

NETWORKS OF PROTEST ON GLOBAL ISSUES IN GREECE 2002-3

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Introduction

Mario Diani (1992, 2003) has clearly and extensively argued on the exigency to treat social movements as networks if the aim is to identify the distinctive characteristics of such contentious forms of collective action which differentiate them from cognate social processes and merely attributable actors (like non-conflictual movements, political organizations and coalitions). For Diani, social movements are defined as networks “of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity” (Diani 1992, p. 13). In fact, this is the starting point of what we intend to discuss here concerning contentious protest in Greece centered on global issues during the last two years (2002-3). Actually, that contemporary social movements around global issues constitute and represent a paradigm ‘par excellence’ of a networked form of mobilization is an idea that many would have no difficulty to subscribe. For instance, Arturo Escobar claims that the

most apt metaphor to describe the anti-globalization movement is that of networks. Furthermore, drawing upon the collateral concept of a ‘meshwork’ advanced by Manuel de Landa (1997), Escobar suggests that “anti-globalization struggles are best seen as horizontal, self-organizing meshworks of heterogeneous sites/struggles brought together by diverse interfaces and catalysts, particularly NGOs and pioneering social movements” (Escobar 2000, p. 12).

Our aim here is to study the network structure of this conflictual social dynamics in order to understand two important aspects of contemporary social movements: (i) how the organizational actors, the collective protagonists, of these protests are developing their strategies of complex interweaving through which they are constructing their contentious political agendas and they are engaged in social conflict; and (ii) how the relational niche of such social movement networks resonates with and is conditioned by the ‘cognitive mechanisms’ (Tarrow 2002) or the ‘master frames’ (Snow & Benford 1992) of the contentious collective action.

Stated more concretely, our aim is to analyze newspaper data on contemporary social protest in Greece in order to be able to answer the following two sets of questions:

- How do organizations constitute the observed protest networks? What patterns of ties do they form? Besides their primary strategy to confront a common enemy, how are these organizations positioned inside the emerging network of collective action with respect to each other?
- Given that the totality of the observed protest events might be decomposed in certain recurrent episodes (or cycles) of events each focused on a distinctive group of protest issues, how are the corresponding protest networks structured over the prevailing contemporary protest issues? Do the latter mobilize the same or different actors in the issue-specific protest networks? So, from a relational point of view, how are the dominant protest issues related to each other, if we see them as amalgamates of collective ideas, opinions, claims or frames which are embedded over a dynamical social movement network?

It is immediately clear that the perspectives of our analysis are touching the very details of how actors are weaving the complex web of their interdependent relationships in a social network. In other words, we would like to center our investigation of social movement networks on the concept capturing all the complexity of a network, i.e., that of a 'tie,' which constitutes the most basic unit of social network analysis (White 1992). Furthermore, as it is always the case, a social tie is not unitary but it possesses a composed character of multiple dimensions: it is the multiplexity (of a tie) what indicates how interdependent and interlocked the various dimensions of a tie are. Furthermore, social network analysts know very well that these dimensions need not be homogeneous in any sense: in a social network, ties might reflect cooperation as well as competition, friendship as well as hostility, "conflict as well solidarity" (Lorrain & White 1971, p. 78).

Thus, our primary consideration is to investigate what are the global (at the network level) implications of existing local (at the level of connected dyads) polarities among various types of ties. Do such local tensions reshuffle the network so that coherence might be lost and global diversity might emerge?

We would like to answer these questions drawing upon a number of methodological approaches developed in theories of social networks. A first approach for the analysis of network heterogeneity that one could follow proceeds with an investigation of exactly the opposite direction: Under what conditions and mechanisms does homogenization persist and it is guaranteed that all it happens is convergence towards an attractive network pattern? One answer is given by theories of 'homophily,' through which one could study the tendency of individuals to interact with other ones sharing similar attributes with them (Kandel 1978; McPherson *et al.* 2001). However, if homogenization is the expected outcome of homophily, then in social networks the same result of structural cohesion could be attained at least locally by processes of social influence without any assumption of homophilic interactions (Friedkin 1984). Furthermore, often an alternative explanation of homophily makes more sense: "homophily is largely a byproduct of its antipole" (Macy *et al.* 2004, p. 164). Thus, in many cases, a 'repulsion hypothesis' as an

unintended consequence of xenophobia may cause the same effects with homophilic attractivity (Rosenbaum 1986).

Beyond theories of homophily, there is a second sociological strand trying to explain network heterogeneity and polarization processes: This is related to an old problem in social network analysis, which concerns the stability of social networks with signed links – some of the relationships are positive and some are negative (but not simultaneously, i.e., no multiplexity). In other words, this is the setting of the so-called ‘balance theory,’ which was initiated in 1946 by Fritz Heider, a social psychologist, who was studying the cognitive organization of attitudes of individuals. Without entering details, let us say that Heider suggested that certain patterns of attitudes are more stable than others and he called them ‘balanced’ – depending on how individuals are connected to each other and with what sign of relationships (Heider 1946). For instance, triads having either no or just two negative relationships are balanced as well as, in general, any cycle with positive product of signs of all its relationships is balanced. In fact, if the latter happens, the whole network (or, better said, graph) is said to be balanced. Defined in this way, balanced networks are shown to possess a very important property of differentiated clusterability: actors are partitioned in a finite number of blocks such that inside all blocks relationships are positive while among all blocks relationships are negative (Davis 1967).

Could we observe such a property of clusterability over protest networks we are studying here? Of course, our case is more complicated than the above setting of balance theory: multiplexity or multiple relationships are now present. However, social network analysis techniques of clustering or decomposition into blocks have already been applied in the study of social movements (Bearman & Everett 1993; Diani 2002; Forno 2003). In our case, the fact is that one is able to single out at least two ‘opposite’ relationships connecting protest organizations, which are the collective actors in protest networks. On the one hand, there is a relationship of ‘co-participation’ (we will say just ‘participation’ when communality is obvious) when two or more organizations participate in a certain protest event. On the other hand, there is a relationship of ‘anti-participation’ when two organizations (or, in general, more dyads of organizations) decide to participate at two

different protest events taking place at the same time in different locations of the same city (or area) instead of mobilizing themselves in a common protest event. Underlying this differentiation between the two types of participation is the hypothesis that a protest event – as any organizational or ‘policy event’ (cf., Laumann & Knoke 1987) – can be uniquely identified by the time and space of its occurrence: it happens a certain date, for certain duration, and in certain geographical locations (possibly multiple). In this sense, co-participation and anti-participation might be considered as opposite relationships in the network composed of organizations participating in multiple protest events: say, co-participation is positively signed and anti-participation is negative. However, these two relationships are not mutually exclusionary: it is possible that two organizations co-participate in certain protest events and anti-participate in some others. But what one could easily guess in such situations is that co-participation should be negatively correlated with anti-participation: the more two organizations participate in common protest events, the less (it is reasonable to expect that) they would decide to disassociate themselves by deliberately and systematically showing up in different co-occurring protest events. Indeed, this is what we find in our analysis of protest networks in Greece compiled from newspaper data for the period 2002-3.

Apparently, one might hypothesize that the length of the time period over which protest events are monitored should be important for the intensity of the negative correlation between co- and anti-participation. In any case, focusing on rather short periods of, say, a couple of months should give robust enough patterns of co- and anti-participation among organizations taking part in the protest events of such periods. If such fragmented or even segregated patterns sustain in time what is manifested is either a trans-organizational solidarity built over time or the development of an internal antagonism or competition among protest organizations motivated by the same cause and usually confronting the same enemy. But it is also possible that the membership inside these patterns formed by relationships of co- and anti-participation might be variable: an organization which at some period co-participates with certain others might later change strategy and enter a coalition with previously antagonistic organizations.

Therefore, in a dynamic network perspective of social movements, what is interesting to analyze is the time evolution of all these patterns of co- and anti-participation from the point of view of not only stability (organizational robustness) but also instability (organizational dissolution) as well as mobility (organizational volatility) of coalitions and individual protest organizations. In practice, the proper techniques and methodologies of social network analysis, which facilitate the study of fragmentation of networks in distinctive patterns of positions and roles, are those of structural equivalence and blockmodeling (White, Boorman & Breiger 1976). Therefore, the above patterns of co- and anti-participating organizations can be studied as blocks of structurally equivalent actors (organizations) in the protest network, which is structured by two relationships (co- and anti-participation). However, instead of treating the two opposite relationships simultaneously, we have chosen to follow a blockmodeling procedure (Breiger, Boorman & Arabie 1975) based solely on the co-participation relationship and then using the anti-participation relationship in order to interpret the attractivity of organizations inside blocks (high co-participation and low anti-participation) and the repulsiveness of organizations belonging in different blocks (low co-participation and high anti-participation). As a matter of fact, the usual clustering techniques of blockmodeling (e.g., through Pearson product-moment correlations) need to aggregate different sociomatrices (each corresponding to a different relationship) into a joint sociomatrix and they do this algebraically. But then a methodological confusion might arise when two relationships are opposite in sign but their addition does not annul nor obliterate them! For instance, two organizations might have equal number of co- and anti-participations but summing them up one would end with a tie weight equal to zero. Then, the problem would be that zero tie weight might be confused with no tie at all, i.e., the case of no connection with any type of participation, which of course is not the case here.

Finally, let us remark that in addition to the above interpretation of the composition of blocks through a combined effect of co-participatory attractivity and anti-participatory repulsiveness, one could validate the resulting blockmodels using attributes of actors in order to describe their positions inside blocks. Since now the actors are various political or protest organizations and other civil society associations, their characteristics of

political affiliation or socio-economic orientation might suffice to clear up the organizational composition of the emerging blocks. However, note that such a validation through exogenous (to the network) actor attributes brings back into action the basic assumptions of homophily but this time by skipping any social influence model and following the routes of network clustering through blockmodeling.

Apart from the social networks theory implications stemming from the analysis of our data, another important dimension we are interested in exploring is the temporal development of the (generic) ‘anti’- or ‘alter’-movement of the late nineties. It is by now common knowledge not only that each cycle of protest largely depends on previously established networks of acquaintance and interaction but also creates a useful ‘bank’ of ‘warm-feeling’ individuals, waiting to be re-mobilized in the future, over similar issues. These issues, albeit an integral part of our on-going research, will not be addressed in this paper, where we are following the structural-dynamical network perspective: rather, we are interested in a larger picture of the actual organizations involved.

The period under investigation is one comprising many stimuli for the (generic) ‘anti’-movement. In less than three years time, one has witnessed the establishment of the World Social Forum, the 9/11 attack, the Afghanistan and the Iraq wars – in general – and an EU summit – in the Greek context: certainly, a great deal of issues for the movement to act upon. Furthermore, especially for the war cases, the general public has exhibited an enhanced interest and opposition, making it especially conducive for the movement to materialize on this widespread discontent.

Our presentation, then, focuses on analyzing (through network block-model decompositions) the Greek movements’ development as it was conditioned by instances of important stimuli. In other words: how and when did the first movement organizations emerge? Were they established ad hoc or had they sprung out from pre-existing groups/schemes (and if so, from which)? Were they politically autonomous or have they aligned themselves with existing political families? How have they developed? Have some ceased to exist (or merged into larger ones) once the specific stimulus was removed

or have they chosen to broaden their scope, taking action over new issues? What about the creation and/or the appearance rate of new social movement organizations (SMOs)? Can we identify larger coalitions of SMOs (of a limited number) or the movement demonstrates centrifugal tendencies? If the former is the case, what separates and what unites these larger SMO-families and how do they position themselves vis-à-vis the (pre-) existing civil society actors (especially political parties and NGOs)?

Data and Methods

We have been analyzing protest events happening in Greece during the last two years 2002-3 as far as these protests were referring to international issues around the effects of globalization and expressing an opposition to certain wars occurring in the same period. Our source of information about these protest events has been the Greek daily newspaper *Eleftherotypia* (meaning 'Free Press'). From the online editions and archives of this newspaper, we have collected 596 articles referring to protests of our interest that have occurred in Greece and all over the world in this period.¹ Our concern was to code information about distinctive protests throughout the collected newspaper articles. As we have already mentioned, a protest event is identified by the time and space of its occurrence: it occurs on a certain date, lasts a certain duration and takes place in certain geographical locations (possibly multiple). In other words, we have been associating a specific time and a specific geographical area to each distinctive protest event. Concerning the 'timing' of the protest event, we primarily use the date it starts: two protest events, starting at the same date but at different hours were considered different events, even when they were happening at the same location, as far as they were mobilizing different constituencies of organizations and they were focused on different issues and frames. Concerning the 'geographical area' of the protest event, we use the location or place where the protest was taking place for most time or otherwise where the

¹ Newspaper data is a common source of information in social movements research; how relatively appropriate, accessible, biased, valid, reliable etc. they are is often discussed in the literature in comparison with other quantitative sources of information on social movement mobilization, such as official statistics, yearbooks, police or other authorities archives etc. (Snyder & Kelly 1977; Franzosi 1987; Olzak 1989; Kriesi *et al.* 1995; Rucht *et al.* 1999; Klandermans & Staggenborg 2002).

most important episode of the event had happened. Usually, this geographical area was a square, a street or a neighborhood in a city or village or other geographical location. Protest events occurring simultaneously in the same wider area but converging temporarily with others at the same places (where they could terminate or just meet for a short period and then separate again) were taken as different. Furthermore, let us add that it was possible from a single newspaper article to collect information about more than one distinct protest events and that information about a single protest event might have been collected through more than one newspaper articles. In this way, by aggregating information on the same protest events coming from multiple articles, we were able to identify 725 distinct protest events among which 329 were occurring in Greece while 406 occurring abroad. The time evolution of all the events (inside and outside Greece) is shown in Figure 1 of the Appendix. As one could immediately observe, the bulk of the protest events took place in the first semester of 2003; the time evolution of protests in that period is shown in Figure 2 in the Appendix.

For each protest we were coding two dominant issues or foci of the mobilization (which constitute the frame of the collective action). Table 1 in the Appendix shows the coded issues, the majority of which is distributed over three main groups of issues: anti-war, summit-related and anti-globalization. Furthermore, we have been coding the organizations (both initiating-organizing and participating) in each protest event.

The Structure of Protest Networks over Time

Observing the time evolution of the protest events (Figure 1 in Appendix), we can discern the following periodization of the main protest waves in 2002-3:

Period 1: January – September 2002: Anti-globalization and peace protests peaked around the Second World Social Forum at Porto Alegre, 31 January – 5 February 2002, the pro-Palestinian demonstrations of 13-14 April 2002 and the EU Summit at Seville, 21-23 June 2002.

- Period 2:** October – December 2002: Anti-globalization and peace protests intensified during the October 2002 anti-war protests and the European Social Forum in Florence, 7-10 November 2002.
- Period 3:** January 2003: Anti-globalization mobilizations at the informal meeting of the EU Ministers of Employment and Social Policy at Nafplio, 24 January 2003, and peace protests due to the Iraq crisis peaked around the demonstrations of 18 January 2003.
- Period 4:** February 2003: Anti-war mobilizations due to the Iraq crisis peaked around the demonstrations of 15 February 2003 and at the end of February 2003.
- Period 5:** March – April 2003: Anti-war mobilizations due to the Iraq crisis peaked around the demonstrations of 20 March 2003 (official start of the war) and 12 April 2003.
- Period 6:** May – June 2003: Anti-war and anti-globalization protests culminating at the EU Summit in Greece on 21 June 2003.
- Period 7:** July – October 2003: Anti-globalization protests intensified during the WTO Summit at Cancun around 13 September 2003.
- Period 8:** November – December 2003: Anti-globalization and anti-American demonstrations on the occasion of Bush's visits around the world.

In each of these periods, we were constructing three networks, each based in the duality between organizations and one of the three main issues of protest events (i.e., anti-war, anti-globalization and summit-related). This means that, in each period, we were considering those organizations showing up in the protest events which were characterized by a certain issue (among the above three broader categories of issues). These organizations were taken to be related to each other with respect two types of relationships:

- (i) In the relationship of *co-participation*, two organizations, say, i and j , are considered connected if they both participate in at least one protest event, P – in this case we say that organizations i and j co-participate. The number of distinct protest events P , in all

of which these two organizations co-participate, defines the weight of the link of co-participation between organizations i and j .

- (ii) In the relationship of *anti-participation*, two organizations, say, i and j , are considered connected if there exists a pair of two distinct protest events taking place at the same time in different locations of the same area, say, P_k and P_m , such that organization i participates in P_k , where organization j abstains, and organization j participates in P_m , where organization i abstains (or the other way around, by permuting i with j) – in this case we say that organizations i and j anti-participate. The number of pairs of such protest events (P_k, P_m), in all of which these two organizations anti-participate, defines the weight of the link of anti-participation between organizations i and j .

Therefore, by the duality of organizations and issues (Breiger 1974), our data produce 24 networks (eight periods times three issues), each of which possesses double relationships (co- and anti-participation). Notice that these networks correspond to valued undirected graphs (without self-loops); in other words, the corresponding adjacency matrices are symmetric, without any diagonal entries and with non-diagonal entries taking positive integer values (the weights).

These networks have been analyzed with CONCOR (Breiger *et al.* 1975), a frequently employed algorithm for detecting structural equivalence of actors in a network. In this analysis, we have been using solely the networks of co-participation and all the produced blocks of co-participating organizations together with the corresponding density matrices are shown in the first section of the Appendix. Notice that our density matrices include two densities: first (to the left) is the density of and among blocks of co-participating organizations and next (to the right) comes the density of and among the corresponding blocks but the second time with respect to the relationship of anti-participation (the two densities being separated by a dash).

From these block models of co-participation in the three main areas of mobilization issues (anti-war, anti-globalization and summit-related), it is not hard to observe that two divergent coalitions of organizations emerge:

- *Coalition A*: a group of organizations aligned with the Greek Social Forum.
- *Coalition B*: a group of organizations aligned with KKE (the Communist Party of Greece).

The constituencies of both coalitions include an invariant core of organizations (although beyond the core they are variable at a different degree during the first three periods). Both coalitions are definitely stabilized in February 2003 and after then they are holding more or less almost all their adherent organizations, which have already converged within the blocks occupied by each of the two coalitions. Coalition A (led by the Greek Social Forum) is attracting a group of organizations including Initiative Genova 2001 (a Greek anti-globalization organization), SYN (the second biggest Greek left party) and various Greek Trade Unions (like ADEDI, GSEE, EKA, OLME etc.). The hard core of the constituency of coalition B (led by KKE, the Greek communist party) includes PAME and Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi), two anti-globalization organizations, EDYETH, a peace movement organization, EDOTH, a trade union, and DIKKI, a left party (created by ex-members of PASOK, the Greek socialist party).

The blockmodels of the networks we have found suggest that these two coalitions are strongly antagonistic in three senses and, thus, they can be considered to form the two antipoles of the contemporary Greek social movement.

First, the two coalitions always occupy different blocks in each network. This means that their structural characteristics (positions and roles) are quite distinctive. However, although they live in separate blocks during all periods, after March 2003 each coalition visits all of the three issues of mobilization (but always keeps being in different blocks with respect to the other), a fact that generates some very interesting implications about the relational miscibility of frames of contentious collective action in Greece during 2002-3, as we will see in a moment.

Second, we observe that the corresponding blocks of the two coalitions in each period and on each issue have variable densities of co-participating and anti-participating links. In the network of co-participation, the density of links connecting the blocks of coalition A with B is rather low: almost always 0 except in the anti-war network in February 2003 (0.4) and in March-April 2003 (0.386) and the summit-related network in May-June 2003 (0.67). These relatively high values of density of links of co-participation between the two rival blocks can be easily explained: February to March 2003 was the hottest period of anti-war mobilizations and in front of the public sentiment the odds of divided collective actions were too low. Moreover, in June 2003 Greece was hosting the EU Council Summit at Chalkidiki and the public pressure (both from national and international sources) was very high necessitating Greek organizations to show up in common demonstrations. On the other hand, although the blocks of the two coalitions were starting with rather high density of anti-participating links (0.6 in the beginning of 2002 and 0.4 in February 2003), subsequently in the hot period from February to June 2003 this density has dropped almost to zero. In other words, what we are manifesting is that an initial sensitivity towards maintaining the distinctive political identities of the organizations in these blocks has been gradually mitigating towards an observed indifference to rivalry pushed by the change of focus of the master-frame of mobilizations.

Third, the trajectories of the two antagonistic coalitions when they were crossing the three main issues of mobilization (anti-war, anti-globalization and summit-related) are very dissimilar before February 2003 but subsequently they are normalized in a common pattern, which is everywhere dense in the three areas of issues – in the sense that the two coalitions are visiting all the three issues. This is shown in Figure 3 of the Appendix, where we see that although both coalitions start from anti-globalization mobilizations (in the beginning of 2002, i.e., the period just following 9/11 and the Afghanistan war), in their next transitions the two coalitions are bifurcating towards their own trajectories. Coalition A shifts to summit-related mobilizations, while coalition B passes almost right away to anti-war mobilizations. However, the subsequent passage is common for both coalitions and it turns out to be extremely crucial since after that step both coalitions follow similar routes (but always in disjoint blocks). This turning point is February 2003 during which both coalitions are engaged in peace mobilizations (due to the impending war in Iraq). In the subsequent months, it appears that the strategies of both coalitions are orchestrated and coordinated in a common pattern of mobilization frames, which includes all the three main issues we are concerned with. Both coalitions A and B, after February 2003, are channeling their struggles in anti-war, anti-globalization and summit-related mobilizations. But this common march lasts until the end of June 2003, a period after which the contentious collective dynamism of the spring of 2003 seems to deflate into the torpor of a warm summer – the summer of 2003 was indeed one of the warmest summers of the last decade.

A last important point we are observing here is that the three main issues, driving protest events in the period from February to June 2003, are all tuned up to a shared pattern of mobilizations if we see them from the perspective of the social movement networks sustaining these forms of collective action. By this we mean that there are no organizations or blocks of organizations ‘specialized’ in mobilizations on a certain issue but that all organizations are appearing in any event on any issue at that time. This is the picture we view from the issue networks of organizations participating in the protest events of this period. Undoubtedly, each issue is embedded in a different ‘cognitive’

frame and it is related to distinctive political and socio-historical causes and effects. However, what we observe in these circumstances is that all issues are mobilizing and are mobilized by the same (social) network(ed) agencies in the context of the agonistic reflexive objectivation of this period. Therefore, from this point of view, what we are manifesting is a spontaneous diffusion and inter-fusion of three modalities of social movements (peace, anti-globalization and counter-summit mobilizations), which in other periods and in other contexts might have appeared uncoupled. This situation is exactly an example, a concrete manifestation (now based on relational-network arguments) of what Snow and his collaborators have named 'frame bridging' (Snow *et al.* 1986, p. 467), a concept upon which Tarrow more recently has based his notion of 'frame condensation' (Tarrow 2002, p. 22).

Conclusions

What we intended to present here was a network theory of mobilization based on newspaper data about protest events on global issues in Greece during 2002-3. We have tried to combine some classical social network analysis techniques (like affiliation networks and blockmodeling) together with a novel way to employ the multiplicity of ways that a network can unfold itself – for instance, due to the multiplexity of its ties or the decomposition into smaller networks according to the divisibility of the context or the frame of the constitution of its ties into finer categories.

In particular, in the context of mobilizations, we tried to focus on internal antagonistic (competitive or overt hostile) friction in the relationships of political organizations with each other. This is manifested by the reluctance of some organizations to participate in protest events when some of their rivals either organize them or just participate in them. Such inter-organizational micro-ruptures are not only responsible for a proliferation of the number of protest events – after all pluralism is a democratic virtue. More importantly, such local micro-tensions might trigger a chain of structural and dynamical

reactions which in certain cases could be the cause of patterns of global fragmentation or even segregation.

The network paradigm is a very convenient theoretical tool to study such effects of a micro-macro linkage and social network analysis does provide a number of theoretical instruments to be employed in this respect (balance theory, blockmodeling etc.). In particular, by so studying the emergent patterns of organizational heterogeneity and diversity in the context of contemporary mobilizations in Greece, our aim was to trace the strategies that organizations are employing when they are building their alliances in a network. These are all cases of cumulation of strategic interactions through processes of selective coupling-decoupling, interlockings and disjunctions, as well as diffusion, brokerage and condensation of frame alignments. “Identities come from turbulence,” Harrison C. White argues (2002, p. 1).

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Appendix

1. The Structure of Protest Networks over Time – Block Models

Period 1: January – September 2002

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: ADEDI

Block 2: EEDA, Filotita

Block 3: Initiative Genova 2001, Greek Solidarity Committee for Palestinians, EKA

Co- / anti-participation density matrices			
	1	2	3
Block 1		0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000
Block 3	1.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	2.000 – 0.000

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: ADEDI, AKOA, Greek Social Forum, OLME, GSEE, Diethnis Drasi, EINAP, OTOE

Block 2: Athens Anti-War Action, Diktyo, Greek-Palestinian Committee of Political Actions, Alliance Stop-the-War, DRASE

Block 3: Turkish Social Forum, European Social Forum, Initiative Genova 2001, Macedonian Social Forum, Cypriot Social Forum

Block 4: DIKKI, KKE, EDOTh, PAME, EKTh

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	1.036 – 0.000	0.125 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.600
Block 2	0.125 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.700 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 4	0.000 – 0.600	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.400 – 0.200

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

Period 2:

October – December 2002

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: ADEDI, Alliance Stop-the-War, EEDYE, GSEE, SYN

Co- / anti-participation density matrices	
	1
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi), DIKKI, KKE

Block 2: Campo Antimperialista, Initiative Thessaloniki 2003, AKOA, KKE-ML, ML-KKE, NDF, Thessaloniki-Resistance 2003

Co- / anti-participation density matrices		
	1	2
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Initiative Genova 2001, Greek Social Forum

Block 2: Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi)

Block 3: Stop-the-War Coalition, Youth Action for Peace

Co- / anti-participation density matrices			
	1	2	3
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.000 – 0.000		1.000 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000

Period 3:

January 2003

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: EEDYE, PAME

Block 2: Amnesty International, Citizens in Action, ARSIS, ADEDI, Greek Social Forum, Greenpeace, GSEE, Doctors Without Borders

Co- / anti-participation density matrices		
	1	2
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

Period 4: February 2003

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi), EDYETH, DIKKI, PAME, EDOTH, Greek Local Government, EKTh, KKE

Block 2: EEDYE, World Citizens, EDYEP, Committee Against Military Bases, ELME, Youth Action for Peace, Agony Port, Chania Peace Committee, Coalition Against State Terrorism, Thessaloniki-Resistance 2003

Block 3: Amnesty International, AEKA, Alliance Stop-the-War, EKP, GSEE, ARSIS, ESIEA, Doctors Without Borders, Citizens in Action, POESY, Greenpeace, ADEDI, ND, FMETU, KOE, Citizens' Union PAREMVASSI, POSPERT

Block 4: EKA, EME, PASOK, Greek Social Forum, Anti-Authoritarian Action Salonica 2003, SYN, Initiative Thessaloniki 2003, EEL, EKI, World March of Women, ML-KKE

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	1.000 – 0.535	0.188 – 0.237	0.022 – 0.345	0.432 – 0.431
Block 2	0.188 – 0.237	0.222 – 0.066	0.000 – 0.252	0.100 – 0.200
Block 3	0.022 – 0.345	0.000 – 0.252	0.919 – 0.242	0.503 – 0.401
Block 4	0.432 – 0.431	0.100 – 0.200	0.503 – 0.401	0.800 – 0.236

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

Period 5: March – April 2003

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi), DIKKI, EEDYE, EDYETH, Balkan Anti-NATO Center, KKE, KA, PAME, Youth Action for Peace

Block 2: Greek Local Government, Alliance Stop-the-War, ADEDI, DEA, Initiative Genova 2001, Stability Pact for Balkans, EKA, GSEE, World March of Women, ND, Initiative Thessaloniki 2003, GSEBEE, SYN, Thessaloniki-Resistance 2003, PASOK, Greek Social Forum, Cretan Initiative Against War & Social Injustice

Block 3: EDOTH, EKTh, Larisa Action of Left Radicals, EKX, ELME, Anti-Imperialist Anti-War Committee of Karditsa, Trikala Initiative Against Imperialist War, Anti-War Anti-Imperialist Action, EENX

Block 4: Spartacus Network, Initiative for Peace, Anti-War Internationalist Action, Veterans for Peace, Committee for Solidarity with Drafted People

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	1.417 – 0.000	0.386 – 0.045	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.386 – 0.045	1.081 – 0.029	0.105 – 0.006	0.012 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.000	0.105 – 0.006	0.306 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 4	0.000 – 0.000	0.012 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.600 – 0.000

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: ADEDI, Alliance Stop-the-War, GSEE, Initiative Genova 2001, EKA, Greek Social Forum

Block 2: EKTh, EDOTh

Block 3: DIKKI

Block 4: KKE, PAME

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	1.067 – 0.000	0.333 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.833	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.333 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.833	0.000 – 0.000		1.000 – 0.000
Block 4	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	2.000 – 0.000

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi), DIKKI, Federation of Greek Women, EEDYE, PAME, EDYETH, KKE

Block 2: ADEDI, EPSU, GSEE

Block 3: Korydalos Association of Democratic Women, Initiative Thessaloniki 2003, Democratic Union of Korydalos, Anti-Authoritarian Action Salonica 2003

Block 4: Cretan Initiative Against War & Social Injustice, Greek Social Forum, EKA

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	1.190 – 0.000	0.429 – 0.238	0.000 – 0.107	0.000 – 0.095
Block 2	0.429 – 0.238	1.333 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.083	0.333 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.107	0.000 – 0.083	0.333 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.083
Block 4	0.000 – 0.095	0.333 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.083	0.333 – 0.000

Period 6:

May – June 2003

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Chania Peace Committee, Panhellenic Union of National Resistance Fighters

Block 2: KA, DIKKI, Greek-Kurdish Committee, KKE, EEDYE

Co- / anti-participation density matrices		
	1	2
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: ADEDI, Alliance Stop-the-War, GSEE, Initiative Genova 2001, EKA, Greek Social Forum

Block 2: EKTh, EDOTh

Block 3: DIKKI

Block 4: KKE, PAME

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	1.067 – 0.000	0.333 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.833	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.333 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.833	0.000 – 0.000		1.000 – 0.000
Block 4	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	2.000 – 0.000

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Action Thessaloniki 2003 (Drasi), Initiative Thessaloniki 2003, KKE, PAME

Block 2: ADEDI, EKTh, Greek Local Government, GSEE, Greek Social Forum, SYN

Block 3: Anti-Authoritarian Action Salonica 2003, Eco-Community Network

Block 4: Indonesian Revolutionary Youth, Confederation of Turkish Immigrants in Europe, ATIK, Belgian Marxist-Leninist Party, International League of Peoples' Struggle, Thessaloniki-Resistance 2003

Co- / anti-participation density matrices				
	1	2	3	4
Block 1	0.667 – 0.000	0.125 – 0.125	0.000 – 0.125	0.000 – 0.166
Block 2	0.125 – 0.125	1.533 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.083	0.000 – 0.138
Block 3	0.000 – 0.125	0.000 – 0.083	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.416
Block 4	0.000 – 0.166	0.000 – 0.138	0.000 – 0.416	2.000 – 0.266

Period 7: July – October 2003

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Greek Council of Cretan Youth, World Council of Cretans

Block 2: ADEDI, Stop-the-War Coalition, GSEE

Block 3: AKE, DIKKI, Initiative Genova 2001, SEK, EKA, SYN, Greek Social Forum

Co- / anti-participation density matrices			
	1	2	3
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000	0.000 – 0.000
Block 2	0.000 – 0.000	2.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000
Block 3	0.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000	1.000 – 0.000

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: EKTh, Greek Social Forum, Initiative Genova 2001, Stop-the-War Coalition

Co- / anti-participation density matrices	
	1
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: Anti-Authoritarian Action Salonica 2003, Greek Newspapers/Magazines, Diktyo, Legal Support Group

Co- / anti-participation density matrices	
	1
Block 1	1.000 – 0.000

Period 8: November – December 2003

Anti-War Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

Anti-Globalization Issues Co-Participation Network

Block 1: DOE, OLME

Co- / anti-participation density matrices	
	1
Block 1	2.000 – 0.000

Summit-Related Issues Co-Participation Network – No network!

2. Tables & Figures

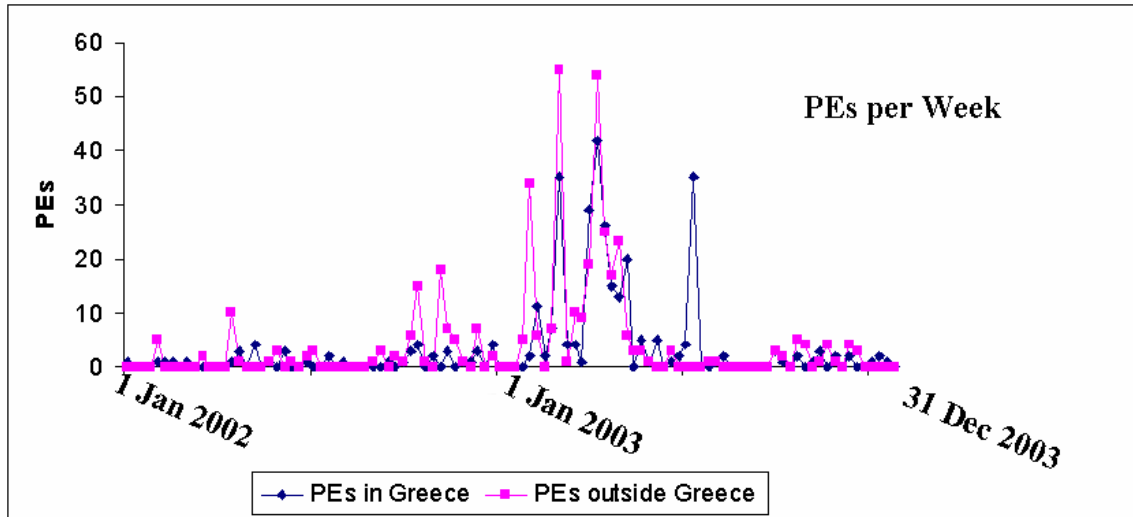


Figure 1: Time evolution of protest events (PEs).

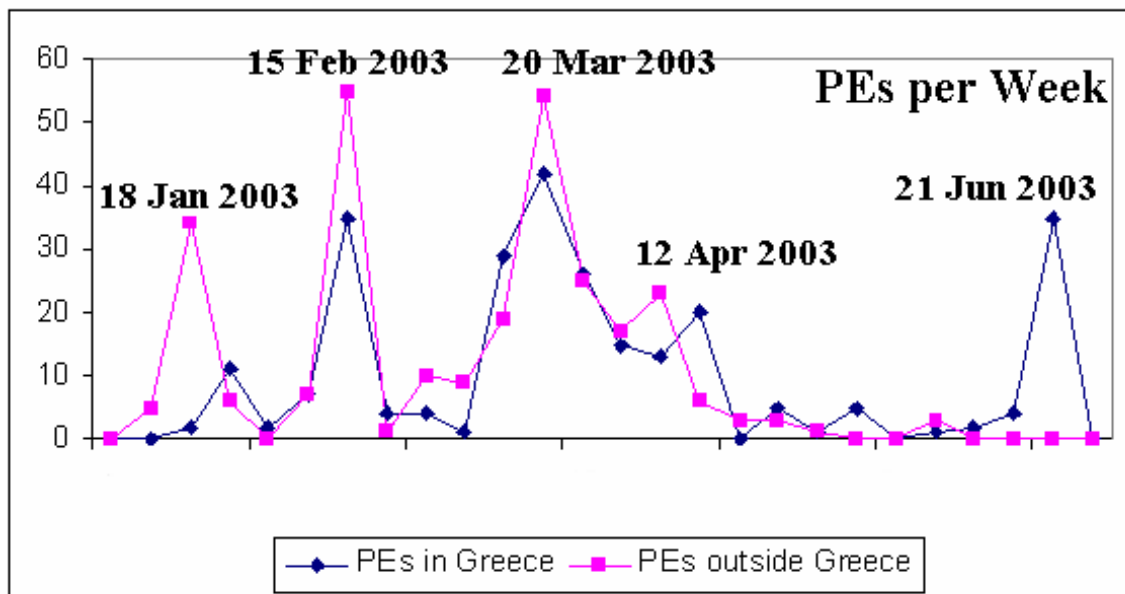


Figure 2: Protest events (PEs) during January – July 2003.

Issues	PEs in Greece	Total No of PEs
Anti-War	211	554
Against War in Iraq	205	539
Against Occupation in Iraq	2	5
Peace	2	4
Against War in Afghanistan	1	3
Other	1	3
Summit-Related	88	114
EU Summit	87	94
WTO Summit	1	6
G8 Summit	0	4
World Summit on Sustainable Development	0	3
World Economic Forum	0	2
Other	0	5
Anti-Globalization	24	60
Resisting Globalization	21	48
Bush's Visit	0	5
Other	3	7
Middle East Conflict	8	22
Against War in Palestine	2	5
Solidarity to Israel	0	1
Solidarity to Palestinians	6	16
Miscellaneous	20	27
Against Racism	5	5
Labor Rights	5	5
Global Environment	0	4
Anniversary of Polytechnion Uprising	3	3
Environment	2	2
Educational Policies	1	2
Protest against Italy	2	2
Other	2	4

Table 1: Issues of protest events (PEs).

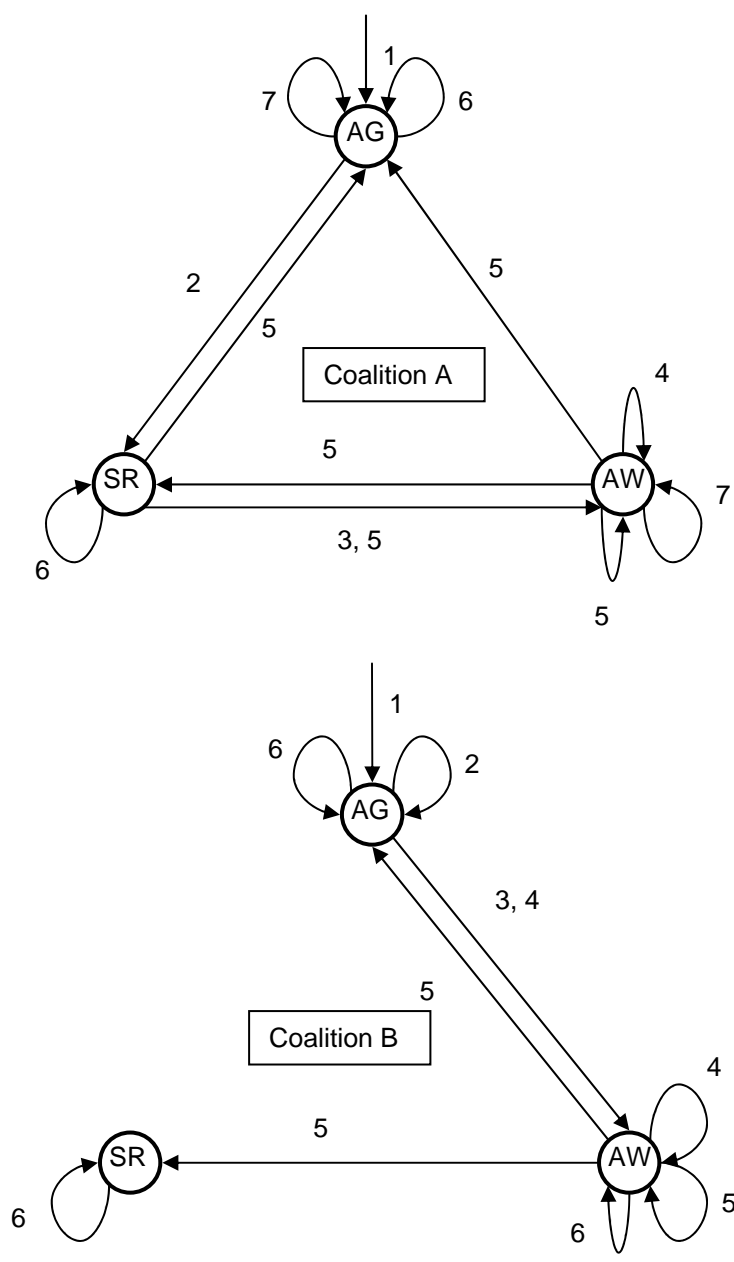


Figure 3: Trajectories of two rival coalitions, A (led by the Greek Social Forum) and B (led by KKE, the Greek Communist Party). AW = Anti-War issues, AG = Anti-Globalization issues, SR = Summit-Related issues. Numbers on arrows indicate the periods when the corresponding transitions are happening (pp. 11-12).