



Protests under non-democratic regimes: 'contingent' democrats versus 'genuine' democrats

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Outline

- Context & previous research
- Research question
- What's new?
- Variables & hypotheses
- Descriptive statistics
- Analysis:
 - Cross-sectional logit
 - “nested” logit
 - By country
- Summary



Protests under authoritarianism

Class-based approach vs
rational choice approach
(critical mass, cascades,
preference falsification)

Repression as a cost for
collective action

Emancipative values as a
way to overcome
collective action problem

Authoritarian regimes are
usually less economically
successful, thus, fewer
people share emancipative
values

Who are the protesters
under authoritarian
conditions?
'Contingent' or 'genuine'
democrats?



Research Question

What is the key motivation for protesters in authoritarian regimes? Are they “true believers” in democratic ideals or “contingent democrats”, primarily preoccupied by their material interests?





What's new?

- the operationalization of the dependent variable corrected
- new variables reflecting the access to different types of mass media as a potential mediation variable introduced
- The section with the “nested analysis” of respondent’ propensity to approve and take part in demonstration, illegal action and signing petitions added



‘Contingent’ democrat

- Ability to consume
- Sensitive to economic changes (‘relative deprivation’)
- Normally has enough resources (time, education etc)
- Fearful of repression

‘Genuine’ democrat

- Emancipative values (value-rational orientation)
- Less fearful of repression
- Sensitive to human rights violations, procedural violations



Hypotheses

- *H0: emancipative values are significantly associated with participation in lawful/peaceful demonstrations;*
- *H1: higher rates of emancipative values are associated with higher propensity of participation in lawful/peaceful demonstrations;*
- *H2: emancipative values are not expected to have any link with violent forms of protest.*



Dependent Variables

the respondent's approval of three forms of protest behavior:

- signing petitions,
- participation in peaceful demonstrations and
- illegal occupation of buildings or factories.



Main independent variable:

Individual score on emancipative values
(Welzel 2013)



Sample Description

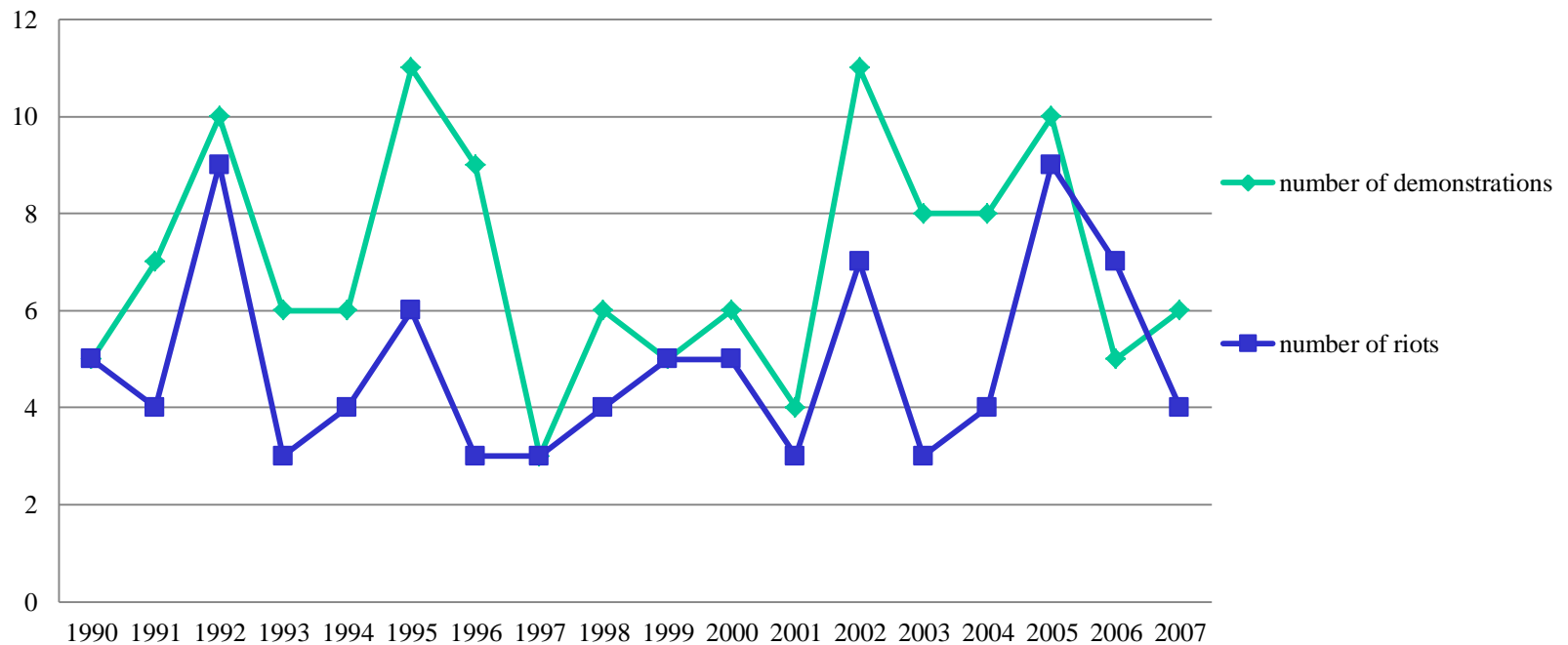
N = 21 authoritarian countries for which the survey data are available.
5th wave, WVS

The time-span is from 2000 to 2008, thus, I do not account for the impact of the “great recession” and take into account the prosperous 2000s.

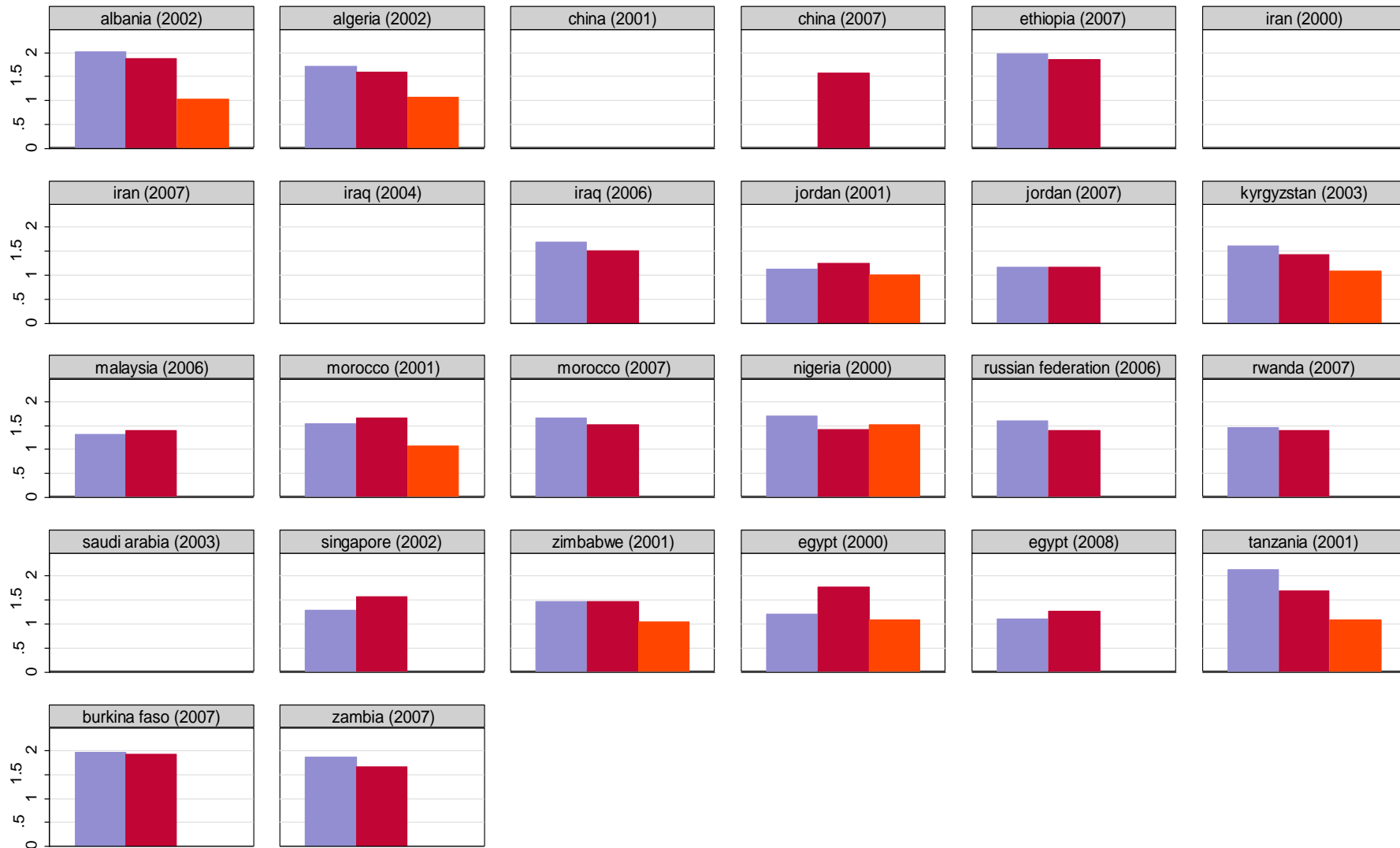
Selection rule: Higher threshold: Political Rights (FH) \leq 2 OR Polity IV \geq 6 for t-1



Frequency of protests in authoritarian regimes by year



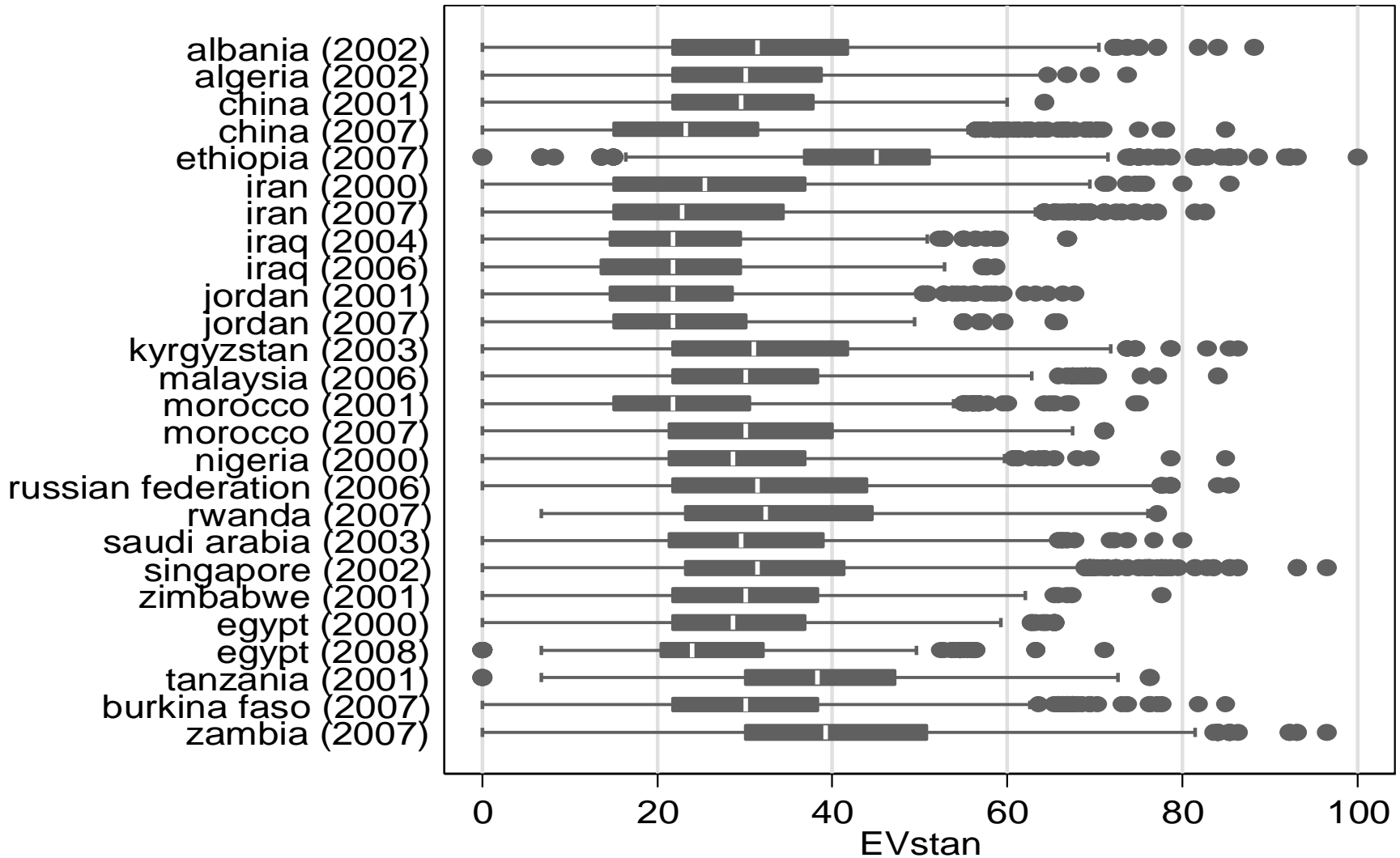
Source: CNTS; author's dataset



Graphs by country - year

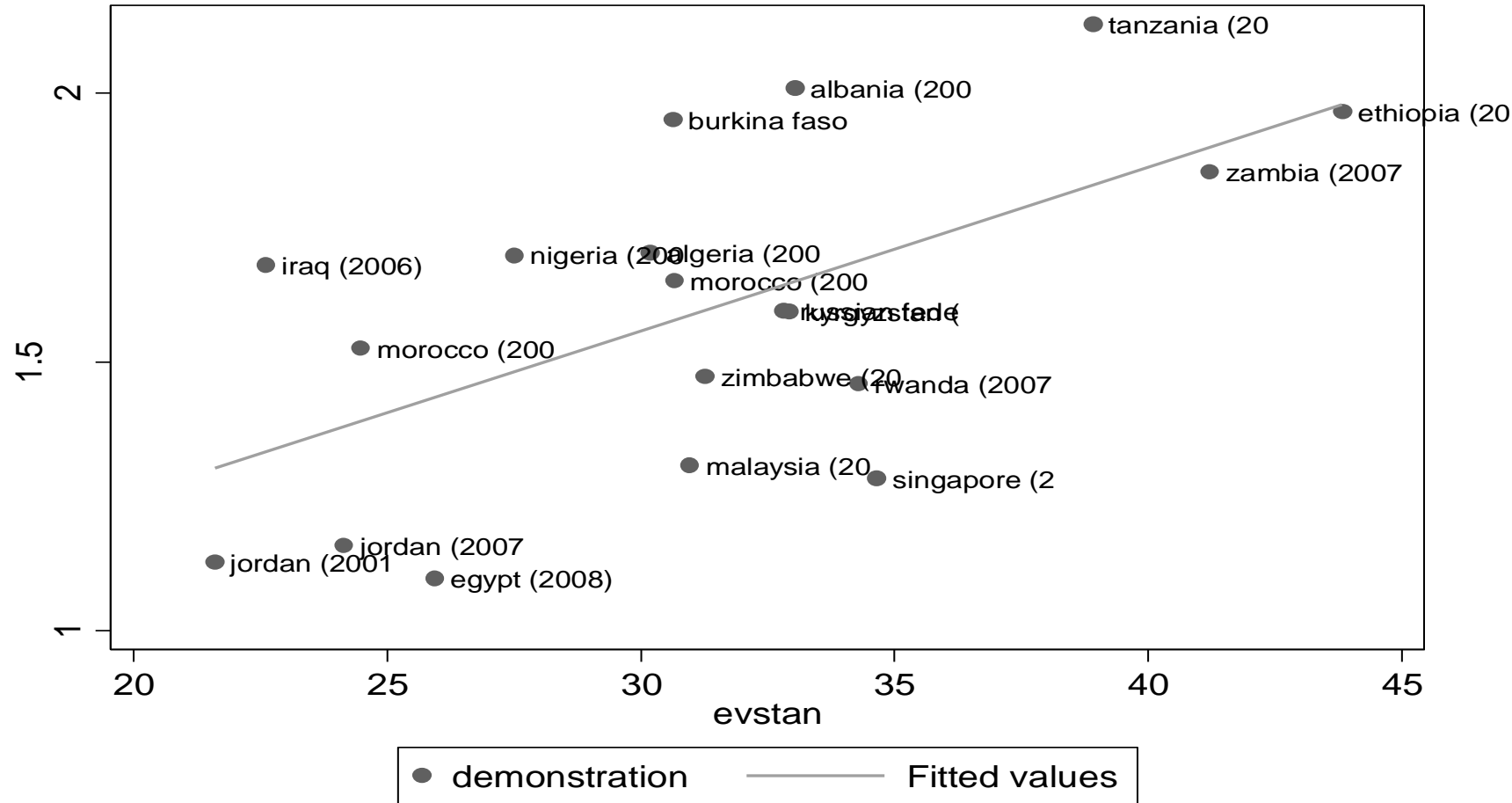


Distribution of emancipative values by countries



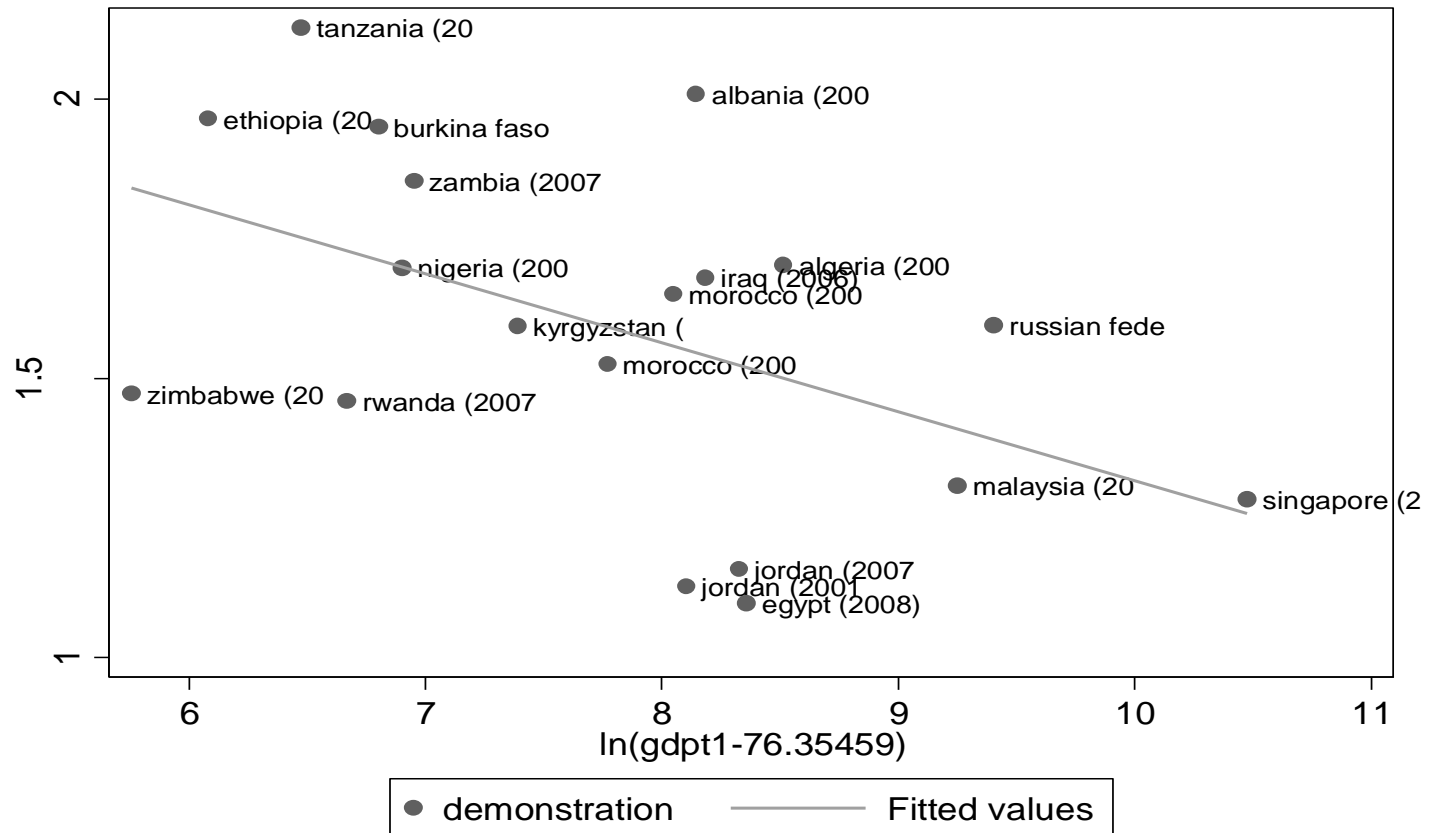


Average number of potential protesters by emancipative values





Average number of potential protesters by GDP ppp pc





Signing petitions by emancipative values: comparing the models ^[1]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects
EVstan	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
Sex (female)		-0.39***	-0.40***	-0.38***
age		-0.003**	0.0001	0.002*
Secondary edulevel		0.21***	0.37***	0.40***
Higher edulevel		0.584***	0.77***	0.83***
medium_incomelevel		0.05		
High incomelevel		0.13***		
Repression				0.24**
Log (internet users per 100)				-0.16***
Log GDP t-1				0.28***
Inequality				-0.64*
Inflation				-0.52***
Unemployment				0.01
N	32107	12693	31880	22317
df_m	21	16	25	27
ll	-27784	-11501	-27142	-18722

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



Approval of demonstrations

	(1)	(2)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Bivariate with				
	clustered se	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects
EVstan	0.02***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
Sex (female)			-0.5***	-0.6***	-0.6***
age			-0.003*	-0.001	0.001
Secondaryedu			0.3***	0.4***	0.4***
Higheredu			0.7***	0.8***	0.9***
Medium income			0.2***		
Highincome			0.2***		
Repression					-0.2*
Internet users per 100					-0.1***
GDP t-1					0.2***
Inequality					0.5
Inflation					0.4**
Unemployment					-0.04
N	30750	30750	12895	30542	20805
df_m	1	20	16	24	26
ll	-27870	-24909	-10252	-24183	-16680

Standard errors in parentheses



Approval of illegal buildings and factories occupation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	bivariate	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects	Fixed-effects
EV	-0.003	0.002	0.003	0.003	0.003
Sex (female)			-0.3***	-0.3***	-0.3**
age			-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01*
2.Edulevel			0.1	0.2**	0.1
3.Edulevel			0.2**	0.3***	0.5***
2.Income			0.1		
3income			0.2***		
Repression					1.6
Internet					0.6
GDP t-1					2.2
Inequality					
N	13201	13201	11386	13131	7308
df_m	1	9	15	13	13
ll	-4948	-4053	-3635	-3979	-2220



Approval of protest vs real action

- Would have done vs would never do
- Have already done vs would have done
- “nested” models
- Expected effect of emancipative values:
 - For demonstrations: positive
 - For petitions: positive, less pronounced
 - For illegal actions: not significant

	Demonstrations		Petitions		Occupy buildings	
	approval	action	Approval	Action	approval	action
Eman.value s	+	+	+	+	Ns	ns
gender	-	-	-	-	-	Ns
age	ns	+	Ns	+	-	+
Education	+	+	+	+	+	Ns
income	ns	+	Ns	ns	ns	Ns
Repression	ns	-	+	-	-	-
internet	ns	+	Ns	ns	-	-
inequality	ns	Ns	Ns	ns	ns	-
gdp	ns	Ns	Ns	ns	ns	Ns
inflation	-	Ns	-	ns	ns	Ns
unempl	-	Ns	Ns	ns	ns	Ns
Magazines, in depth, books	+	Ns	+	+	ns	Ns
Radio&TV	ns	+	Ns	ns	ns	Ns

Table 5B. Nested models . Step 2: "Would do" vs "Have already done"

VARIABLES	clustered se	country FE	clustered se	country FE	country FE	country FE	clustered se	clustered se	clustered se	clustered se
EVstan	0.004	0.01***	-0.001	0.002	0.01***	0.01***	0.01**	0.01*	0.01**	0.01**
2.x001sex			-0.37**	-0.32***	-0.36***	-0.30***	-0.27***	-0.25**	-0.23***	-0.27**
x003age			0.01**	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01**	0.02***	0.01**	0.01*
2.x025redulevel			0.06	0.07	0.31***	0.31***				
3.x025redulevel			0.39*	0.27***	0.51***	0.53***				
2.x047r_incomeleve l			0.22***	0.28***						
3.x047r_incomeleve l			0.35*	0.42***						
represinverted						-1.59***				
logint						0.01		-0.04	0.01	-0.12
loggdpt1						0.13		-0.07		0.16
loggini						2.69***		0.17		0.31
loginfl						2.64***		0.45		0.12
logunempl						0.25		-0.92**		
newspaper							0.003	0.13	0.004	0.01
radio&TV							0.40***	0.33*	0.40***	0.39***
magazines							-0.12	-0.10	-0.12	-0.11
indepth reports							0.08	0.17	0.08	0.09
books							-0.02	0.001	-0.02	-0.02
internet,email							0.33**	0.31*	0.33**	0.31**
friends&colleagues							0.05	0.05	0.05	0.03
occasionally PC							0.22*	0.20**	0.22*	0.22*
frequently PC							0.20	0.23	0.20	0.20



Where the effect of emancipative values is significant?

YES

- Algeria
- Jordan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Malaysia
- Morocco
- Egypt
- Burkina Faso

NO

- Albania
- Russia
- Ethiopia
- Iraq
- Nigeria
- Rwanda
- Zambia
- Singapore
- Tanzania



Summary

- Emancipative values have revealed in average positive effect on the probability of peaceful forms of political protest even in authoritarian countries;
- This effect seems **robust**, though, not **big** in magnitude;
- Emancipative values have nothing to do with intentionally violent and illegal protest actions;
- There is significant **intra-country variation** in ways how values may translate into political action;
- **The transition from non-approval to approval of protest action does not reflect exactly the same phenomenon as transition from passive support to real action;**
- **The role of mass media: “traditional media” vs internet**
- **Different mechanisms of mobilization across protest repertoires**



Thank you for Your Attention!