leontidou, L. (2010). Urban social movements in 'weak'civil societies: The right to the city and cosmopolitan activism in Southern Europe. *Urban studies*, *47*(6), 1179-1203.

Liodakis, G. (2018). Capital, Economic Growth, and Socio-Ecological Crisis: A Critique of De-Growth. *International Critical Thought*, *8*(1), 46-65.

LIVEWHAT D6.1. (2016). Codebook for the analysis of alternative action organizations (Deliverable 6.1). Retrieved from http://www.livewhat.unige.ch/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Deliverable-6.1.pdf

LIVEWHAT D6.4. (2016). Integrated report on alternative forms of resilience in times of crises (Deliverable 6.4). http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LIVEWHAT_D6.4.pdf

Lipsky, D. B. (1970). Interplant transfer and terminated workers: A case study. *ILR Review*, *23*(2), 191-206.

Lekakis, J. N., & Kousis, M. (2013). Economic crisis, Troika and the environment in Greece. *South European Society and Politics*, *18*(3), 305-331.

Lofland, J. (1989). Consensus movements: city twinning and derailed dissent in the American eighties. *Research in social movements, conflict and change*, *11*, 163-196.

Lopes, A. R. (2014). The impact of social media on social movements: The new opportunity and mobilizing structure. *Journal of Political Science Research*, *4*(1), 1-23.

Loukakis, A., Kiess, J., Kousis, M., & Lahusen, C. (2018). Born to Die Online? A Cross-National Analysis of the Rise and Decline of Alternative Action Organizations in Europe. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *62*(6), 837-855.

Loukakis, A. (2018). Not just solidarity providers. Investigating the political dimension of alternative action organisations (AAOs) during the economic crisis in Greece. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *11*(1), 12-37.

Loukakis, A. (2017). Anti-austerity protests and new forms of solidarity: one movement? Paper presented at: *International Conference on Cross-Movement Mobilization,* Ruhr-University, Bochum, April 5-7.

Loukakis, A. (2016). Political consumerism in Greece at times of economic crisis: Environmental awareness or a way to deal with the effects of the crisis. In *Conference paper presented at the ECPR Joint sessions of workshops,* Pisa April (pp. 24-28).

Loukakis, A., Kousis, M., Lahusen, C., & Kiess, J. (2016). Alternative action organizations in the Eurozone Crisis: Comparing the Greek and German experience, 2007–2016. In *Conference paper presented at the 23rd conference of European studies "Resilient Europe,* Philadelphia, April (pp. 13-16).

Lyberaki, A., & Tinios, P. (2014). The informal welfare state and the family: Invisible actors in the Greek drama. *Political Studies Review*, *12*(2), 193-208.

Mah, G., Mukkudem-Petersen, J., Miruka, C., & Petersen, M. A. (2013). The impact of government expenditure on the Greek government debt: An econometric analysis. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, *4*(3), 323.

Makris, G. & Bekridakis, D., (2013). The Greek Orthodox Church and the economic crisis since 2009. *International journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, *13*(2), pp.111-132.

Malamidis H. (2018). From protest to production: the transformation of social movements in Greece during the era of economic crisis book chapter on Zaimakis (Edt) "Ερευνητικές Διαδρομές στις Κοινωνικές Επιστήμες: Θεωρητικές-Μεθοδολογικές Συμβολές και Μελέτες Περίπτωσης, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης—Εργαστήριο Κοινωνικής Ανάλυσης και Εφαρμοσμένης Κοινωνικής Έρευνας.

Marketakis, Y., Tzitzikas, Y., Anifantis, N., Kalligiannakis, V., Lionakis, P., Yannakis, T. (2015). Analysis of web accessible networks, organizations and groups (FORTH Institute of Computer Science). Retrieved from http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Analysis-of-Web-Accessible-Networks-Organizations-and-Groups.pdf

Martinelli F., (2010). Historical roots of Social Change. Philosophies and movements, in Moulaert F., Martinelli F., Swyngedouw E. and Gonzalez S. (ed.) Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community development and Social Innovation, Routledge, New York

Marwell, G., & Oliver, P. (1993). *The critical mass in collective action*. Cambridge University Press.

Marx, G. T., & Wood, J. L. (1975). Strands of theory and research in collective behavior. *Annual review of sociology*, *1*(1), 363-428.

Matsaganis, M. (2018). Making sense of the Greek Crisis, 2010–2016. *Europe's Crises*, 49-69.

Matsaganis, M. (2013). *The Greek crisis: social impact and policy responses* (pp. 3-4). Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Department of Western Europe/North America.

Mavridis, S. (2018). Greece's Economic and Social Transformation 2008–2017. *Social Sciences*, 7(1), 9.

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and C. Tilly (2001). *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (Eds.). (1996). *Comparative perspectives on social movements: Political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings* (p. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D. 1999 [1982]). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*. 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, D. (1996). Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions. In Doug McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. and M. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (23–40).

McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (2001). The enduring vitality of the resource mobilization theory of social movements. In *Handbook of sociological theory* (pp. 533-565). Springer, Boston, MA.

McCarthy, J.D. & Zald, M.N., (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, *82*(6), pp.1212-1241.

McCarthy, J. D., & Wolfson, M. (1996). Resource mobilization by local social movement organizations: Agency, strategy, and organization in the movement against drinking and driving. *American sociological review*, 1070-1088.

McCammon, H. J., Muse, C. S., Newman, H. D., & Terrell, T. M. (2007). Movement framing and discursive opportunity structures: The political successes of the US women's jury movements. *American Sociological Review*, *72*(5), 725-749.

Melucci, A., (1995). The process of collective identity. *Social movements and culture*, *4*, pp.41-63.

Melucci, A. (1989). *Nomads of the present: Social movements and individual needs in contemporary society*. Vintage.

Meyer, D. S., & Staggenborg, S. (1996). Movements, countermovements, and the structure of political opportunity. *American journal of sociology*, *101*(6), 1628-1660.

Moulaert, F., & Ailenei, O. (2005). Social economy, third sector and solidarity relations: A conceptual synthesis from history to present. *Urban studies*, *42*(11), 2037-2053.

Moulaert, F. ed., (2013). *The international handbook on social innovation: collective action, social learning and transdisciplinary research*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Mulgan, G., Tucker, S., Ali, R. and Sanders, B., (2007). Social innovation: what it is, why it matters and how it can be accelerated.

Muthén, B., (1978). Contributions to factor analysis of dichotomous variables. *Psychometrika*, *43*(4), pp.551-560.

Nasioulas, I. (2012). Social cooperatives in Greece. Introducing new forms of social economy and entrepreneurship. *International Review of Social Research*, *2*(2), 141-161.

Neamtan, N. (2009). Social economy: concepts and challenges. In *Universitas Forum* (Vol. 1, No. 3).

Norman, L., Uba, K., Temple, L. (2015). Austerity measures across Europe. In Foster, L., Brunton, A., Deeming, C., Haux, T. (Eds.), In defence of welfare 2 (pp. 55-58). London, England: Social Policy Association.

North, P. (2008). Voices from the trueque: barter networks and resistance to neoliberalism in Argentina. *Social Justice and Neoliberalism: Global Perspectives*, 16-38.

Oikonomakis, L. (2018). Solidarity in transition: The case of Greece. In *Solidarity Mobilisations in the 'Refugee Crisis'* (pp. 65-98). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Oliver, P. (2013). Collective Action (Collective Behavior). *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*.

Olson, M. (2012). The Logic of Collective Action [1965]. *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 124.

Osborne, J.W., Costello, A.B. & Kellow, J.T., (2008). Best practices in exploratory factor analysis. *Best practices in quantitative methods*, pp.86-99.

Ostrom, E. (2009). Building trust to solve commons dilemmas: Taking small steps to test an evolving theory of collective action. In *Games, groups, and the global good* (pp. 207-228). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge university press.

Ould Ahmed P. (2014). "What does 'solidarity economy' mean? Contours and feasibility of a theoretical and political project", Business Ethics: A European Review, 24 (4): 425-435, doi: 10.1111/beer.12063

Papaconstantinou, G. (2016). *Game Over: the inside story of the Greek crisis*. Athens: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Papadaki, M., & Kalogeraki, S. (2017). Social support actions as forms of building community resilience at the onset of the crisis in urban Greece: The case of Chania. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, *10*(1), 193-220.

Park, R. E. (1927). Human nature and collective behavior. *American Journal of Sociology*, *32*(5), 733-741.

Partalidou, M., & Anthopoulou, T. (2017). Urban allotment gardens during precarious times: from motives to lived experiences. *Sociologia ruralis*, *57*(2), 211-228.

Pearson, Ruth. (2003). "Argentina's barter network: new currency for new times?."*Bulletin of Latin American Research* 22.2: 214-230.

Pekka-Ekonomou, B., Bibitsos, Ch., Mylonas, N., & Petridou, E. (2013, May–June). *Διοίκηση, Στρατηγική και Επικοινωνία των Ελληνικών Μη Κυβερνητικών Περιβαλλοντικών Οργανώσεων*. Proceedings of the 6th Pan-Hellenic Conference of Environmental Policies & Management, Department of Environment, Aegean University.

Petropoulou, E. A. (2016). The Role of Short Food Supply Chains in Greece—What Opportunities for Sustainable, Just and Democratic Food Systems at Times of Crisis?. *Sociology and Anthropology*, *4*(5), 337-346.

Petropoulou, C. C. (2013). " Alternative Networks of Collectivities" and" Solidarity-Cooperative Economy" in Greek cities: Exploring their theoretical origins. *Journal of regional & socio-economic issues*, *3*(2).

Piketty, T. (2015). About capital in the twenty-first century. *American Economic Review*, *105*(5), 48-53.

Pizzorno, A. (1978). Political exchange and collective identity in industrial conflict. In *The resurgence of class conflict in Western Europe since 1968* (pp. 277-298). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Polyzoidis, P., (2015). NGOs and social welfare in Greece reassessed: Comparative insights and crisis repercussions. In J. Clarke, A. Huliaras, & D. Sotiropoulos (Eds.), *Austerity and the third sector in Greece: Civil society at the European frontline* (pp. 109–124). London: Ashgate.

Pratt, B., and Popplewell, R. (2013). The emergence and re-emergence of civil society: a brief history of civil society in Europe, from the Magna Carta to the Eurozone crisis. *Development in Practice*, *23*(5-6), 721-728.

Primavera, H. (2010). Social currencies and solidarity economy: an enduring bond of common good. Working USA, 13: 41–59. doi: 10.1111/j.1743-4580.2010.00272.x

Primavera H. (2007a). "Can Social money lead to Sustainable social innovation? Some lessons from Argentina and Brazil", available at:https://redlases.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/en2007_japanbarternetworks_and_democracy_hp.pdf (last accessed at 28/05/2015).

Primevera H. (2007b). "Social money and democracy: manual for understanding and taking action. How to improve the economy of your household and that of your district, city and region" available at: https://redlases.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/en2007_redlasessocial-moneymanual_hp.pdf (last accessed at 28/05/2015)

Primavera H. (2004). "The power of facts: complementary currencies in Argentina", paper presented at *European Conference on Community Currencies*, Bad Honnef, Germany, July 18-22nd

Psimitis, M. (2011). The protest cycle of spring 2010 in Greece. *Social Movement Studies*, *10*(02), 191-197.

Rakopoulos, T. (2015). Solidarity's tensions: informality, sociality, and the Greek crisis. *Social Analysis*, *59*(3), 85-104.

Rakopoulos, T. (2014a). The crisis seen from below, within, and against: from solidarity economy to food distribution cooperatives in Greece. *Dialectical Anthropology*, *38*(2), 189-207.

Rakopoulos, T. (2014b). Resonance of solidarity: meanings of a local concept in anti-austerity Greece. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, *32*(2), 313-337.

Roose, J., Sommer, M., Kanellopoulos, K., Papanikolopoulos, D., Kousis, M., Scholl, F., & Loukakis, A. (2018). New Rage, New Perspectives?. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *70*(1), 461-493.

Rozakou, K. (2016). Socialities of solidarity: revisiting the gift taboo in times of crises. *Social Anthropology*, *24*(2), 185-199.

Rüdig, W., & Karyotis, G. (2013). Beyond the usual suspects? New participants in anti-austerity protests in Greece. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *18*(3), 313-330.

Rule, J. B. (1989). Rationality and non-rationality in militant collective action. *Sociological Theory*, *7*(2), 145-160.

Sakellaropoulos, S. (2019). The Reaction of the Dominated Classes 2010–2015. In *Greece's (un) Competitive Capitalism and the Economic Crisis* (pp. 167-178). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Salamon, L. M., & Anheier, H. K. (1997). *Defining the nonprofit sector: A cross-national analysis* (Vol. 3). Manchester University Press.

Serdedakis N. (2018). "Protest in Crisis-Ridden Greece", in N. Serdedakis and S. Tom-bazos (eds.), Facets of the Greek Crisis: Contentious Cycles of Protest and Institutional Outcomes (2009-2014), Athens: Gutenberg, pp. 286-326. [in Greek]

Serdedakis, N. & S. Tombazos (eds.2018). *Facets of the Greek Crisis: Contentious Cycles of Protest and Institutional Outcomes (2009-2014*), Athens: Gutenberg. [in Greek]

Shantz, J., & Macdonald, J. B. (Eds.). (2013). *Beyond Capitalism: Building democratic alternatives for today and the future*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Shirky, C. (2011). The political power of social media: Technology, the public sphere, and political change. *Foreign affairs*, 28-41.

Simiti, M. (2017). Civil society and the economy: Greek civil society during the economic crisis. *Journal of Civil Society*, *13*(4), 357-373.

Simiti, M. (2015). Rage and Protest: The Case of the Greek Indiginant Movement. *Contention*, *3*(2), 33-50.

Smelcer N. (1962). Theory of Collective Behaviour, New York, Free Press.

Snow, D. A. (2013). Framing and social movements. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*.

Snow, D. A. (2004). Framing processes, ideology, and discursive fields. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, *1*, 380-412.

Snow, D. A., Vliegenthart, R., & Ketelaars, P. (2018). The framing perspective on social movements: Its conceptual roots and architecture. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to social movements. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell*, 392-410.

Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. *International social movement research*, *1*(1), 197-217.

Snow, D. A., Rochford Jr, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American sociological review*, 464-481.

Soon, C., & Cho, H. (2014). OMGs! Offline-based movement organizations, online-based movement organizations and network mobilization: A case study of political bloggers in Singapore. *Information, Communication & Society*, *17*(5), 537-559.

Sotirakopoulos, N., & Sotiropoulos, G. (2013). 'Direct democracy now!': The Greek indignados and the present cycle of struggles. *Current Sociology*, *61*(4), 443-456.

Sotiropoulos, D.A. & Bourikos, D., (2014). Economic crisis, social solidarity and the voluntary sector in Greece. *Journal of Power, Politics & Governance*, *2*(2), pp.33-53.

Sotiropoulos, D. A. (2012). A Democracy under Stress Greece since 2010. *Taiwan Journal of democracy*, *8*(1).

Sotiropoulou, I. (2012). *Exchange networks and parallel currencies: Theoretical approaches and the case of Greece.* University of Crete, Rethymno: PhD Dissertation department of Economics.

Sotiropoulou I. (2016). "Solidarity, Grassroots Initiatives and Power Relations", World, 6: 44-59.

Soule, S. A. (1999). The diffusion of an unsuccessful innovation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *566*(1), 120-131.

Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *Academy of management review*, *20*(3), 571-610.

Tarde, G. (1893). Foules et sectes au point de vue criminel. *Revue des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)*, *120*(2), 349-387.

Tarrow, S. (2013). Contentious politics. *The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements*.

Tarrow, S. G. (2011). Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics. Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, S. G. (1998). Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics. Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, S. G. (1983). *Struggling to reform: Social movements and policy change during cycles of protest* (No. 15). Center for International Studies, Cornell University.

Tarrow, S., & McAdam, D. (2005). Scale shift in transnational contention. *Transnational protest and global activism*, 121-150.

Taylor, V., & Rupp, L. (1987). *Survival in the doldrums: The American women's rights movement, 1945 to the 1960s*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Teloni, D. D., & Adam, S. (2018). Solidarity Clinics and social work in the era of crisis in Greece. *International Social Work*, *61*(6), 794-808.

Theocharis, Y. (2016). Every Crisis is a Digital Opportunity: The Aganaktismenoi Movement's Use of Social Media and the Emergence of Networked Solidarity in Greece. Pp. 184—197 in: Axel Bruns, Gunn Enli, Eli Skogerbø, Anders Olof Larsson, Christian Christensen (Eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Theodorikakou, O., Alamanou, A., & Katsadoros, K. (2013). "Neo-homelessness" and the Greek Crisis. *European Journal of Homelessness _ Volume*, *7*(2).

Theodossopoulos, D. (2014). The ambivalence of anti-austerity indignation in Greece: Resistance, hegemony and complicity. *History and Anthropology*, *25*(4), 488-506.

Tilly, C. (2008). *Contentious performances*. Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, C. (2004). Social Movements 1768-2004. Boulder. Colo.: Paradigm.

Tilly, C. (1994). Social movements as historically specific clusters of political performances. Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 38, 1-30.

Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.

Tilly, C., & S. Tarrow S. (2015). *Contentious Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tilly, C., Tilly, L. A., & Tilly, R. H. (1975). *The rebellious century: 1830-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Turner, R. H., & Killian, L. M. (1972). The field of collective behavior. *Collective Behavior and Social Movements (USA: Allyn and Bacon, 1993)*, 5-20.

Turner, R. H. (1969). The public perception of protest. *American Sociological Review*, 815-831.

Tzogopoulos, G. (2016). *The Greek crisis in the media: Stereotyping in the international press*. Routledge.

Vaiou, D., & Kalandides, A. (2016). Practices of collective action and solidarity: reconfigurations of the public space in crisis-ridden Athens, Greece. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, *31*(3), 457-470.

Van Stekelenburg, J & Klandermans, B (2013). The social psychology of protest. Current Sociology 61(5–6): 886–905.

Varvarousis, A., & Kallis, G. (2017). Commoning against the crisis. *Another Economy is Possible: Culture and Economy in a Time of Crisis*, 128-159.

Vathakou, E. (2015). Citizens' solidarity initiatives in Greece during the financial crisis. *Austerity and the third sector in Greece: Civil society at the European frontline*, 167-192.

Velegrakis G. (2011). Responses to the eurocrisis: Strategies for the degrowth-movement: Lessons from Greece paper presented at

Velicer, W.F. and Jackson, D.N., (1990). Component analysis versus common factor analysis: Some issues in selecting an appropriate procedure. *Multivariate behavioral research*, *25*(1), pp.1-28..

Visvizi, A. (2012). The crisis in Greece, democracy, and the EU. *Carnegie Ethics Online*, *10*.

Vogiatzoglou, M. (2017). Turbulent flow: Anti-austerity mobilization in Greece. In *Late Neoliberalism and its Discontents in the Economic Crisis* (pp. 99-129). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Wickham-Crowley, T. P. (1989). Understanding failed revolution in El Salvador: A comparative analysis of regime types and social structures. *Politics & Society*, *17*(4), 511-530.

Widaman, K.F., (1993). Common factor analysis versus principal component analysis: Differential bias in representing model parameters?. *Multivariate behavioral research*, *28*(3), pp.263-311.

Williams, R. H. (2004). The cultural contexts of collective action: Constraints, opportunities, and the symbolic life of social movements. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 91-115.

Williams, B., Onsman, A., & Brown, T. (2010). Exploratory factor analysis: A five-step guide for novices. *Australasian Journal of Paramedicine*, *8*(3).

Winter, L., Korbiel, I., Koukou, A., & Sarikakis, K. (2018). Solidarity rebooted: Trust and the rise of civil society in times of crisis. *Journal of Greek Media & Culture*, *4*(1), 73-90.

Zahariadis, N. (2017). Bargaining power and negotiation strategy: Examining the Greek bailouts, 2010–2015. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *24*(5), 675-694.

Zaimakis, Y. (2018). Autonomy, degrowth and prefigurative politics: voices of solidarity economy activists amid economic crisis in Greece. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *11*(1), 95-120.

Zambeta, E., & with the assistance of Asimina Kolofousi. (2014). Education and Social Solidarity in times of Crisis: the case of voluntary shadow education in Greece. *Education Inquiry*, *5*(1), 24058.

Zartaloudis, S. (2013). Greece and the Recent Financial Crisis: Meltdown or Confi guration?. In *Moments of Truth* (pp. 178-196). Routledge