

Quiz March 7, 2013

After reading the outline of events below, please address the following questions. You can write some of your answers on the provided illustrated sheets.

Puzzles to be Explained

Which theories from class best explain participation in Greek demonstrations? Why? Which theories are less useful?

Which theories from class best explain participation in violent protest (riots)? Why? Which theories are less useful?

What might explain the observed mix of peaceful and violent protests?

What other information is necessary to more fully answer these questions?

Field of Variation

December 2008: **Riot** (student death)

May 5, 2010: 100,000+ diverse crowd, calls for nation-wide strike **Riot** (3 dead, fires at bank, tear gas)

February 23, 2011: 100,000 call for removal of loan program

May 25, 2011: Protests across Greece, diverse participation, little evidence of political party or union organization. Peaceful.

June 5, 2011: 200,000+ in Athens

June 28, 2011: New package of austerity measures **Violence** in Athens, 270 injured, vandalized shops

June 30, 2011: Demonstrations in Athens, other locations in Greece

October 5, 2011: General strike, non-violent, only 10 arrests

October 17, 2011: strikes, anarchists try to enter parliament, 1 dead

November 17, 2011: 50,000 in Athens

February 7, 2012: General Strike, 80,000 against passing of austerity measures, **Riot**, 45 building on fire 25 protestors and 40 police injured

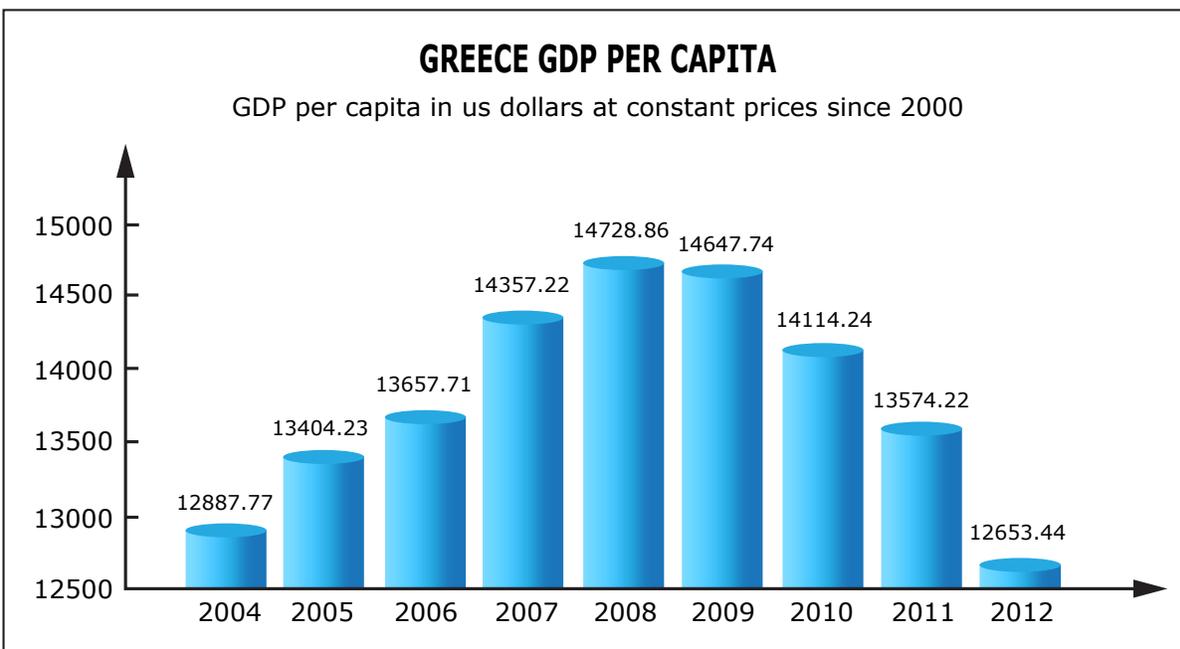


Image by MIT OpenCourseWare.

Background of the 2010 protests

In the early-mid 2000s, the government took advantage of Greece's strong economy by running a large deficit. As the world economy cooled in the late 2000s, Greece was hit hard because its main industries—[shipping](#) and [tourism](#)—were sensitive to changes in the business cycle. As a result, the country's debt began to pile up rapidly. In early 2010 policy makers suggested that emergency bailouts might be necessary.

Austerity measures

On 1 May, Prime Minister [George Papandreou](#) announced a fourth round of austerity measures by the Greek government, described as "unprecedented".¹ These include more public sector pay cuts, pension reductions, new taxes on company profits, an increase on luxury and [sin taxes](#), and an increase of the [value added tax](#). The proposed changes, which aim to save €30 billion through 2012, represent the biggest government overhaul in a generation. The cuts are in line with the EU-[International Monetary Fund](#) loan proposals, which demand that Greece liberalise its economy.

The Hellenic Parliament was expected to vote on the proposed austerity measures on 6 May. [New Democracy](#), the conservative minority party, vowed to vote against the bill, but the bill was expected to pass due to the [Panhellenic Socialist Movement's](#) large 160-seat advantage in Parliament. The government has pleaded with demoralized staff not to retire, fearing that a surge in benefits requests could further drain the public treasury.

In separate votes on 29 and 30 June, Parliament approved the austerity measures.

Relationship to the 2008 Greek riots

The [2008 Greek riots](#) started on 6 December 2008, when Alexandros Grigoropoulos a 15-year-old student, was killed by two policemen in the [Exarcheia](#) district of central [Athens](#). While the unrest was triggered by the shooting incident, commentators described the reactions as expressing deeper causes, especially a widespread feeling of frustration in the younger generation about the economic problems of the country (partly as a result of the [global economic crisis](#)), a rising unemployment rate among young people and a perception of general inefficiency and corruption in Greek state institutions.

2010 protests

Before 5 May 2010

On May Day there were protest marches in [Athens](#) and [Thessaloniki](#), by many unions, left-wing, anarchist and communist party supporters. Violent clashes broke out when riot police were sent out to contain the protesters.

On 4 May, members of the [Communist Party of Greece](#) broke into the [Acropolis of Athens](#) and hung banners: "Peoples of Europe Rise Up".

5 May 2010 strike and demonstrations

In response to the proposed spending cuts and tax increases, a nation-wide strike was called for 5 May. Starting at midnight, airplane, train, and ferry traffic in and out of the country ceased. Schools, some hospitals, and many private businesses were closed. The demonstrations are seen by some as the most widespread since the end of the [Greek military junta of 1967–1974](#).

An estimated 100,000 people marched through Athens, with some estimates stretching to 500,000. As protests gained momentum, a large group tried to storm the parliament building in [Syntagma Square](#) in Athens, where they scuffled with police, causing some of the [Evzones](#) (ceremonial guards) to flee from the [Tomb of the Unknown Soldier](#). The protesters accused members of parliament of being "thieves". Riot police were able to push the crowds back with [tear gas](#), [flash bombs](#) and [smoke bombs](#). Nearby buildings, including a finance ministry building, were set on fire. Prime Minister George Papandreou responded "Nobody has the right to violence and particularly violence that leads to murder. Violence breeds violence."¹

Protesters set fire to a [Marfin Bank](#) branch on [Stadiou Street](#) with [Molotov cocktails](#); witnesses said that protesters marching past the bank ignored the employees' cries for help, while others chanted [anti-capitalist](#) slogans. Most of the bank's employees managed to escape the burning building, but two employees who jumped from the second-story balcony were injured and two women and a man were found dead after the fire was extinguished. It was reported that fire crews had difficulty reaching the scene because of demonstrations moving through the area. The victims died of [asphyxiation](#) from toxic fumes when they were unable to escape from a roof exit that was blocked. They had gone to work despite the general strike over fears of losing their jobs. They have been identified as Paraskevi Zoulia, 35, Angeliki Papathanasopoulou, 32 (who was four months pregnant), and Epaminondas Tsakalis, 36. Papandreou called the incident a "murderous act". [Michalis Chrysohoidis](#), the [Minister for the Protection of the Citizen](#), declared that "today is a black day for democracy ... undemocratic forces have [latched on to] a peaceful demonstration of workers and now petrol bombs have killed three of our citizens and put an immediate danger to the lives of others." He also stated that "the killers will be caught and punished accordingly". Police started a widespread search, with the help of closed-circuit television footage in order to detect and arrest the suspects. The police blamed "hooded youth" for the incident, while one protestor who spoke to BBC blamed police brutality for the escalation of violence which was started when protesters threw [Molotov cocktails](#) at police; the police responded with pepper spray and tear gas

Elsewhere in Athens, some demonstrators threw rocks, bottles, and pieces of marble at the police. Numerous trash bins were lit on fire. Some broke windows, threw petrol bombs, and committed other acts of vandalism. Other protesters set up barricades and burned cars. Across Athens, at least 12 people were injured, and more than 70 people were detained for questioning.

In [Thessaloniki](#), 37 people were arrested as a result of the protests.

Aftermath of the 5 May protest

On 5 and 6 May 2010, the Hellenic Parliament passed the proposed austerity measures, claiming they show the Greek government's commitment to tackling its [budget deficit](#), amongst continued protests.

Background of the 2011 protests

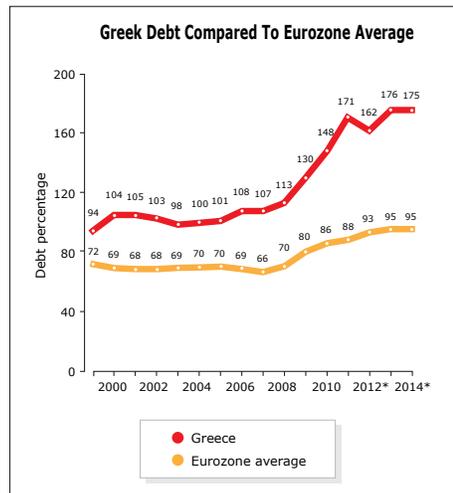


Image by MIT OpenCourseWare.

The first round of austerity in 2010 failed to stop Greece's rising debt, which is expected to go up by 10% in 2011.

The memorandum signed between Greece and the IMF became largely unpopular in Greece, with some polls showing that 62% believe it was a bad decision. This memorandum came into action 7 October 2011. Amid accusations that the government has not achieved its goals according to the IMF memorandum, some countries in the [European Union](#) have stated that they will not be lending Greece any more money if the IMF does not do so, including the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden. Some European officials went so far as to say that Greece should start selling away its assets to other European nations in order to receive loans, and the [Dutch](#) Minister of Finance said that the Greek parliament would not like this proposal and characterized the opinion of the Greek parliament as "a sensibility" that no one can consider at this time. Meanwhile, unemployment exceeded 15%, while a large percentage of full-time workers only receive the minimum wage of 592 Euros, or less. Rumours in regards to Greece's exclusion from the [Eurozone](#) also added to frustration, but these were categorically rejected by the Greek government, the [European Central Bank](#), the [Bank of Greece](#) and IMF-director nominee, and French Finance Minister, [Christine Lagarde](#). On 29 June 2011, amid violent protests, the second austerity package was passed with 155 votes in favor in the 300-seat parliament. The next day, the Office of the [High Commissioner for Human Rights](#) of the United Nations reported an independent UN expert's warning that the austerity measures could result in violations of the Greek people's human rights, such as "rights to food, water, adequate housing and work under fair and equitable conditions". Meanwhile, other international media have questioned the necessity of a second austerity package, when the first one brought in no results.

Apart from the economic crisis, there is also a developing political crisis in the country. The [European Commission](#) asked the major parties in Greece to come to an agreement in regards to the new set of austerity measures, but twice the major parties failed. In a poll published on 29 May 2011, the two major

parties (the ruling [Panhellenic Socialist Movement](#) and the main opposition [New Democracy](#)) gathered slightly under 40% of the total number of votes, with the ruling party having 19%, while the opposition came first with 19.5%. In another poll published the same day, the ruling party came first with 20.7% while the opposition came second with 20.4%. According to the polls, neither of the two parties could form a government, even if they combined forces. The lack of co-ordination within the government (with conflicting government officials stating opposite 'government positions') also fueled the protests.

2011 protests

February 2011

On 23 February 2011, there was a recurrence of violent protests and strikes, involving up to 100,000 people as German Chancellor [Angela Merkel](#) called for a renewal of the loan programme to Greece^l that had been conditioned on fiscal tightening. The measures adopted by Greece were considered harsh by the protesters.

The "Indignant Citizens Movement" (May–August)

As of 25 May 2011, there is a peaceful demonstration in Athens and other major cities, protesting the new austerity measures proposed by the government, in the same spirit as the [2011 Spanish protests](#). The demonstrations include most major Greek cities: [Athens](#), [Thessaloniki](#), [Larissa](#), [Patras](#), [Volos](#), [Rethymno](#), [Tripoli](#) and [Kalamata](#). The demonstration in Athens is coordinated by the Facebook page "[Αγανακτισμένοι Στο Σύνταγμα](#)" (Indignants at [Syntagma](#)). Currently, it is reported that over 90,000 people have registered on the page,^[87] and thousands (reportedly over 30,000) have gathered outside the [Greek Parliament](#) in Syntagma square. The demonstration in Greece's second-largest city, [Thessaloniki](#), is co-ordinated by the Facebook page "[Αγανακτισμένοι στον Λευκό Πύργο](#)" (Indignants at the [White Tower](#)), and over 35,000 people have said they would 'attend' the protest. Some of the most popular slogans at the 25 May protest were:

- Error 404, Democracy was not found.
- I vote, You vote, He votes, She votes, We vote, You vote, They steal.
- Greece your turn has come, you have to stop burying your children.
- Oust! (Greek interjection of a negative nature, meaning "leave")
- The maid resisted. What do we do? (Reference to [an alleged sex scandal](#) involving former IMF director [Dominique Strauss-Kahn](#))

This series of demonstrations differed from almost all other demonstrations in Greece's [metapolitefsi](#) era (1975–present) in that it was a protest organized without political or trade union affiliations. Demonstrators who expressed political party affiliation during the demonstrations were condemned by the majority of the demonstrators, as the organizers claimed that there was no room for political affiliation or violence in the demonstrations. The focus of the protesters was against the government and the current driving forces of [Greek politics](#), and the [International Monetary Fund](#). As a response to the Spanish slogan "Be quiet, the Greeks are sleeping" (which was allegedly heard at the [2011 Spanish protests](#)), a big banner was raised in front of the Spanish embassy in Athens reading "¡Estamos despiertos! ¿Que hora es? ¡Ya es hora de que se vayan!" (We've woken up! What time is it? Its time they left!). There was also a strong sense of disapproval for the [Prime Minister of Greece](#), [George Papandreou](#), and the vice-president of the government, [Theodoros Pangalos](#).

The demonstrations continued nation-wide for a second day on 26 May. Despite heavy rainfall in central Athens, reportedly over 14,000, people gathered in front of the Greek parliament for a second day in a

row. The media reported that half of the people gathered at Syntagma Square in Athens were youth, whereas the other half were over 40, including families and children. In line with the Spanish quote of "Be quiet, the Greeks are sleeping" which triggered the Greek protests, two new banners appeared, one in French (Silence! Les Français dorment! Ils revert de '68, *Silence! The French are sleeping! They are dreaming of (May) '68*) and one in Italian (Zitti che svegliamo gli Italiani... *Be quiet, you will wake up the Italians...*). An information center and a "book of ideas" have also been set up at Syntagma Square. Additionally, a number of people were banging pots and pans. In [Thessaloniki](#), Greece's second city and second-largest center of demonstrations, the protesters hung a huge For Sale sign from the city's main landmark, the [White Tower](#), as a protest against the government's massive denationalization schedule, which they perceived as "selling away our country's assets". Although the demonstrations in Thessaloniki were visibly smaller on 26 May, with around 2,500 people participating, competing with a major football game between the city's two major teams and the shops and markets open until late that evening. Some people set up encampments

Demonstrations continued for a third consecutive day on 27 May. Thousands of people gathered in front of the Greek parliament, again in heavy downpour, joined by the "I'm Not Paying" movement. As a means of protesting, people wearing white masks formed a human shield around the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, in Syntagma Square. The demonstrations continued peacefully, and when one protester shouted a slogan against the police, he was heavily condemned by other demonstrators. On 27 May, the proceedings of the first [people's assembly](#) on Syntagma Square were published by the [Real Democracy Now!](#) movement. Among them.^[106]

- Any corrupt politician should either be sent home or to jail.
- When we, the people, start discussions without fear, fear grips them, inside the parliament building.
- This is not just the politician's fault. It's all our faults, with our selfish attitudes.
- Demonstrations should take place every evening at 6 pm and an [assembly](#) at 9 pm.
- Their democracy guarantees neither Justice nor Equality.
- The taxation system is not the same for the rich and the poor. Equal rights for everyone.

29 May was set as a day of peaceful pan-European demonstrations. It was estimated that the demonstration in Athens alone attracted more than 100,000 demonstrators in front of the Greek parliament, while others put the estimates around 80,000. Demonstrations included people of all ages and financial backgrounds. The oldest person at the demonstration was a 102-year-old grandmother looking after her granddaughter, who also spoke at the [people's assembly](#) in support of the demonstrations. An estimated 10,000 people gathered in front of the [White Tower of Thessaloniki](#) in Greece's second city, and demonstrations were also held in many other Greek cities.^[117] Some of the most popular slogans that were heard on 29 May were "the worst form of violence is poverty" and "a magical night, like in Argentina, lets see who gets in the helicopter first!", a reference to [Argentine President Fernando de la Rúa](#)'s resignation and escape from the presidential mansion using a helicopter in 2001. Some of the demands that the [Real Democracy Now!](#) movement has formulated during the [assemblies](#) at syntagma Square include:

- Adoption of a new constitution, written by the people and not the members of parliament
- Refusal to pay debt which members of the movement consider to be [odious](#)
- Cancellation of the memorandum signed between Greece and the [International Monetary Fund](#)
- Harder taxation on the rich.

30 May saw continued demonstrations in Athens and other cities around Greece, although visibly smaller than the demonstrations of 29 May. More than 4,000 people demonstrated in front of the Greek

parliament on 30 May, with some sources claiming that over 10,000 people were present. The demonstrators also set up a set of [gallows](#) in front of the parliament, demanding that those responsible for the crisis be sent to justice.

31 May marked seven days since the start of the protests, and the [University of Athens](#) hosted an anti-government protest with the aid of famous Greek composer and anti-dictatorship fighter [Mikis Theodorakis](#), while the dean of the University was also a key speaker at the event. Once the protest at the university was over, the 10,000 protesters joined forces with the demonstrators already in front of the parliament, totalling between 25,000 and 50,000. The demonstrators surrounded the Greek parliament, making it impossible for MPs and workers inside the building to exit. While eight MPs escaped through the adjacent National Gardens. Later riot police created a passage in order to enable MPs to exit the parliament, to the loud condemnation of 1,000 protesters gathered at the side entrance.

June

Demonstrations continued on 1 June. In Athens, more than 15,000 people gathered in front of the parliament to protest for an eighth day in a row. This time they were also joined by the *Society for the Protection of Citizens by the Arbitration of Banks*, and also a group of motorcyclists who also showed their support for the protests. Earlier that evening the riot police had closed up the streets leading up to the embassy of Egypt. In order to avoid being blockaded inside the parliament like on 31 May, the members of parliament left early on 1 June. Among thousands of protesters in Syntagma square, 32 Greek scientists addressed a letter to the members of parliament calling them to announce the whole truth of the situation.

5 June was set as a second day of pan-European demonstrations and marked the 12th continuous day of demonstrations. It is estimated that well over 200,000 gathered at Athens' [Syntagma Square](#) that evening to protest against the government. Some sources put the number of people in front of the parliament to over 300,000 while the organizers claim that over 500,000 people took part in the demonstration, making it the largest demonstration in Athens since the 1980s. At the [people's assembly](#) a direct connection with [Madrid's Puerta del Sol](#) was made via [Skype](#). Some tension occurred on 5 June, as protesters were prevented from heading towards [Syntagma Square](#) by riot police, which had put together large metallic barriers to close off streets. Police also brought a [water cannon](#) to the protests. Demonstrations also took place in [Thessaloniki](#), [Patras](#) and [Heraklion](#), as well as many other Greek cities. Some of the most popular slogans of that day included:

- Bread-Education-Freedom – the dictatorship didn't fall in '73!
- We do not owe, we will not sell away, we will not pay.
- Minister of culture, minister of censorship

Demonstrations continued throughout June, both at [Syntagma Square](#) and other squares in cities across the country. On 28 June 2011, Greek unions, including those whose members dominate the country's health, transportation, education, and government jobs began a 48-hour strike, in protest of the deteriorating economic situation and suggestions on the part of the government of new austerity measures. The walkout led to the freezing of a number of public services. Journalists and a number of artists also stopped working in solidarity with the protest. That day demonstrations turned violent as protestors clashed with police in front of the Greek parliament and other areas of central [Athens](#). Violence continued during the night and on 29 June, the day when a new package of deeply unpopular austerity measures was passed. The police attempted to evacuate Syntagma Square of protesters, as well as other key protest points in Athens, by driving through the crowds on motorbikes and throwing stun grenades while making extensive use of tear gas. Media also mention that the police used unnecessary violence against protesters. Officials from the [Athens Metro](#) also said that the police had fired [tear gas](#) inside the

Syntagma Square metro station. Police also stormed [Monastiraki](#), as well as the streets around the [Acropolis](#), randomly hitting people eating at taverns and making extensive use of chemicals and stun grenades. Doctors at the infirmary set up at Othonos Square said the police had attacked them using stones and pieces of marble. Earlier, two members of the Teacher's Association were attacked by police and were injured, one of them on the head. Police also tried to deny access to the square to an ambulance attempting to transport heavily injured civilians to a hospital. A total of about 270 people were injured on 28 June alone, and over 500 visited the Syntagma Square metro station infirmary on 29 June. The Ministry of Health reported that 99 people were sent to hospitals on 29 June. The damage caused to Athens' historic city center is estimated to be over 500,000 euro, as shop fronts were vandalized by hooded youth. Three of Greece's most famous hotels located on Syntagma Square were forced to evacuate their guests and personnel in view of the uncontrollable situation, something that the media say has not happened since the [events of December 1944](#), which started the [Greek Civil War](#).

Despite the violent protests and use of tear gas by police to evacuate Syntagma Square the previous evening, peaceful protests continued on 30 June with thousands of people gathered in front of the Greek parliament. Demonstrations also took place in Greece's second city, [Thessaloniki](#).

July

Protests across the country continued in July, marking 5 weeks and 2 days of protest on 1 July. Despite the fact that the austerity measures had been passed, a large crowd, but smaller than on previous days, gathered in front of the Greek parliament to protest peacefully on 2 July.^[146]

Political reactions

In an interview for the Greek newspaper *Ethnos* on 29 May 2011, the vice-president of the [Greek government](#), [Theodoros Pangalos](#), against whom various slogans had been shouted during the demonstrations, adopted an ironic stance towards the movement. He said that "the formation of a political movement, however much the people who follow the technological trends don't want to hear this, does not depend on how many 'likes' or 'dislikes' it gets on Facebook". He added that "movements without ideology and organization, that is to say movements based on anger, can only lead to either an ineffective release [of tension], which at the end of the day is of no interest to the political world, or pave the way for an undemocratic change of regime by organized minorities". In response, the demonstrations addressed many chants to the vice-president, like "the country is sinking, Theodore, lose some weight!" and other more vulgar ones.

On 29 May, the spokesman of the Greek government, [Giorgos Petalotis](#), spoke out against Pangalos, saying that Pangalos should remember that when he took part in demonstrations against the dictatorship as a member of the [Communist Party](#) in 1973, "some people considered these demonstrations provocative". He furthermore added that not only does the Indignant Citizens Movement have a clear ideology (even if it is a "technology trend" as Pangalos described it), but that it also "reflects the real needs of the Greek society". He pointed out that "denial [of the system] and no proposals lead nowhere".

On 1 June, the [Prime Minister of Greece](#), [George Papandreou](#), commented in regards to the Indignant Citizens Movement saying that "today protesters in Greece and the world are demonstrating against matters of national governance which are more weak than they used to be and, despite their inner weaknesses, are trapped by the global powers and the changes of a global system".

On 28 June 2011, amid violent protests in the square outside parliament, the [Hellenic Parliament](#) voted in favor of passing a new set of [austerity measures](#) with a marginal majority of 155 seats in the 300-seat parliament. The measures themselves had attracted much criticism both from the Greek public and within the country's political scene. Between June and July 2011, [Panhellenic Socialist Movement \(PASOK\)](#) went from an 156-seat majority to a 154-seat one, while [New Democracy](#) also lost one seat.

The allegations of [police brutality](#) by Greek and foreign media as well as [Amnesty International](#) sparked heated debate in the [Hellenic Parliament](#), with all parties in the house asking the government for explanations, including MPs of the ruling PASOK party. The leader of the opposition, [Antonis Samaras](#), characterized the situation as almost that of a "parastate", while [George Karatzaferis](#) of the [Popular Orthodox Rally](#) accused the government of "not being able to control 200 thugs in central Athens". The [Coalition of the Radical Left](#) party accused the government of "abolishing the very principles of democracy" and filed a complaint against the government for "cheering while at the same time outside the building tear gas was being overly used". Members of the parliamentary group of PASOK characterized the actions of the police as "barbaric" [Christos Papoutsis](#), the [Minister for Citizen Protection](#), denied all accusations claiming that "it's the police that operates, not the government

Public perception and media coverage

In a survey published in June 2011 by Public Issue on behalf of the Greek TV channel [Skai](#), 98% of people asked said they were informed about the protests. Additionally, 95% of people asked said they had positive impressions about the movement. When asked about their overall opinion of the movement, 86% replied either positive (76%) or probably positive (10%) while 6% replied negative, with an additional 2% as probably negative. 35% of the people asked said they had participated in at least one protest. When asked about their opinion in regards to the media coverage of the events, 53% replied negative and 39% positive. 51% thought the demonstrations are a "very important" event, while 34% felt it was "quite important", with 12% replying they viewed it as either not very important or not important at all. When asked if they believe that the protests may have been politically orchestrated by a political power within the country, 80% replied no and 16% yes. Finally, 52% believed that the protests will bring results, while 39% believed they will not.

October

On 5 October 2011, there was a general strike. During the demonstrations police clashed with youth and made 10 arrests. Police are also investigating claims by journalists that they were assaulted by police officers. The police officer who assaulted the journalist was arrested, but then released on 6 October until conclusive evidence is found.

There were demonstrations in coordination with the [Occupy Wall Street](#) movement on [15 October](#). Only 7,000 demonstrators, according to estimates by local media, gathered on Syntagma square in a peaceful demonstration.^[183] Further protests and strikes were organized for 19 and 20 October.

The strikes in fact began on 17 October, when the seaman's union walked off the job for 48 hours, shutting down the ferry services between the islands. Customs officials who clear fuel refinery deliveries also held a 24-hour strike that day. The shortage of fuel and goods in the Greek islands due to the strike of ferry and fuel services has already begun to manifest itself.

On 28 October (a national holiday [in Greece](#)), protests occurred nationwide. In [Thessaloniki](#), where a national military parade is held annually, protesters prevented the parade from officially taking place (the first time this occurred since the parade was first held in 1941) and shouted slogans against [Karolos](#)

[Papoulias](#),^[187] the [President of Greece](#), who was forced to leave. However, the civilian part of the parade along with the conscriptees marched as planned, acclaimed by the crowd. In Athens, during the annual student parade, several schools turned their heads away from the officials present (which included [Anna Diamantopoulou](#), the Minister of Education), while of the members of the band of the Municipality of Athens attached black ribbons to their instruments. Additionally, a crowd of people had gathered in front of Hotel Grand Bretagne in central Athens (close to the VIP stand) and shouted slogans against the economic crisis.

November

On 17 November, as part of the ongoing protests that led to the resignation of the [Papandreu](#) government, over 50 thousand people marched in Athens

December

On 6 December, to mark an anniversary of the death of [Alexandros Grigoropoulos](#), thousands of people marched on the Parliament building, throwing [Molotov Cocktails](#) at the police, who responded with tear gas.

2012 protests

On 12 February, as many as 500,000 protesters gathered in Athens outside the Parliament House to voice opposition to [Lucas Papademos](#)' caretaker cabinet's austerity measures which were being debated in Parliament. The passing of the austerity measures is a precondition for the next €130 billion lending package from the [European Union](#) and the [International Monetary Fund](#) to the Greek government, without which the country would face [sovereign default](#) by 20 March. Police used large amounts of tear gas and flash grenades, while protesters hurled stones and [Molotov cocktails](#). In total 45 buildings were set ablaze and 25 protesters and 40 officers were injured. The protests had been preceded by a 24-hour nationwide general strike on 7 February, when the two largest labour unions in Greece said the proposed measures would "drive Greek society to despair."

Speaking to members of Parliament, Papademos called for calm and urged members to pass the plan while asserting that violence and vandalism had no place in democracy. He also stated to the lawmakers that if the majority of them chose to vote against the austerity measures there would be several onerous consequences, including that the government would not be able to pay the salaries of its employees. On 13 February, the Greek Parliament subsequently approved this latest round of austerity measures by a vote of 199 to 74. On 20 March, the government finally announced they have defaulted and rejected another package from Brussels Bailout and are starting to reform the system. April 5, People once again rose up against the government after a pensioner named [Dimitris Christoulas](#) committed suicide by shooting himself, refusing to share the fate of those people who have had to search for food in garbage.

Muller and Opp Public Goods Model

The full model, including public goods and soft selective incentives may be written as

$$E(R) = (pg + pi)V + E(F) + E(A) + E(O) - E(Cr)$$

where $E(F)$ is the expected entertainment or "fun" value of participation in rebellious collective action; $E(A)$ is the expected social affiliation value of participation; and $E(O)$ is the expected value of conforming to behavioral norms of important others.

Davies J-Curve

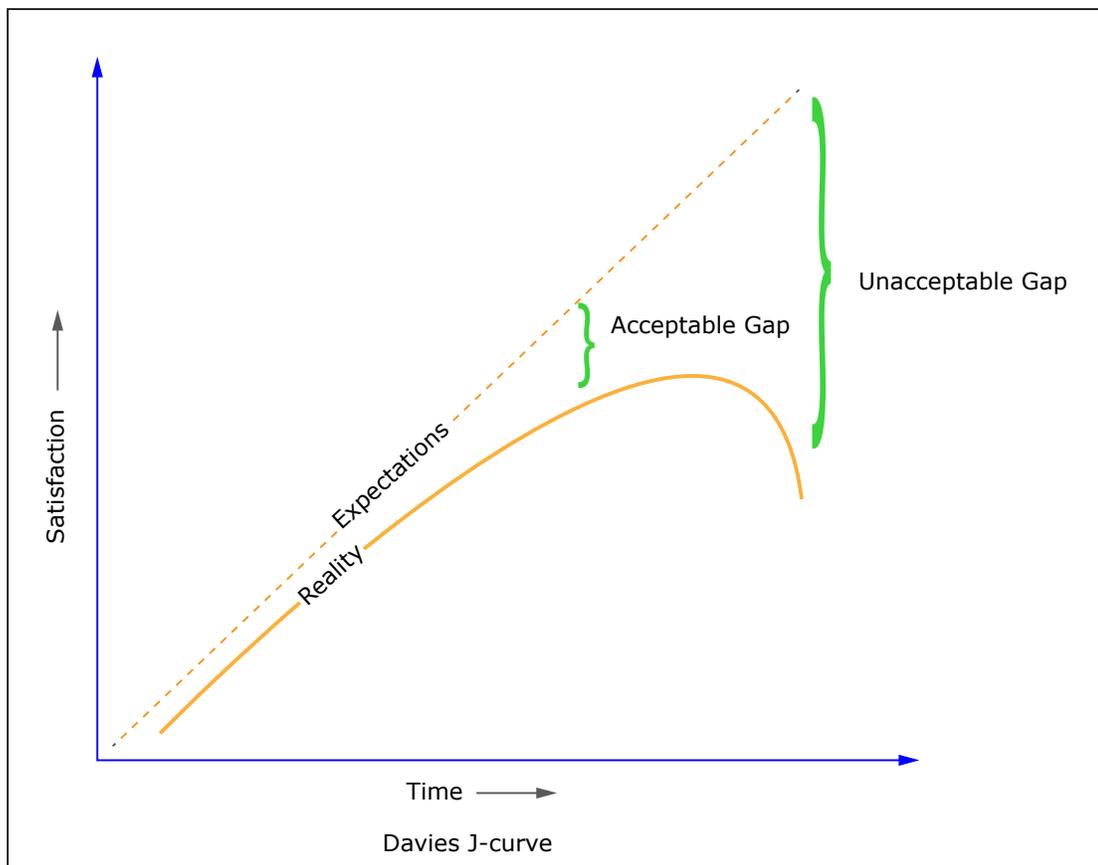


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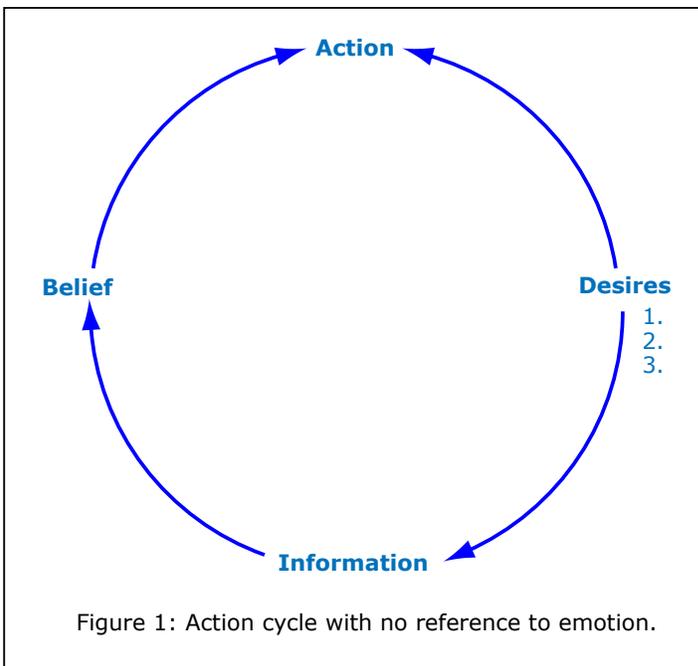


Figure 1: Action cycle with no reference to emotion.

Image by MIT OpenCourseWare.

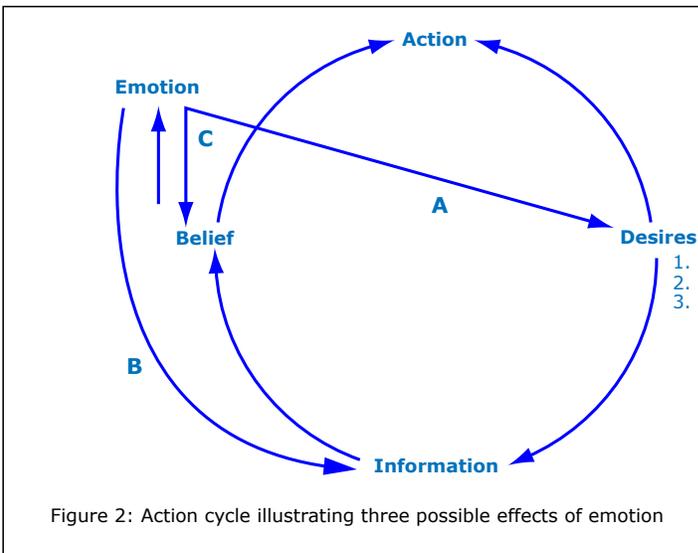


Figure 2: Action cycle illustrating three possible effects of emotion

Image by MIT OpenCourseWare.

An Emotion-Based Theory of Ethnic Conflict

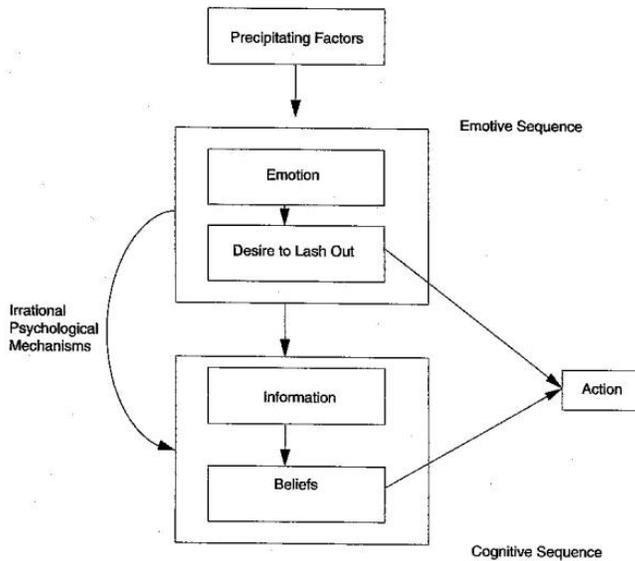


Figure 2.3 Rage

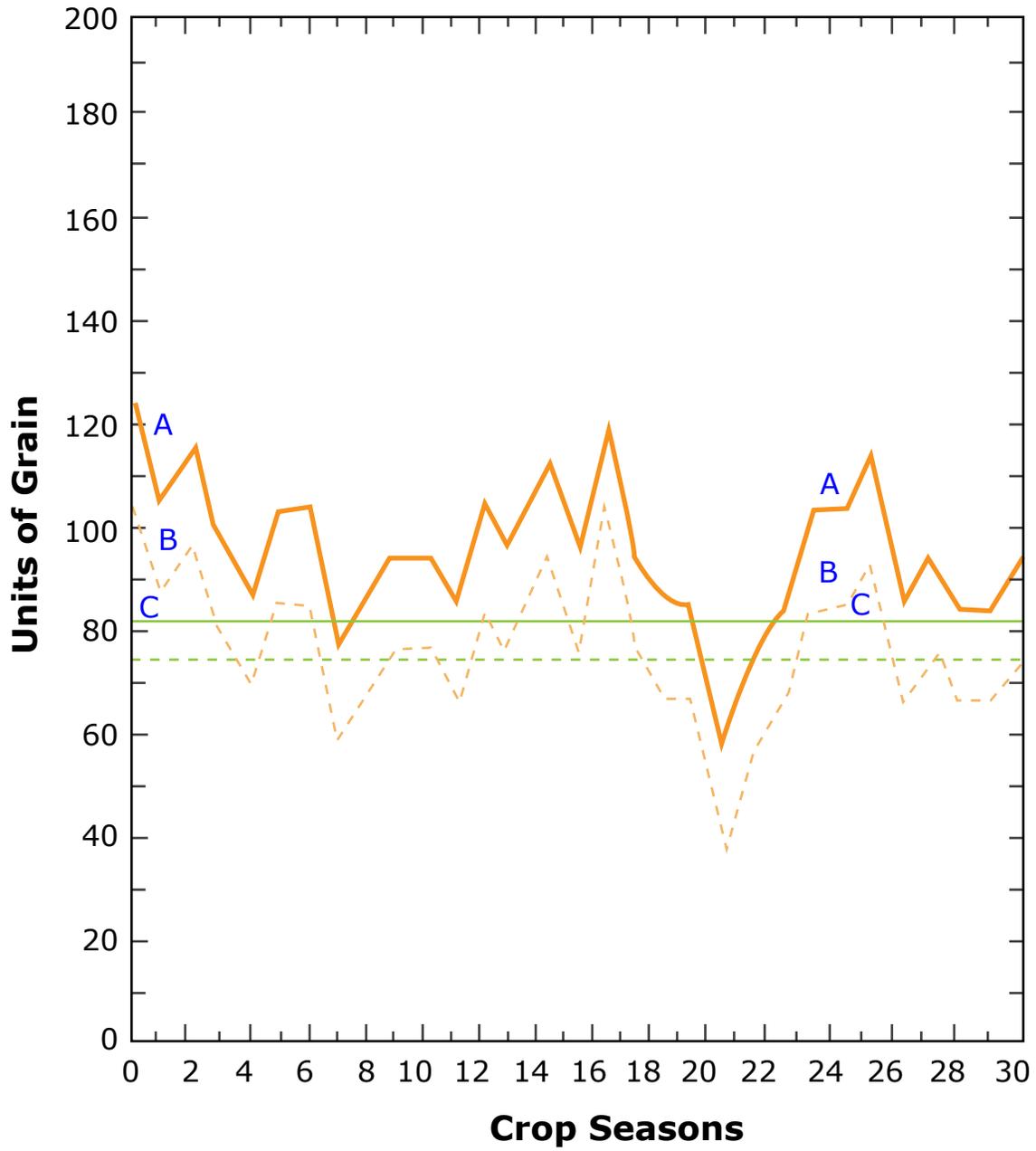


Figure 2: Crop yields and claims on present income

Image by MIT OpenCourseWare.

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17.581 Riots, Rebellions, Revolutions
Spring 2013

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