

Labour Unions confronting Unprecedented Austerity in Greece, 2010-2013

Maria Kousis and Christina Karakioulafi

Department of Sociology, University of Crete

kousis.maria@gmail.com, chkarakioulafi@gmail.com

First Draft not to be quoted or cited without contacting the authors

Paper for panel P301, Southern European Labour Contention: New and Old Repertoires, Social Alliances, and Party Relations, ECPR General Conference, Bordeaux, Sept. 4-8, 2013

Abstract

The global financial crisis which began in 2007 has greatly impacted on Greece, a Southern European country of high debt. Since early 2010 the country witnessed dramatic transformations in labor, public policies, and social services, with grave consequences for its population. Since 2010, defensive protests against unprecedented austerity measures vividly reflect the effects of economic globalization across national borders as well as the swift changes imposed by powerful political and economic actors on labor organization, rights and movements in Greece.

Within a relational approach, the paper aims to shed light on the swift reforms affecting labor unions since the crisis erupted, and the role of unions in the Greek campaign against troika Memoranda and austerity policies. Specifically, it focuses on, a) problems of representation and trust, b) the impacts of budget cuts on labor unions, c) the general strikes in the context of the Greek anti-austerity campaign, d) the related claims making and action repertoires, e) the related labor union alliances with political parties and civil society groups, as well as, f) future paths of labor unions in Greece. In order to approach the above issues, we will first present the major characteristics of Greek industrial relations until 2010 and discuss the new economic data that have emerged following the troika memoranda and austerity policies since 2010.

Through protest event analysis using major media sources and sites, we will then present and discuss the 13 general strikes combined with demonstrations by both public and private sector unions from February 2010 to January 2013. These national scale general strikes played a critical role as part of an anti-austerity campaign of a total of 32 large protest events (LPEs). The analysis will analyze the overall profile of labor union participation in the context of troika and austerity policies. We will conclude with a discussion on re/theorisation of labor contention based on evidence from a Southern European country.

Part I. Labor Unions in Greece

1. Greek industrial relations system up to the financial crisis

In its history, the Greek system of industrial relations has experienced a long period of state interventionism that has left its mark on labour market regulation, collective bargaining structure and trade unions' functioning leading some authors to consider Greece as an example of "state corporatism" (Zambarloukou, 2006). In this context, the ideological control of trade unions (and the exclusion or elimination of organisations due to fears of a 'communist threat'), the appointment of trade union leaders by the government, the creation of "rubber-stamps" unions intended to support the majority parties within the trade union elections and the falsification of the results of union elections have been common practices in the recent history of Greek industrial relations (Triantafillou, 2003).

Since the 1980s and most particularly since the 1990s there are signs of a minimization of the state intervention and of a strengthening of social partners collective autonomy. In this sense, the first very important law was that of 1982 (No. 1264) about the democratisation of the trade union movement and the protection of trade union freedoms of workers. In 1990 Law No. 1876 modernised the framework of collective bargaining and collective agreements in Greece. This law deliberated collective bargaining from state interventionism and established the preconditions for the settlement of industrial disputes. The key principles of the new legislative framework were: voluntarism, decentralisation and independent dispute settlement¹. The key principles of the new legislative framework were: voluntarism, decentralisation and independent dispute settlement. Regarding the last principle, the establishment of an independent organisation for mediation and for settlement of collective industrial relations disputes was very crucial. This evolution can be seen as an outcome of the changes resulting from the restoration of parliamentary democracy in 1974 and the rise to power of the socialist party (PASOK) at the beginning of the 1980s (Ioannou, 2000). As Ioannou (2000 : 139) points out : *"Since the early 1990s, trade unions have exhibited elements of a transition from 'quangos' to becoming more autonomous 'social partners'»*.

However, this does not mean that the trade union organisations have become truly autonomous. In reality, state interventionism has given his place to a "colonisation" of interest groups and of representation by political parties (Lavdas, 2005). Therefore, even though PASOK government has liberated by law trade unionism from the so-called rubber stamp unions it has not given an end to the party tutelage of trade unions (Lyrintzis, 1987). According to Mavrogordatos (1997) trade unions have served as a Trojan horse for PASOK's clientelism and populism, which moreover was no longer a traditional interpersonal clientelism but increasingly became a "political machine." Through trade unions these logics of action infected other political parties as well. Therefore, despite the important institutional and legislative changes of the 1980s and 1990s, Greek trade unionism remains until today very politicised. The main political parties (PASOK, New Democracy, Communist Party, SYRIZA) are directly represented in trade unions through organised fractions.

At the national level, the representation is relatively centralised, through the existence or two major trade union confederations: GSEE which organises private sector employees and employees in firms and sectors under public control (banks, public transport companies and utilities like electricity and water-supply) and ADEDY which represents civil servants².

¹ <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/1998/12/feature/gr9812102f.htm>

² It is the two lower levels of trade union organisation we see a strong organizational fragmentation:

Union density is experiencing a decline from about 34-37 per cent during 1980 to 22-24 per cent in the early 1990s, although most optimists estimate this rate to 29 per cent in 2010 (Kouzis, 2005 ; Ioannou, 2005 ; Vernardakis, Mavreas & Patronis, 2007). OECD puts union membership at 25.4 % for 2011³, a number confirmed also by the ICTWSS database of union membership⁴. Among the factors that have provoked this union density decline in Greece, there is mainly a representation crisis as well as crisis of confidence in the existing structures.

Representation crisis is linked to the fact that several categories of workers in Greece are not represented by trade unions. On the one hand, unions are under-represented in private sector companies and mainly in SMES which employ less than 20 people, threshold from which an enterprise union may be created. On the other hand, the most vulnerable categories of the workforce (women, young people, precarious, unemployed, immigrants) remain under-represented in trade unions (Kouzis, 2005 & 2007; Ioannou, 2005 ; Kretsos, 2011 & 2012).

Confidence crisis does not concern so much trade unionism in itself. It has more to do with a distrust of existing trade unions structures or leaders and of trade unions mode of operation. Various surveys have shown that even among unionized workers, many of them had no confidence in trade union structures while the rate of dissatisfaction towards trade union organisations was very important even in work places with strong trade union presence (Vernardakis, Mavreas & Patronis, 2007 ; VPRC, 2010).

This negative attitude toward the organised trade union movement was linked to the feeling, shared by many of the workers, that the dependencies and political interests were often placed above the claims and the interests of the workers. In addition, the under-representation of trade unions in the private sector and its over-representation in the public enterprises and the public sector created the feeling that Greek trade unionism has been a unionism of the «better protected" groups of workers. Therefore, the distance of certain categories of workers to the existing trade union structures as well as the "identity gap" (Dufour & Hege, 2010) created seemed inevitable.

Certainly, the unionization rate alone is not enough to explain the power of the unions. Several authors have demonstrated the need to take into account other factors such as, protests and direct actions (Sullivan, 2010), as well as the number and size of general strikes (Kelly, 2011). In fact, despite the signs showing a weakening of Greek trade unions, they still had a strong capacity to mobilize their members. In reality, contrary to what one might expect, the long tradition of state interventionism has not "stifled" trade union action. Thus Greece has been relatively high on the list of strikeprone countries and demonstrated a significant potential for conflict. In fact, industrial relations remained very conflicting in Greece as is evidenced by strike statistics (Zambarloukou, 2006). As an example, for the period between 1980 and 2006, among the 72 general strikes recorded in Europe, 33 took place in Greece (Hamann, Johnston & Kelly 2013). This mobilisation capacity is particularly high in unionized workplaces (companies under public control, utilities, public sector). Finally, the institutional anchorage of unions and the protections they enjoy, and that we will describe later, seem also influence the union power in a positive way.

GSEE comprises 2347 primary level unions (company unions, etc.), 150 second level organisations, 75 industry/occupationally based federations and 70 regional labour centres while ADEDY has 1264 primary level unions mainly functioning on a ministry basis and 52 federations (Ioannou, 2005).

³ <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?QueryId=20167>

⁴ <http://www.worker-participation.eu/National-Industrial-Relations/Countries/Greece/Trade-Unions#note1>

In this context and before the financial crisis, the question had been, what Greek trade unions had done to address the crisis of representation and legitimacy. Although this crisis was well-known and visible in terms of unionization, it was not perceived as such by the union leaders and the term "crisis" did not appear in the official discourse. Thus, no strategic effort of renewal has taken place. Several reasons can be advanced to explain the lack of response by Greek unions in front of the steady decline in unionization rates and the crisis of legitimacy. One explanation lies in the fact that until very recently, the power of Greek unions did not depend on the number of their members and their presence at workplaces, but was largely reassured by the existence of a political context favourable to unions in particular because of the links between political parties and trade unions. A second explanation lies in trade union's financing. Until recently the major financial resource of the GSEE has been the state –controlled OEE (Foyer of Labour). A final explanation lies in the principle of the extension clause of collective agreements, which automatically covered most workers in the private sector, regardless if they were members of a union or not. Therefore, mobilisation of non-unionised workers did not seem crucial. All these reasons mentioned in addition to the fact that unions had de facto no access SMEs workers or among undeclared workers, did not favour an investment in revitalisation strategies by recruiting new members.

2. Financial crisis and measures affecting industrial and employment relations

Since the beginning of 2010, Greece is undergoing the most serious structural crisis in its recent history. The financial crisis of 2008 had critical consequences and has only worsened existing problems such as the high level of public deficit (Coriat & Lantenois, 2011: 6). In order to cope with the public debt crisis, the successive governments in power since 2010 have taken a series of fiscal consolidation measures which have been strengthened in May 2010 with the signing of the agreement on the economic adjustment program (1st memorandum) between the Greek government and the "Troika" (European Commission, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund). These measures, qualified by Karamessini (2010) as a "shock therapy budget", constitute the core of the most severe policy of austerity never applied in Greece since the Second World War.

The most important legislative measures having a direct impact on industrial and working conditions concern the public sector, the public utilities, employment relations in the private sector and collective bargaining (Kouzis, 2011a & 2011b ; Karakioulafi, 2012):

Civil servants, as well as those working in Local Administration and in Public Utilities Companies, were the first to be affected by the austerity measures. They have experienced a pay freeze, a direct reduction of wages and benefits and the setting of a ceiling on maximum earnings for all employees involved independently of their income and in all companies of the public sector, an increase of their working time, mobility programs (intersectoral mobility of civil servants, interdepartmental mobility of public sector employees), paid 'labour reserve' schemes, etc. At the same time the freeze or the reduction of new recruitments for the whole public sector has been imposed. In the last months, discussions turn around the need expressed by the Troika to further "shrink" the public sector and to reduce by various ways the number of civil servants, of those working in local administration or in public organisations and companies. The negotiations with the Troika have proved to be very difficult and at this time the government seems to be trying to find the solution the less painful in seeking to make redundancies among the officials lied under oath, among those who have been hired with falsified certificates or among those who are close to retirement or those whose qualifications are regarded as inadequate. Therefore the new measures introduced in July 2013 (with September 2013 being the deadline) combine intersectoral and interdepartmental mobility programs, the abolition of various public organisations, as well as

redundancies and labour reserve schemes and concern 12.500 public sector workers and civil servants. Regarding workers in public companies, we have also to take into account the privatization programs planned for the coming period and which reinforce the climate of insecurity among the workers in the companies in question.

In parallel, and in a more radical way after the signing of the 1st memorandum, measures have been adopted in order to reduce the labour cost through the flexibilisation of the labour market, the modification redundancies conditions, the introduction of a sort of "trial contract" of one year for the young unemployed with a wage corresponding to 80% of the national minimum wage and a contract for young workers with a wage corresponding to 84% of the national minimum wage, the increase of the maximum duration of temporary work contracts, the reduction of the cost of the part-time work, etc.

Finally, these last years we have been witnessing the dismantling of the collective bargaining system leading to an individualisation of employment relations and wage formation mechanisms. The 1st Memorandum introduced the possibility to sign company-level collective agreements (so-called "special") which may have unfavourable content as compared to the content of industry-wide agreements for reasons of maintenance of workplaces or in order to strengthen the competitiveness of the company. The following memoranda have changed even more radically the collective bargaining system, undermining at the same time core labour law rules and practices. The extension of application of branch-level collective agreements for all employees in the branch (extension clause) in question has been suspended. In this case companies are not forced to sign binding collective agreements and can sign individual agreements respecting only the legally established minimum wage. However, this measure also urges companies to depart from the relevant employer's organisations that sign binding collective agreements. Alongside, the effective time of continuance of collective agreements in case they expire or are terminated has been reduced (from 6 to 3 months). In fact in the framework of the previous system, even if a collective agreement expired it would remain in force while a new round of bargaining started and could be extended for up to six months. In case where, after this period, no new collective agreement had been signed, the 'after-effect' principle took place. This meant that all wage and allowances provisions would remain unchanged and become a part of individual employment contracts. Under the new legislation the 'after effect' principle has changed. Hence employers are not obliged to pay all the allowances and bonuses contained in the previous collective agreement, but only the basic salary of that branch or company, and only allowances related to seniority, children, studies and hazardous work. Given the actual labour market situation this past years, this measure pushes trade unions to sign collective agreements before the three-month period, under the pressure of terms set by employers in order to avoid individualization of employment relations and of wages. Mediation and arbitration procedures have also been affected by the new measures. Firstly, the ability of workers representatives to seek unilateral recourse to arbitration if intermediation fails has been suspended. Secondly, arbitration is deprived from its power to deal with all issues related to a collective dispute and its intervention is limited to the minimum wage per bargaining level. Finally, for its decisions of arbitration and mediation, the Organisation of Mediation and Arbitration (O.M.E.D) must take into account the economic data and the competitiveness potential of the company, the sector of activity and of the Greek economy more broadly⁵.

One of the most discussed measures regarding not only collective bargaining procedures but also minimum wage formation has been the imposition of national minimum

⁵ <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2012/03/articles/gr1203019i.htm>
<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/studies/tn1301019s/gr1301019q.htm>

wage by law. In fact, since 2012 the national minimum wage has been reduced with legislative intervention by 22% (and by 32% for people under 25 years of age), a decision which not only undermined the gravity of the national collective agreement but also the negotiating role of social partners.⁶ Besides this direct salary reduction, we have also to take into account the fact that increases to basic wage/salary under collective terms, maturity and long service allowances are suspended until the unemployment rate drops under 10%. Despite, the statements of the Minister of Labour to the contrary, no one can assure that the minimum wage will not be reduced again, especially considering the fact that it is supposed to be set each year by law.

But apart from the wage cuts introduced and those coming, this measure undermines basic labour and social rights, such as the right of national social partners to freely negotiate working conditions and wages, as well as the role of national collective agreement which up until now has fixed the minimum wage. Thus, until 2017 the negotiating role of social partners at the national level is limited to institutional issues, while they can not negotiate the minimum wage. But even for the period after 2017, the Ministry of Labour is designing a mechanism for fixing the minimum wage based on several criteria, such as the age, the unemployment rate by region, by category of workers, the rate of growth, the rate of informal work, etc.

3. Crisis Challenges for trade unions and their responses

The consecutive laws in relation to industrial and employment relations voted in the last 3 years have created a general climate of dissatisfaction and insecurity within the Greek society, which is reinforced by the different tax measures, as well as the unprecedented increase of unemployment rates. In fact unemployment rate in May 2013 was 27.6% compared to 23.8% in May 2012 and 7.3% in May 2008. Unemployment is more higher among women (31.6%) than among men (24.6%), while it concerns more the young population (64.9% in the age group of 15-24 and 37.7% in the age group of 25-34)⁷.

Trade unions mobilizations have led to a without precedent confrontation between the trade unions fraction PASKE (attached to the socialist party PASOK) and the government of PASOK, while since 2012, we have also seen the trade unions fraction DAKE (attached to the right-wing party New Democracy) face the party New Democracy which has co-signed the second memorandum in February 2012 and which also leads the coalition government since 2012.

Such is the case of the Greek trade unionist N. Kouloubaritsis, protagonist of the mass demonstrations in the public transport in Athens in strikes and work stoppages in the public transport in Athens in autumn 2011 (37 days of strike during 2 ½ months) who at the time was also the head of the Athens Urban Transport Organisation (OASA) employees union and general secretary of the trade union section PASKE - OASA (attached to the PASOK). He has claimed that he had been "forced" to resign these two posts because he had not supported the government of PASOK

«I tried to keep the autonomy and independence of decisions taken by the workers. I am paying the fact that I did not support the government».

His case is emblematic of the rupture in the relations between the political parties who have signed the two memoranda and their trade union fractions. Therefore it is not paradoxical that these last few months a lot of trade unionists from PASKE and DAKE, especially in public

⁶ This last measure has as a result that the minimum wage for a new-hired single worker of more than 25 years goes back to 586.08 euros, while for those having less than 25 years the salary goes back to 510.94 euros.

⁷ <http://www.statistics.gr/>

enterprises, have renounced their political affiliation and identity and are now expressing their support towards political parties who are voting and have voted against the memoranda. This has become even more visible during the last trade union elections which took place during the Congress of GSEE in March 2013. Even though the trade union fraction of PASKE has maintained the first place, the fraction was weakened (16 seats, against 22 the earlier period), while former members of the PASKE have created a new fraction of association (called "WE") who has retained 3 seats. The leader of the new fraction is N. Fotopoulos, until recently head of the union of workers of the public enterprise of energy (DEI) who was also behind the occupation of the data centre of Public Power Corporation (DEI) when the government had imposed a habitation tax that is collected directly through the electricity bill.

Consequently, the relations between trade unions fractions and their traditional political allies have been severely shaken. Other than this unfavourable political context which does not allow them to act effectively as pressure groups, trade unions are also threatened both on the financial plan, as well as on their negotiating prerogatives. On the financial plan, their survival is under threat as a result of the abolition by law on February 2012 of the Foyer of Labour which was for decades the main source of financing of trade union organisations. Although, for the moment, the funds of this organisation have been transferred to the OAED (body responsible for unemployment benefits and employment search), the financing of trade unions remains extremely uncertain. With regard to collective bargaining, the Greek trade union movement is threatened from both sides. On the one hand, the unfavourable economic context, with the high rates of unemployment and the unstoppable closure of companies do not leave much room for action. On the other hand, as has been already said, the recent laws constitute a threat to the right to free collective bargaining, to the autonomy of the social partners and to social dialogue.

Not only trade unions but employers organisations as well, and most particularly those representing the small employers [National Confederation of Hellenic Commerce (ESEE), and the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen & Merchants (GSEVEE)] emphasize the importance of social dialogue. This concern was also visible in the joint letter that the social partners have sent in February 2012 to the Prime Minister –at the time- Loucas Papadimas in the framework of the social dialogue procedure preceding the vote of the law on the reduction of the minimum wage, where they stressed out the importance of social dialogue. The same concern was expressed by the social partners in the framework of the last negotiations for the signing of the new national collective agreement. For these same reasons, in a letter sent to the social partners (in July 2012) the GSEE had expressed the wish to make sign this new collective agreement at the seat and under the auspices of the ILO (International Labour Organisation) in order to leave no margin of contestation by the government side. GSEE considers that the ILO can operate as a guarantor in the efforts of the social partners to restore the content and the institutional strength of the national collective agreement.

In effect, GSEE paradoxically found allies among the employers and especially among small employers which through their representative organisations participated at an important number of general strikes against tax and economic austerity measures arguing that these led to massive company closures and so to the loss of working places. Another point in common between these actors is the need to set up measures of growth to revitalize the economy, save existing jobs and create new ones. In this context, it was not a surprise that the last National Collective Agreement (EGSSE) has not been signed by the Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV) but only by the traditional small employers organisations (ESEE, GSEVEE), as well as by a new national social partner, the Association of Greek Tourism Enterprises (SETE).

Trade union action against the measures took not only the form of industrial action but also the form of more informal initiatives such as the letter addressed in common with the other social partners to the Prime Minister, as well as the form of legislative initiatives. In fact, “complaints were submitted to national and international judicial authorities, questioning whether the new measures were compatible with the Greek constitution and with international labour agreements”⁸. Several trade unions have submitted a complaint to the Committee on Freedom of Association of the ILO. According to its report (365th Report, 11/2012) the Committee has found many and serious violations of the principle of the inviolability of freely negotiated collective agreements and a large deficit in social dialogue⁹. Regarding national level, many trade unions at all levels submitted complaints to national judicial authorities. As an example, the civil servants association ADEDY submitted a complaint to the Supreme Administrative Court of Greece (StE) against labour reserve measures, while GSEE submitted a complaint to the Council of State in 2012, claiming that the measures introduced by ministerial Act on the minimum wage and the collective bargaining system transgress constitutionally protected social and labour rights¹⁰.

The second part of the paper that follows will offer evidence and discuss the national scale general strikes and the related large demonstrations organized by the two large private and public sector unions, GSEE and ADEDY, in the context of the Greek campaign which brought together large numbers of participants and organizations across the country, against Troika Memoranda and austerity policies.

Part II. Labor Union Participation in the Campaign against Troika’s Memoranda and Austerity Policies

Following the 2007 financial crisis in the US and the spiralling banking sector or sovereign debt crises across US, European, and other regions, a new **fifth phase** of both transnational and national contention has risen, marked by the recent economic struggles encompassing wider populations, such as the *Occupy* movement, the *Arab protests*, the *Eastern European protests* and the *Indignados* (Kriesi 2011, Goldstone 2011, Smith 2011, Kousis 2012, Beissinger and Sasse 2012, della Porta 2012, Fuster Morell 2012, Shepard 2012). Mobilizing both at the national as well as the transnational level these contenders are against financial, economic and political institutions both at home, and abroad. They are led by broad coalitions who call upon economic and political powerholders to change the status quo and offer alternatives towards economic justice and real democracy.

The recent economic contention against neo-liberal reforms and austerity policies in Southern European national, and less often transnational spaces (Kousis 2012, 2013), demonstrates the importance of ‘Meganetworks’ comprised of very broad cross class coalitions that “facilitate further mobilization by creating and linking prior, tightly-linked within-group networks to each other.” (Goldstone 2011).

These “meganetworks” reflect characteristics of both “contained” as well as “warring movements” (Tarrow 2011). Contained movements have four basic characteristics. They involve traditional groups (unions, political parties, working classes, unemployed, middle classes, professional associations, church, consumer groups, women, youth/students). They depict an increased politicisation of protest – i.e. increasing interactions between movement activists and political parties and elections (Tarrow 2011). They involve an

⁸ <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2013/03/articles/gr1303019i.htm>

⁹ <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/studies/tn1301019s/gr1301019q.htm>

¹⁰ <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2013/03/articles/gr1303019i.htm>

increase in networking (Diani 2011) and are IT using mobilizations, which are more widespread, more complicated, but may increase gap of participation. These anti-austerity protests also reflect characteristics of “Warring Movements”, i.e. increasing militancy (right, left) and violence (Tarrow 2011).

Public and private sector unions have more recently been playing a critical role in economic contention across European countries. Systematic comparative analysis of general strikes in Western Europe for almost three decades, before the financial crisis, point out that the decline in unions’ mobilization potential may be overestimated (Hamann, Johnston & Kelly 2013: 1049-51). The study reveals not only general strike increase across Western Europe but also a parallel increase in government welfare, pensions, labor markets reforms, Greece being a notable case with very high frequencies of general strikes. Findings also show that, the likelihood of strike action significantly increased, a) where unions were excluded from policy making by governments, b) with more rightist governments; by contrast, general strikes would decrease with multiparty coalition administrations who would be more willing to include unions in policy making.

In another recent work (Hamann, Kelly & Johnston 2013) find that Western European coalition governments led by center or Christian Democratic parties are more likely to make concessions to unions pressing through general strikes, compared to social democratic and conservative governments.

In Greece, labor unions have been among the protagonists, in a national campaign of 31 LPEs against troika’s Memoranda and austerity policies. This Labor Union participation and claims making via general strikes will be systematically examined here by applying a social movement method, that of protest event-claims analysis.

While protest events depict one level of contention, the data set of 31 LPEs comprise a campaign - a higher level of contention involving whole populations engaged in wider struggles, defined as sustained, organized public efforts making collective claims on target authorities, constituting one element (of three) of a social movement (Tilly 2004, p.3-4, Tarrow 2008, p.229).

“Unlike a one-time petition, declaration, or mass meeting, a campaign extends beyond any single event-although social movements often include petitions, declarations, and mass meetings. A campaign always links at least three parties: a group of self-designated claimants, some object(s) of claims, and a public of some kind. The claims may target governmental officials, but the “authorities” in question can also include owners of property, religious functionaries, and others whose actions (or failures to act) significantly affect the welfare of many people.”

(Tilly 2004:4)

The study of contentious events (Tilly 1978) is especially significant for periods of “thickened history” when “the pace of challenging events quickens to the point that it becomes practically impossible to comprehend them and they come to constitute an increasingly significant part of their own causal structure” (Beissinger 2002). It allows for the study of compact defensive actions and frames of a mobilized public confronting austerity and Memorandum policies of devastating impacts imposed by a delegitimized Greek state and powerful economic and political transnational agencies during the turbulent period 2010-13, following the 2007 financial crisis.

Given the focus on the national campaign as well as the high frequency of contentious events during this “thickened” period, choosing the Large Protest Events (LPEs) as the unit of analysis, facilitates the systematic tracing of all key events and synchronized actions at the national level, which constitute a national anti-MoU and austerity campaign sparked by neo-

liberal adjustment and austerity policies in Southern European countries. Mostly involving demonstration-marches and national scale general strikes with claims against troika's MoU and austerity measures, for the first three years of the Greek crisis - January 2010 to December 2012 - the 31 LPEs share the following features:

- 1) high numbers of participants,
- 2) high number of parallel/synchronized events,
- 3) focused on national level justice claims reacting to Troika Memoranda and austerity policies,
- 4) broad, cross-class coalitions involving a large number of groups and the general public,
- 5) based in Athens' Constitution Square, in front of the Parliament,
- 6) accompanied by parallel protests across the country with the same claims.

These LPEs are widely covered by national and transnational media depicting the discursive content of claims-making, the repertoire of related actions, the embeddedness of movement groups in multi-organizational fields, the relations between opportunities and mobilization, as well as other dimensions of public sphere issues (Kousis 1999, Koopmans 2007). Thus, as in previous periods of "thickened history" the best strategy is a "blanketing strategy" (Beissinger 1998, pp.290-300), utilizing multiple available sources in order to enrich the data set. Therefore five major sources were selected: Eleftherotypia, leftist Rizospastis and Avgi as well as alternative e-media sites, indymedia and realdemocracy.gr (included minutes of meetings and referenda). They were supplemented by other Greek national news sources, e.g. To Vima, Ta Nea, Kathimerini, Epohi, tvxs, international news sources (Guardian, Reuters, BBC), and blogs such as iskra.gr, as well the official sites of the unions.

Based on the mentions drawn from 430 articles, twenty four (24) of the 31 large protest events (LPEs) brought together 25,000 to 500,000 participants. Seven (7) of the 31 are LPEs involved 5,000 to 24,000 participants, and were either carried out on national commemoration days, or on transnational action days. Five of these seven LPEs were occurred on dates commemorating: (1) the refusal of Greece to allow Axis forces to enter Greece, and beginning of the country's participation in World War II, on October 28, 1940, (2) the Polytechnic University (Πολυτεχνείο) Student uprising against the military dictatorship on November 17, 1973, (3) the unprovoked fatal shooting of 16 years old Alexis Grigoropoulos by a policeman in the centre of Athens on December 6, 2008. Three of the five related large protest events adopted new, transnational forms of action, while also making claims concerning economic system/crisis born injustices: one following the Occupy movement on October 15, 2011, a second creating a new solidarity campaign for the Greek people, i.e. "We Are All Greeks"/ "Je suis Greque," on February 18, 2012, and a third on the first anti-austerity strike by European unions across member states, on 14 November 2012.

The Large Protest Event-Claims approach created for this analysis draws from protest event, protest-case, as well as political claims analysis and uses national newspaper and alternative electronic media reports to code information on economic and political claims (Tilly 1978, Rucht and Neidhardt 1998, Koopmans and Statham 1999, Statham et al 2005, Kousis, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2012d).

General strikes & LPEs in Greece, 2010-2012

Hamann, Johnston & Kelly (2013: 1033) define a general strike following Hyman's (1989) definition, as

“a temporary, national stoppage of work by workers from many industries, directed against the executive or legislative arms of government, to enforce a demand or give voice to a grievance”.

General strikes are different from economic strikes in that they are not directed against employees but government policies, while they also involve nationally focused mobilizations,

“by one or more national confederations of the whole of its membership, as well as nonunion members typically in protest against a proposed or adopted government policy reform, or following a breakdown in negotiations with the government about policy reform.”

Usually national scale general strikes respond to combinations of six types of government reforms concerning wages, labor market reform, pensions, other welfare issues, economic policy and other issues (Hamann, Johnston & Kelly 2013: 1034).

The analysis to follow will illustrate and discuss general strikes as labor union participation in a contentious campaign (Kousis and Diani 2013) confronting the financial crisis regime of powerful transnational actors governing Eurozone peripheral countries. Even though the above findings are based on general strike data before the financial crisis, the undertaken work aims to discuss the major findings in light of the above study.

Table 1 here

Table 1 illustrates the high intensity of labor union protests in the crisis period. In the past four years of troika Memoranda and austerity policies 17 national scale general strikes have been carried out as part of a wider campaign of contention against sweeping reforms affecting a national population. These general strikes have been the major activities of the two large union confederations, GSEE and ADEDY, supporting Hamann Johnston & Kelly's (2013) position on the importance of general strikes in a wider governance context.

Since early 2010, labor Unions or Confederations lead in national scale general strikes and large protests, showing a strong participation among the major challenging groups resisting austerity policies, along with political parties (mostly parties of the left), youth (students, pupils), justice oriented groups, professional organizations, Αγανακτισμένοι (Greek Indignados), anarchist groups and the public. The focus of this analysis will be on protest participants, claims making, action forms and alliances, as well as the involved transnational and national challenged groups.

The repertoires of contention of these broad cross-class coalitions of anti-austerity protesters are combinations of demonstrative, confrontational and violent protests, direct-democratic action, threats, symbolic violence or/and destruction of property. The challenged regime of the anti-austerity campaign encompasses the Greek state, the Troika, the IMF, the European Central Bank, the European Commission, Northern states, Global North Banks and credit institutions (Kousis and Diani 2013).

Following the financial crisis of 2008, the first anti-austerity period in Greece, from February 2010 to February 2011, began in February 2010 with a general strike by ΓΣΕΕ and accompanying demonstrations carried out in Athens and other cities, in response to the first Greek government's Stability measures, while in March, Union Confederations of both private and public sector employees (ΓΣΕΕ, ΑΔΕΔΥ) carried out a general strike against the 2nd largest state financial package (25-3-2010). At the end of April, credit institution Standard and Poor's gives junk status (BB+) to Greece's main debt rating. In May 2010 of this initial phase is marked by the very first appearance of the TROIKA (European Commission, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund) in a Eurozone region, and the

subsequent imposition of the first Memorandum on Greece in May 2010. This gave rise to an escalation of general strikes, demonstration and intense protests, as seen in Graph 1, across the country.

Graph 1 here

Specifically, on May 5, 2010, a third national scale general strike and demonstrations across the country mounted against the 1st Greek Bailout package (110 billion euros, the highest ever given to a country) and Austerity measures (The 1st Memorandum) by the IMF, the 16 EU member states of the eurozone and the European Central Bank (the troika), as well as against the related Greek government pledges and measures for their implementation. It is a date marked by the death of three employees in the fire that burned the bank they were working in, while protests occurred in the area. Politicians are harshly criticized in public. Violence is escalating. On 17 November 2010 and 6 December 2010 - on the commemorations of the 1973 University Student uprising against the military junta and of the killing of 16yrs old Alexis Grigoropoulos by a policeman – LPE participants voiced strong claims against the 1st Memorandum. In December 15, 2010 the fourth national general strike takes place in an LPE that witnessed increasing violence and bodily attack on a member of parliament of the New Democracy right wing party. The general public became a more visible participant in the LPE. In the February 2011 LPE, with demonstrations and the fifth national scale general strike against the 1st Memorandum and the 3rd package of economic measures, large amounts of tear gas and related chemicals were used by the police. Participants included tradesmen and self-employed citizens. The country is deeply in recession.

Table 2 here

As seen in Table 2, the second period, April 2011 to February 2012, of escalating and intensive protests across the country, witnessed the Multi-purpose Act and the 2nd Memorandum. These gave rise to a second round of intensification of strikes and protests, with the strong presence of the Greek Aganaktismenoi (indignados) movement of the piazzas, as well as the beginning of the transnational dimension of the Greek anti-austerity campaign. More austerity measures followed. The number of major actions peak in May and June 2011, due to novel as well as conventional action repertoires attracting very broad cross class coalitions, inspired and following to a large extent the Spanish Indignados. Police repression subsided until early June, violence decreased and political party affiliation and references were not visible. On June 28 & 29, the seventh national scale general strike fortified the LPE and the mobilizers blockaded Parliament, aiming to stop MPs from passing austerity and bailout related legislative measures, voicing their opposition to the measures related to troika's 2nd Greek Bailout package (21-6-2011). Protesters face high levels of police repression and tear gas, violence erupts at the end of the peaceful protests. Amnesty International calls the state to restrain police repression. A similar peak in the types of major actions, which include the eighth and ninth national scale general strikes, is reached on the 5 and 19-20th of October 2011, related to troika's 3rd Greek Bailout package of "hard restructuring" (27-10-2011) and the accompanying measures. In November, Papadreu steps down as prime minister and is replaced by former ECB vice president Lucas Papademos.

Fewer numbers of major protest events, but very intense and most attended, including the tenth national 48 hour strike, were carried out in the 10-12th of February 2012 LPE in

relation to government anti-austerity measures of troika's new 130 billion euro loan package & PSI. The LPE witnessed unprecedented action intensity and property damages.

A period of no LPEs surrounding the first national elections under crisis is visible between March and August 2012. LPEs have not appeared, given the national elections of May 6, 2012 and June 17, 2012, where economic voting (see e.g. Kriesi 2011) was clearly reflected in the dramatic drop of the previous two ruling parties of the post-dictatorial period, especially PASOK, which ruled during the period of the crisis and the rise of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Left) as well as Golden Dawn (extreme right party) (Kousis and Kanellopoulos 2013).

The third period from September to early January 2013 is the period of further austerity through neo-liberal policies and measures leading to the rejuvenation of economic protest activity. Six large protest events took place comprised of three national, general strikes (11th, 2th, and 13th) by public and private sector workers, one workers' rally, two national, general work stoppages (one of which was part of the ETUC European Unions' first strike against austerity) and one march on the commemoration of the University student uprising against the military junta.

Graph 2 here

Protesters have targeted both national as well as transnational power holders, as seen in Graph 2. Mentions to all targeted groups rise sharply during the second period, of the piazza movement. The campaign's primary targets are the Greek government, the Troika and the European Commission as well as Foreign Banks. Other challenged groups include financial institutions and credit agencies, the rich, and local government agencies. Least mentioned are capitalist markets, and the G20/G8 while in a minority of events, Germany is visible as a targeted state, especially since June 2011.

The great majority of demonstrators' claims are against Troika Memoranda & Austerity policies leading to overwhelming wage and pension decreases, tax increases, new taxes, dramatic unemployment, drastic privatization of public enterprises, drastic increase of inequalities and poverty, aggravated recession and no growth.

Workers and society strongly refuse to succumb to this 'Framework - Agreement' of the povertization and bankruptcy of society and economy and we demand its rejection [by Parliament] so that all the remaining labor, economic, social insurance, collective labor agreements, and democratic rights will not be abolished.

(GSEE union secretariat, 10 & 11-2-2012)

While claims on the negative impacts of troika measures on society, sovereignty and democracy increase from phase one to phase three, accountability claims decrease considerably, followed by a moderate decrease of claims referring to the structural adjustment measures themselves (Kousis and Diani 2013).

We are not returning to the Middle Ages, Greece will resist her slow death imposed on her by speculators, the bankers and the EU (general secretary of ADEDY union)

The Memorandum predictions failed miserably, the results are tragic for the real economy and criminal to society ... the salary and pension cuts are strangling the market putting padlocks in more than 480,000 businesses and exacerbate the recession which runs at a rate of countries during war.

(GSEE union general secretary, N. Kioutsoukis, 25&26-9-12)

In 27 out of the 32 large protests people claim that Troika policies impact on democracy, while in 25 of the 32 they point to impacts on Greek sovereignty. They claim for example that under these sweeping reforms, the Greek constitution is disregarded, that labor and social welfare laws are annulled and the rights to peaceful protest are threatened.

Unfortunately once again the means of repression used by the government to disband citizens' peaceful protests, were activated by the most violent way yesterday, Wednesday, November 7, 2012 (the second day of the general strike). We denounce these practices and declare that authoritarianism and anti-democratic behavior will not bend the resistance morale of the workers.

(Executive Committee of ADEDY union, 6&7-11-12)

Graph 3 here

As seen in Graph 3, the two large Labor Unions or Confederations of the public and private sector lead among the major participating groups in the 32 LPEs, 2010-2013 carrying out national scale general strikes and large demonstrations, often synchronized with other organizers of LPEs. The data show a strong participation among the major challenging groups resisting austerity policies, along with political parties (mostly parties of the left), youth (students, pupils), justice oriented groups, professional organizations, Αγανακτισμένοι (Greek Indignados), anarchist groups and the public.

Part III. Tentative Conclusions

These days, trade union organizations must face several challenges: the relations with their political allies are "traumatized", their financial survival seems uncertain, the economic context does not leave a lot of margins of action, while the autonomy of collective bargaining is threatened. It is therefore very difficult to consider the future of trade union organizations in this context and before proceeding to any conclusion, it is important to make some remarks concerning the current trade union landscape.

In recent years, Greek trade unions are facing one of the most difficult periods since their foundation, given that they are called to act in a radically different economic, political, institutional and social context. The "Greek crisis", in addition to its economic aspect, has also questioned traditional practices in industrial relations and has changed in depth both formal and informal rules. And all this in an extremely brutal way, if one considers that everything happened over a period of 2-3 years. Up to this time, the relations of "political exchange" with political parties and governments, the institutional anchorage, as well as the financial ease, creating an extremely favourable environment to the unions, led trade unions to be indifferent by the representation and trust crisis. Thus, despite the official discourse, no concrete strategies of renewal have taken place.

General strikes have been at the very heart of the Greek campaign against troika Memoranda and austerity policies. Although the data set at hand offers support for Hamann, Johnson and Kelly's (2013) findings on the increasing tendency of general strikes along with increasing government reforms concerning [welfare, pensions, labor markets reforms](#), the case of Greece as well as Ireland, Portugal and Spain attests to new transnational threats by EC, ECB and IMF, as well as financial institutions, with deep impacts on national populations. These were unforeseen before the financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent, unprecedented structural adjustment and austerity reforms in eurozone's periphery.

Precisely due to the scale and intensity of reforms surpassing the national government level, the data at hand do not offer similar evidence on concessions as do those by Hamann, Kelly and Johnson's (2013) of the pre-crisis period. Since all troika's Memoranda and the related austerity policies have been approved by the Greek Parliament, no concessions appear to have been reached. This issue nevertheless requires further research.

General strikes played a critical protagonist role in the Greek campaign since early 2013. Furthering Hamann, Johnson and Kelly's (2013) findings, strike action in austerity stricken Greece was affected by the unions' exclusion from policy making not only by the Greek government but also by troika. Nevertheless, protesters were against both the PASOK as well as rightist and multiparty coalition governments, since all of these were following troika's mandates.

The 2nd phase, a most contentious and pre-election period from May 2011-April 2012, witnessed drastic troika measures which were approved by the government. It appears that although trade union organizations were able to link to events organized by other civil society organizers [Greek Aganaktismenoi (indignados) / movement of the piazzas] they have not yet made full use of this dynamic. It remains to be studied whether they were able to "recruit" new members or not. At the same time however, there has been a notable effort from the part of the labour unions to develop new alliances with the other main actor of industrial relations: i.e. the small employers.

The third phase characterized by four general strikes has also witnessed a decrease in the number of participants, but also the dissolving of the piazza movement, as well as the extremely vague political landscape during the summer of 2012 and union elections that have taken place in the end March 2013.

Bibliography

Beissinger, M. and Gwendolyn Sasse (2012) *An End to Societal Patience? The Economic Crisis and Political Protest in Eastern Europe*”, Nuffield’s Working Papers Series in Politics.

Coriat, B. & Lantenois, C. (2011), «L’imbroglio grec. *La dette souveraine grecque prise au piège de la zone euro*», in http://www.france-alter.info/Note_Atterres_Grece.pdf

della Porta, D. (2012) “Mobilizing against the crisis, mobilizing for “another democracy”: comparing two global waves of protest” *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, Volume 4 (1): 274 - 277 (May).

Dufour, C. & Hege, A. (2010), «Légitimité des acteurs collectifs et renouveau syndical», *La Revue de l’IRES*, n° 65, pp. 67-85.

Fuster Morell, M. (2012) “Composition of 15M Mobilization in Spain: Free Culture Movement a layer of 15M ecosystem movement”, ‘Occupy’ special edition. *Social Movement Studies*.

Goldstone, J. A. (2011) *Cross-class Coalitions and the Making of the Arab Revolts of 2011*. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17: 457–462.

Hamann, K. J. Kelly & A. Johnston (2013) “Striking Concessions from Governments: Explaining the Success of General Strikes in Western Europe, 1980-2009” *Comparative Politics*, 46(1), Sept.

Hamann, K., Alison Johnston, and John Kelly (2013) *Unions Against Governments: Explaining General Strikes in Western Europe, 1980–2006* *Comparative Political Studies* 46(9) 1030–1057.

Ioannou, C. (2000), *Trade unions in Greece : development, structures & prospects*, Bonn, FES.

Ioannou, C. (2005), «From Divided “Quangos” to Fragmented “Social Partners”: The Lack of Trade Unions’ Mergers in Greece», In : Waddington, J. (ed.), *Restructuring Representation: The Merger Process and Trade Union Structural Development in Ten Countries*, PIE-Lang, Bruxelles, pp. 139-164.

Karakioulafi, C. (2012), “Les syndicats grecs dans un contexte de crise économique”, *Les Mondes du Travail*, no 12, novembre.

Karamessini, M. (2010), «Crise de la dette publique et thérapie de choc en Grèce», *Chronique Internationale de l’IRES*, n° 127, pp. 122-136.

Kelly, J. (2011), «Theories of collective action and trade union power», In : Gall, G., Hurd, R. & Wilkinson, A. (eds.), *International Handbook on Labour Unions: Responses to Neo-Liberalism*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, pp. 13-28.

Kousis, M. and C. Tilly (2005) “Introduction” in M. Kousis and C. Tilly (eds) *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective* Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers (pp. 1-14).

Kousis, M. & M. Diani (2013) “The Duality of Claims and Events: The Greek Campaign against Troika’s Memoranda and Austerity, 2010-2012” under review in *Social Problems*.

Kousis, M. (forthcoming) «The transnational dimension of the Greek anti-austerity campaign, 2010-2012» In Donatella della Porta and Alice Mattoni (eds) *Transnationalization, diffusion and the 2011 movements: From the Arab Spring to Occupy Wall Street*, Colchester: ECPR Press.

Kouzis, Y. (2005), «Trade unions in Greece», in *Enimerosi INE GSEE*, n° 122, pp.6-14. (in Greek)

Kouzis, Y. (2007), *The characteristics of Greek trade unionism*, Athens : Gutenberg (in Greek)

Kouzis, Y. (2011a), «[L'impact de la crise sur les relations de travail et les conventions collectives en Grèce](#)», in *Journal International de Recherche Syndicale*, n° 3, pp. 273-286.

Kouzis, Y. (2011b), «The institutional development of flexibility and deregulation of labour in Greece (1990-2011)», *Enimerosi INE GSEE*, n° 192, pp. 16-23(in Greek)

Kretsos, L. (2011), «Union responses to the rise of precarious youth employment in Greece», *Industrial Relations Journal*, n° 42, pp. 453–472.

Kretsos, L., (2012) «Grassroots unionism in the context of economic crisis in Greece», *Labor History*, n° 52, pp. 265-286.

Kriesi, H. (2011) “The political consequences of the financial and economic crisis in Europe: electoral punishment and popular protest”, Oxford paper, version 3, November 2011.

Lavdas, K. (2005), «*Interest Groups in Disjointed Corporatism: Social Dialogue in Greece and European 'Competitive Corporatism'*», *West European Politics*, n° 28, pp.297-316.

Lyrantzis, C. (1987), «The Power of Populism: The Greek Case», *European Journal of Political Research*, n°15, pp. 667-686.

Mavrogordatos, G.T. (1997), «From Traditional Clientelism to Machine Politics: The Impact of PASOK Populism in Greece», *South European Society and Politics*, n° 2, pp. 1-26.

Psimitis, M. (2011) “The Protest Cycle of Spring 2010 in Greece”, *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 10(2): 191-197.

Shepard, B. H. (2012), *Labor and Occupy Wall Street: Common Causes and Uneasy Alliances*, WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor and Society, 15: 121–134.

Smith, J. (2011) *Globalizations Forum on Middle East Protests: Commentary*, *Globalizations*, 8(5): 655-659.

Smith, J. and Dawn Wiest (2012) *Social Movements in the World-system: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sullivan, R. (2010), «Labour market or labour movement? The union density bias as barrier to labour renewal», *Work Employment & Society*, n° 24, pp. 145-156.

Strawn, K. (2005) *Political process, economy, and protest in Mexico, 1999--2000: An event centered quantitative analysis of collective action in a structural adjustment society*, PhD thesis, Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Tarrow, S. (2011) "Global, conventional and warring movements and the suppression of contention. Themes in contentious politics research" *Politica & Sociedade*, 10 (18): 25-49.

Tilly, C. and S. Tarrow (2006) *Contentious Politics*. London: Paradigm Publishers.

Triantafyllou, P. (2003), «Reflection on where the theory of neo-corporatism in Greece has stopped and where the praxis (or the absence ?) of neo-corporatism may be going», 1st LSE PhD Symposium on Modern Greece, Hellenic Observatory-LSE, 21 June.

Vernardakis, C., Mavreas, K. & Patronis, V. (2007). «Trade unions and representation relations during the period 1990-2004», In : *Work and politics*, Athens : Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, pp. 37-53. (in Greek)

VPRC (2010), *Trade unionism, trade unions and trade union participation in an economic crisis context*, Survey.

Zambarloukou, S. (2006), «Collective Bargaining and Social Pacts: Greece in Comparative Perspective», *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, n° 12, pp. 211-229.

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/1998/12/feature/gr9812102f.htm>

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2012/03/articles/gr1203019i.htm>

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/studies/tn1301019s/gr1301019q.htm>

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2013/03/articles/gr1303019i.htm>

<http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?QueryId=20167>

<http://www.worker-participation.eu/National-Industrial-Relations/Countries/Greece/Trade-Unions#note1>

<http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?QueryId=20167>

<http://www.statistics.gr/>

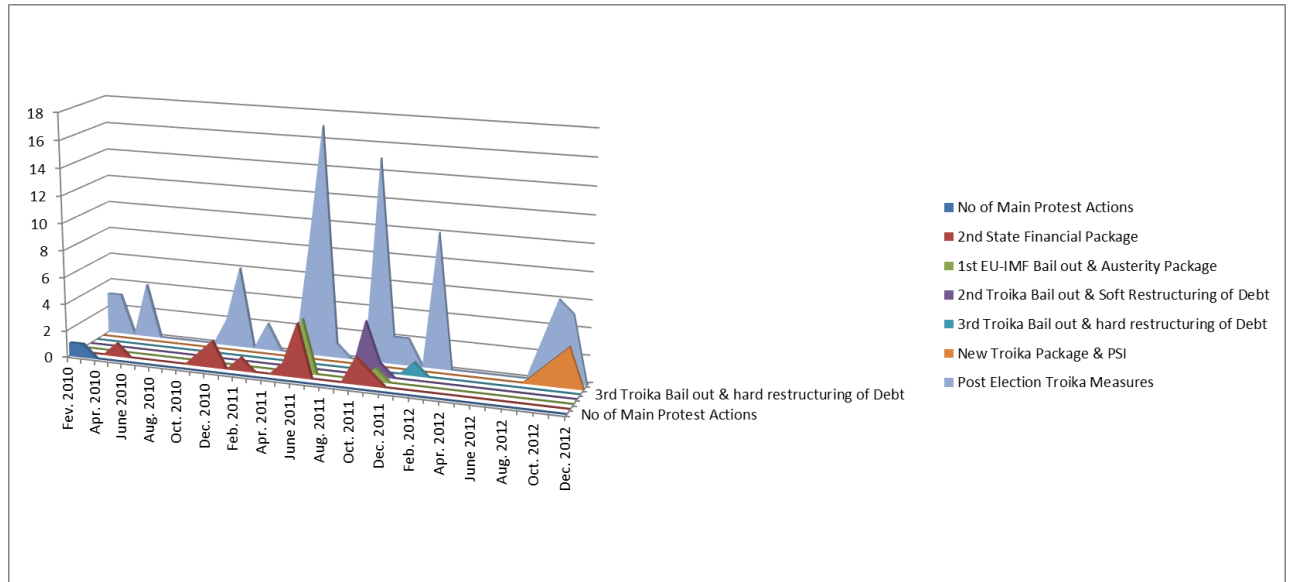
Table 1. Large and Smaller General Strikes, Labor rallies and Work Stoppages since Jan. 2010

	No. of General Strikes		No. of Labor Rallies	No. of Work Stoppages
	LPE-GSEE-ADEDY	nonLPE-GSEE	nonLPE-GSEE	nonLPE-GSEE
2010	4	3	2	3
2011	5	3	0	0
2012	4	2	3	3
2013(till August)	4	-	2	-
Source: GSEE-INE (Labor Institute) Chronology [of labor union activities], 2010-2013; data base of LPEs.				

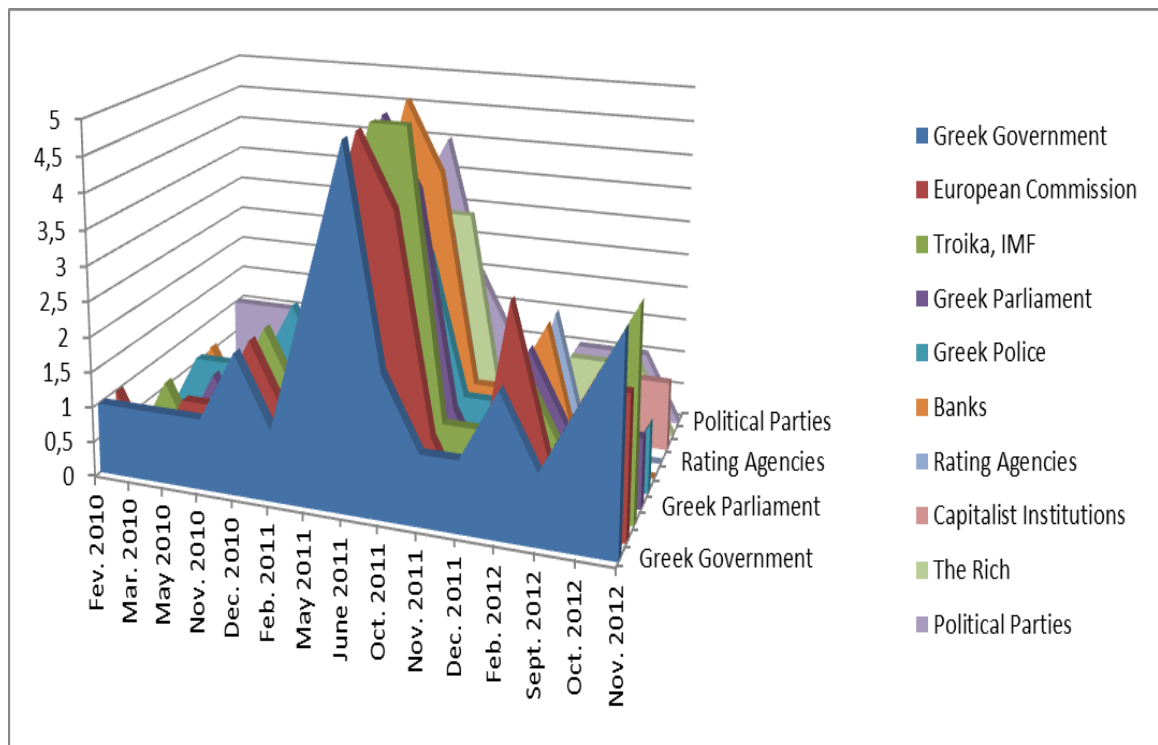
Table 2. The 31 LPEs of the three phases of the Campaign against Troika & Austerity Measures, 2010-2012

PE No	Highest No of Participants	Date of LPE	Major Form I	Major Form II
<i>Phase I: February 2010 - February 2011 (7 LPEs)</i>				
1	50,000	24/2/2010	1st, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
2	200,000	11/3/2010	2nd, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
3	250,000	5/5/2010	3rd, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
4	60,000	17/11/2010	Commemoration of the anti-junta Student Uprising	March & Demonstration
5	30,000	6/12/2010	Commemoration of Grigoropoulos & Youth Uprising	March & Demonstration
6	200,000	15/12/2010	4th, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
7	250,000	23/2/2011	5th, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
<i>Phase II: March 2011 - February 2012 (18 LPEs)</i>				
8	50,000	25/5/2011	Αγανακτισμένοι - Greek Indignados	Piazza Movement
9	60,000	29/5/2011	Αγανακτισμένοι - Greek Indignados	Piazza Movement
10	30,000	31/5/2011	Αγανακτισμένοι - Greek Indignados	Piazza Movement
11	25,000	2/6/2011	Αγανακτισμένοι - Greek Indignados	Piazza Movement
12	400,000	5/6/2011	Αγανακτισμένοι - Greek Indignados	Piazza Movement
13	250,000	15/6/2011	6th, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	Piazza Movement
14	200,000	28/6/2011	7th, 48hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	Piazza Movement
15	300,000	29/6/2011	cont.	Piazza Movement
16	50,000	5/10/2011	8th, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
17	6,000	15/10/2011	Global Occupy Day	Demonstrations & Festivals
18	500,000	19/10/2011	9th, 48hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
19	300,000	20/10/2011	cont.	March & Demonstration
20	10,000	28/10/2011	Cancellation of Parade	March & Demonstration
21	20,000	17/11/2011	Commemoration of the anti-junta Student Uprising	March & Demonstration
22	10,000	6/12/2011	Commemoration of Grigoropoulos & Youth Uprising	March & Demonstration
23	200,000	10-11/2/2012	10th, 48hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
24	500,000	12/2/2012	Demonstration March	March & Demonstration
25	5,000	18/2/2012	Transnational Solidarity for Greeks Day	March & Demonstration
<i>Phase III: March 2012 – December 2012 (6 LPEs)</i>				
26	200,000	26/9/2012	11th, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
27	80,000	9/10/2012	Work Stoppage GSEE-ADEDY	Worker Demonstration
28	50,000	18/10/2012	12th, 24hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
29	100,000	6-7/11/2012	13th, 48hr General Strike GSEE-ADEDY	March & Demonstration
30	6,000	14/11/2012	ETUC supporting Work Stoppage GSEE-ADEDY	ETUC 1st anti-austerity strike
31	20,000	17/11/2012	Commemoration of the anti-junta Student Uprising	March & Demonstration

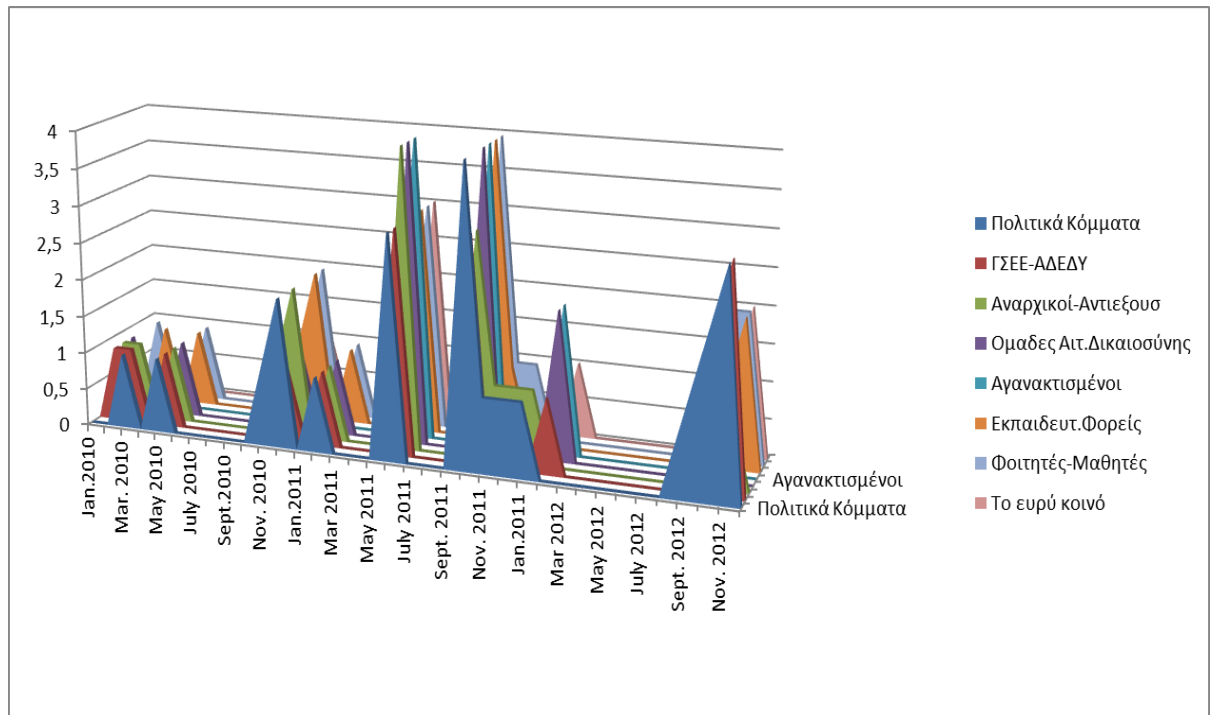
Note: The Number of Participants refers only to the number of protesters in Constitution Square, Athens, and not to those of the parallel events across the country.



Graph 1. Total Number of Main Protest Actions and the related Bail out and Austerity Packages, Jan.2010-Dec.2012



Graph 2. Target Groups mentioned in LPEs, 2010-2012



Graph 3. Major Participating groups in LPEs, 2010-2012

In order of appearance in the list on the right:

Political Parties, Labor Unions (Private & Public Sector), Anarchists, Justice Groups, Greek Indignados, Educational Groups, Students-Youth, the General Public