Youth and Protest:
Predictors of protesting in Chilean young people and the effect of discrimination grievance

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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation centres on finding new empirical evidence of factors that determine the possibility to protest of young people in Chile, specifically considering the effect of discrimination grievance. Using National Survey of Youth 2012 through logistic regressions, the author concludes that people with discrimination grievance are more likely to protest than people without discrimination; according to this, people who feel discriminated against develop a specific grievance, which is shared by a group, politicising their collective identities through a sequence of protests, reinforcing their values and defending their interest.

Additionally, the author analyses the effect of three groups of factors influencing the likelihood of participation in protest. Related to this, the most important predictor of protest participation is membership in voluntary (political) organizations: voluntary organizations forge ties between individuals, facilitating recruitment into protest. Additionally, it is important to remark upon the influence of variables referred to political engagement. In other words, Chilean young people are more likely to protest when they talk about politics, have interest in politics, identify with some political tendency and they are dissatisfied with the democracy.

On the other hand, regarding biographical availability approach, it is possible to indicate a significant and negative effects of age, being married and having children; meanwhile student status is the only variable with a stronger and positive impact.

Findings suggest that Chilean young protestors are more strongly engaged in politics; contrary to the predominant idea that young people are politically apathetic. It shows a new type of citizen, which favours non-conventional ways of participation in order to express their opinions.

Keywords: protest, discrimination, biographical availability, political engagement, structural availability.
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List of Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>INE</td>
<td>National Institute of Statistics</td>
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<td>INJUV</td>
<td>National Institute of Youth</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated entirely to Jany, my wife. I could not write a single line without her support, she is my wonderwall…

“Because maybe
you’re gonna be the one that saves me
and after all
you’re my wonderwall”

(Noel Gallagher, 1995)
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background
It is possible to observe the longer stability of Latin American democracies at 21st century, indeed, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) argues that in any other moment countries had long lasting political systems (UNDP, 2004). Although, as in other occidental democracies, it is likely to recognize negative signs linked to the proper functioning of democracies such as the fall in political elections, lower levels of social capital and an increasing distrust in political parties (Fuentes and Villar, 2005; Payne et al., 2006).

Chile is not distant from this scenario. This country has generated a well-known political stability but also there is evidence of social unrest. Posner (2004) suggests that Chile has become a successful country with political and economic stability, however, there is an ensemble of political and institutional aspects that limit social participation and the strength of a direct democracy.

Among these limitations, a lack of accountability in political authorities has been observed, as well as outdated political parties and an increasing disengagement of public affairs. In this situation, the development is possible of an elitist democracy that only admits citizens to participate in elections, regardless of other mechanisms favouring the participation of social movements or non-institutionalized actors (Garcés, 2004; Ríos, Godoy and Guerrero, 2003).

UNPD (2014) indicates that Chile has experienced an impressive fall in electoral participation (34%) in comparison with countries which belong to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); with greater decreases only in Slovakia (35%), Gambia (36%) and Madagascar (38%). Additionally, previous studies have reported an increase in political distrust and a fall in political participation (Joignant, 2007).

At the same time, there is a process of dissatisfaction and protest that has occurred in other countries such as Spain (Indignant movement), Arab countries (Araba spring movement), United States (Occupy Wall Street) and even Hong Kong.
(Umbrella movement). All these acts express the intention of citizen and horizontal participation, criticising traditional institutions and the distribution of political power (UNDP, 2015).

In Chile, there has been incitation in this context since 2011, when social movements and protest participation have grown against the government, culminating in 200,000 people showing their dissatisfaction with the political and economic system in August. This unprecedented wave of social protest has been the most important since protestors of the late 1980s, which helped to overthrow the authoritarian regime of General Augusto Pinochet, who ruled the country between 1973 and 1990, when democracy was restored (Somma, 2012).

Nevertheless, Somma (2012) suggests that the distinctive feature of Chilean movement is that people protest in a durable economic context that includes rising employment rates, low inflation, and expanding social programs.

According to this, the demands of social movements are focused on the injustice of higher inequality despite economic growth, and the development of neoliberal principles that have undermined the quality of social rights such as education, health and employment (UNDP, 2015; Mira, 2011; Somma, 2012).

As stated by UNDP (2015), the new social movement in Chile is an agent of politicization, a process attempting to define the nature of societal, democratic and social changes needed by Chile for the future. Social movements have allowed the introduction of a set of demands and topics on public opinions, as evidenced by the rise in protest acts and the number of participants. In other words, this kind of political participation has turned into something frequently. Acts of protest rose from 111 in the 2005-2006 period to 147 in the 2011-2012 period, an increase of over 30%.

1.2. Research Focus

Within recent years, researchers have studied the lower level of political engagement among young people in several democracies, caused by evidence of
less political knowledge and lower commitment to participating in political parties or voting, when compared with former generations (Wattenberg, 2012).

This tendency has enforced the view of this segment as politically apathetic or inactive (Akram, 2009). However, it is important to imply a broader view of how young people engage in politics; Eden and Roker (2000) and Marsh et al. (2006) suggest that the focus should be where this group is active.

These authors remark that while young people could turn away from formal, mainstream politics, this does not necessarily signify political apathy. Conversely, young people are reasonably interested in politics and political issues, however critical of politicians and formal mechanisms of political participation.

According to this, various Chilean young people do not consider political parties as a valid intermediary for expression of ideas to political authorities; for this reason, youth may prefer to participate in social movements and protests. This idea is supported by a series of social protests occurring since 2011, primarily associated with student demands, but also environmental, sexual minorities, public service, housing or ethnic grievances.

Using data of the National Institute of Youth (INJUV), it is possible to compare the participation in protest of Chilean young people between 2009 and 2012, identifying a rise in this activity. In 2012, 29% of young people reported participation in protest within the last year, 10 points higher than 2009.
Figure 1: Protest participation of Chilean young people (aged 15-29) 2009-2012

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile.

Compared with other Latin American young people, Chile shows a higher level of protest participation, but a lower level of voting. Indeed, protest participation of young people is roughly 27% in 2013, and Chile is the country with the fourth highest participation of 32%, following Brazil, Colombia and the Dominican Republic. On the other hand, Chile has the lowest percentage of young people who declare to vote in last presidential elections (20%), followed by Costa Rica (35%) and Panama (45%).

These reports regarding Chilean young people have motivated research questions about factors that explain why some young people participate in activities of protests in Chile, and others not.

To answer the first research question, the study will examine the effect of three groups of factors influencing the likelihood of participation in protest: biographical availability, political engagement and membership in voluntary organizations.

Effect of discrimination on protest participation

Additionally, one chief objective of this study is to analyse the effect of discrimination grievance on protest participation, in other words, the demonstration that young people who have been victims of discrimination are more likely to participate in protest.
INJUV (2012) observed that 30% of Chilean young people declared having felt discriminated; a situation that could generate consequences of social exclusion of young people in Chilean society.

In modern society, young people have many opportunities for developing their lives, but they also face many new obstacles. In this sense, they live in a riskier and more uncertain world than past decades. Undoubtedly, these changes have affected peoples’ biographies, depending less on traditional references such as family, religion, politics, and more on their own abilities and decisions (Beck, 1992).

As a result of these changes, young people more intensely experience the process of individualization and life construction, as a result of the given the opportunities and risks of modern society (UNDP, 2003). However, not everyone is given the same liberties to develop personal goals and shape their biography.

This frustrated process of individualization in young people is possible to link with protest, as this political participation is an expression of frustration due to the impossibility of accomplishing personal goals. Specifically, people who feel discriminated against according to their gender, sexual orientation, ethnic group or social class develop a particular and shared grievance.

As McAdam (1999) indicates, if people feel aggrieved about aspects of their lives and also optimistic about collective action, then participation in protest can provide resolution. In this way, discrimination motivates young people to become committed protestors, in order to improve their life conditions or fight in favour of values or beliefs.

Additionally, most young people are students, a status that allows interaction with others who share feelings of discrimination. This provides the context to develop shared grievances and consciousness to participate in protests. Therefore, people encourage cooperative behaviour, facilitating mobilization and participation.
1.3. Research questions, objectives and research hypotheses

Research Questions
The following research questions centre on finding new empirical evidence of factors that determine the possibility to protest of young people in Chile, specifically the effect of discrimination grievance.

• What are the factors that affect possibility to protest of young people in Chile?
• What is the effect of discrimination grievance in the possibility to protest of young people in Chile?
• In relation to this, how does the condition of student in young people with discrimination grievance change the possibility to protest?

Objectives
1) Determine the factors that affect possibility to protest of young people in Chile through logistic regressions.
2) Investigate the effect of discrimination grievance in the possibility to protest of young people in Chile.

Research Hypotheses
• H1: There will be positive effect on the chance to protest of Chilean young people with discrimination grievance, in comparison who do not feel discriminated.
• H2: There will be a positive effect on the interaction between the student status and discrimination grievance: students with discrimination grievance are more likely to protest in comparison with those who are not students.

1.4. Value of the Research
There are two relevant contributions of this investigation. Firstly, it is important to do a characterization of the young protestor. Since 2011, protests and social movements have increased in the country, with young people as the main actors. Most studies focus on electoral participation; a situation that has not allowed development of a good characterization of protestors in Chile, especially younger protestors.
The possibility of using nationally representative survey data rather than focus on a single movement or protest campaign, provides the opportunity to analyse protestors given their sociodemographic and attitudinal aspects. Additionally, the study provides an exceptional possibility to understand the process of social change, because young population are who are more exposed to the consequences of modernization and globalization (Aravena, 2006). Changes in political participation and citizenship could be examined easily in this segment, rather than in other age groups, identifying tensions and problems unrecognised prior.

Secondly, the research allows examining young people with a holistic approach, using logistic regressions to analyse different factors that affect the probability to protest. This type of methodology has been used in diverse studies of social protest (Schussman and Soule, 2005; Scott, 2007; Somma, 2009; Moseley and Moreno, 2010), achieving innovative results that could enrich the discussion of this topic.

However, research in Chile regarding political participation of youth often uses qualitative methods or simple quantitative methods as crosstabs, such as INJUV (2012) or Trucco and Ullmann (2015); therefore, the possibility to introduce new methodology generates a different approach to understanding the civil engagement of this group.

1.5. Structure of the Dissertation
Chapter 2 is a literature review, beginning with a brief examination of development of social movements in Chile and main concepts about protest and youth.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology that has been used for the study and provides sample descriptive statistics.

Chapter 4 presents the main results of the study.

Chapter 5 discusses the results in relation to previous research.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction
Chapter 2 is a literature review, beginning with a brief examination of the development of social movements in Chile and young people as principle actors. It continues with review of key concepts about social movements and protest participation, followed by a review of the main predictors of protest participation and the importance of grievance in the process of protest. Finally, there is a section dedicated to explaining the relationships between youth, discrimination grievance and protest.

2.2. Social movements and protest participation in Chile
Chile is a country with higher heritage in protest participation and a strong tradition of popular mobilization, especially prior to the dictatorship of Pinochet in 1973 (Somma, 2012). In the 1960s, political mobilization expanded from urban centres to the countryside, incited by the efforts of leftist parties and Christian Democrats to capture the peasant vote.

The period of Socialist government of Salvador Allende (1970-73) was a time when social movements played a key role in the development of the history of Chile (Garcés, 2004), unified mainly by workers and university students.

Garreton (1993) indicates that the only valid channel for expression of social demands to the Estate is through political parties, which articulate social organizations and political systems. According to this, politics were developed exclusively by political parties, being representatives of all actors and civil society. For this reason, the polarization before dictatorship was expressed in several political parties that embodied all political tendencies: communism, socialism, fascism, liberal ideas, army, etc.

During the dictatorship of Pinochet (1973-1990), the Estate supressed collective actions and social protests, also eliminating social organizations, labour unions and political parties. Nevertheless, young people were important in that period because they were first to protest in the streets, generating foundations to political
negotiations before the return to a democracy at the end of eighties (Sandoval, 2012).

After military dictatorship, social movements were introduced in a political system with an elitist democracy, limiting citizen participation and excluding social actors (Garcés, 2004). Selective political parties, provoking a progressive weakness in civil society, monopolized political actions. Protests dwindled and electoral participation rates fell systematically during the 1990-2000 period.

At the start of the 21st century, it is possible to observe massive protests. One such protest with high relevancy, was a secondary student’s protest in 2006, called the “Penguin Revolution”. That social movement was characterized by non-political identification with traditional political parties, generating original strategies such as marches, boycotts, art manifestations and building occupations, producing new ways for young people to participate.

Mobilized across the whole country through marches and building occupations, the “penguins” demanded the subsidy to student transportation and fellowships, and to a lesser extent, changes in school curricula. Nonetheless, they failed.

The main values of the movement were autonomy, auto representation and denial of delegating decisions in traditional channels of participation like political parties (Sandoval, 2007).

Social movements that occurred between 2010 and 2012 have been led by young people; unsurprising, given that group was the motor of great social change occurring in twentieth century (Sandoval, 2012). This was especially true in Chile, where researchers have presented the idea of the “revolutionary young person” since the 1960’s.

On the other hand, protests have occurred in a context with economic growth, low inflation, and expanding social programs and higher rates of employment. This situation contrasts with parallel social movements in other parts of the world, where
people have fought against government cutbacks in a climate of economic recession and austerity.

It is important to mention this scenario occurred in the presidential term of Sebastian Piñera, the first centre-right president since the end of the Pinochet regime, and before twenty subsequent years of leftist government. Piñera, who was a billionaire businessman, lost his credibility gradually, becoming the figure of unleashed neoliberalism, providing a clearer target for the movement’s demands. In addition, Joaquín Lavín, the education minister, was one of the founders of a private university suspected of having violated the anti-profit legislation (Mira, 2011).

Somma (2012) concludes the size of marches –almost 200,000 people- reflects a diverse mass of citizens who are disappointed with the political and economic system of the country. As a result, the author suggests that protests are the result of neoliberal public policies, which have been implemented in Chile, producing students with higher educational attainments and communicational social skills. Additionally, the inequality in higher education has created frustration and economic vulnerability in many families, germinating the desire of rights through protests and social movements.

The Chilean student movement represented an example of a broader mobilization against three things: the organization of societies around market principles, the political class that promote the policies that reproduce such organizations, and the corporate world that profits from it.

Specifically, student movement focused its claims against two important neoliberal beliefs about education: education is a consumer good and private actors are acceptable. By doing so, Somma (2012) concludes, “the student movement opened the way for a restructuring of basic aspects of Chilean society well beyond the educational system” (Somma, 2012, p.297).
2.3. Social Movements and Protest

Much of the literature emphasises that social movements are the principal tool which civil society gives voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action such as protesting in the streets, that dramatize those grievances and concerns and demand that something be done about them (Snow et al, 2004).

Tarrow (1998) defines a social movement as "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities" (Tarrow, 1998, p.23). He specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and advocacy groups, placing them outside institutional channels.

Historically, researchers have associated protest to non-conventional ways of political participation, distinguished from actions such as voting, party membership or voluntary work. Traditional theories of representative democracy suggest that citizens have direct participation through mechanisms of regular elections; meanwhile news media, NGOs and social movements are indirect, and intra-electoral periods are mechanisms of participation.

Although, Norris (2002) indicates that dividing between conventional and non-conventional political actions is more and more complicated today, due to the diversification of activities used for political expression. The author remarks that the diffusion of power and process of globalization and decentralization, have made this division excessively narrow.

Keeter et al., (2002) argues that citizens are more critical than in past decades, questioning that their participation only is developed in elections and representative mechanisms. Therefore, protest becomes a valid resource where civil society demands solutions to problems that government mechanisms cannot resolve properly.
One challenge of studying this topic is to understand that protests are often situational rather than generic; generally triggered in response to specific circumstances and events. Tarrow (1998) indicates the protest circle to refer an intensive and irregular period of conflict against social systems, including the collective frame diffusion of social movements and the interaction among different actors.

The act of protesting has been linked to a deep civic commitment of those who prefer to take risks to participate in social movements (McAdams, 1986). According to this, people who feel aggrieved are more probable to participate in this kind of acts, especially if they feel injustice and indignation (Klandermas, 1997).

Somma (2006) claims that people with feelings of grievance use protest as way to improve their life conditions or achieve provision of a particular collective good such as education, health or housing. The author empathises that people that do not feel frustrated are not motivated to protest; in other words, they live comfortably, trusting that institutions are sufficient to resolve social problems.

2.4. Shifts in the nature of protest in post-industrial societies
Scott (2007) discusses shifts in the nature of protest in post-industrial societies. On the one hand, it is possible to observe a diversification in objectives and causes. The economic growth and social security that western countries have experimented in last decade have allowed an increase in protest activity, which are related to specific and personal demands. In other words, the monolithic understandings of protest participation are gone, historically determined by social classes, have now been replaced by causes linked to local and particular motivations such as elite corruption, women’s rights or environmental degradation.

Another important shift is a certain institutionalization of protest participation. This kind of activity becomes routine (Putnam et al., 2000), being as a legitimate tactic; indeed, may surveys have recognized the positive valuation of this activity among people (Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2001). As a result, it is not difficult to observe well-educated people participate in marches frequently, as a new way to demonstrate their citizenship.
An interesting term is the “institutionalization of response” associated to a series of procedures for protest control (Scott, 2007), seeking to articulate security with respect for individual freedoms to political expression. In recent decades, interactions of protestors and police have been defined by predictable ways that diminished individual threats.

Also worth consideration is the expansion of protest participation globally. Longitudinal surveys have identified a constant rise in protest participation in many countries since the seventies. Despite the fact protest behaviour has not overtaken other acts such as voting, its popularity has grown, especially among the young population.

Finally, the main shift in the nature of protest participation is the normalization of the protester. This means that citizens are participating in protests without peculiar characteristics, in other words, they are heterogeneous, according to its legitimation and its acceptance as alternative political act (Quaranta, 2014).

2.5. Predictors of Protest Participation

Whether or not people participate in protest is distinct from the process of membership in social organizations (McAdam, 1986). In other words, people do not join social movements or protest in the same sense that they join political parties.

McAdam (1986) points out the nature and boundaries of social movements which are less clear than formal organizations. For this reason, the author recommends focusing on the process by which individuals come to participate in a particular instance of activism, in this case, protests.

Researchers have identified several factors that distinguish protesters from non-protesters. According to this, it is possible to recognise three main theories of protest participation: biographical availability, political engagement (or strategic resources) and membership in organizations (or structural availability).

*Biographical availability*

This theory is refers to constraints that produce people uniquely available or unavailable to participate (Scott, 2007). Indeed, some characteristics increase risks
and costs to participate in protests. McAdam (1986) indicates this kind of activity is linked to a loss of time, money and energy, as well as certain legal, physical and financial damages.

Beyerlin and Hipp (2006) suggest that lower social obligations result in a higher probability to participate in protests. Generally, biographical availability has been operationalized in four dimensions: marital status, parenthood, labour status and age. Regarding these dimensions, married people, parents, employed and older have many risks and costs to protest because they have constraints that restrict their participation (Nepstad, Erickson and Smith 1999; Scott, 2007).

Additionally, some studies show that students have more opportunities to protest, due to having flexible schedules and less obligations (Schussman and Soule, 2005; Petrie, 2004). Women may have fewer opportunities for participation, as they are traditionally responsible for domestic tasks and raising children.

In practice, protest participation jeopardises family life and stability, being less convenient for people with responsibilities (Scott, 2007). Employed people generally do not have time for this activity, and they run the risk of losing jobs. Parents must consider their children when they want to protest, and the risks involved in the activity.

An interesting observation is that younger individuals are more likely to be willing to undertake risks involved in protest (Schussman and Soule, 2005). Younger people are also more likely to be in school, unmarried and free from obligations imposed by careers and families. In other words, age is linked to a number of important characteristics that are expected to affect propensity to protest.

Political Engagement (strategic resources)

The concept of strategic resources presents a higher influence in the probability of protesting, being associated to agency and cultural capital. This theory is less about personal constraints and more about supply of political skills.

Scholars report factors that increase the likelihood of protest: political interest, access to information, political efficacy and being liberal (Schussman and Soule,
Indeed, people without level of political interest probably will not participate, similar to individuals who are not informed about political issues.

Regarding liberal positions, liberals and progressives people who want to challenge the political establishment and who feel the need to go beyond conventional politics are more likely to protest (Dalton, 2002). Additionally, the sense of political efficacy is a good indicator as well, because the more effective an individual believes protest participation is, the more likely she or he is to participate (Schussman and Soule 2005; Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2010).

To summarise, political engagement influences individuals to participate in politics, understand the process and act in order to impact the democratic process.

*Membership in Voluntary Organizations (structural availability).*

This theory is associated to the importance of interpersonal relationships for stimulating protest participation, as people most likely will not engage in protest unless first asked to do so (McAdam, 1986). In other words, membership in organizations facilitate recruitment. This concept usually is operationalized with three indicators: organizational affiliation, organizational participation and religious participation (Scott, 2007).

Moreover, participation in voluntary organizations increases the probability of participation in protests and social movements. According to this, social capital encourages cooperative behaviour, facilitating mobilization and participation. Also, organizations provide shared representations and system meaning, raising consciousness that gives propensity to participate in politics. Social organizations provide the creation and dissemination of discourse critical of authorities, mobilizing to protest.

Somma (2006) indicates three mechanisms to explain this relationship. First, these kinds of organizations develop civic attitudes that promote some political activism (Verba et al.,1995). Participation in voluntary organizations generates a context for people to discuss politics, increasing the sense of resolution for social problems through protesting (Meyer, 2004). Finally, voluntary associations produce contacts with activists, who frequently invite others to protest (Snow et al. 1980; Diani 2004).
The author recognizes three types of voluntary organizations, which are more inclined to increase the possibility to participate in acts of protesting: political organizations, collective identity organizations and community service organizations.

According to this, membership in political organizations should increase familiarity with protest or being targeted for protest invitations. In these organizations, individuals develop the sense of political efficacy through political actions; at the same time, participation in political parties allows understanding of political systems and using protest when it is the best option (Pateman, 1960).

Generally, collective identity organizations function as informal channels, and acts of protest are the main means for knowing their demands. They are structured around cleavages such as age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnic minority, etc. Their marginal position increases the possibility to use protests as the preferred tactic.

Community services organizations are oriented to the provision of good and services to the population. Despite neutrality in political terms, when their problems are ignored, they may use protests. Voluntary organizations encourage development for a frame of social injustice or grievance, legitimising the use of political protest (Somma, 2009).

*Income and educational attainment*

Scott (2007) indicates that indicators such as educational attainment increase the possibility for participation in civic acts, such as voting or protesting.

As a result, educational attainment would be the best predictor of protest participation, as higher education emphasizes the importance of public problems, motivating participation in politics and also generating social ties (Norris, 2002). Indeed, education produces political actors and people with higher political awareness, with the ability to organise collective strategies such as protests (Scott, 2007).

In this sense, higher socioeconomic status tends to be positive in that people from higher classes have more opportunities to accomplish higher education, political and
cultural capital. Although, scholars have shown that this effect is not as strong as education.

*Other important predictors: Dissatisfaction with public institutions, Gender and Ethnicity*

Another element to consider is the role of dissatisfaction with public institutions. Within this context, the prevailing idea is that dissatisfied people tend to participate more and more in protest actions; as dissatisfaction is a motivational mechanism to change the current situation through non-conventional acts, such as protests (Norris, 2002; Quaranta, 2014). In view of that, people who are not satisfied with democracy could have more opportunities to protest, especially when a political system is not able to resolve economic and social problems (Kease and Newton, 1995).

Similarly, lower level of trust in institutions increases the possibility to protest. Distrust in institutions such as political parties, the Congress or the President is associated with a feeling of futility within traditional channels of political representation, generating a void between actual and desired democracy (Norris, 1999).

Previous research has established that women are less likely than men to participate in protest events (McVeigh and Smith 1999; Fitzgerald and Spohn 2005; McAdam 1986). This situation is explained because barriers to political participation are higher for women than for men. Meanwhile, men participate in protest activism through formal networks and organizational connections, whereas women are more dedicated to friendship and familial ties, as they hold pivotal roles in these scenarios.

It has also been shown that people from some ethnic groups are more likely to protest than whites (Schussman and Soule 2005). However, Petrie (2004) suggests that after controlling for political engagement and membership in organizations, ethnic groups could be statistically indistinguishable from majority groups.
2.6. Grievance

Scholars propose that people participate in protest in order to express their grievances stemming from relative deprivation, frustration or injustice (Snow et al. 1986). McAdam (1999) indicates that people who feel aggrieved about some aspect of their lives, and optimistic for acting collectively, can resolve the problem through protests.

Somma (2007) introduces an analytical distinction between subjective grievances and ‘objective’ deprivation. One the one hand, subjective grievances refers to individuals who feel they are victims of oppression and injustice, or feel threatened by other groups. On the other hand, objective deprivation refers to individuals who are lower within the social structure concerning ‘objective’ goods such as wealth, status, education, or political leverage.

However, the author recognizes that people higher within the social structure may feel aggrieved because they think they do not have everything they rightfully deserve; or on the other hand, poor and marginal individuals may not feel aggrieved because they think social inequalities are fair.

According to this, grievance increases the likelihood to participate in protest, as these individuals have more opportunities protest. Indeed, aggrieved individuals express their grievances everyday, interacting with co-workers, relatives and friends, articulating social problems or feelings of discrimination.

Hunt and Benford (2004) claim the importance of collective identity which is defined as “an individuals' identifications of, identifications with, and attachments to some collectively in cognitive, emotional, and moral terms” (Hunt and Benford, 2004, p.483). From this perspective, collective identity may replace class-consciousness as the factor that accounts for protest mobilization. Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010) suggest that a strong identification with a group increases the likelihood of participation in collective political action on behalf of that group.

According to this, the strength of group identification produces the awareness of shared grievance against an external enemy that is blamed for the existence of the group; beginning the politicized identity which is a sequence of politicizing events.
that gradually transform the group’s relationship to its social environment, whereby the tactical choices are again shaped by identity (Polletta, 2009).

Klandermans proposes a model of “action mobilization”, which is divided into four steps: people must sympathize with the cause, must be aware of upcoming events, must want to participate and must have the ability to participate (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987). However, the same author improves his own model when he introduces the influence of grievance, political efficacy, collective identity and shared emotions (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2010).

In this sense, the author indicates that when those who share grievances feel threatened, the angrier rise and people are prepared to participate in protests in order to defend their interest or express their sense of injustice. Indeed, emotional reasons are added to instrumental motivation for protesting; in other words, it is not only the motivation to change certain circumstances, but also the expression of moral indignation, collective emotions. Rational and emotional motivations interplay in mobilization model.

2.7. Youth Transitions and Discrimination

It is relevant to remember that youth is a stage of life, during which people undergo a wide range of new experiences such as their first job, higher education, first relationships, the beginning of political participation, among others; thereby taking new roles and responsibilities to successfully achieve the passage from childhood to adulthood (Lloyd, 2006). Following this, youth could be interpreted as a social category (Heinz, 2009) according to social expectations to participate in education, work, marriage, parenthood consumption or social welfare.

From this perspective, Krauskopf (2010) proposes a new redefinition of youth, which values individualization, the desire of various experiences, economic independence, early sexuality and the experience of virtual realities through social media.
Macmillan et al. (2011) report that transition to adulthood is a population level phenomenon shaped by cultural and institutional forces, emphasising that each society produces different patterns of life transitions. From this approach, young people formulate their goals implanted in a social specific context.

However, it is possible to observe that the time and duration of these transitions have become ambiguous, demanding several individual decisions. In this context, Heinz (2009) suggested that youth transitions are contingent and linked to complex interactions between individual decisions, opportunity structures and social pathways, with more or less institutionalized guidelines and regulations.

Ghiardo and Dávila (2009) argue that youth transitions allow the understanding of practices, expectations and strategies that young people then must develop. This group conceives expectations about their studies, work or family according to their interpretations of present and future, in other words, their desires influenced by how they are currently and how they envision themselves in the future. Nevertheless, these intentions are reflections of their social conditions, which determine how transitions progress.

It is important to consider that opportunities of young people are not equal. Socioeconomic differences play a crucial role, determining resources and expectations of each individual. For instance, Chilean research has identified differences in the social inclusion according to socioeconomic status: young people from lower social classes have less job stability, poor education and higher incidence of early parenthood. Also, there are gender differences in the participation of young women in educational system and labour force (INJUV, 2012).

Therefore, economic capital allows young people to gain cultural and material resources, generating a series of possibilities, in other words, personal choices are not the only factor (INJUV, 2003). In addition, society is not providing every essential to develop youth lives. In Chile, young people want to be part of the individualization process but they need resources that they cannot attain (UNPD, 2003).

The main consequence of the development of frustrated identities in young people is related to problems in social cohesion, less democratic support and collective
goals (UNPD, 2003). The failures of personal biographies could generate the sense of anomia and deception. If young people cannot develop the personal skills in order to manage uncertainty and unpredictable changes, they could produce dangerous behaviours related to drugs or violence (Krauskopf, 2010).

**Discrimination**

Discrimination could be understood as a rejection toward a person or a social group due to specific characteristics considered less than ideal. Discrimination can be expressed in several ways, such as physical and psychological abuse (Aravena, 2009).

Young people are affected daily by discriminatory situations. The foundation of discrimination is the belief in a homogeneous society, wherein differences are considered strange and dangerous (Reinoso and Thezá, 2005). Discrimination does not effect the entire population, some people are more exposed to discrimination, by being in a minorities such as homosexuals, ethnic people, disabled people and even young individuals.

Krauskopf (2011) criticises the adult-centrism approach in which young people are recognized as subjects without social maturity; in other words, as pre-adult people. Therefore, youth has been defined as a stage of transition towards adulthood, which is the definitive and desired stage. From this approach, young people are considered as people with many problems and conflicts (Reinoso and Thezá, 2005).

Young people are not recognized as citizens, promoting their discrimination by age, so there are not effective public policies protecting young people. Therefore, social problems such as transgression and violence are evident, as a response to social exclusion.

**2.8. The Present Study**

As has been shown, literature concerning social movements and protest participation is extensive. However, what is not yet clear are the predictors of protest
participation in young people, especially when younger individuals are more likely to be willing to undertake the risks involved in protest (Schussman and Soule 2005).

Accordingly, there are few Latin American research studies regarding younger protestors, therefore it would be relevant to test if theories about biographical availability, political engagement (or strategic resources) and membership in organizations (or structural availability) allow investigation of protest participation within this continent.

Chile is specifically interesting, as the number of protestors within this country has multiplied since 2011, with young people as the main actors in this type of political participation. Regarding this, qualitative methods (Gascon and Pacheco, 2015; Mira, 2011; Somma, 2012) or simple quantitative methods as crosstabs (INJUV, 2012; Trucco and Ullmann, 2015; Sandoval, 2012) have been the predominant methodology for studying this phenomenon. Therefore, it is possible to identify the lack of other methods (for instance, logistic regressions, and other advance quantitative techniques) to examine protests participation in young people.

The theoretical hypothesis of this study focuses on the effect of discrimination grievance on protest participation within the young population (Figure 2).

Younger individuals live with the obligation to achieve their goals and shape their biographies within a society that is organized upon the process of individualization. Nevertheless, people who feel discriminated by their gender, sexual orientation, ethnic or social class develop a specific grievance, which is shared by a group.

This grievance could be associated to a collective identity, where there is a strong identification to a group, which is unjustly discriminated from political, economic, social, or cultural goods. In other words, this is an identity grievance. Basing on the model by Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010), discriminated young people who are organized in collective identities can politicise their identities through a sequence of protests, reinforcing their identity and defending their interest.
Additionally, if we analyse the student movement in Chile since these assumptions, students feel discriminated due to the inequality in secondary and higher education, which generates frustration and economic vulnerability. Seemingly, they could feel discriminated, protesting not only to change the educational situation but also to redefine the role of students in the political system.

Moreover, the role of the student condition is important, as well as moderating the relationship between discrimination and protests. Indeed, when people are students, they have more opportunity to engage in organizations, generating protest opportunities and developing civic skills for political participation (Scott, 2007).

According to this, the following research hypotheses is formulated:

- **H1**: There will be a positive effect on the chance to protest of Chilean young people that experience feelings of discrimination, in comparison to those who do not feel discriminated.
- **H2**: There will be a positive effect on the interaction between student status and feeling discriminated: students who feel discriminated are more likely to protest in comparison with those who are not students.
Figure 2: Theoretical model about the effect of discrimination on protest participation in young population

Discriminated People → Protest Participation

- Shared grievance
- Emotional motivations
- Collective identity
- Politicized acts

Student Condition

Civic skills
Networks with organizations

Source: Own Elaboration
Chapter 3: Methods

3.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines how each of the research hypotheses in Chapter 2 will be tested. First, the research design includes details about the use of logistic regressions for examining protest participation. Next, there is a description of data and the sample used for research. Then, the operationalisation of the outcome variable and explanatory variables is presented. Finally, the framework for data analysis is shown and ultimately, we consider the ethical implications of this research study.

3.2. Methodology and Research Design

3.2.1. The use of logistic regressions to explain protest participation

This research study employed quantitative analysis of cross-sectional data using logistic regressions to explain protest participation in Chilean young people. To research this topic in Chile, qualitative (Gascon and Pacheco, 2015; Mira, 2011; Somma, 2012) or simple quantitative methods as crosstabs (INJUV, 2012; Trucco and Ullmann, 2015; Sandoval, 2012) have been the predominant methodology for studying this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, several international studies have used logistic regressions to analyse the predictors of protests acts. Indeed, Schussman and Soule (2005) point out that sociological literature on this question has almost exclusively relied on the case study approach; important to test some hypotheses, but has the limitation that findings vary according to case, thereby making it difficult to declare general statements about the causes of participation in protest (Schussman and Soule, 2005).

Scott (2007) argues that surveys are better equipped to report the institutionalization and normalization of protests, due to the similarity between actors and acts during protest processes. Surveys should define generalizations regarding profiles and resources, to specific types of events that systematically attract certain types of
protestors. Conversely, the emphasis on specifying unique contexts only produces the infinite classification of protest by case studies and events (Scott, 2007).

Additionally, when political sociology or political science have examined political participation in nationally representative surveys, researchers often focus on electoral participation, membership in organizations, and not distinguishing activities of movement organizations from indices of overall participation (Schussman and Soule, 2005).

According to this, it is possible to identify some investigations that have used logistic regressions to successfully explain protest participation. For instance, Somma (2009) used this method to test the effect of socioeconomic status on protest participation; meanwhile Scott (2007), Norris (2002) and Schussman and Soule (2005) tested the effect of several predictors such as sociodemographic variables, motivational attitudes, political behaviour or networks elements.

3.2.2. The data

In this research, the National Survey of Youth (INJUV, 2012) is used, a cross-sectional survey administered to young people (15-29 years) living in Chile. The dataset was applied for the National Institute of Youth (INJUV) during 2012 between June and August. Surveys were administered via face-to-face. I worked at INJUV as a Research Assistant during 2013-2015 period; the dataset is free to all people who can download it from INJUV website.

The target population corresponds to young people aged between 15 and 29 years that live in Chile. According to the National Institute of Statistics (INE, 2015), this population consists of 4,283,245 individuals. The total sample of the data was 8,352. The sampling error in a national level is 1.2%; meanwhile sampling error is below 5% for each region or district. The Sampling error is related to the degree to which the sample characteristics approximate the characteristics of the population; according to this, the smaller sampling errors of this sample assure that the sample
is representative to the Chilean young population, mainly because the larger the sample, the smaller the sampling error (Agresti & Finlay, 2008).

The National Survey of Youth has been applied by INJUV every 3 years since 1994 in all of Chile. Its questionnaire is composed of several modules such as education, work, economic practices, discrimination, sexuality, drugs and politics.

This research utilizes this dataset, focusing on variables about political behaviour and perceptions about the political system, democracy and citizenship. Thereby, the dataset contains variables not only related to protest participation, but also factors that influence the likelihood to protest, such as biographical availability, political engagement and membership in organizations. To test the research hypotheses, the dataset includes questions about discrimination.

3.2.3. Data collection

The information about data collection is found in the technical report of National Survey of Youth (INJUV, 2012). This survey used a multistage sampling, which included probabilistic, clustering and stratification methods. Accordingly, the first stage was selection of a sample of towns (primary sampling units) stratified by region (15 regions of districts) and locality (urban or rural area). The second stage is related to a random selection of blocks (secondary units) within these geographic areas.

The third stage was to select a maximum of 6 households (tertiary units) within these blocks, using a systematic sampling. In this process, all of these residences were organised in a list. The sampling fraction is determined (n/6) according to a regular interval.

Finally, the fourth stage was to select young people (quarter units) within households; all young people aged 15-29 living in the household are enumerated and one selected at random.
The sample frame was the census 2002 registered by National Institute of Statistics about Chilean population (INE, 2014), which contains information about towns, blocks and households throughout the whole country.

Towns as primary sampling units (PSU), were stratified by region and locality (urban or rural area). In addition, PSUs were selected with probability disproportional to size, for boosting sample sizes of certain regions with fewer populations to obtain more valid inference; this situation allows increased precision of sociodemographic variables.

There is one variable for survey weights in the dataset, based on individuals. It adjusts for any differences between the survey data and the population in terms of key variables such as gender, locality (urban/rural), districts and age; reducing any bias due to sampling error and non-response effects.

3.3. Research Variables

3.3.1. Dependent Variable
The dependent variable of this research is protest participation. The original question of the questionnaire about protest participation is the next one: “In the past twelve months, have you taken part in a march, strike or boycott?, with value 1 if the answer is “yes” and 2 if the answer is “no”.

Specifically, protest participation has the value “1” if the respondent declared participation at least one march, strike or boycott. 28.7% of the respondents of the sample protested.

3.3.2. Explanatory Variables
*Discrimination Grievance*

This study is mainly interested in testing the effects of discrimination on the dependent variable. Within the burgeoning literature on individual protest participation, relatively few studies employ direct measures of discrimination (Somma, 2006). This study attempts to contribute to this body of literature by using measures of discrimination or identity grievances.

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1 See Appendix A1 for more information about description of the research variables.
The original question of the questionnaire is the next one: “In the last month, have you yourself been discriminated against on the basis of your religion, race, gender, age, social class, political orientation, clothes, sexual preference, being student, disability and place where he or she lives?, with value 1 if the answer is “yes” and 2 if the answer is “no”.

I used a dummy variable for measuring identity or discrimination grievances. Specifically, discrimination grievances has the value “1” if the respondent reported having felt discriminated against during the last month for at least one of the aforementioned reasons.

29.6% of the sample reports having been a victim of discrimination for at least one of these reasons, within the last month.

**Biographical Availability**

To test the effect of biographical availability on protest participation, I include age as scalar variable and four categorical variables: married, having children, student status and employment status.

For four categorical variables, I constructed dummy variables: Married status measures whether people are married or not (1=married, 0=single, separated, divorced, widowed and cohabitantes); having children measures if people are parent (1=having children, 0=no having children). Student status if people are studying (1=student, 0=not student, and employment status measures if people are employed or not (1=employed, 0=unemployed or inactive).

According to this, the average age of the sample is 21.8 years, 41.0% is employed, 50.0% is student, 32.1% has children and 5.0% is married.

**Political Engagement**

This dimension is operationalized through five dummy variables: political interest (1=very interested/somewhat interested, 0=not very interested/ not at all interested); political discussion (1= discussing or talking about politics, 0= no discussing or talking about politics); identification with some political ideology (1=left, center or right, 0=without political identification); political efficacy of voting(1=yes, 0=no); and
satisfaction with democracy (1=very satisfied/ somewhat satisfied, 0= dissatisfied/ very dissatisfied.

Accordingly, 18.8% of the sample declared to be interested in politics, 39.4% discuss politics, 36.5% of the respondents identify with some political ideology, 52.2% thought that voting produces changes in society (political efficacy) and 17.4% of the sample was satisfied with democracy.

Membership in Organizations

The original question of the questionnaire is the next one: “In the last 12 months, have you being member of at least one of the following types of organizations: political party, student union, labour union, neighbourhood associations or social movements?

15.9% of the sample declared being a member at a least one of these organizations.

Control Variables

Control for demographic variables such as sex (male= 1, female= 0) and locality (urban= 1, rural= 0). 50.7% of the sample is male, meanwhile 86.6% lives in urban areas.

Additionally, included are educational attainments as dummy variable if the respondents have higher education (value= 1) or secondary education or less (value= 0). 38.6% of the sample has higher education.

On the other hand, socioeconomic status is included with two dummy variables: middle social class and lower social class, meanwhile higher social class is the reference category. 49.6% of the respondents belong to middle class and 42.6% belong to lower class. Only 7.7% is from higher social class.
Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Research Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Std.dev</th>
<th>Percentage dummy value=1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependent Variable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest participation (march, strike or boycott) in the last 12 months</td>
<td>8,327</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Explanatory Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt discriminated in the last month</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having children</td>
<td>8,315</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Status</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>8,339</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td>8,175</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>21.8 (mean)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest</td>
<td>8,261</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Discussion</td>
<td>8,052</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Identification</td>
<td>7,567</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political efficacy of voting</td>
<td>7,821</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied with democracy</td>
<td>7,533</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in political Organizations</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=male, 0=female</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>50.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=urban, 0=rural</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>8,351</td>
<td>1=higher education</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0= secondary education or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle social class</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower social class</td>
<td>8,352</td>
<td>1=yes, 0=no</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile.
3.4. Measure

The research strategy employed in order to test the main research hypotheses intertwined the use of descriptive statistics and binary logistic models. Prior to fitting any models to the data, descriptive statistics were calculated for differences in protest participation for young people who feel discriminated and who do not. These measures were explored by crosstabulations.

In addition to descriptive analysis, employed are binary logistic models to analyse the predictors of protest participation. All models in this paper report the odds ratio. An odds ratio above 1 indicates that increases in the independent variable are associated with increases in the likelihood of observing the category of the dependent variable labeled as ‘1’ (‘positive effects’). An odds ratio below 1 indicates that increases in the independent variable increase the chances of observing the reference category of the dependent variable, which has a value of ‘0’ (‘negative effects’) (Long 1997:79-83).

Firstly, model 1 tested the main research hypotheses, introducing discrimination grievance, controlling by male, urban area, higher education, middle social class and lower social class

The next three models test each of the main theories about protest participation: political engagement and membership in voluntary organizations. biographical availability,

Model 2 (biographical availability) included variables such as age, married, having children, student and employed status

Model 3 (political engagement) added political interest, political discussion, identification with some political ideology, political efficacy of voting and satisfaction with democracy. The model 4 introduced membership in political organizations.
Models are estimated using the “logistic” command in Stata. Estimations are weighted according to survey weights included in the dataset, based on individuals and using svy command.

The specification of final model is shown in the next equation:

\[ Protest \text{ Participation} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{discrimination} + \beta_2 \text{male} + \beta_3 \text{urban} + \beta_4 \text{higher education} + \beta_5 \text{middle class} + \beta_6 \text{lower class} + \beta_7 \text{age} + \beta_8 \text{married} + \beta_9 \text{children} + \beta_{10} \text{student} + \beta_{11} \text{employed} + \beta_{12} \text{discrimination} \times \text{student} + \beta_{13} \text{political interest} + \beta_{14} \text{political discussion} + \beta_{15} \text{political ideology} + \beta_{16} \text{political efficacy} + \beta_{17} \text{satisfaction with democracy} + \beta_{18} \text{membership organizations} + \varepsilon_{ij} \]

3.5. Ethical Considerations

Basing on ethical considerations from Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2015), this investigation guarantees recognised standards of integrity, quality and transparency. Also, the access of National Survey of Youth Survey is free to all people who want to work with different waves, so that special permissions from any authority or organization are unnecessary. On the other hand, these surveys are well-known due to their quality and responsibility, avoiding the risk of identifying individuals from the information provided is negligible.

Regarding limitations of the study, the main concern is related to the use of literature and methods that have been applied in different contexts unrelated to the Chilean reality. This element could produce unexpected difficulties in the analysis process and in interpretation of findings due to some strategies could be more appropriate for some populations that others.
Chapter 4: Results

4.1. Introduction

The findings of this study are presented in two parts. First, bivariate associations and Chi square are employed in order to test differences in protest participation for young people with discrimination grievance and without discrimination grievance. In addition, binary logistic models are employed to analyse the predictors of protest participation.

4.2. Bivariate associations

Tables 2 shows the proportion of young people who participated in protest within the last 12 months in Chile, by discrimination grievance. On the one hand, 28.7% of the sample had participated in protests; meanwhile 71.3% had not participated. Moreover, discriminated people were significantly more likely to participate in protest: 38.1% of discriminated people had participated in these acts, compared with 24.7% of who do not feel discriminated against; among people who do not participate, individuals that do not feel discriminated against have higher proportion (75.3% versus 61.9%).

Using Chi-squared test, it is possible to observe a positive and significant relation between these variables (chi squared =151.62, df=1, p=0.001)

---

2 All the results in this section are weighted
Table 2: Protest participation by discrimination grievance (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discrimination grievance</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Protest participation</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest participation</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=8,327. Pearson chi2(1 d.f.) = 151.62, p-value=0.000

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile.

4.3. Logistic Regressions Models

Next, the multivariate analysis is presented. As Table 5 shows, employed are 4 logistic regressions models to analyse the predictors of protest participation in Chilean young people. The dependent variable is a dummy measure indicating whether the respondent protested during the 12 months prior (1=yes, 0=no).

For the analysis, there are some variables with a considerable amount of missing cases. Indeed, satisfaction with democracy and political identification both have 10% of missing cases; meanwhile political efficacy, political discussion and employment status have 6%, 4% and 3% of missing cases, respectively.

To avoid robustness problems related to missing cases in the analysis, we only use cases that have data available on all the variables of interest. According to this, the valid sample was 6,602 cases.

*All the results in this section are weighted
4.3.1. Discrimination grievance

In model 1, it is possible to observe that young people with discrimination grievance are more likely to protest (OR=1.88, p-value<0.01) than people without this grievance. In model 2, the introduction of variables related to biographical availability produced an increase of the odds ratio from 1.88 to 2.17 (p-value<0.01). However, controlling for political engagement and membership in organizations, the effect of discrimination grievance decreased to 1.88 in model 3 (p-value<0.01) from 1.78 odds ratio in model 4 (p-value<0.01).

According to this, it is possible to indicate a significant, stronger and positive impact of discrimination grievance on the dependent variable; although the strength of the associations are affected by political engagement and membership in organizations.

On the other hand, no significant effect is found regarding the interaction between discrimination grievance and student status in model 2 (OR= 0.81, p-value>0.01), model 3 (OR= 0.79, p-value>0.01) and model 4 (OR= 0.77, p-value>0.01); thereby rejecting the second hypothesis of the study.

4.3.2. Control variables

In model 1, there are significant and positive effects of male (OR= 1.44, p-value<0.01), living in urban areas (OR= 1.58, p-value<0.05) and higher education (OR= 1.49, p-value<0.01). On the other hand, no significance is found of middle socioeconomic status (OR= 1.05, p-value>0.1) and lower socioeconomic status (OR= 1.04, p-value>0.1).

In model 2, the addition of variables related to biographical availability produced little change in the associations. Male (OR= 1.32, p-value<0.01), urban area (OR= 1.49, p-value<0.05) and higher education (OR= 1.46, p-value<0.01) decreased the odds ratio, keeping significant effects (urban area decreased their p-value to 0.05). Socioeconomic status still presented non-significant impact on protest.
In model 3, controlling for political engagement dimension almost did not produce change in the likelihood that individuals participate in protest for male (OR= 1.34, p-value<0.01), urban area (OR= 1.46, p-value<0.05) and higher education (OR= 1.34, p-value<0.01). However, it is possible to indicate that people belonging to lower classes are more likely to protest than those belonging to higher classes (OR= 1.62, p-value<0.05).

In the final model, the introduction of membership in political organizations kept the same effects on the chances to protest for men (OR= 1.35, p-value<0.01), urban area (OR= 1.47, p-value<0.05) and higher education (OR= 1.35, p-value<0.01). Socioeconomic status is the variable with more variations, because people belong to middle class (OR= 1.30, p-value<0.1) and lower class (OR= 1.68, p-value<0.05) are more likely to protest than who belong to higher classes.

4.3.3. Biographical availability

In model 2, there are significant and negative effects of age (OR= 0.96, p-value<0.05), being married (OR= 0.59, p-value<0.1), and having children (OR= 0.61, p-value<0.01). Additionally, student status is the only variable with a positive and stronger effect: students are more likely to protest than non-students (OR= 1.98, p-value<0.01). Only employed status had no significant effect (OR= 0.98, p-value>0.1).

In model 3, the addition of variables related to political engagement dimension almost do not produce change in the likelihood that individuals participate in protest. There are significant and negative effect of age (OR= 0.94, p-value<0.01), being married (OR= 0.50, p-value<0.05), and having children (OR= 0.64, p-value<0.01); although the associations of age and being married were more stronger, reducing their p-values. The odds ratio for student status decreased, from 1.98 to 1.82 (p-value<0.01), and employed status was not significant (OR= 0.99, p-value>0.1).
In model 4, the introduction of membership in political organizations was consistent with effects on the chances to protest for of age (OR= 0.94, p-value<0.01), being married (OR= 0.48, p-value<0.05), having children (OR= 0.65, p-value<0.01) and employment status (OR= 0.98, p-value>0.1). As the last model, the odds ratio for student status decreased, from 1.82 to 1.75 (p-value<0.01), indicating that the strength of the association is affected by political engagement and membership in organizations.

4.3.4. Political engagement and membership in voluntary organizations

In model 3, there are significant and positive effects of political interest (OR= 1.87, p-value<0.01), political discussion (OR= 1.90, p-value<0.01) and identification with some political ideology (OR= 1.29, p-value<0.05). Furthermore, people who are satisfied with democracy are less likely to protest than dissatisfied people (OR= 0.73, p-value<0.05). Only political efficacy had no significant effect (OR= 1.02, p-value>0.1).

Controlling for membership in organizations in model 4, the odds ratio of these variables decreased. Indeed, interested people are more likely to protest than non-interested people (OR= 1.75, p-value<0.01); people who discuss politics are more likely to protest than people who do not (OR= 1.77, p-value<0.01); people with some political ideology are likely to protest (OR= 1.28, p-value<0.05); and people who are satisfied with democracy are less likely to protest than dissatisfied people (OR= 0.75, p-value<0.05). There is no significant effect of political efficacy (OR= 0.99, p-value>0.1).

On the other hand, membership in political organizations has a significant (p-value<0.01) and positive effect on protest participation. People who are members of some political organisation are more likely to participate in protest than people who are not a member. Additionally, this variable is the most important predictor of the models, reaching 2.52 odds ratio in model 4.
4.3.5. Goodness-of-fit tests
Models are estimated using the “logistic” command in Stata. Estimations are weighted according to survey weights included in the dataset, based on individuals and using `svy` command.

In order to test for multicollinearity all of the above variables were entered into a single level regression model using IBM SPSS 22 to calculate Variance Inflations Factors (VIFs); all VIFs were below 5 and tolerance value were higher than 0.1 (see Appendix A2); hence, it was assumed that it was viable to use the aforementioned variables in the analysis (Field, 2013). Moreover, predictor variables are not highly correlated (see Appendix A3).

Using `estat gof` command in Stata. It is possible to observe that in each model, that F statistic is non-significant at the 5% level, indicating that models had a good fit for the data (StataCorp, 2015). However, model 1 (F=0.39) and model 2 (F=0.57) presented better good fitness in comparison with model 3 (F=1.74) and model 4 (F=1.60); for this reason, the addition to variables related to political engagement and membership in organizations reduced the quality of the model.

Additionally, I assume that I have included all the relevant variables and models are properly specified. This is because most of variables are significant predictors and are supported by literature about protest participation, specifically, theory related to the effect of biographical availability, political engagement and membership in voluntary organizations.
Table 3: Predictors of protest participation in Chilean young people (Logistic regressions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exp(B)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination grievance</td>
<td>1.88***</td>
<td>2.17***</td>
<td>1.88 ***</td>
<td>1.78 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1.44****</td>
<td>1.32***</td>
<td>1.34***</td>
<td>1.35***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>1.58****</td>
<td>1.49**</td>
<td>1.46**</td>
<td>1.47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>1.49***</td>
<td>1.46***</td>
<td>1.34***</td>
<td>1.35***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Social Class</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.39*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.96**</td>
<td>0.94***</td>
<td>0.94***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0.59*</td>
<td>0.50**</td>
<td>0.48*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having children</td>
<td>0.61***</td>
<td>0.64***</td>
<td>0.65***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>1.98***</td>
<td>1.82***</td>
<td>1.75***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest</td>
<td>1.87 ***</td>
<td>1.72 ***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Discussion</td>
<td>1.90 ***</td>
<td>1.77 ***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Identification</td>
<td>1.29**</td>
<td>1.28**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political efficacy</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with democracy</td>
<td>0.73**</td>
<td>0.75**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in political organizations</td>
<td>2.52***</td>
<td>(0.09)</td>
<td>(0.09)</td>
<td>(0.29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.14***</td>
<td>0.26***</td>
<td>0.22***</td>
<td>0.39****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prob &gt; F</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>6,602</td>
<td>6,602</td>
<td>6,602</td>
<td>6,602</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile.
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

5.1. Introduction

Research objectives of this study focused on finding new empirical evidence about factors that determine the possibility to protest of young people in Chile, specifically considering the effect of discrimination grievance.

By using logistic regressions, this study was able to examine the effect of three groups of factors that influence the likelihood of protest participation: biographical availability, political engagement and membership in voluntary organizations. Additionally, the study confirmed the stronger impact of discrimination grievance on protest, testing one of the research hypotheses.

In the following sections, research hypotheses and the associated results are discussed in relation to existing theory and research. Next, we consider the possible implications of these findings. Third, limitations of the study are presented. Finally, I make recommendations for further research.

5.2. Summary of Findings

5.2.1. Stronger effect of discrimination effect on protest participation of Chilean young people

By using the National Survey of Youth, it was possible to observe that people with discrimination grievance are more likely to protest than people without discrimination. This finding contributes to understanding how the process of individualisation affects political behaviour.

The process of individualization in young people is possible to link with protest, because this political participation is an expression of frustration due to the impossibility of accomplishing personal goals (Krauskopff, 2011).
According to this, people who feel discriminated against according to gender, sexual orientation, ethnic or social class develop a specific grievance, which is shared by a group. Basing on the model of Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010), discriminated young people who are organized in collective identities can politicise their identities through a sequence of protests, reinforcing their identity and defending their interest.

Nevertheless, no significant effect is found regarding the interaction between discrimination grievance and student status, thereby rejecting the second hypothesis of the study. This finding shows that the student status is not a sufficient condition for stimulating protest in discriminated people.

Students have more flexible time schedules, therefore, they are less constrained to take part in protest activities (Scott, 2007); however, it is not the condition that allows generating protest opportunities among discriminated people. For this reason, it seems relevant to examine other variables that trigger the development of a shared grievance and the necessity to politicise this group identity. For instance, membership in voluntary organizations is a variable that could moderate the associations between discrimination and protest.

5.2.2. Profile of Chilean younger protestors

The general purpose of the current research was to identify the main predictors of protest participation in Chilean young people. In other words, define a profile of younger protesters.

Examining the variables of biographical availability, it is possible to indicate a significant effect of student status, age, being married and having children. These findings confirm the idea that some characteristics increase risks and costs to participate in protests (McAdam, 1986). People with less obligations and flexible schedules are more likely to protest, taking the risk of losing time, money, energy and familiar rest. The negative effect of age is interesting, indicating that when young people are closer to thirty, with more social obligations, protest participation is then reduced.
The strongest predictor of biographical availability is the status of being a student. This situation is explained by students having less social obligations; but also, it is relevant to consider their participation in Chilean student movements, which were larger in 2012 (UNDP, 2015).

Related to this, the most important predictor of protest participation is membership in voluntary (political) organizations. As literature suggested (Somma, 2006; Schussman and Soule, 2005), voluntary organizations forge ties between individuals, facilitating recruitment into protest.

Additionally, organizational membership triggers participation in protest through mechanisms such as the acquisition of civic skills, the provision of a context for engaging in political conversations and the development of ties with activists who may invite them to participate in protest events (Somma, 2006; Diani, 2004).

On the other hand, it is important to remark upon the influence of variables referred to political engagement. Chilean young people are more likely to protest when they talk about politics, have interest in politics, identify with some political tendency and they are dissatisfied with the democracy.

These kind of protestors are embedded in a context where they can develop political awareness, concern for public affairs and political participation such as protests (Scott, 2007). Thereby, younger Chilean protestors are not politically apathetic; conversely, they are reasonably interested in politics and political issues, using a non-conventional way of political participation to express their citizenship.

Effects of education and socioeconomic status are interesting. People with higher education are more likely to protest than people with only secondary education or less. Indeed, university students having economic and social resources increases both the level of political participation in general (Verba et al. 1995) and particularly the chances of engaging in protest (Schussman and Soule 2005; Petrie 2004).

Nevertheless, and contrary to literature, socioeconomic status has a negative effect on protest. This situation could be explained as a consequence of social inequality in Chile, producing that lower and middle classes preferred to protest when they feel frustrated. Somma (2012) argues that the inequality in higher education has created
frustration and economic vulnerability in many families, germinating the yearning of claims through protests and social movements.

Furthermore, the study identifies that men are more likely to protest than women, finding that could be explained because Chilean women face more obstacles to political participation (INJUV, 2012): young women are more dedicated to familiar obligations than young men.

5.3. Implications

This study has the value of characterising the Chilean young protestor, those who have been the main actors of protest and social movements in the country since 2006. It was possible to explain protest participation through logistic regressions of cross-sectional data; formerly an unpopular methodology for analysing this phenomenon in Chile.

Accordingly, findings suggest that young protestors are more strongly engaged in politics; contrary to the predominant idea that young people are politically apathetic. It shows a new type of citizen, which favours non-conventional ways of participation in order to express their opinions. As Norris (2002) claims, “the reinvention of civic activism allows political energies to flow through diverse alternative avenues as well as conventional channels” (Norris, 2002, p.12).

Therefore, the research confirms the hypothesis that the assumed political disaffection of youth, only is possible in an adult-centrism approach, in which young people are recognized as subjects without social maturity, undermining the role of social protests (Krauskopf, 2011).

Additionally, as was an objective of this research, the present study contributes to incorporate grievance discrimination as an important predictor of protest participation in young people.
Socially, it is important to consider negative consequences of the individualisation process: young people with discrimination grievances cannot shape their biographies successfully, generating a dynamic that can result in protest participation. According to this, it is important that researchers and authorities consider this new variable to analyse why young people protest.

5.4. Limitations

A limitation is that I do not have data that can be used to directly examine the causal mechanisms about which I hypothesize. Although the hypotheses rely heavily on causal mechanisms found by past research in similar situations, several questions remain open. For instance, it is unknown exactly how individuals come to be invited to protest; indeed, the dataset also lacks information about how exactly protest opportunities are provided by people with discrimination grievance.

On the other hand, variables related to political engagement have a considerable percentage of missing data. This situation produced that only considered the cases that responded to all the variables included in the logistic models. For this reason, it is not possible to know if the excluded cases have specific characteristics that could affect the results.

5.5. Recommendations for Further Research

The use of quantitative analysis of cross-sectional data for analysing protest participation is new in Chilean research. According to this study, it is necessary to continue with the examination of the effect of research that combines attention to biographical availability, political engagement and members of voluntary organizations. Specifically, the ways in which these elements are generated and influenced by the contexts in which protest takes place.

Additionally, it is important the focus on the stages and mechanisms that promote protest. Several studies have indicated the role of the invitation to protest.
Somma (2006) indicates that what actually makes a difference in terms of participation in collective action is not only whether individuals are aggrieved, but also the networks that influence protest behaviour. To deeply examine these acts, it is important to focus on the second stage of social protest: how people with intention to protest, *know* about the upcoming event and take the decision to assist to the march.

On the other hand, it would be interesting to identify the profile of the protestor in regard to the purpose of each march, boycott or strike. For example, an analysis of the difference between protestors that participate in favour of social rights, sexual preferences, ethnic grievance, and so on. These variables could assist in the discussion of the dynamic of social protests. Indeed, this could be beneficial to the study of discrimination grievance and its association with protest participation.
References


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- Scott, N. (2007). *The Social Dynamics of Canadian Protest Participation*. Carleton University, Canada
- UNPD. (2003). Transformaciones culturales e identidad juvenil en Chile. Santiago, Chile: UNPD.
APPENDICES

Appendix A1: Description of the research variables

Table A1: Description of the research variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Original Question</th>
<th>Construction/Recodification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protest Participation</td>
<td>In the past twelve months, have you taken part in a march, strike or boycott?</td>
<td>Value 1 if the answer is &quot;yes&quot; and 0 if the answer is &quot;no&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination grievance</td>
<td>“In the last month, have you yourself been discriminated against on the basis of your religion, race, gender, age, social class, political orientation, clothes, sexual preference, being student, disability and place where he or she lives?”</td>
<td>If the respondent reports having felt discriminated in at least one of these reasons, the value of the variable is ‘1’. Otherwise is ‘0’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>What is your age?</td>
<td>Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Are you currently married, single, separated, divorced, widowed and cohabitees?</td>
<td>‘1’ if the respondent is married ‘0’ otherwise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having children</td>
<td>How many children do you have living at home with you? Please include step- and adopted children living in your household’</td>
<td>‘1’ if the respondent reports living with at least one child, ‘0’ otherwise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Status</td>
<td>Are you student?</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent is student and 0 if he or she is not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed status</td>
<td>Last week, were you working full-time for pay, working part-time for pay, going to school, keeping house, or looking a job?</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent is ‘1’ if the respondent reports having been working full-time or part-time. The variable has a value of ‘0’ if respondent is unemployed or inactive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interest</td>
<td>How interested would you say you are in politics?</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent is very interested or somewhat interested; value “0” if he or she is not very interested or not at all interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political discussion</td>
<td>Do you discuss about politics with others?</td>
<td>Value 1 if the answer is “yes” and 0 if the answer is “no”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification with some political ideology</td>
<td>In politics, people sometimes talk of “left” “center” and “right”. Which political ideology do you identified?</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent identified with left, center or right ideology; value “0” if the respondent does not identified anyone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Efficacy</td>
<td>Do you consider that elections produce changes in society?</td>
<td>Value 1 if the answer is “yes” and 0 if the answer is “no”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with democracy</td>
<td>In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in your country?</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent is very very satisfied or somewhat satisfied; value “0” if he or she is dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in political organizations</td>
<td>“In the last 12 months, have you being member of at least one of the following types of organizations: political party, student union, labour union, neighbourhood associations or social movements?</td>
<td>The measure of membership in political organizations has a value of 1 if the respondent reported being member of at least one of the aforementioned organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1 = male; 0 = female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>1 = urban; 0 = rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>‘What is the highest grade of regular school that you have completed and gotten credit for?</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent has higher education; value 0 if the respondent has secondary education or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle social class.</td>
<td>Value “1” if the respondent belong to a middle social class; value 0 if the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
respondent belong to a higher or lower social classes.

| Lower social class | Value “1” if the respondent belong to a lower social class; value 0 if the respondent belong to a higher or middle social classes. |

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile.
### Appendix A2: Tolerance value and VIF of predictor variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variable</th>
<th>Tolerance Value</th>
<th>VIF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Social Class</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Social Class</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having children</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Interest</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Discussion</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Identification</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Bound</td>
<td>Upper Bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political efficacy</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with democracy</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in political organizations</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination Grievance</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile.
## Appendix A3: Correlations matrix of predictor variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.Male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.01***</td>
<td>0.03**</td>
<td>0.07***</td>
<td>-0.01***</td>
<td>-0.04***</td>
<td>-0.01***</td>
<td>0.20***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Urban</td>
<td>0.01***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.15***</td>
<td>0.29***</td>
<td>0.00***</td>
<td>-0.01***</td>
<td>-0.01***</td>
<td>0.11***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.Higher Education</td>
<td>0.03**</td>
<td>0.15***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36**</td>
<td>0.29**</td>
<td>-0.02***</td>
<td>-0.02***</td>
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<td>0.02***</td>
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<td><strong>6. Married</strong></td>
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<td>0.04***</td>
<td>0.01***</td>
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<td><strong>7. Having children</strong></td>
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</table>

**Political efficacy**

**Satisfaction with democracy**

**Membership in political organizations**

**Discrimination Grievance**

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| 8. Student | -0.39*** | 0.08*** | 0.07*** | 0.03*** | 0.03*** | 0.03*** | 0.08*** | 0.01*** |
| 9. Employed | 1 | 0.01*** | 0.02*** | 0.03*** | - | -0.02*** | 0.00*** | - |
|  |  |  |  |  | 0.02*** | 0.001*** |
| 10. Political Interest | 0.01*** | 1 | 0.34*** | 0.32*** | 0.19*** | 0.02*** | 0.19*** | 0.12*** |
| 11. Political Discussion | 0.02*** | 0.34*** | 1 | 0.22*** | 0.40*** | 0.04*** | 0.19*** | 0.15*** |
| 12. Political Identification | 0.03*** | 0.32*** | 0.22*** | 1 | 0.08*** | 0.02*** | 0.10*** | 0.06*** |
| 13. Political efficacy | -0.02*** | 0.19*** | 0.40*** | 0.08*** | 1 | 0.09*** | 0.12*** | 0.05*** |
| 14. Satisfaction with democracy | -0.02*** | 0.02*** | 0.04*** | 0.02*** | 0.09*** | 1 | - | 0.001*** |
| 15. Membership in political organizations | 0.00*** | 0.19*** | 0.19*** | 0.10*** | 0.12*** | -0.00*** | 1 | 0.12*** |
| 16. Discrimination Grievance | - | 0.12*** | 0.15*** | 0.06*** | 0.05*** | 0.001*** | 0.12*** | 1 |

Source: National Survey of Youth (2012), INJUV, Chile