

The doctoral dissertation focuses on analyzing the dynamics of collective action during the period from 1999 to 2014. The research concentrates on the organizational phenomenon of social movements, examining how it is affected by macro-structural developments such as globalization, neoliberalism, and the postmodern condition. The central question is whether the organizational choices of the actors mimic, converge with, or reverse the realignments of the dominant political, economic, and cultural environment as their mirror, or whether, conversely, they are constituted as inverted reflections.

For the study of the organizational phenomenon in Greece from 1999 to 2014, the dissertation divides the period into three sub-periods (1999–2005, 2006–2008, 2009–2014), based on the intensity and extent of collective action. The methodology includes the quantitative recording of 4,175 protest events, combined with qualitative analysis.

The results show that the period 2010–2014, known as the anti-memorandum campaign, accounts for more than half of the recorded protest events, confirming a strong upward dynamic. In terms of organization, political organizations (particularly of the Left) and trade unions remain key “orchestrators,” contributing resources to protest.

At the same time, the research highlights organizational transformations, such as the emergence of the Greek Social Forum (GSF) as a new organizational crystallization, the development of autonomous spatial resistances (squats/social centers), and the new formations that arose in the squares of the Indignant, as concomitant to the Occupy movements.

These new forms reflect a “different organizational culture” emphasizing participation and horizontality. Finally, organizational characteristics such as sectarianism and the struggle for hegemony on the Left are analyzed, in contrast to instances of exceptional unity that succeed in intensifying collective action.

The dissertation presents many of the dimensions of collective action of the period through tables and diagrams, and proposes new research emphases on aspects of the organizational dynamics of the era.