

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

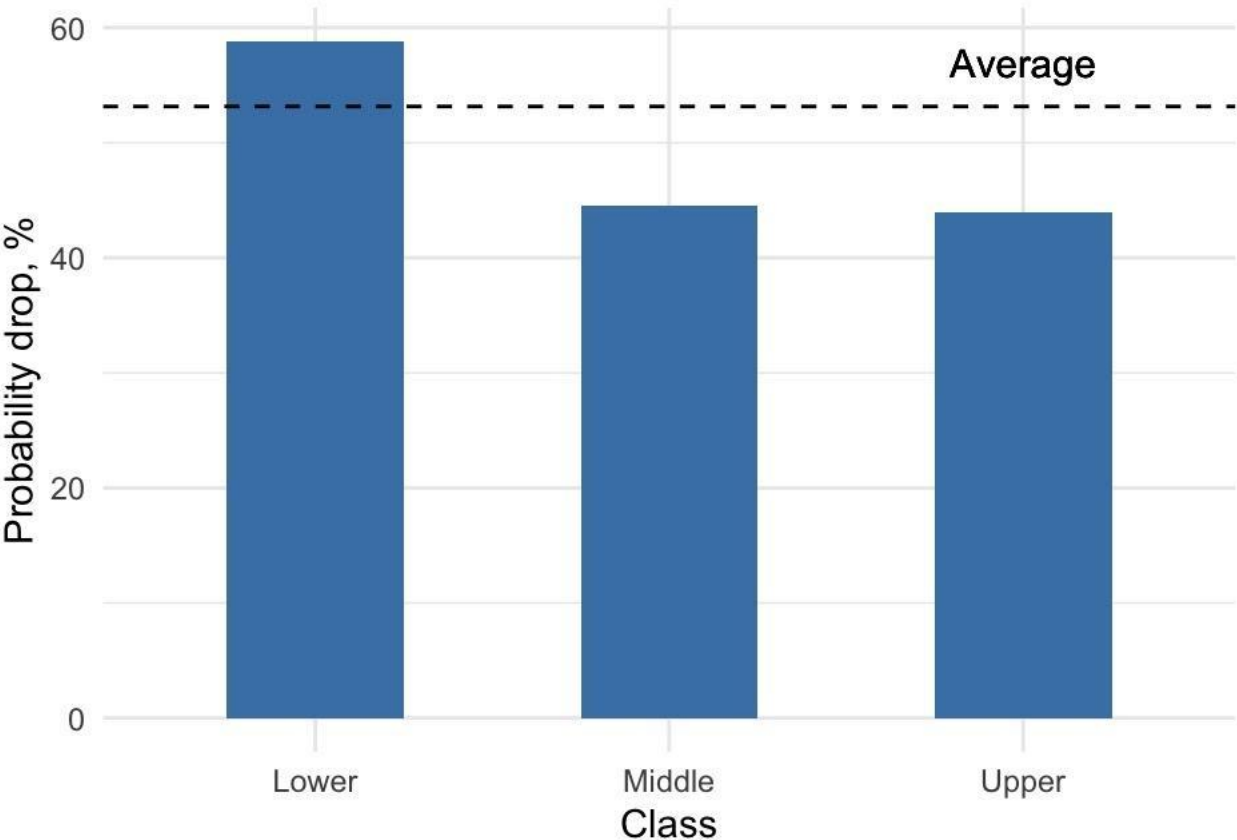
Class Composition, Social Redistribution, and Mobilization Capacity

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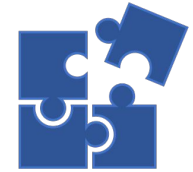
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Participation in demonstrations for a CEE region relative to the WE region by class (ESS 2010-2018)



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

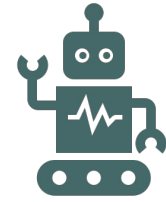
Core	Non-core
Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK	Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia,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