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Facing the Economic Crisis in Greece: The Effects of Grievances, Real and Perceived Vulnerability, and Emotions Towards the Crisis on Reactions to Austerity Measures

This research was conducted in Greece during a period of major economic crisis when everyday events contributed to a changing and threatening socio-political environment. The paper looks at the structure of reactions Greek people (N=1040) have towards the crisis. Informed by social psychological theories of collective action and relative deprivation it is hypothesized that these reactions would depend on people's actual financial position, their sense of grievances and feelings of vulnerability and the emotions they felt towards the crisis. Results show that people have multiple ways of reacting that go from radical and even violent practices towards individual solutions and depression. These reactions are differently predicted by people's position, feelings of vulnerability and sense of grievances and by different emotions. It is not people's actual position that influences reactions and feelings of vulnerability are a major predictor. Moreover, sense of grievances are linked to more radical forms of action but also to depression. Emotions play an important role in predicting reactions to the crisis. Anger is confirmed as a predictor of political participation and collective action whereas fear and frustration are a major predictor of depression. Positive emotions also predict collective action with the exception of violent practices.

Keywords

Economic crisis, Greece, collective action, emotions, depression, vulnerability

1 Introduction

In April 2010 the Greek Prime Minister, G. Papandreou, announced that the country was unable to overcome its financial difficulties and would ask help from the IMF. In the weeks that followed this announcement, a support mechanism was created for the first time involving the IMF the EU and the European Central Bank. These three institutions formed a Troika under whose supervision Greece was due to function. The government signed a memorandum of agreement regarding the country's debt and started imposing severe austerity measures to the Greek society. Since then, several memoranda have been signed and several waves

of austerity measures have been imposed from subsequent governments. Strong protests took place in the whole country against these measures and against the impoverishment of society at large. In many occasions the protests were confronted by police who used serious force to contain protesters. One of the first, and perhaps the largest demonstration since the end of the dictatorship in 1973-74, took place the 5th of May 2010. It, unfortunately, ended with the death of 3 people suffocated in a bank branch that took fire after being attacked by petrol bombs. On May 2011 a new wave of austerity measures led the movement of indignant citizens to occupy Syntagma square at the center of Athens (25/05/11). This movement, followed by thousands of people, lasted till the autumn of the same year when people were violently chased from the square by police force. In general, spring 2011 was marked by important public demonstrations. On June 29th 2011 another major protest was brutally counteracted by police leaving several people injured. The protest took a different form in October 2011 when, during national celebrations, people expressed their anger against politicians throwing against them eggs and yogurt and chasing them from the parades. The same events continued in subsequent national celebrations. The end of the occupation of Syntagma square led to the birth of different popular assemblies in neighborhoods. Big demonstrations including clashing with the police continued to take place (February 2012). Greek society protested vehemently against austerity measures. However, protest did not take only the form of public demonstrations. There are, for example, acts of public disobedience and of refusal to pay taxes and tolls which are considered unbearable and unfair. Moreover, besides these actions of public protest, it is not uncommon that people decide to put an end to their life. On the 4th of April 2012, D. Cristoulas, 77, killed himself in the center of Syntagma square leaving a political message of protest. More people put an end to their life in a less public way. From the start of 2009 till

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August 2012, according to police records more than 3000 people committed suicide in Greece which correspond to a 37% rise. Today, unemployment corresponds to 26% of the active population. Among youngsters the unemployment is more than 60% and many seek a better situation abroad. Grievances are generalized in Greece.

When the "Arab spring" started the protests in Greece were already there. Although the popular protest in these countries was initiated by different socio-historical factors and different claims are involved, there is also a common point: people's reaction against power-holders accusing them of violating the popular will and asking clearly for democracy in the public sphere. When the "Arab uprising" started the dispute in Greece was acute. Movements were calling for public disobedience and ministers were denouncing these behaviors as "antisocial". Thus, the Greek situation might echo aspects of the "Arab spring".

The research presented here was conducted in this context. Data were gathered in November-December 2011 as part of a larger questionnaire aiming to investigate how people represented the economic crisis and the factors that would influence such representation. Informed by social psychological theories we tried to explore the new social context, marked by the severe economic crisis, a crisis which turned to be also political, social and humanitarian. In this paper we aim to explore the structure of the reactions to the crisis and some factors that may differentiate them. As said earlier the crisis generated different forms of collective action than what is observed usually. These actions are radical collective actions (actions done collectively with the aim to change things for the whole group) radical violent actions, individually acted practices that aim to make a collective difference or individualistic actions. We aim to investigate the willingness of people to participate to an array of actions that took place as a result of the crisis in Greece and to explore the structure of reactions. Moreover, given the important rise of suicides we aim to look at the factors that lead to depression and to the contemplation of killing oneself.

We know from the social-psychological literature that factors which influence collective action include self-identification with social categories that either are affected by the issue (Drury & Reicher 2000; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Reicher 2001; van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears 2008) or promote action for change (activists) (Simon, Loewy, Sturmer, Weber, Freytag, Habib, Kampmeier and Spahlinger 1998; Simon and Klandermans 2001; Sturmer & Simon 2004). Other factors found to influence collective action are perceptions of grievances and efficacy of the actions (Klandermans 1997) and emotions (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer and Leach 2004).

Reacting to a major event such as an economic crisis, impoverishment and austerity measures presents differences in relation to other issues that cause grievances. An economic crisis is a major and threatening event that impacts, albeit differently, on

large parts of the society in terms of material resources. Moreover, it touches also the representation of everyone. Thus, it does not constitute a specific issue concerning a certain category of people that could be mobilized for change. As a consequence, from a social-psychological point of view, it is difficult to identify the social category that would constitute the identity to be mobilized. In this context, identities would be used strategically by people and "entrepreneurs of identity" (Reicher and Hopkins 2001) to promote specific political plans. In this research therefore we would not focus on a specific group or a specific identification but we would investigate feelings of grievances due to the situation as well as people's actual position defined by their income.

Indeed, it is believed that people are motivated to act and protest if they are affected by measures or when they occupy a disadvantaged position in society. However, there is also evidence that people in low socio-economic status legitimize the system that sustain the inequality disfavoring them (Jost and Major 2001). Thus, it is important to look at the impact of people's actual position as measured by their income on the different reactions to the economic crisis along with their perception of grievances.

Grievances are found to be a major predictor of collective action (Klandermans 1997). It is the realization of common grievances that could make salient collective identities that in turn would promote action. In relation to such a massive event that affects large parts of society, such as an economic crisis, grievances take different forms. It is difficult therefore to specify their content. Relative deprivation theory (Crosby 1976; Pettigrew 2002; Runciman 1966; Walker & Smith 2002) considers that it is not so much the content or level of grievances but the fact that people feel entitled to something in comparison to others at an individual or collective level or in relation to what they had in the past. Informed by this theory we conceptualize grievances, here, as the realization that one is in a worse economic position than others in the country or in relation to one's previous position in the past. We believe that a motivation to act would come either by the realization that one has a disadvantage in relation to others or, given the crisis, the realization that (s)he has lost one's position.

Furthermore, an economic crisis constitutes a major threatening event that undermines people's possibility to make plans and to vision a future. We hypothesize here that along with their actual position and the realization of grievances another important factor that may impact on collective action are feelings of economic vulnerability in the future. These feelings of vulnerability are found to impact on perceptions of the social order and the welfare state (Staerkle, Delay, Gianettoni and Roux 2007). We hypothesize here that feelings of vulnerability would affect reactions in the sense that the more vulnerable people would feel the more they would be pushed to do something about. Given, however, that vulnerability expresses the threat people feel it

might affect all types of reactions, either individual or collective.

Collective action is found to be influenced by emotions and in particular feelings of anger provoked by the situation. Recent research considers that there are two routes to collective action: the efficacy route and the emotion route. Although research shows that they might be issues where one route is prioritized over the other (Tausch, Becher, Spears, Christ, Saab & Singh 2011; van Zomeren et al. 2004) a question remains as to whether we should separate what would seem a more rational from a more emotional aspect (Jasper 1998; Miller, 2011; van Stekelemburg, Klandermans & van Dijk 2009, 2011). Moreover, in the case of an event sustained in time, such as an economic crisis, where the adversary is not clear and the power-holders towards whom one claims and protest are vague, efficacy may not be the deciding factor for action. People in Greece protested several times and despite the violent clashes with police forces, the massive demonstrations and the general opposition to the measures, austerity was voted by the parliament. Thus, what motivated people to demonstrate may not be the feeling that their action would have an immediate effect. In this paper we will not explore the efficacy route. We hypothesize here that reactions relate to the emotions people felt towards the crisis, emotions that somehow imposed a reaction (Jasper 1998). It is striking that a poll conducted by MARC for the newspaper "ETHNOS" (Nation) for the first time asked people about their emotions. Thirty point eight percent of the respondents (30.8%) said that they feel rage and 30.9% disappointment (Ethnos 27/02/2011). Thus, we investigated whether different emotions led to specific types of actions. Besides anger, we included emotions that, according to relative deprivation theory (Crosby 1976), lead to depression (stress, frustration and helplessness) as well as emotions that are found to inhibit action such as fear (Miller, Cronin, Garcia and Branscombe 2009) and emotions that relate to fighting, solidarity and optimism that are also connected to protest (Jasper 1998).

To summarize, we investigate here the structure of reactions people have in the context of Greek economic crisis and we hypothesize that these reactions would depend on people's actual financial position, their sense of grievances and feelings of vulnerability and the emotions they felt towards the crisis.

2 Method

Participants

One thousand and forty (N=1040) questionnaires were collected in November-December 2011 in Greece mostly in the area of Attica. An almost equivalent number of men (N=495) and women (N=525) responded (20 people did not report their gender). Participants were between 17 and 91 years-old with a mean age of 39.05 years (median=38). All participants were born in Greece (465 in Athens) and

more than half were living in Athens (N=694). Almost 50% were married/divorced or widowed (N=459). In terms of education, half of the respondents had a higher education degree (N=520), an equivalent number completed technical education after secondary education (N=228) or had a secondary education degree (N=223) and fifty two people had completed only primary education (17 people did not report their education level). Most people were in full-time jobs (N=437), 88 reported being part-timers, 79 unemployed, 98 were retired, 47 ticked the box "housekeeping" and 17 the box "career break". The sample comprised also 184 students (25 people ticked "other" without specification and 65 did not report their employment status).

Material and Procedure

Participants were approached individually by researchers and were asked to reply to a battery of questions from which only the following, pertaining to the research questions, will be presented here. A series of questions (N=32) concerned intended reactions to the crisis. Beyond the standard items of political participation such as "strike", "demonstration", "signing petitions", "occupying public buildings" "participating through political parties or unions" and "creating blogs", questions were proposed to include new forms of participation that emerged during the crisis (for example "re-connecting illegally electricity", "refusal to pay more taxes", "attacking police forces", "participation in public assemblies of indignant citizens" "redistributing robbed food from super-markets"). Moreover, more individual solutions were proposed ("immigrating", "acquiring skills through education", "keeping money at home"). Participants had to reply on 7-points Likert scales from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). Responses were factor analyzed (see results section) and after controlling for the internal reliability of each factor new variables were computed to be used as outcome variables in the analysis. Another variable used as outcome related to questions aiming to measure the depressive state of participants. We used a subscale of the General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg, 1978, 1988). Respondents had to give on a 7-points scale (1=not at all, 7= all the time) the degree to which during the last four weeks they felt (7 items): "worthless", that "living is not worth it", that "the possibility to give an end to their life crossed their mind", that "there is nothing they can do", that they "wished to be dead to avoid all the problems" and that they found that "the idea to end their life crossed their mind very often". The internal reliability ($\alpha=.871$) being good, a new variable was computed averaging the individual scores for the seven items and was called depressive state. To measure real and perceived economic vulnerability, participants were asked to supply the level of their family annual income on a seven points scale from "below 5000" to "more than 50.000" (measure of real vulnerability) and to respond to a 9 item scale of perceived vulnerability inspired by Staerkele, Delay, Gianettoni and Roux (2007). In

particular respondents had to evaluate how likely they thought it was that in one or two years from now they will find themselves to be "not able to find a job or losing the one they already have", "needing economic support from friends and relatives", "living with relatives, roommates etc. in order to cope financially", "attaining the goals they had set up for the next two years", "finding that their education is no longer of value in the labor market", "doing things you enjoy", "having free time", "not being able to pay your bills" and "finding that the things that you would like to have are too expensive for you". Answers were given on a 7-points Likert scale (1=not at all likely, 7=highly likely). After reversing the relevant items so that high values correspond to high vulnerability, the internal reliability was controlled ($\alpha=.754$) and a new variable named "perceived vulnerability" was computed by averaging the scores of the nine items. Grievances were measured by two separate items. Respondents had to say (on a 7 points scale 1=much worse to 7=much better) what was their economic situation "compared to other people in the Greek society" or "compared to one year ago". Grievances were measured in comparison to others as a relative deprivation issue, since we were interested in the perception people had of their current position. Finally, participants were asked to evaluate the extent to which they felt the following emotions in relation to the crisis (1= not at all, 7=very often): anger, disappointment, fear, frustration, guilt, helplessness, humiliation, indignation, optimism, rage, sadness, sense of fighting, solidarity, stress, trust (Jasper, 1998).

The variables issued by the exploratory factor analysis on the items measuring the reactions towards the crisis and the depressive state were used as outcome variables in the analysis whereas the variables of real and perceived vulnerability, relative deprivation and the emotions were used as predictors.

3 Results

Analyses were performed using SPSS 17 statistical package at a level of significance $p<.05$

Reactions towards the crisis and their structure

The 32 items concerning the reactions towards the crisis were submitted to an exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation ($KMO=.901$) which yielded 7 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 explaining 63.38% of the total variance. The first factor with eigenvalue 9.24 and variance 28.86% included the items (loadings in brackets): occupation of public buildings and ministries (.729), participation to public demonstrations against austerity measures (.722), refusal to pay any new taxes (.712), refusal to pay tolls (.687), blocking roads, ports and airports (.644), reconnecting illegally power to those that could not pay electricity bills (.641), strike (.640), participation to the meetings of indignant citizens (.564) and participating to popular assemblies in neighborhoods

(.476). After controlling for its reliability ($\alpha=.884$) a new variable was computed averaging the scores of the above named items and was called "Activism". The second factor with eigenvalue 3.34 and variance 10.45% included the items: placing incendiary devices in public buildings (.837), burning cars of politicians (.797), destroying public property (.752), physically assault politicians (.724), attacking anti-riot police forces during demonstrations (.671), assaulting politicians with eggs and yogurts (.570), robbing food from supermarkets and distributing it to poor people (.554). Again, after controlling for its reliability ($\alpha=.867$) a new variable was computed averaging the scores of the relevant items and was called "Violent practices". The third factor with eigenvalue 1.93 and variance 6.04% included the items: action through participation in political parties (.772), action through participation in unions (.692), signing petitions (.547), action through NGOs (.480), petition to exit the Euro-zone (.397). The reliability being satisfactory ($\alpha=.701$) a new variable was computed by averaging the scores of these items and was named "usual forms of participation". The fourth factor with eigenvalue 1.85 and variance 5.78% included the items: taking one's savings out of Greece to foreign banks in order to protect them (.796), taking collectively all money deposits from banks (.771) and keeping money home to be able to cope with tough moments (.719). Since the reliability was satisfactory ($\alpha=.740$) the items were averaged into a new one called "financial security". The fifth factor with eigenvalue 1.56 and variance 4.87% included the items: publication of text on the internet approving acts of political violence (.704), publication of text on the internet inciting to political disobedience (.607), sending political e-mails (.583) and constructing a website/blog (.536). These items were also computed into a new variable after checking their reliability ($\alpha=.778$) and formed a factor called "Internet and political disobedience". The sixth factor (eigenvalue=1.21, variance =3.78%) included two items: boycotting foreign products (.851) and buying only Greek products (.842). The internal reliability being satisfactory ($r=.658$) again these items were averaged into a new variable called "National consumption". Finally, the last factor (eigenvalue=1.15, variance=3.61%) included also two items: increasing one's abilities and skills through education and training to be able to cope with the demands of the labor market (.692) and immigrating to a prosperous country to find a job (.653). The correlation between them being satisfactory ($r=.240$) these items were computed into a new variable, using the average scores' method, which was named "individual reactions".

These reactions can be ordered from radical collective actions to individualistic reactions and inaction (depressive state). In this research depression is considered as a variable to be explained and not as an explanatory variable.

The structure of emotions

The 15 emotions were subjected to an exploratory factor analysis with oblimin rotation ($KMO=.874$) that

yielded three factors with eigenvalue greater than 1 which explained 58.23% of the total variance. The first factor with eigenvalue 5.291 explaining 35.274% of the variance included the items: fear (.757), frustration (.738), sadness (.733), stress (.704), disappointment (.617), guilt (.611), humiliation (.558) and helplessness (.553). These were emotions that denoted a negative psychological state in relation to the crisis. After checking the reliability ($\alpha=.853$) these emotions were computed in one scale by averaging the score of the relevant items. This scale is called "fear/frustration" from the first two loading emotions. The second factor with eigenvalue 1.963 and variance 13.085% included the emotions: trust (.741), optimism (.688), solidarity (.659) and sense of fighting (.603). These were positive emotions towards the crisis denoting, in particular, a sense of trust and optimism that the crisis would be overcome with solidarity and fighting. The reliability of the scale being satisfactory ($\alpha=.639$) the emotions were averaged in a single factor called thereafter "trust in fighting/solidarity". Finally, the third factor with eigenvalue 1.481 and variance 9.871% included the emotions: anger (-.773), indignation (-.752) and rage (-.719). After checking the reliability ($\alpha=.842$) the three items were computed into a new variable by averaging their scores. The new factor is called hereafter "anger/indignation".

Descriptive Statistics of the variables used in the analysis

As can be seen from table 1 the most intended reactions are "national consumption", "individual reactions" and "activism" whereas the least intended are "violent practices" and depressive state. In addition the most felt emotion is the factor of anger (anger, indignation, rage) and the least felt are the

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations for all variables used in the analysis.

Variable	Mean	SD	min	max
Violent practices	2,05	1,33	1	7
Activism	4,19	1,57	1	7
Internet disobedience	3,25	1,68	1	7
Usual forms	3,67	1,28	1	7
National consumption	5,12	1,85	1	7
Financial Security	3,3	1,70	1	7
Individual reactions	4,51	1,57	1	7
Depressive State	2,08	1,20	1	7
Family income	3,66*	1,46	1	7
Perceived vulnerability	4,84	1,1	1,33	7
Grievances comparison with others	3,95	1,25	1	7
Grievances comparison with a year	2,81	1,36	1	7
Anger/Indignation/Rage	5,75	1,4	1	7
Fear/Frustration/Sadness/ stress/deception/guilt/humiliation/helplessness	4,47	1,27	1	7
Trust/solidarity/sense of fighting/optimism	3,89	1,19	1	7

* The mean family income corresponds approx. to the level 10.000-25.000 euros a year (median income between 10.000 and 20.000 euros a year).

emotions relating to trust in the fight (trust, solidarity, sense of fighting, optimism).

It is noteworthy that all reactions correlated positively with each other with two noticeable exceptions (table 2): violent practices did not correlate with individual reactions and depressive state did not correlate with national consumption.

Table 2: Reactions to the crisis-correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Violent Practices	1							
2. Activism	.512**	1						
3. Internet Disobedience	.451**	.601**	1					
4. Usual Forms	.222**	.514**	.466**	1				
5. National Consumption	.106**	.304**	.233**	.241**	1			
6. Financial Security	.317**	.317**	.267**	.188**	.108*	1		
7. Individual reactions	-.026 ns	-.139**	.168**	.125**	.136**	.205**	1	
8. Depressive State	.231**	-.133**	.135**	.190**	.058 ns	.163**	.077*	1

Predicting reactions to the crisis: the effects of real and perceived vulnerability, relative deprivation and emotions

A series of 8 hierarchical regressions were performed with the 7 reactions and the variable "depressive state" as outcome variables and family income, perceived vulnerability, grievances and emotions as predictors.

Violent practices ($R=.224$, $Rsq=.050$ $AdjRsq=.043$ $F(7-982)=7.357$ $p<.001$) were predicted by fear/frustration (negatively), anger/indignation/rage, perceived vulnerability and comparison with others in Greece (see table 3 for the betas). Thus, the more people felt vulnerable, angry but also fearless and the more they judged their situation to be in a worse condition than others in Greece the more they were willing to engage in violent actions.

Activism ($R=.420$, $Rsq=.177$ $AdjRsq=.171$ $F(9-982)=29,911$ $p<.001$) was predicted positively by feelings of Anger/indignation/rage, perceived vulnerability, and trust in fighting and negatively by fear/frustration and comparison of own situation with others in Greece. Thus, the more people felt vulnerable, enraged and combative and the less they felt fearful/frustrated/sad etc. the more they intended to engage with actions of activism. Moreover the worse they judged their own situation in Greece in relation to others the more they claimed this type of actions.

Using the Internet for political Disobedience ($R=.262$, $Rsq=.072$ $AdjRsq=.065$ $F(7-982)=10.766$ $p<.001$) was predicted by perceived vulnerability, "anger/indignation/rage", "trust/solidarity/fighting/optimism" and grievances in comparison with a year ago. The more people felt vulnerable, enraged and with solidarity/trust/fighting and the more they declared that their situation was in a worse condition in comparison with a year ago, the more they were willing to use the internet to incite towards political disobedience.

Usual forms of participation ($R=.267$, $Rsq=.071$ $AdjRsq=.064$ $F(7-980)=10,641$ $p<.001$) were predicted by all three factors of emotions ("anger/indignation/rage", "fear/frustration", and "trust/fighting/solidarity/optimism"). It was also

predicted by family income (negatively). In other words, the more angry, frustrated and trustful in fighting people felt, the more they intended to engage in usual forms of participation through organizations. Moreover, the less family income they declared the more they were willing to engage in these forms of actions.

National Consumption (R=.265, Rsq=.070 AdjRsqr=.064 F(7-977)=10.497 p<.001) was predicted only by emotions: "Anger/Indignation/rage" and "Fear/Frustration". Thus, the more people felt angry and fearful/frustrated the more they were willing to buy only Greek products or boycott foreign ones.

Financial security (R=.184, Rsq=.034 AdjRsqr=.027 F(7-977)=4.862 p<.01) was predicted by only two factors: yearly family income and perceived vulnerability, showing that the less family income people declared and the more vulnerable they felt the more they were willing to keep their own money safe.

Individual reactions (R=.170, Rsq=.029 AdjRsqr=.022 F(7-976)=4.114 p<.001) were predicted by perceived vulnerability and "fear/frustration". The more people felt vulnerable and the more they feared the more they declared being willing to increase their skills or immigrating.

Depressive State (R=.450, Rsq=.202 AdjRsqr=.197 F(7-978)=35.192 p<.001) was predicted mostly by feelings of fear/frustration but also negatively by anger/indignation/rage and trust/solidarity/fighting. It was also predicted by grievances in relation to others, reduced income and feelings of vulnerability. From these results, the more people felt frustrated, fearful, sad and helpless and the less angry and combative the more they felt depressed. Moreover, the less family income they declare, the more they think that they are in a worse position than others in Greece and the more vulnerable they feel the more they declare being in a state of depression where the thought to abandon life crossed their minds.

F(7-982)=7.357 p<.001) were predicted by fear/frustration (negatively), anger/indignation/rage, perceived vulnerability and comparison with others in Greece (see table 3 for the betas). Thus, the more people felt vulnerable, angry but also fearless and the more they judged their situation to be in a worse condition than others in Greece the more they were willing to engage in violent actions.

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Depressive State (R=.450, Rsq=.202 AdjRsqr=.197 F(7-978)=35.192 p<.001) was predicted mostly by feelings of fear/frustration but also negatively by

Table 3: Reactions to the crisis-correlations

	Violent Practices	Activism	Internet Disobedience	Usual Forms	National Consumption	Financial Security	Individual Solutions	Depression
Income				-.093		-.132		-.123
Vulnerability	-.099	.256	.132			.102	-.150	-.074
Grievances others	-.105	-.073						-.155
Grievances temporal			-.088					
Anger	.152	.279	.121	.093	.195			-.091
Fear frustration	-.158	-.141		.126	.094		.092	.319
Trust fighting solidarity		.108	.123	.080				-.071

Predicting reactions to the crisis: the effects of real and perceived vulnerability, relative deprivation and emotions

A series of 8 hierarchical regressions were performed with the 7 reactions and the variable "depressive state" as outcome variables and family income, perceived vulnerability, grievances and emotions as predictors.

Violent practices (R=.224, Rsq=.050 AdjRsqr=.043

anger/indignation/rage and trust/solidarity/fighting. It was also predicted by grievances in relation to others, reduced income and feelings of vulnerability. From these results, the more people felt frustrated, fearful, sad and helpless and the less angry and combative the more they felt depressed. Moreover, the less family income they declare, the more they think that they are in a worse position than others in Greece and the more vulnerable they feel the more they declare being in a state of depression where the thought to abandon life crossed their minds.

Table 4: Summary of the betas for the 8 models tested ($p < .05$)

	Violent Practices	Activism	Internet Disobedience	Usual Forms	National Consumption	Financial Security	Individual Solutions	Depression
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Grievances temporal			-.088					
Anger	.152	.279	.121	.093	.195			-.091
Fear frustration	-.158	-.141		.126	.094		.092	.319
Trust fighting solidarity		.108	.123	.080				-.071

4 Discussion

In this paper we aimed to describe the structure of reactions to the economic crisis in Greece and to see whether these reactions are predicted by the real and perceived vulnerability, emotions towards the crisis and sense of grievances.

The analysis showed that reactions to the crisis can be ordered from violent actions and radical forms of activism to individual solutions. The three more radical forms of reactions were violent practices, activism and using the internet to call for political disobedience. The most popular form of reaction was "national consumption", in other words the preference for national and the boycotting of foreign products. This mild, individually acted, form of collective reaction was followed by individual solutions that included personal development and immigration to a wealthier country. Another set of reactions that could be considered individualistic was to keep one's money safe abroad or withdraw them from the banks. However, these options were not very popular.

Although these reactions could give the impression that people choose individual solutions to face the crisis, this would be a wrong conclusion. Indeed, the third most popular reaction is activism that included many radical actions of public demonstration and disobedience. These set of reactions differed from the factor "violent practices" mostly on the target of the actions. The actions included in the factor "activism" concerned the public space and society at large whereas the actions included to the factor "violent practices" were mostly directed towards politicians. This latter factor, however, was given the least support. People were also keen to use the internet to call for political disobedience and act through political

organizations, unions and NGOs. Finally, this sample did not claim high levels of depression due to the crisis.

These reactions were differently predicted by real or perceived vulnerability, sense of grievances and emotional states. The more radical actions were not predicted by levels of family income (real vulnerability) but by the threat of future vulnerability. Moreover, violent practices and activism were predicted by sense of grievances in relation to others in Greece whereas the use of internet to call for political disobedience was predicted by temporal sense of grievances (position a year ago). It is important to note that it is not the actual position of people that leads them towards radical actions but their perception of this position in relation to others which relates to a sense of relative deprivation. In addition, new forms of influence using internet technologies are predicted by temporal relative deprivation which might mean that people performing these actions are newly impoverished. On the contrary, what we called "usual forms of action", referring to organized practices through unions, political parties and NGO's, are predicted by family income and not by perceived future vulnerability. Thus, the less people's income is, the more they are willing to perform these traditional forms of political participation. This finding might suggest that these forms of action relate to people's actual position.

Regarding emotions, anger (indignation/rage) was related to all actions that have a collective character, including national consumption, that although individually acted intended to have a collective impact. In addition, it was negatively connected to depression and unconnected to the more individualistic reactions (financial security and individual solutions). This result confirms other findings in the literature that show that anger can be a trigger of collective action (Van Zomeren et al. 2004). In our case anger was also related to radical actions of non-normative character (Tausch et al. 2011)

Fear and frustration (and other negative emotions) were negatively related to the most radical actions such as violent practices and activism. It is noteworthy, though, that these emotions were positively related to usual forms of political participation, national consumption and individual solutions. Thus, being afraid and frustrated may lead people to choose milder reactions or individual options. At this point it is important to note that the factor of negative emotions (fear/frustration) is the most important predictor of depressive state. The more people feel afraid and frustrated the more they declare having negative thoughts including the loss of their own life. Characteristically both the factor of anger and the positive emotions were negatively related to depression. Besides these emotions, depression was predicted by three variables expressing people's position: by income and grievances negatively and by vulnerability positively. Thus, the lower is people's family income and the worse they judge their situation in relation to others in Greece and the more vulnerable they feel the

more depressed they declared to be. Importantly it is not the fact that they lost suddenly their income (change of situation in relation to a year ago) that leads people to declare a depressive state.

The more positive emotions such as trust, solidarity, optimism and fighting, are negatively related to depression confirming that if people manage to believe that there are alternatives, even through fighting, they will not get depressed (Crosby 1976). These emotions were also positively related to collective forms of action (activism, internet and usual forms) but not to violent practices. This is the only predictor that differentiates violent practices from activism. Because these factors both include radical actions and although highly correlated they differ in the orientation of their actions, it is important that further research specifies which other variables differentiate them.

Looking for financial security was not predicted by emotions but only by income and vulnerability. It seems that people's actual situation and fear for being vulnerable in the future pushes them to look how to secure a financial situation. Importantly, individual solutions through education or migration are also predicted by feelings of vulnerability but also by fear/frustration. These findings could indicate that some emotions lead to collective action and other to individual solutions or inaction and depression. Further research should clarify these issues.

To summarize the findings of this research we could say that people facing a major crisis have multiple ways of reacting that go from radical and even violent practices towards individual solutions and depression. These reactions are differently predicted by people's position, feelings of vulnerability and sense of grievances and by different emotions. Several issues are noteworthy and need further attention. It is not people's actual position (as measured by their income) that impacts on the different reactions they have. Feelings of vulnerability seem to be the major predictor of these actions and therefore financial threat should be taken into serious consideration when researching political participation in times of crisis. Moreover, sense of grievances is linked to more radical forms of action but also to depression. Further research should try to disentangle when these feelings would lead to actions or inaction and helplessness (depression). However, it is important to note that it is deprivation in relation to others and not a sudden loss of income that lead people to react when facing a crisis.

Finally, emotions play an important role in predicting reactions to the crisis. Anger is confirmed as a predictor of political participation and collective action whereas fear and frustration are a major predictor of depression. Positive emotions also predict collective action with the exception of violent practices. Given that research seems to confirm the role of emotions it would be interesting to investigate the factors that would generate these different emotions.

This research was conducted in Greece during a period of major economic crisis when everyday events contributed to a changing and threatening socio-political environment. This constitutes both the strength and a weakness of this research. These findings, give some indication as to how people react to the crisis and which emotional factors influence their choices. They have to be understood within the socio-political context in which they were collected. We hope that this research will create enough interest to be pursued in other countries in crisis, it could contribute to our understanding of the factors that lead people to react differently when facing a crisis. Further research should disentangle the determining causes of each form of reaction.

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