At the Parliament or in the Streets? Issue Composition of Contentious Politics in the Visegrad Countries

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Introduction
In the last decades protest has rapidly grown and "normalized" as a standard component of conventional politics (Norris et al. 2006, Norris 2002, Meyer and Tarrow 1998, Teorell et al. 2007). In addition to political parties contentious/movement politics is one of the most important political forces in contemporary democracies. Surprisingly, we have thus far learned rather little about the interaction between parties and protest politics as the two fields have been mostly studied separately (McAdam and Tarrow 2013). There is a complete lack of such research in post-communist countries. While researchers have focused on the 1989 big protest events that accompanied the initial phase of democratization and a short period after that (see Glenn 2001, 2003, Ekiert and Kubik 2001, della Porta 2014), the research on political conflict in this region has solely been party-centered and mostly disregarded the role played by contentious politics. The goal of this paper is to examine interaction dynamics between party and protest politics in four post-communist democracies – the Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia) – as they provide the study with a great variation in the issue configuration of their political space.

In general, our main questions are: What is the dynamic between party and protest field? How does this dynamic affect the character of protest in a given country? We draw on the available findings of social-movement studies that have found evidence for both types of relationship, countervailing and congruent interactions between the fields of parties and protest (see for example McAdam and Tarrow 2013, Hutter 2014). To develop this inquiry further we build on the concept of multi-issue political space used in political parties' literature (see for example Marks et al. 2006, Vachudova and Hooghe 2009, Rovny and Edwards 2012). The paper theorizes that the salience of different political issues contested in a given society determines the character of issues addressed by both parties and protest movements. Consequently, the salience of political issue dimensions affects also other characteristics of protest in a given country, such as organizers of protest, predominant action repertoire, and participants in protest events.

To examine the interaction between the party and protest fields we rely on a unique original dataset of all protest events organized in the four countries from 1989 to 2000. The results support our theory. The protest field in the Czech Republic, which is a case of the extremely high salience of economic issues in party politics, is dominated by socio-cultural issues such as human rights, environment, quality of governance, foreign affairs. Consequently, collective actors that primarily focus on these issues mostly organize protest in the Czech Republic. Also, Czech protest displays a high share of corresponding action repertoire such as petitions or street performances. In contrast, the protest field in Hungary, which is a case of extremely high salience of socio-cultural issues in party politics, is dominated by economic issues; protest is mostly organized by trade unions and there is a high share of the repertoire of industrial action (strikes and occupations). Characteristics of protest in Slovakia and Poland, which represent the middle category defined by lower dominance of the master issue dimension over the secondary dimension in party politics, fall between the two extremes. Summed up, our results show that the dynamics between parties and protest is driven by the salience of political issue dimensions in a political space of a given country.

Parties and Protest
Available studies on interaction between party and protest politics have mostly focused on selected issues and study how the existence of a particular political party affects

mobilization of its ideological 'parallel' in protest politics. Some of these studies have shown that the dynamics between the given parties and protest is countervailing. For instance, Kriesi et al. (1995) show that an established old left party decreases mobilization of new social movements. Similarly, focusing on the effect of cleavage between winners and losers of globalization, Kriesi et al. (2012) show that in countries where globalization is more salient the issue is expressed in party politics whereas in countries with a lower saliency of globalization the topic is the domain of protest politics. Also, researchers of radical right mobilization have shown that if there is an established radical right party, there will be less radical protest activism as the demand is already channelled through the existing established radical right party (Koopmans and Statham 1999, van der Brug et al. 2005, Giugni et al. 2005: 146).

In contrast, other studies show different results suggesting that party and protest politics are congruent. For instance, McAdam and Tarrow (2013: 332) show in the case of US that the period of dominance of the Democratic Party went along the rise of "leftist" movements, such as the labor movement, socialist and other leftist groups and the civil rights movement. Similarly, right-wing movements, such as the Christian right, the pro-life movement or the militia movement experienced rise during the Reaganite Republican dominance. Kriesi and his associates (Kriesi et al. 2012, Hutter 2014) show support for both – congruence and countervailing relationship – when focusing on how the left and right relate to different political fields in West European countries. On the one hand, they support the previous findings on the radical right showing the exclusive relationship between party and protest politics: right issues channeled by party politics are not expressed by protest and vice versa. On the other hand, in contrast to the right, the left articulates the same issues in party and protest fields. Referring to the third – differing logics – hypothesis, they explain that while the relationship between the electoral and protest arenas is reinforcing in case of the left, it is substitutive for the political right.

Our study significantly draws on this literature and intends to develop the theory on the relationship between party and protest politics further. We use the perspective of the general political space that was developed in party research and that allows capturing more complex dynamics of the party-protest interaction. Specifically, we use it to specify conditions under which the countervailing and congruent relationship between party and protest field develops.

Also, while the above reviewed studies have looked mainly at the dyadic relationship between issue/ideological counter-parts, such as radical right parties and movements or leftist parties and leftist movements, we are interested in the general issue composition of country's protest field. Hence, while the above-cited research asks, for instance, "how the radical right mobilizes in the fields of party or protest politics," we are interested in the general dynamics of the party and protest fields and ask how the overall protest field of a country is affected by the party-protest dynamics. As a result, this approach allows us to examine the characteristic issue composition of party and protest politics. Although thus far rather overlooked, there is a large cross-country variation in the composition of issues expressed by protest. For instance, Ekiert and Kubik's study of Polish protest in the period of 1989–93 shows that "protestors' demands had a predominantly economic character. Poles protested *mostly* to improve their standard of living" (Ekiert and Kubik 2001: 130). However, working on Czech protest, Císař (2013a) indicates an interesting puzzle by showing that Czech protesters' demands in the period of 1990–2003 included an important post-materialist (human rights, environmentalism) component. Relying on the concept of the multi-issue political space we explain this variation.

Multi-issue Political Space

Politics is about conflicting political interests and issues that are advocated by parties, social movements, citizens' groups etc. The available literature on political parties has conceptualized this terrain of contested political issues as a country's political space (see for example Marks et al. 2006, Vachudova and Hooghe 2009, Rovny and Edwards 2012). While the party literature has used a spatial model to understand interactions among political parties, we extend its idea of political space to include not only political parties but also protest politics. Political space is a structure of issue dimensions that are relevant in various societies, on which political actors take positions and compete for public support (Rovny and Edwards 2012: 57). Similarly, the currently trending literature on social fields (drawing mostly on Bourdieu, see for example Bourdieu 1991) has developed a related concept of political field that is the site in which collective agents articulate their visions of the world and thereby transform "the world itself" (Thompson 1991: 26). By producing slogans, programs and the like, political actors seek both to construe and impose a particular vision of the world and to mobilize the support of those who should serve as a basis of their political power to accumulate political capital.

The classical assumption of the spatial understanding of politics is that political actors, being restricted by their ideology and constituency, strategically interact with other actors and posit themselves within the political space and colonize a specific issue area. A particular area of political space can be taken only by one political actor. If political space on a specific issue dimension is already taken by an established political actor, there is no space left for other political actors to mobilize in this issue area. This mechanism has been used to explain the countervailing or disalignment effect between parties and movements. For instance, authors focusing on xenophobic and extreme right claims making (Koopmans et al. 2005: 185-187, Giugni et al. 2005: 146, Koopmans and Statham 1999) explain that if there is an established party which articulates a similarly radical agenda and which is even able to participate in the government and implement its program, the space for radicals decreases, since most potential supporters will channel their concerns through this established party. The available space for radical protest contracts or even closes completely. Our approach is based on the same idea of space positioning of political actors; however, we contend that this interaction dynamics is not limited only to the strategies of extremist protest pacification. While this dyadic approach examining substitutive positioning between parties and movements on one issue can predict if there will be radical right protest or not, it cannot predict a general issue composition of protest in a country.

Also, as emphasized by many authors in both the party and social movement literatures (for example Kitschelt et al. 1999, Kriesi et al. 2012), a multi-dimensional character of the political space is particularly important for our understanding of the interaction between the party and protest fields. This perspective contrasts to the classical party literature (Sartori 1976: 350) summarizing political issues under one general left-right issue dimension. Although most issues can be interpreted through the lenses of the left-right polarity, they display different contents such as economy-related or social issues, and different salience, which determine the character of the political conflict in both party and protest fields in a given country. Collapsing all issues into one left-right dimension disables to detect the variation in issues across political party and protest fields.

Specifically, this means that although political space in all countries has a "master dimension," often labelled as the left-right axis, there is no uniform issue

composition of this axis; instead "different semantics" characterize different countries (for example Kitschelt at al. 1999, Marks et al. 2006, Vachudova and Hooghe 2009, Rovny and Edwards 2012). Countries vary in terms of what issues form the primary conflict dimension and what issues remain of secondary importance. As the party literature has shown, the master issue dimension is the domain of the established mainstream parties that occupy a certain position on this most salient political topic in a given country. Whatever type of issues forms the main dimension, this master axis provides the established parties with stable electorate and coalition partners. Simultaneously, issues different from the master dimension are potentially dangerous for the main parties, as they might be divided on them and hence in danger of loosing support (Edwards 2007). Therefore, the main parties aim at keeping "dimensional status quo" and try to "freeze" party competition along the master dimension (Rovny and Edwards 2012: 60, Budge et al 1987, Lipset and Rokkan 1967: 50).

Countervailing Mechanism
The mainstream political parties not only position themselves on this dimension and try to usurp place for themselves, but also actively seek to preserve this very dimension as the only 'political playground' and to keep potentially disruptive new issues at bay. As a result, issues that are politically relevant but not as salient as the master dimension are actively downplayed and pushed outside the party politics arena by the mainstream parties (Rovny and Edwards 2012). Due to this mechanism, under normal conditions, we should expect a substitutive relationship suggesting that the party and protest fields move in opposite directions in terms of their issue composition.

This countervailing mechanism between party and protest politics is further amplified by the fact that the two form different and separated action fields. The relationship between these two fields is not a zero-sum game, as it is among parties seeking electoral victory. For instance, it is harder for niche parties that compete mainly on secondary issues to gain electoral support than to mobilize protest on these secondary issues. The reason is that voting on the basis of the secondary issue automatically means that one cannot vote on the master issue dimension, which is however more salient. Importantly, this mechanism does not take place in the party-protest dynamics. People's support for one issue in one action field, such as supporting a certain issue by protesting, does not predetermine their choices in the electoral field. For example, one can actively support a sociocultural agenda in the protest field, but vote on the economic master dimension.

The existing work on the party-protest relationship has interpreted the countervailing dynamics mainly from the perspective of the movements: as the master issue is already articulated in the party field, there is not much space left for movements and it makes less sense for political actors in the protest field to mobilize on the same issue (Kriesi at al. 2012: 190, Hutter 2014: 37, see also Tilly 1995, Tarrow 2011). Although we agree with this interpretation, this movement-centred perspective does not capture the whole dynamic of the party-protest relations. It might imply that the protest field takes up whatever residual issues that happen to be left out from party politics. In contrast, our perspective based on the mainstream parties' tendency to actively downplay all other issue dimensions but the master issue, and preserve the status quo, predicts the overtime stability of the countervailing mechanism and allows predicting what issues will be addressed by protest politics.

Traditionally, party scholars defined contemporary political competition by two issue dimensions: the first one is related to economic issues, "generally spanning from state-directed redistribution on one end to market allocation on the other end", the

second dimension covers "social issues, concerning such factors as sexual lifestyles, national identity, or religious values, and spans from libertarian or alternative politics to authoritarian or traditional politics" (Rovny and Edwards 2012: 62, see also for example Marks et al. 2006). Based on the multi-dimensional space theory described above, we expect that in the political system, where the party field is dominated by economic issues, the protest field will address mostly socio-cultural issues. On the contrary in countries, where the master issue dimension, along which the mainstream parties mobilize and increase its saliency, is rather formed by soci-cultural issues, the protest field will mostly mobilize around economic issues. As already indicated, the reason is that the mainstream parties seek to increase the salience of the master dimension, while they actively suppress other issues.

According to our multi-issue space perspective, it is the main issue dimension of party competition that matters for the issue composition in the protest field; it is not the presence (or its lack) of some party actors in the parliament. For instance, there can be social democratic parties in two countries that are both positioned on the left of the left right scale. However, the master issue dimension on which the two parties mobilize can be different. While in one country the primary political issue can be the economic conflict, in the other country the primary issue axis can be defined by socio-cultural issues.

Similarly, the same space on the same issue dimension can be in time taken over by different specific party actors. Hence despite the actual parties change, this does not need to affect the interaction with the protest field, as the area on the issue dimension remains the same. For instance, the political space literature has shown that although there was a lot of change in terms of particular political parties emerging and disappearing in postcommunist countries, "political cleavages and the stances of parties upon them appear to be highly stable" (Whitefield and Rohrschneider 2009: 686). Many authors find stability in the main conflict lines and stances of parties on them; in other words, the general logic of political conflicts seems to be stable in the democratizing postcommunist countries (Marks et al. 2006, Rovny and Edwards 2012). As Whitefield and Rohrschneider (2009: 686) put it, "CEE parties… despite ongoing organizational flux and relatively weak societal ties, appear to fulfill the conditions of representational consistency." Hence, if the interaction dynamics between the party and protest fields is based on issue dimensions and not on particular political actors, we should rather see overtime stability in issues addressed by protest in a specific country.

The theory does not only predict the types of issues addressed by the party and protest fields, but also has important implications for other characteristics of protest. In general, social movement research has shown that issues tend to go together with a number of other characteristics common to a specific type of activism (Tilly 1995, 2008, Císař 2013b). Thus, cultural issues can either be voiced by culturally liberal new social movements (and their contemporary heirs in the form of various advocacy organizations and NGOs) and new left groups or by culturally conservative organizations. The culturally liberal set contains issues such as human and minority rights, environment, quality of life and democracy, and humanitarian affairs (so-called post-materialist issues). The set of cultural conservatism concerns, for example, issues of the status of traditional family, immigration and state sovereignty. Simultaneously, these actors have been shown to rely in a greater extent on cultural/expressive repertoires of action, such as performances, protest art or consumer politics, in case of radical groups often supplemented by violent repertoire. In general, these are smaller and more frequent protest events (with the exception of petitions, which can reach a relatively high number of supporters if collected for some time). In post-communist

Europe, these events are based more on inter-organizational cooperation/transaction than individual-level mass participation. Hence, rather than strikes and workplace occupations, these "transactional" new social movement organizations addressing post-materialist issues are more likely to use repertoires like petitions, conferences or litigations in post-communist Europe. In addition, cultural and religious issues can be addressed by more formalized cultural and religious groups; and the issues of national identity (sovereignty) or international order are often dealt with by radicals on both sides of the ideological spectrum, i.e. radical right as well as radical left targeting international institutions, foreign embassies and relying on disruptive action.

In contrast, economic issues are voiced in protest by old social movements, particularly trade unions. These movement organizations tend to rely on the classical repertoire of industrial action (strikes, road or port blockades) and organize much bigger, but less frequent protest events. Their modus operandi is based more on collective mobilization of large numbers of individuals gathered in one place (demonstration, march, blockade etc.) than inter-organizational cooperation/transaction. Hence performances, conferences or petitions based on relatively long-time signature drives do not belong to their action repertoire (see Císař 2013b).

Hence, we can expect that the character of the issue dimension contested in the protest field determines what types of actors will mostly use protest mobilization, the action repertoire these actors use and also the constituency they mobilize. For instance, in countries where economic issues form the second order axis contested in the protest field, we can expect that there will be a higher number of protests organized by actors mobilizing on this type of issue, such as trade unions, than in countries where economic axis forms the master dimension and is articulated in party politics. Similarly, in countries where protest field addresses socio-cultural issues, such as various lifestyles, history, national identity and religious values, we expect that there will be higher mobilization by actors addressing these issues, such as new social movements, nationalist, radical, religious and conservative movements than in countries where this issue dimension is taken up in the party field.

Similar predictions hold for predominant action repertoires used in the country. If the main protest contest is concentrated on the economic dimension often sponsored by trade unions, the repertoire characteristic for the country should be strikes and blockades, based on larger (more attended) events. If the main protest contest aligns with the cultural dimension (sponsored by new social movements, nationalist, radical or religious/conservative movements), we expect higher portion of cultural and "transactional" (inter-organizationally, not participatory based) repertoire, such as petitions, happenings, conferences and events with a lower average number of participants as well as more radical strategies used in these countries than in countries where protest is dominated by the economic issue dimension.

Congruence Mechanism[1]
Thus far we have pictured the protest and party fields as separate arenas of political conflict divided in terms of issues they mobilize around. According to our argument, such countervailing dynamic is characteristic for a stable system of political contestation. By positioning themselves on the master issue dimension, by increasing the saliency of this issue dimension and by supressing alternative issue dimensions, the mainstream parties reach an equilibrium they benefit from. Moreover, as argued above,

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[1] The analysis of this part of our argument is not reported in the present paper.

the character and importance of issue dimensions in particular societies are rather stable and do not change very often.

However, there are moments when the two action fields align, get interconnected and their issue compositions become congruent. For instance, such a connecting role can be played by niche parties (like Greens, ethnic regionalists or radical right) that tend to be newer political actors marginalized in relation to the main political dimension (Meguid 2005, 2008, Rovny and Edwards 2012). Although niche parties might mobilize their support by positioning themselves in the empty, often extreme, areas of the main issue dimension, some authors emphasize that an alternative route via stressing new or alternative issues. As the identity of niche parties and their political capital are built mainly around less salient secondary issue, niche parties "challenge the structure of conflict between the major partisan competitors … by increasing the salience of secondary issues" (Rovny and Edwards 2012: 61). While mainstream parties operate as a stabilizing force keeping the status quo, the aim of niche parties is to "tear the system apart" (ibid: 56, Sartori 1976: 350). According to this view, the niche parties aim at reorganizing the order of issue dimensions at their advantage so that they try to redirect voter attention and increase the salience of their second order issues. Therefore, we can expect that niche parties will be more likely to organize protest than the mainstream parties, as they try to change the status quo. Simultaneously, whereas the countervailing mechanism functions for the issues addressed by the mainstream parties (master dimension) and protest (secondary dimension), in the case of niche parties, we must expect congruence, since these parties mobilize on the secondary dimension as well as protest actors.

In general, the countervailing dynamics between parties and protest changes into congruence when the equilibrium of competition among the mainstream parties on the master issue dimension is destabilized. In these times, opportunities open for protest actors to put their demands on the agenda in the party field. In terms of the classical political opportunity structure apparatus, this is an instance of shifting alignments. Shifting alignments make party leaders to look for new sources of support outside the established camps; as a result, opportunities for protest actors open up (Tarrow 2011: 165). In situations shifting alignments the two fields align in terms of issues expressed in them.

In our understanding this is a temporary development, which is common to the moments of heightened mobilization (protest cycles) when the two fields reinforce each other in political articulation. In other words, fields align only temporarily, when issue coalitions are established between party-based and extra-institutional political actors in their joined effort to destabilize the existing system and increase the saliency of thus far secondary issues (see also McAdam and Tarrow 2013). This can happen, for instance, in the situation when one of the mainstream parties suddenly loses its relevance/support. Here, we can think of anti-Meciar's mobilization in Slovakia in 1998 or anti-Gyurcsany's protests in Hungary in 2006–2007 as examples of such field alignment.

Similarly, the saliency of political issues might be reconfigured because of external developments such as the appearance of a new social cleavage (demarcation/integration due to globalization; see Kriesi et al. 2012) or the occurrence of some significant threat leading to a major crisis. In such moments, the equilibrium supported by the mainstream parties is lost, a new space for other issues and actors opens up and the party and protest fields get aligned. If we look at the general protest actors' ability to put their issues on political agenda, Jack Goldstone (2004: 355) shows that it is "triggered by major society-wide crises, such as military or economic

challenges that weaken support for a government." In other words, protest can align with the mainstream political agenda once a major crisis hits the country. According to him (1980: 1041), a protest group has "excellent chances of eventually attaining its aims, provided it maintains its challenge until a crisis arises that makes success likely."

Design, Data and Methods
To test our theory we select the Visegrad group countries (V4: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), since these countries, although sharing many other relevant characteristics (see for example Greskovits and Bohle 2012), differ significantly, unlike in Western Europe, in terms of the dimensionality of their political space. The available literature discussed below points out fundamental differences in the way political conflict is structured in the Czech Republic and Slovakia as opposed to Hungary and Poland. The Czech Republic and Hungary in general represent two extremes – the Czech master dimension of party politics is dominantly economic; on the contrary, the Hungarian master dimension of party politics is solely socio-cultural. From the perspective of the dominance of the two issue dimensions in party politics, Slovakia and Poland are mixed cases representing the middle category. Another reason for selecting this region lies in the fact that in the democratizing context of Central-East European countries political identities were created together with institutional settings for their expression and hence the configuration of political actors (mainly political parties) shows a large overtime variation.

Data
In order to obtain data on the overall character of the protest field in a given country, we rely on protest event analysis (PEA). PEA has extensively been used in social movement studies (see for example Tilly 1995, Tarrow 2011, Hutter 2013); it is a type of content analysis working with public records of political activism (e.g. newspapers' articles). In contrast to other approaches, this method is particularly strong in capturing over-time aggregate developments in protest.

   As our data source we used the electronic archives of national news agencies in the four countries: Czech News Agency, News Agency of the Slovak Republic, MTI Hungarian News Agency Corporation, and Polish Press Agency. Although the individual news agencies do not cover all the protest events that happened in these countries during the studied 20 years, based on our knowledge of their functioning logic, we believe the news agency archives include information on all important events that have taken place in the countries since the fall of communism. Certainly their archives present the single most important source of event data compared to the various newspapers, because there is no explicit political bias we would be aware of in favor or against a particular type of events or actors.[2]

   The collective political event is defined here as either an actual gathering of at least three people, who convened in a public space, in order to make claims that bear on interests of an institution/collective actor, or a petition addressed to an institution/collective actor[3] (see Tilly 1995). We created the list of a wide number of potential keywords that might indicate collective political events and used the keywords to search all the news reported in the archives between the beginning of their available electronic coverage (Czech Republic and Slovakia starting from 1988, Hungary 1989,

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[2] There reportedly are huge problems with the coverage of MTI following the 2010 electoral victory of V. Orban, but the agency is widely regarded a reliable source of information until 2010.

[3] Only actual episodes of collective action are included; threats of resorting to collective action, such as strike alerts, are excluded.

Poland 1991) and December 2010. The advantage of this data is that they cover the whole period and all protest events without any sampling of years or days and hence they offer a very good opportunity to examine the whole population of protest in a given country taking into account all protest issues addressed or all protest repertoires used in a specific country. All news, matching our definition mention above, were manually selected from the sample derived from the keywords search and various variables relevant to collective action studies were manually coded for each event.

Master Issue Dimensions and Party Fields in the V4 Countries
In their classic book on post-communist party competition Kitschelt at al. (1999) present Hungary and the Czech Republic as the representatives of two polar competition models. While the Czech Republic is defined by the prevalence of economic issues in the party field, Hungary is dominated by cultural issues (Kitschlet et al. 1999). Poland belongs to an intermediate category, where both culture and economics play a role. Although Kitschelt et al. did not include Slovakia, other research has shown that it belongs to the middle category too (see for example Kopecký 2007). While Slovakia showed a stronger salience of economic issues for the most of the period, the master issue of Polish party politics has rather been in a non-economic socio-cultural domain in last twenty years.

Kitschelt et al.'s findings were attested by all further research in the comparative politics field. Thus, writing almost fifteen years after Kitschelt at al., Tóka and Popa (2013: 318) aptly sum up the situation in the Hungarian party field by stressing that "economic policy issues and social class played a minor role in party competition… non-economic issues defined party positions, inter-party distances and electoral behaviour." They add that for the period up until 2010, socioeconomic issues have not displayed "any truly consistent relationship with the policy positions of the parties" (ibid.). Instead of the economic cleavage, a socio-cultural division between the Christian-national, anti-communist and agrarian camp, on one hand, and secular, cosmopolitan, and urban parties, on the other, has consistently structured the Hungarian field of party politics (see ibid: 302). Since a consensus concerning basic liberal values was missing in the country, sociocultural issues have determined party politics instead of a standardized distributive conflict we know from Western Europe.

In Poland, the situation has been more complex, but the general pattern of party conflict has also been based more on diverging interpretations of basic religious and civilizational values, including not only the conflict between secular and confessional views but also contrasting perspectives on the Polish communist past, than on different models of political economy characteristic of Western Europe: "in the language of Polish politics this ideological cleavage, not the socio-economic one, is defined as the left-right dimension" (Jasiewicz 2007: 88). In the first decade, the 'regime divide' (communism vs. anticommunism) was the most visibly articulated division, to be replaced by the conflict over the politics of post-communist transition itself in the second decade (Stanley 2013: 168). Alluding to both the above-presented broadly culturalist account and Kitchelt's argument, for the Polish conservative right of the second decade, the left and liberals of the first transition period presented not only a diverging model of socioeconomic development, but also a serious civilizational threat to the very existence of the Polish nation and its core values. As a result, these forces, especially from the Law and Justice Party and the League of Polish Families, prioritized '"moral revolution" and the "politics of history"' at the expense of economic issues (ibid: 185).

Reflecting on twenty-five years of post-communism, Irena Grudzinska-Gross (2014: 664) addresses "the revival in Poland and Hungary… of the very old conservative style of politics, including the resurrection of the extreme right wing movements and, in Poland, of religious fundamentalism." In her view, after 1989 Hungary and Poland have been defined by the ongoing political conflict between the (nationalist) past and (European) future, which was never won for good by the "forces of the future". While future seemed triumphant in the immediate post-1989 period, it was overtaken by the forces of the past at the end: "The human rights philosophy brought by the European Union was meant to empower the individual and therefore to counteract the sense of victimhood. That ideology is linked to individual rights and protections, while the idea of sacrifice places the group, the nation, above the individual… Here the right wing has its largest successes… Patriotism is defined more and more as a readiness to sacrifice, rather than as an active (European) citizenship" (ibid: 667). This is exactly the opposite of the concept of democratic citizenship, as it was conceived at the beginning of the transition. As a result, democracy's backsliding has been characterizing Hungary and to some extent also Poland after 2010. In Poland, although conservative forces cannot apply the Hungarian-style "constitutional reforms", they still exert influence through more informal means.

While the graduate accession to the EU covered this type of deep cultural struggle and served as a general "integration magnet" turning even conservatives into seemingly pro-European and liberal forces before the moment of accession, these fault lines were revealed immediately after this moment (Vachudova and Hooghe 2009). After the accession, in Hungary Fidesz moved from the position of right-liberal party to a more conservative one, appropriating parts of the radical conservative rhetoric represented up to that moment by the extreme-right Justice and Life Party (MIEP), in Poland the nationalist, traditionalist and anti-European Law and Justice Party (PiS) won the elections in 2005. Without the EU magnet, the covered conflict around the very basic values of individual and community, liberalism and traditionalism expressed themselves openly in the field of party competition. However, unlike in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, they have been present even before in Hungary and Poland.

While in Hungary and Poland the issues of welfare and distribution were much less central than nationalism vs. liberalism, in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, welfare and economy played the most important structuring role in party competition (Whitefield and Rohrschneider 2009: 676). In the Czech Republic, a socioeconomic cleavage was constituted as the main conflict line in the new democratic field of party politics soon after 1989 and it has remained so since then (Kopecký 2007: 120, Mansfeldová 2013: 221). This reflects the general value consensus in the country, which differentiates it from both Hungary and Poland. Since the country shared basic liberal and pro-European values, party mobilization was centred on economic issues; challengers of this cultural consensus were forced to occupy rather marginal positions. Unlike in Hungary and Poland, they have never entered the government. Accordingly, economic issues have mainly been articulated in the field of institutionalized politics in the Czech Republic. Although the Czech Republic was established in 1993 as one of the successor states of former Czechoslovakia, an open nationalist mobilization never played a significant role in the country, and all potentially nationalist claims withered away with the partition of the former Czechoslovak federation (Mansfeldová 2013: 234-236).

Compared to its Czech counterpart, nationalist claims acquired stronger salience in Slovakia in the early 1990s, ultimately resulting in the 'Velvet divorce' of 1993. In this respect, Slovakia is a mixed case, the nationalist cleavage structured the

Slovakian party field in a much more pronounced way than in the Czech Republic; on the other hand, even the nationalism of the early 1990s had its economic side, since it was partly framed in terms of the economic hardships unequally distributed between the two parts of the federation. Owing to the location of heavy industry in Slovakia, it was hit by the transformation's policies more heavily than the Czech part. Still, due to the belated nation building process and the presence of the Hungarian minority in Southern Slovakia, nationalism continued to play a structuring role in Slovak party politics even after the establishment of the independent state (Kopecký 2007: 122-124). The economic cleavage constituted itself as the main conflict line only at the beginning of the second post-communist decade, after the semi-authoritarian experiment of Prime Minister Mečiar came to a close at the end of the 1990s. After the issues of stateness and foreign policy orientation of the new country had been resolved, the conflict over economic issues started to significantly shape the field of political parties' articulation, 'without abandoning the national appeals altogether' (Deegan-Krause 2013: 276). Although there was a seeming twist 'back' to nationalism at the end of the second decade, it could not equal the salience of its 1990s predecessor, and remained more symbolic in nature (ibid: 272-273).

To sum up, the four countries differ in the composition of their political space. Specifically, they differ in the saliency of the two basic issue dimensions – economic and socio-cultural. The Czech Republic is positioned at the extreme left pole of a continuum displaying the prevalence of economic issue. It is followed by Slovakia that is a mixed case where both economic and socio-cultural issues have attacked the position of the master dimension; however, the economic axis is more important than the socio-cultural one. Poland is a mixed case either; however, cultural issues have been stronger than economic issues in structuring its party politics. Lastly, Hungary is on the opposite pole of the continuum, as it is characterised by the prevalence of socio-cultural issues in party politics.

Secondary Issue Dimensions and the Protest Fields in the V4 Countries
Our main expectation is that most of the time, there should be a substitutive relationship suggesting that the party and protest fields move in opposite directions in terms of their issue composition. As already indicated, the reason is that the mainstream parties seek to increase the salience of the master dimension, while they actively suppress other issues. Specifically, we expect that in the Czech Republic, where the party field is dominated by economic issues, the protest field will address mostly socio-cultural issues. Since the salience of the two issue dimensions is more equal in Slovakia, nevertheless the economic dimension is more salient, we expect the protest field to address mostly socio-cultural issues (although not as much as in the Czech Republic). On the contrary in Hungary, where the master issue dimension is formed by socio-cultural issues, the protest field will mostly mobilize around economic issues. Poland does not show that strong predominance of the socio-cultural issue dimension as Hungary and the economic dimension is here also more salient and represented in the party competition; therefore, Poland should show protest mostly addressing economic issues (not as much as Hungary, but more than the Czech Republic and Slovakia).

Figure 1 supports these expectations. It shows the yearly issue composition of protest events in the four countries. Specifically, it shows the character of issues addressed in the protest events regardless of the side of conflict protestors align with. For instance, protests around minority rights-related issues include protests by radical right against minorities as well as protests defending minority rights. The shades of red denote the economic issues (economic issue and social policy); the shades of green

display various types of socio-cultural issues (cultural, religious, rights, quality of governance, foreign affairs, agriculture and environment). In line with our theoretical argument, we see that as the primary issue dimension represented in the party field moves from the predominance of economic issues, over a more balanced salience, to the predominance of socio-cultural issues in party politics, the issue composition of protest follows the opposite direction in the studied countries. While economic issues are very little addressed by protest in the Czech Republic (16 % of total events), larger proportions of economic issues in protest are found in Slovakia (28 % of total events) followed by Poland (45 % of total events). The highest share of economic issues in protest is displayed by Hungary (69 % of total events). Logically, as protest articulating economic issues grows across the countries, protest addressing socio-cultural issues declines: 78 % of total events in the Czech Republic address socio-cultural issues, 68 % in Slovakia, 50 % in Poland, and 29 % in Hungary.

– Figure 1 –

Consistently with our theoretical argument outlined in the previous sections, the general level of issue composition is relatively stable over time. As the figures for individual years show, although the composition varies over time, the general trend is rather stable in the cross-country comparison, i.e. the different issue composition is not a result of few exceptional years. This supports the idea that it is the main issue dimension of party competition that matters for the issue composition in the protest field and that it is not the presence (or its lack) of some party actors in the parliament. Although some countries displayed large overtime turbulences in terms of changes in specific political parties being represented in the parliament and positioning themselves on the master issue dimension, the dimension remained relatively stable.

We also theorized that the countervailing dynamics between issues addressed in the party and protest fields should determine types of actors that mostly use protest mobilization. Figure 2 addresses this question. It shows the percentage distribution of actors sponsoring the protest events organized in the four countries. We only show actors for which we have a clear prediction and that can be categorized according to their primary issue. In line with our expectations, we see that the Czech Republic shows the highest proportion of events organized by groups whose primary identity is socio-cultural: rights organizations (50 %), religious and cultural groups (10 %) and radicals (18 %). As explained in the previous sections, since party politics is dominated by economic issues, protest is dominated by organizations that address socio-cultural issues like various lifestyles, history, national identity and religious values. While these groups are together responsible for 78 % of selected events in the Czech Republic, in Slovakia they organized 63 % of events, in Poland 30 % and in Hungary 46 %. In case of organizers, due to probably its historical legacies of pre-1989 union organizing Poland shows higher proportion of events organized by trade unions (see also Ekiert and Kubik 2001).

– Figure 2 –

We presented similar expectations for the predominant protest repertoires used in the country. Because of the countervailing dynamic between party and protest field, if the master dimension of the party field is socio-cultural and protest is dominated by economic issues often sponsored by trade unions, the protest repertoire in the country should be dominated by strikes and blockades. Similarly, if the master dimension of the

party field is economic and protest is dominated by socio-cultural issues often advocated by new social movements, "transactional" NGOs, religious/conservative movements or radical groups, we expect a higher portion of cultural and "transactional" (inter-organizationally, not participatory based) repertoire, such as petitions, happenings, conferences and communication events.

Figure 3 supports this expectation. Both Hungary and to a lesser extend Poland show the predominance of economic issues-related repertoire. In Hungary, there were in total 48 % occupations or strikes, whereas the repertoire typical for socio-cultural issues constituted only 7 %. In Poland the balance is 28 % for occupations and strikes and only 12 % for petitions, performances etc. In contrast, protest in the Czech Republic and Slovakia shows the completely opposite repertoire. The typical socio-cultural repertoire (petitions, performances, litigations, boycotts, and conferences) constitutes 34 % of the protest events organized in the Czech Republic, whereas only 7 % of events show the typical economic repertoire (strikes or blockades). In Slovakia the balance is 32 % of cultural and 6 % of economic repertoires. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the most often used strategy in all countries is demonstrations. As such, demonstrations do not form a typical repertoire of either economic or of socio-cultural movements.

– Figure 3 –

Figure 4 examines the role of radical activism in national protest. Since both leftwing and rightwing radicals mobilize primarily around the socio-cultural issues such as national identity, foreign policy, role of church, life-style values, immigration, we expected radical organizers and radical strategies to play a larger role in countries where the master dimension is economic and protest is the domain of socio-cultural issues than in countries with the opposite configuration of issue salience. Figure 4 supports this expectation. It shows shares of events that were illegal, events where protestors used violence or events that were organized by groups explicitly recognized as radicals or extremist by the news article. As we can see, the Czech Republic shows the highest proportion of radical protest (12 %) and Hungary the lowest (3 %). Slovakia and Poland exchange positions compared to our expectations: 8 % in Poland and 5 % in Slovakia. However, if we look at the overtime distribution, we see a pattern that is in accordance with our theory. While in the 1990s during the Meciar years socio-cultural issues had higher salience in Slovakian politics, radicalism representing socio-cultural dimension was lower than after the end of the first post-communist decade. Similarly in Poland, as several authors (Vachudova and Hooghe 2009, Grudzinska-Gross 2014) suggest, the socio-cultural conflict dimension was relatively weaker before the accession to the EU (2004) and its dominance fully developed only after the accession. In this respect, we can see that radical protest followed the countervailing logic having been higher before the accession than afterwards.

– Figure 4 –

Conclusions
To explain the observed cross-country variation in the protest issue composition, in this paper we have focused on the interaction between protest and party politics. Our main expectation has pointed out the substitutive relationship suggesting that the party and protest fields move in opposite directions in terms of their issue composition. The same effect can be observed in terms of the organizers and repertoire of protest. According to our argument, the main reason is that the established parties strive to increase and

maintain the salience of the master dimension of party competition and actively suppress other potentially political issues. Drawing on the party literature, we have looked at the relations between economic and socio-cultural issues.

To sum up the main results, we have shown that in the Czech Republic, where economic issues dominate the party field, protest addresses mostly socio-cultural issues. Since the salience of the two issue dimensions is more equal in Slovakia, although the economic dimension is still more salient, we have demonstrated that the protest field addresses mostly socio-cultural issues (less than in the Czech Republic). Hungary and Poland display a contrary pattern. In Hungary, where socio-cultural issues form the master issue dimension in the party field, protest mostly articulates economic issues. Poland does not show that strong predominance of the socio-cultural issue dimension as Hungary; the economic dimension is more salient in the party competition here than in Hungary; as a results, Poland displays protest mostly addressing economic issues (not as much as Hungary, but more than the Czech Republic and Slovakia).

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Figure 1: Issue Composition of Protest Field in Visegrad Group Countries
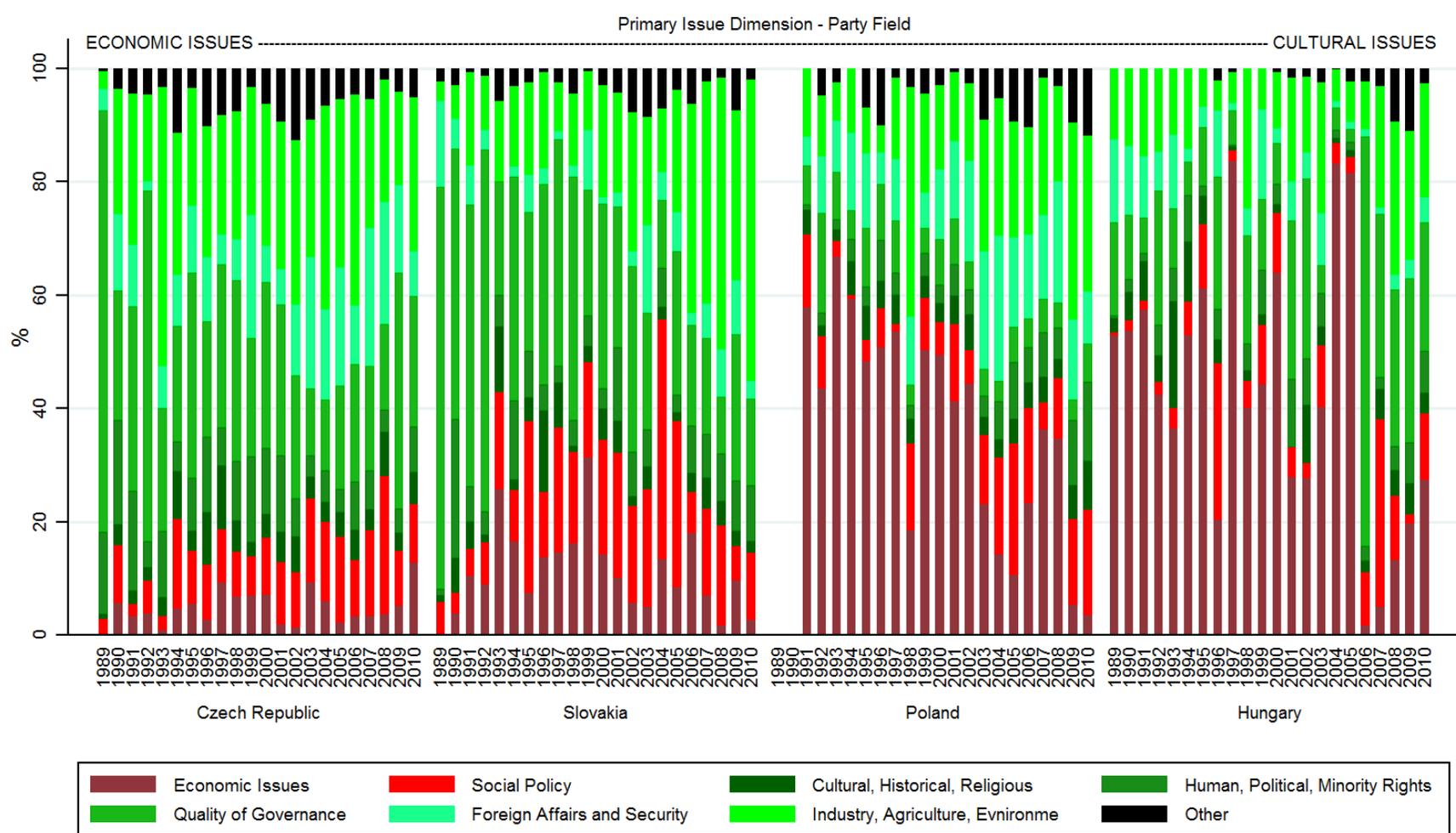

Source: PEA V4, figures: share of issues addressed by protest events by year.

**Figure 2: Organizers of Protest in Visegrad Group Countries**
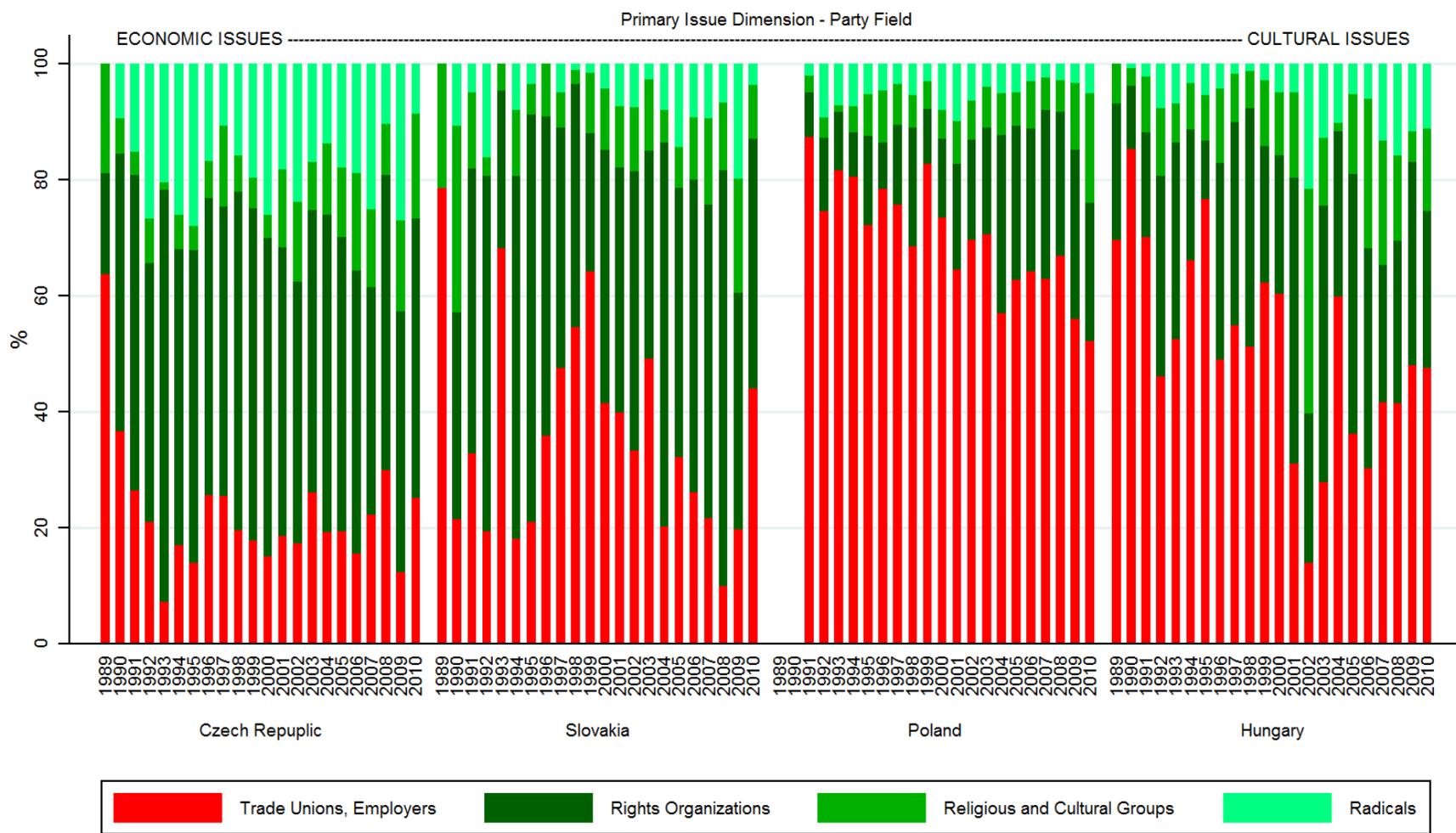
Source: PEA V4, figures: share of organizers sponsoring selected protest events by year.

Figure 3: Repertoire composition of Protest Field in Visegrad Group Countries
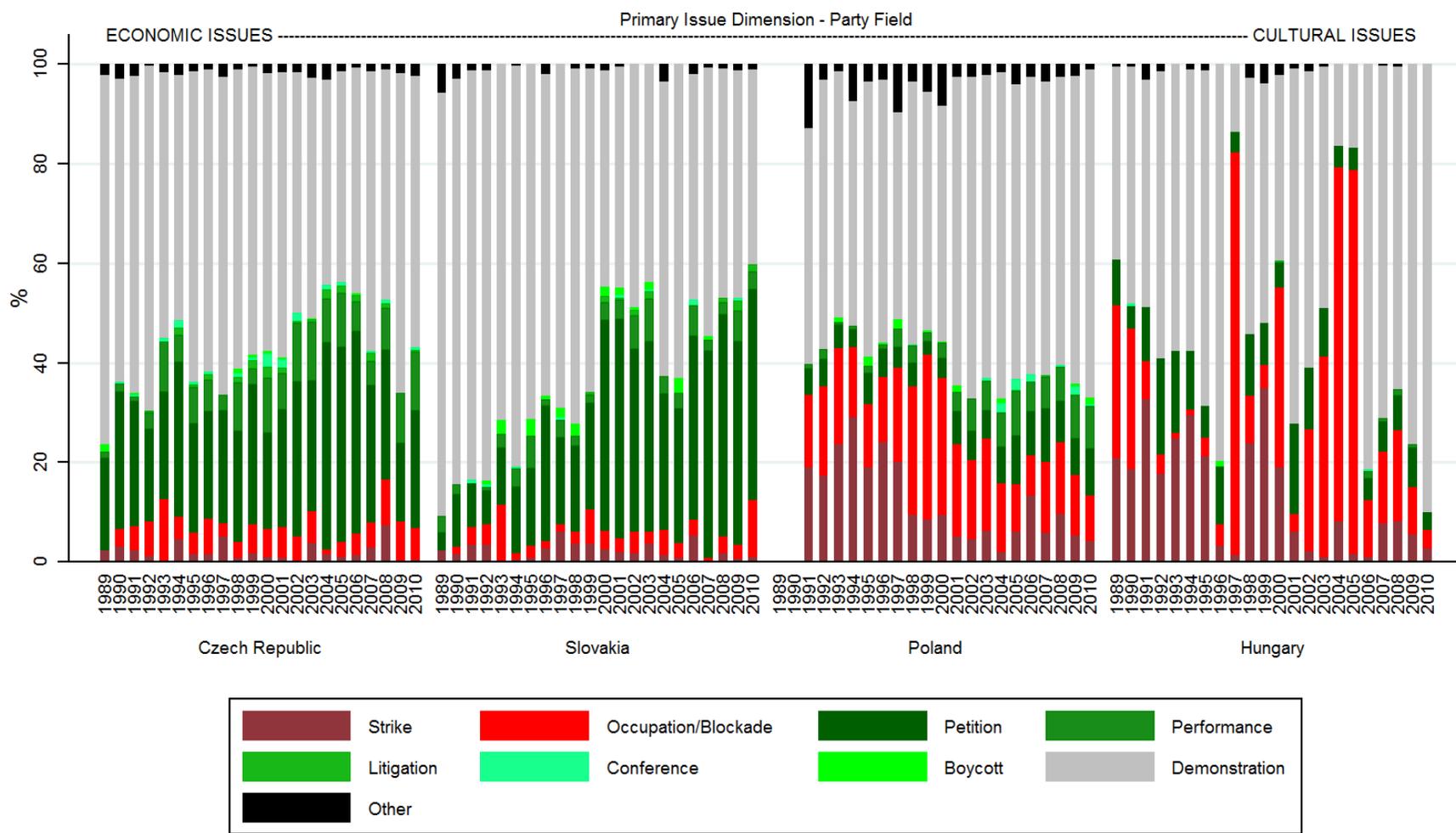
Source: PEA V4, figures: share of repertoire strategies in protest by year.

Figure 4: Radical Activism in Protest Field in Visegrad Group Countries
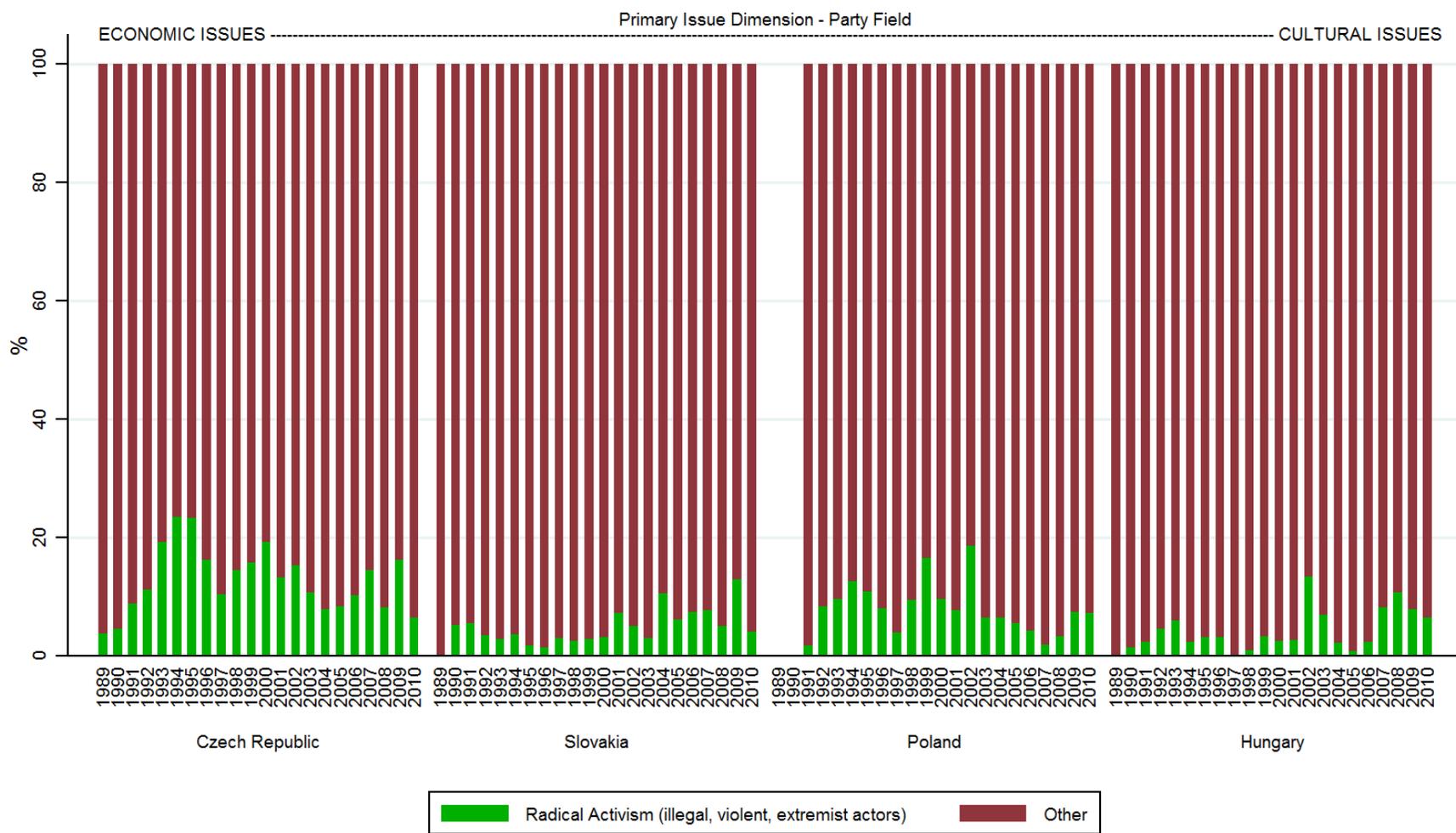
Source: PEA V4, figures: share of radical activism in protest by year.