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What enables protest?



The determinants of protest behavior in European countries (New project)

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Why research on protest behavior in Europe



“Citizen participation is at the heart of democracy. Indeed, democracy is unthinkable without the ability of citizens to participate freely...”
(Verba et al., 1995)

Before the 1960s:

voting in elections was the main tool citizens used to get involved in decision making (Kaase, 1984);

Since the 1960s:

- radical shifts in citizen participation in the policy making process, particularly in countries with high level of modernization (Inglehart, 1990),
- increase of non-institutional forms of participation (Roller & Wessels, 1996).

What is protest behavior?



- ❑ Protest behavior is **a form of action** which is direct and non-institutionalized;
- ❑ Protest behavior may be legal (participation in lawful demonstrations) or illegal (joining unauthorized strike), peaceful or violent (Opp, 2009).
- ❑ Protest behavior is often measured by a self-reported questionnaire with a series of different kinds of protest actions. Typically PCA and indices are being applied (See Dalton et al., 2009; Opp & Finkel, 1998; Watts, 1998)

Micro-level theories



1. **Personal characteristics / resources** (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991)

Some individuals will be more available for participation because of the possession of unscheduled time , minimal countervailing risks and presence of resources that allow to take part in protest activity

2. **Political engagement** (Verba et al., 1995)

To be engaged in protest behavior one has to have some level of polit. interest and perceived polit. efficacy. People with extreme polit. orientation will tend to protest

3. **Structural availability** (McAdam, 1996)

Presence of interpersonal networks facilitates mobilization to action

“Micro-level” findings



- ❑ Well-educated, highly paid males are more likely to participate in protest behavior (Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Dalton, van Sickle & Weldon, 2009; Desposato & Norrander, 2008; Jenkins & Wallace, 1996; Norris, 2002; Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995),
- ❑ High political interest and high political efficacy are associated with high protest activity (Armingeon, 2007; Dalton, 2008; Rosenstone & Hansen, 2004).

Macro-level theories



1. **Economic resources** (McCarthy & Zald, 1977 ; Newton & Giebler, 2008)

Protest activity requires a resource base that facilitates mobilization.

Higher levels of economic development produce the resources for protest actions.

2. **Political opportunity structure (POS)** (Tarrow, 1998)

Institutional structures and political processes influence protest activities. Relatively open structures, that accommodate citizen demands, facilitate protest.

“Macro-level” findings



- ❑ High levels of economic and of openness of political system are associated with higher levels of protest activity (Dalton & van Sickle, 2005; Dalton, van Sickle & Weldon, 2009; Mayer & Minkoff, 2004; Norris, 2002);
- ❑ The proportion of non-violent protests in “old” democracies is higher than in “new” democracies (Durbow et al., 2008).

The latest theoretical development



In order fully understand the relationships b/w individual level characteristics and protest behavior, one needs to take in account the changing context (economic and political) within which this protest takes place (Opp, 2009; Tarrow, 2003).

Protest research: What is missing?



- Validation of the latent construct of protest behavior
- Testing stability of this construct across countries
- Testing stability of this construct over time
- Testing of cross level interactions between micro- and macro- variables that predict protest behavior

Hypotheses



Micro-level:

H1: education (↑), income (↑), political interest (↑), political efficacy (↑), individuals with extreme polit. orientation, males, organization members, not married -> protest behavior (↑)

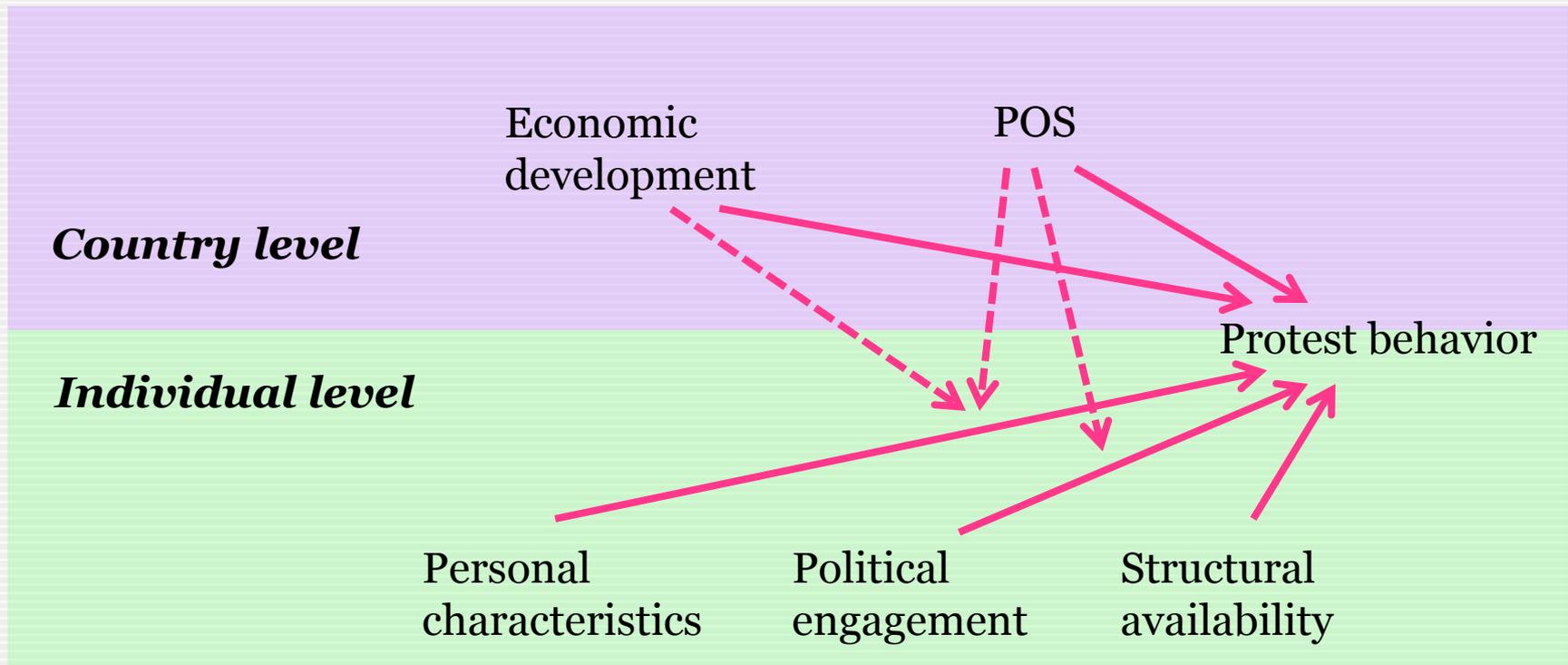
Macro-level:

H2: economic development (↑), openness of political system (↑) -> protest behavior (↑)

Cross-level:

H3: The relationships between individual level variables and protest behavior will be conditional on the level of macro-level variables

The suggested model



Broken lines – cross level interactions

Dependent variable

A battery of ESS questions on protest participation:

There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent¹⁰ things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?

Firstly ... **READ OUT**

		Yes	No	(Don't Know)
B15 ContPlt	Contacted a politician, government or local government official	1	2	8
B16 WrkPrty	Worked in a political party or action group	1	2	8
B17 WrkOrg	Worked in another organisation or association	1	2	8
B18 Badge	Worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker	1	2	8
B19 SgnPtit	Signed a petition	1	2	8
B20 PblDmn	Taken part in a lawful public demonstration	1	2	8
B21* BctPrd	Boycotted certain products	1	2	8
B22* BghtPrd	Deliberately bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons	1	2	8
B23* DntMny	Donated money to a political organisation or group	1	2	8
B24* IlglPst	Participated in illegal protest activities	1	2	8

Independent variables



- **Individual level:**

age, family status, employment, gender, education, income, political interest, political orientation, organizational membership

- **Country level:**

GDP per capita (economic development)

Economic Intelligence Unit democracy index* (POS)

*based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture.

Research questions & analysis plan



- ❑ ***Protest behavior: uni- or multidimensionality?***
 - ✓ FA on the construct of protest behavior for the whole sample
- ❑ ***Is protest behavior stable across countries?***
 - ✓ Invariance tests (configural, metric and scalar) between countries in the sample (MGCFA)
- ❑ ***Is protest behavior stable across time?***
 - ✓ Comparisons of protest behavior construct between several time points
- ❑ ***What are the determinants of protest behavior?***
 - ✓ Multilevel SEM with cross-level interactions

Open questions



- What data base? (ESS / EVS / WVS)
- Which countries? (old/new democracies? EU/non EU? OECD/non OECD? West / East Europe?)
- How many time points?
- Are there better indicators of economic development and of openness of political system?