

Dependency Perspective on the Working-class Gap in Protest Participation between Central Eastern and Western Europe:

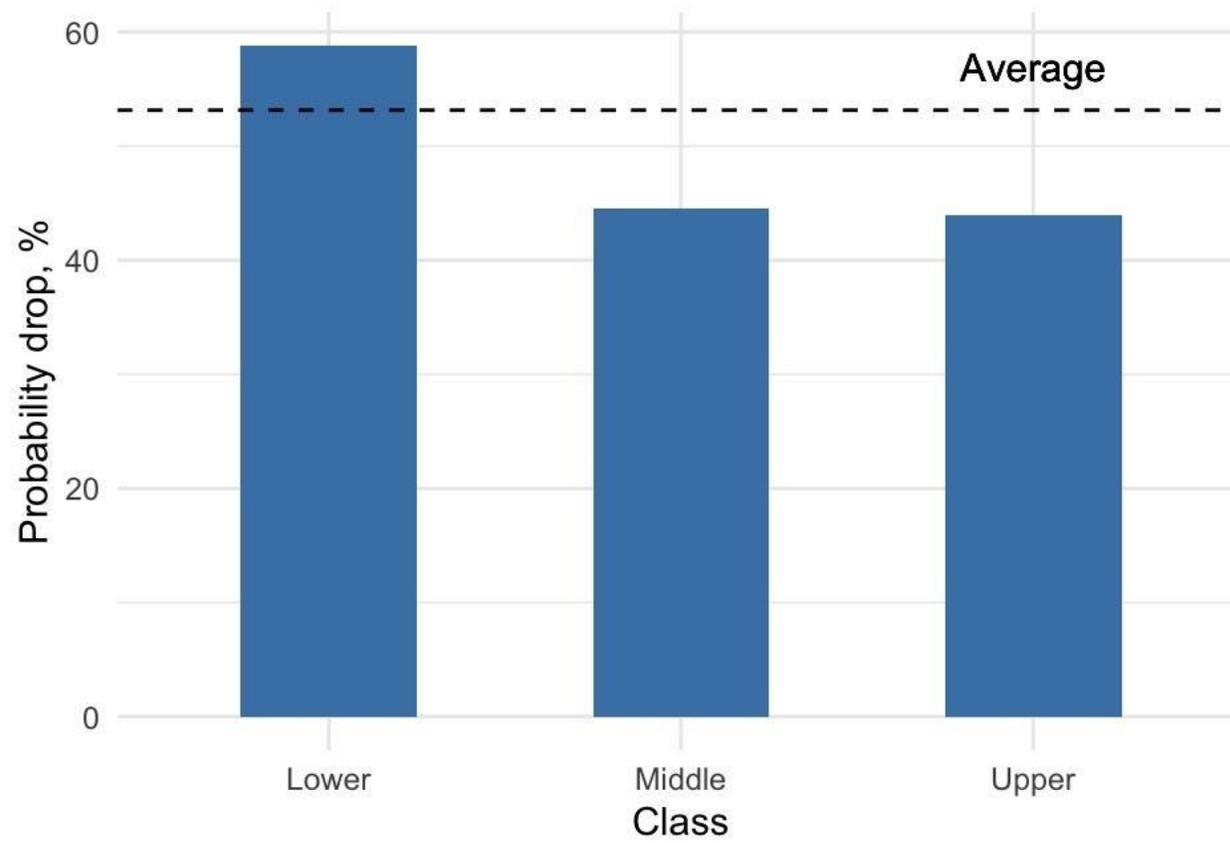
Class Composition, Social Redistribution, and Mobilization Capacity

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Participation in demonstrations for a CEE region relative to the WE region by class (ESS 2010-2018)



Research question



- How to explain the working-class gap in protest participation between Central Eastern and Western Europe?
- Why this gap is unproportionally bigger for the working classes?

Theoretical framework

Dependency perspective

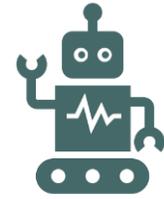
| Core | Non-core |
|---|---|
| Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK | Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine |

Contextual differences in left attitudes



- **Marginalization of left discourses** in many post-socialist countries (Chelcea & Druță 2016, Kofti 2016, Dragoman 2015)
- The political spectrum of contemporary states of CEE region is skewed to the right with **the lack of organized left representation** (Dale 2011: 14)
- Local middle-class civil society often borrows progressive discourses from hegemonic partners that **do not necessarily reflect local social realities** (Gagyı 2015: 28)

Data and methods



Micro-level data

- **Dataset:** ESS (2010-2018)
- **Dependent variable:** ‘have you participated in a legal public demonstration in the past 12 months?’
- **Controls:**
 - Age
 - Gender
 - Education
 - Class

Macro-level data

- **Dataset:** EVS (2008-2017)
- **Independent variable:** the share of individuals who support equal redistribution of income and self-identity as left
- **Controls:**
 - GDP per capita PPP (World Bank Indicators)
 - Level of institutionalized democracy (Polity IV)
 - Cultural liberalism (ESS)

Method: multilevel logistic regression modelling

Results of analysis



- *H1: The increase in the levels of politicized left attitudes has stronger effect on Western European working classes compared to post-socialist ones.*
- *H2: The cross-regional differences in the effect of politicized left on protest participation are the highest among working classes.*
- *H3: The cross-regional differences in politicized left attitudes explain the working-class gap in protest participation between Central Eastern and Western Europe.*

General results

| Structural Factors | | The effect is differentiated by class | Cross-regional differences in the effect are higher between working classes | Explains the working-class gap in protest participation |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Class composition | N of production workers | N/A | N/A | - |
| Social redistribution | Income inequality | + | + | - |
| | Public spending on labor markets | + | + | + |
| Mobilization capacity | N of union members | N/A | N/A | - |
| | Economic left | + | - | - |
| | Politicized left | - | - | + |

Discussion

- The theories explaining the patterns of behaviour in Western affluent democracy often cannot explain the differences in patterns of behaviour between those countries and developing ones (CEE)
- The same goes for the working classes: e.g. theories that explain new social movements are not relevant to explain the working-class protest participation
- What should we do about that?