

**THE PENDULUM OF THE MASS PROTEST.  
THE WINTER OF 2013**

*Ivaylo Dinev*

**Abstract**

The antimonopoly protests in 2013 were the most popular in the last 16 years; at their height, between 100 000 and 150 000 people crowded the streets of over 35 cities. Although in only two weeks the government was overthrown as a result of these events and a few days later four new parties emerged from the streets, from the very beginning until today the revolts are being described rather as a spontaneous and non-organized moral and economic indignation. The present article questions this viewpoint by applying a deep analysis of the genesis and the development of the structures within the movement, particularly in Sofia, of the struggle for legitimacy of various groups, networks and leaders. By means of participant observation and in-depth interviews with central figures and protestants the text searches the answers to the questions who and how creates the events, the choreography, the route and the claims. The basic tool of the study is a series of „ideal types“ of the protest among which a negative and a positive type.