Ivaylo Dinev

The dynamics of class mobilisations: evidence from protest event analysis in Bulgaria and Slovenia

Abstract

Following the recent interest of bringing capitalism back into social movement studies, this article contributes to the debate with the application of new techniques for examining the dynamics of social class in protest politics. Questioning the declining importance of labour mobilisation in the recent anti-austerity cycles of protest in eastern Europe, I draw on a unique protest event dataset to propose a new way of exploring the relations between social class, repertoires and claim-making. I show that this innovation can bring greater clarity to a systematic analysis of social class politics in the protest arena. The empirical exploration highlights that more than one-third of the protest events in Bulgaria and Slovenia in the aftermath of the financial crisis were driven by specific social class actors. The article suggests that, contrary to individual-level data, social class can be observed through the basic conceptions of workers and independents; and then through site and sector: production; services; and socio-cultural. These typologies help in understanding where mobilisations arise, under what conditions and for what demands.

Keywords: *protest arena, social class, labour protest, anti-austerity*

Introduction

In the social sciences tradition, the concepts of social class have, for a long time, been one of the main instruments for understanding historical developments and changes in human civilisations (Hylmö and Wennerhag 2012). Whether they came to explain the social structure of a particular state, the revolts of slaves or peasants, workers' strikes or revolutions, class characteristics and differences have been one of the main explanatory factors in collective mobilisations and social conflicts.

In the last half-century, the role of social class in the study of social movements has come to be disregarded (Della Porta 2017; Hetland and Goodwin 2013). Since the 1960s, interest in mobilisation forces has changed from the 'old' movements – trade unions and political parties – to the emerging 'new' social movements, focused around non-class issues such as the environment and human rights, and oppression based on gender, race and ethnicity (Eidlin and Kerrissey 2018). In this wave of scholarship, most of the studies address mobilisations during the 'golden age' of welfare capitalism in western societies during which it seemed that post-war economic growth and expanded welfare (Therborn 2013) had led to shifts in political conflict from class and economic-based struggles to post-material concerns and issues. This

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

development of studies on protests and social movements left out 'old' issues and actors from their empirical scope. This separation of 'old' and 'new' movements that occurred in academic discussions at the time was related to new social theories which questioned the relevance of the economic reductionism of classical Marxism and the notion of class, while proposing new 'turns' towards political opportunities (Kitschelt 1986), resources (McCarthy and Zald 1977) and cultural-based meanings and identities.

In the last decade, however, the global waves of protest in the aftermath of the financial crisis have returned interest to economic conditions and threats as well as the role played by labour-based mobilisations and the class structure. Social movement studies were criticised for ignoring long-term structural transformations and the analysis of socio-economic factors in terms of contention. Some years ago, Gabriel Hetland and Jeffrey Goodwin (Hetland and Goodwin 2013) even called out the strange disappearance of capitalism from social movement studies, pointing out the absence of interest in the economic sources of the increasing protest mobilisations. In the same vein, Colin Barker proposed 'bringing capitalism back in' to the analysis of social movements as well as a reconsideration of the Marxist approach to the analysis of recent cycles of anti-austerity mobilisation (Barker *et al*. 2013). A new plethora of research studies answered this call by giving attention to large and long-term structural dynamics in explaining contentious politics. Anti-austerity dissent provoked new attention on contention over macro-structural factors, such as the effects of the systemic crisis of capitalism and democracy (Beissinger and Sasse 2013; Della Porta *et al*. 2017; Della Porta 2015, 2017; Silver and Karatasli 2015)and the role played by the configuration of political-economic opportunity structures (Císař and Navrátil 2017). Some years ago, Sidney Tarrow pointed out the need:

> To connect the long-term rhythms of social change from the classical tradition to the shorter-term dynamics of contentious politics. (Tarrow 2012: 8)

Following this new trend of literature, this article contributes to the methodological innovation of measuring class location through the key method of studies of social movements and protest event analysis (PEA). This work addresses the question of the class basis of recent anti-austerity and mass protest mobilisations. However, analyses of social movements, which explain long-term structural dynamics, are divided into descriptions of the role played by the classes in the era of global capitalism. While some scholars argue that protest politics are the terrain of the 'winners' rather than the 'losers' of globalisation (Kriesi *et al*. 2012), others present inter-class coalitions between the traditional working-class and the young, well-educated unemployed (Della Porta 2015). In studies of political participation, measured through individual-level data, other scholars have illustrated that protest politics are strong among the well-educated middle-classes in post-industrial societies (Norris 2002; Hylmö and Wennerhag 2012) and more specifically among socio-cultural specialists (Eggert and Giugni 2015). In contrast, case study analyses suggest that more recent mass social protests have mobilised not only new actors with multiple identities who are using new technologies for organising, but also traditional actors such as labour unions (Accornero and Ramos Pinto 2015) and working-class people. These include

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

the 'Bosnian Spring' in 2014, which started as a worker revolt in the city of Tuzla (Štiks 2015), and the widespread social protests in Bulgaria against poverty at the beginning of 2013 (Stoyanova 2018).

How can these contrasting results be explained? I argue that there is a need to reconsider methods in social movements and develop a new technique for social class analysis using a catalogue of protest events. In this article, I argue that developments such as unit of observation help to describe and explore the role play by social classes in contemporary political and social conflicts in the protest arena. This article aims to explore the role of classes in the protest arena rather than to explain the variations and types of class conflict. Further on, it may be that the specific type of capitalism in the post-socialist region and the variations in political-economic structure might help to explain the current findings. In the current work, however, first and foremost I attempt to describe and explore a new way of examining class through original datasets on protest events.

In the following section, I review the framework for the study of class through PEA. To identify class importance, the analysis continues by reviewing different concepts of social class. The next section describes the steps to extend PEA with class variables. Afterwards, I present findings on class protests through an original dataset of Bulgaria and Slovenia since 2009.

Exploring class through PEA

For the purpose of this article, I took a perspective on the arena of protest and its characteristics rather than specific social movements. The aim of this is to go beyond an approach centred on a single actor or a particular movement; rather to extend the sphere of analysis to the patterns and trends sparked by multiple actors across time and space.

In a recent work on protest politics in western Europe, Swen Hutter conceptualised the protest arena as a place with distinct modes of participation, degrees of institutionalisation, sites of mobilisation and organisations (Hutter 2014b). In contrast to the electoral arena, he defined the protest arena as a place in which participation is expressed by a repertoire of particular forms of protest such as demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, etc., just as voting characterises the electoral arena. Concerning the degree of institutionalisation, the protest arena is defined by a low level of predictability and a high variation in volume, initiatives and resources. In terms of the main sites of mobilisation, Hutter evokes the street, in a literal and metaphorical sense, capturing as many different protest tactics as it can. Typical organisations of the protest arena are social movement organisations and civil society actors who regularly mobilise their constituencies for political goals, while political parties mobilise voters mainly in electoral campaigns and elections. Going further than the research on particular social movements, an approach which is centred on the protest arena can help in identifying class location, claim-making and the repertoires of diverse types of actor.

Concerning the proposed approach to the systematic study of the importance of social class in mobilisations, I have used a unique dataset on protest events in Bulgaria and Slovenia based on news reports of such events taking place during the peri-

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

od 2009-2017. This data helps in making cross-time and cross-sectional comparison of the dynamics of the protest arena, and trends therein, through quantitative content analysis of the news that is generated by protest events. This is a traditional method in the field of social movement studies going back to the classical works of Charles Tilly and his colleagues in the 1970s, which later inspired a new wave in social movement literature. This method has been used extensively in connection with the rise and falls of social movements (McAdam 1982); the evolution of radicalisation or demobilisations (Della Porta and Tarrow 1986); and on the association between protest actions, the national context, political structures and cleavages (Hutter 2014b; Kriesi *et al*. 1995).

The method provides the researcher with a birds-eye view on the driving forces, the circulation of demands, the types of social groups and organisations involved, action repertoires and other relevant information engendered by contentious politics. As defined by Koopmans and Rucht (2002), protest event analysis is:

> A method that allows for quantification of many properties of protest, such as frequencies, timing and duration, location, claims, size, forms, carriers, and targets, as well as immediate consequences and reactions.

In carrying out data analysis, researchers start with specific characteristics (variables) organised in a codebook. Then, in line with the codebook, researchers look at information on protest events from different sources – in most cases newspapers or news agencies. The main aim is to 'turn words into numbers' and to explore variations in protest events which can be explained by the internal and external environments. Hutter (Hutter 2014a: 337) explains the importance of PEA as a method that has 'the ability to move beyond a few cases.'

Regarding the unit of analysis, the focus was on collective events, coding only those contentious events in which more than one individual participated. Through this focus, the dataset allows a consideration of the plurality of actors, organisations, claims and locations. No form of contentious politics was excluded, taking into account demonstrations, strikes, occupations, blockades, etc. Data was collected systematically on a daily basis, without any sampling on a particular day of the week, from which it follows that the dataset consists of any protest event reported in the period under analysis. Following a traditional way of collecting data via news archives, national news agencies were searched for the word *protest* (*-ing, -ed, -ers*) so as to capture protest events.

The main variables included the date of the event, the number of participants in the protest, the characteristics of the organisation, the claims made and the aims, the reactions of the police, the intensity of any conflict and the class location of the protesters. This large number of variables helped in understanding the continuities and discontinuities of trends and patterns in the protest arena. Some of the variables reflect exact and objective values, such as the day of the event and location, while others are open to interpretation, such as is the case with claims: during data coding, labels within the claims variable changed numerous times as a result of new information coming out of the data.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

In sum, the resultant database consisted of 1,624 events taking place in Bulgaria between January 2009 and December 2017 and 409 events during the same period in Slovenia.

Class concepts and operationalisation of class variables

This article does not aim to make a grand review of the class analysis literature but to take one minimalist and one maximalist concept of class with which to test this new technique of exploring class dynamics. Thus, the following review of the concepts of class aims briefly to present several ideas for matching classes within the protest arena. On top of that, it also introduces the important distinction between systemic and issue-driven claim-making.

The classical understanding of class by Marx

One way to measure class is to go back to Karl Marx's understanding. He considered that the historical development of the classes is based above all on the economic realm and the consequent inevitable conflict of interest between two great classes: the owners of the means of production (capitalists) and the owners of labour power (the proletariat) (Marx and Engels 1848 (1967); Carrier 2015). While the dominant class controls the processes of production and disposition, the proletariat class seeks to protect itself and to improve its conditions.

For Marx, class analysis is, above all, a matter of conflictual relations and social change. He identified that the exploited class is in a structural position within capitalist production that made it a key revolutionary subject in terms of future social transformation (Marx and Engels 1848 (1967)). Some scholars have linked workers only to manual labour, but other concepts consist of every wage-earner from lower-level production workers to white-collar ones. The basis of this classic concept is that all workers are dependent on a wage for survival. Between the two main classes, Marx distinguished a lower middle class strata (*petite bourgeoisie*) that constitutes individuals who own small-scale property but have to work to survive. This dual existence as small property owners and as workers gives this class divided interests between opposing or favouring the interests of the other two classes. Marx expected this class to disappear, but the opposite has happened since modernisation in western societies has brought a growing number middle-class population. Marx also thought that the *peasantry* and *farmers* would also disappear with most joining the proletariat while others might become capitalist farmers.

From Marx's perspective, class conflicts concern the dynamics of capitalist development and the realities of the economic structure.

8-class scheme of Daniel Oesch

Out of a more Weberian way of exploring social classes, the political scientist Daniel Oesch has recently developed a new multi-class schema that applies several class locations rather than a division between working class and capitalists (Oesch 2012). His schema tries to capture the heterogeneity involved in class locations by

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

drafting vertical and horizontal axes, the former capturing less or more favourable employment relationships while the latter scales the differences in work logic.

Oesch modified the Eriksson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) scheme and followed Herbert Kitschelt's work on class (Kitschelt 1994), anticipating that labour experience and occupational position in the labour market would be factors shaping an individual's political activities and preferences. In regard to this, while middle-class and working-class occupations experience (dis)advantageous employment relations, they differ also on the work logic scale. He distinguished between three different work logics: interpersonal, technical and organizational. These differ, according to Oesch, in four dimensions: work process; relations with authority; primary orientation; and skill requirements. Within interpersonal logic, workers are primarily focused on face-to-face communications and their abilities include communicative and social skills. Technical work logic includes work based on technical expertise, while organisational logic reflected work based on bureaucratic coordination, control and administrative tasks. To these, he added independent work logic, reflecting the status of employment and, in particular, large and small-business owners.

How are the different locations within production processes connected to political actions and preferences? Oesch argues that the key is based on the employment position and work logic involved in the particular occupation. His studies in electoral politics highlighted that, when it came to class voting, socio-cultural professionals with greater interpersonal work logic would support left-libertarian parties, whereas technical professionals are more linked to conservative and centre-right values and political preferences (Oesch 2008).

Claim-making

Regarding the claims made during class protests, the intention of the study was to explore the claim-making made by different class actors. In times of economic recession and popular mass protests around the globe, it could be expected that, when it comes to politics which are contentious within the national protest arena, the main claims will be based around the systemic crisis of neoliberal capitalism. In recent years, however, scholars have ascribed the anti-austerity wave to Polanyi-type counter-movements against the marketisation of everyday life and the loss of previous social welfare and social rights (Della Porta 2015; Burawoy 2015) or privileged economic positions. While most of the contention is driven by Polanyi-type protests referring to the defensive reactions of workers wanting to secure undermined rights and privileges, there are substantial differences in the framing of grievances between challenging the systematic causes and reacting to the specific issues. This additional division within the process of contentious is important in delineating the more specific characteristics of particular class protests, in particular whether these are rooted in systematic reform and change or attached to more moderate, issue-driven actions focused on obtaining the resolution of a particular problem within the production process.

Making use of these concepts, the next section of the article looks at the operationalisation of class using protest event analysis.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte
Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

The application of social class in PEA

In terms of class, the analysis was built in three phases. Firstly, variables were constructed according to concepts of social class and claim-making. Then, during the data collection phase, protest events were coded to a particular class and claim-making label where the class and claim-making made by the protest actor(s) were recognisable. Finally, the analysis of the empirical results looked at the trends and shifts in class importance in the protest arena using the class variables.

The data came mainly from news reports of the particular actors involved (farmers, police officers, taxi drivers, etc.) but, when this information was insufficient, it was supplemented with additional data drawn from other resources.

Regarding a Marxist understanding of class, contentious protest event data was coded into four categories of protest actors: working class; petite bourgeoisie; farmers; and capitalists. Worker-led protests are those where the actors are not the owners of the means of production, whether they be factory production workers, hospital nurses, police officers or firefighters, school teachers, pharmacists, etc. The petite bourgeoisie refers to small business owners of shops, cafeterias, family hotels, etc. The farmer class refers to all actors who are part of agricultural economic activities, such as producers of tobacco, milk and dairy products, etc. Finally, the capitalist class refers to the owners of large-scale businesses and capital.

The second concept of class in this work is based on differing occupational positions in production processes and are easily coded through protest event analysis since Oesch's work is built upon the European categorisation of occupations. In his online documents coding the eight classes, he demonstrated which occupational category falls into which class category.[1] This facilitates the matching of occupations to class categories during the coding process.

In terms of claim-making during class protests, coding was done on the basis of whether claims were systemic or issue-driven. The former consists of contention for or against systemic reforms and policies such as austerity measures and privatisation; while more moderate contentions are those that frame grievances around reactions to unpaid and decreases in salaries, dismissals and the state of working conditions. Where protest events might use both frames, these were coded as systemic claim-making.

Table 1 presents the main characteristics of the class variables and claim-making, including their labels and some illustrative examples from the dataset.

1 Daniel Oesch has uploaded scripts and tables with the class schemes on his personal academic website – https://people.unil.ch/danieloesch/scripts/.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

Table 1 – Concepts for measuring class and claim-making through protest event analysis

Variables	Labels	Examples from the dataset
Marxist-type	1. Working class	Nurses, production workers
	2. Petite bourgeoisie	Restaurant owners, hotel owners, small businesses
	3. Farmers	Tobacco producers, milk producers
	4. Capitalists	Associations of industrial capital, large employers
Oesch-type	1. Production workers	Assemblers, machine operators, mechanics
	2. Service workers	Police officers, firefighters, sex workers
	3. Clerks	Administrative and executive secretaries, general clerks, receptionists
	4. Technical professionals	Computing professionals, engineers, architects
	5. Socio-cultural specialists	Doctors, social workers, teachers, pharmacists, nurses, vets, journalists
	6. Higher-grade and associate managers and administration	Financial managers, legislators, accountants, brokers
	7. Small business owners with fewer than nine or no employees	Farmers, hairdressers, shopkeepers
	8. Traditional bourgeoisie	Large estate owners, industrial owners
Claim-making	1. Systemic 2. Issue-driven	Austerity, inequality, privatisation, poverty Salaries and dismissals

Class-based mobilisations in Bulgaria and Slovenia, 2009-2017

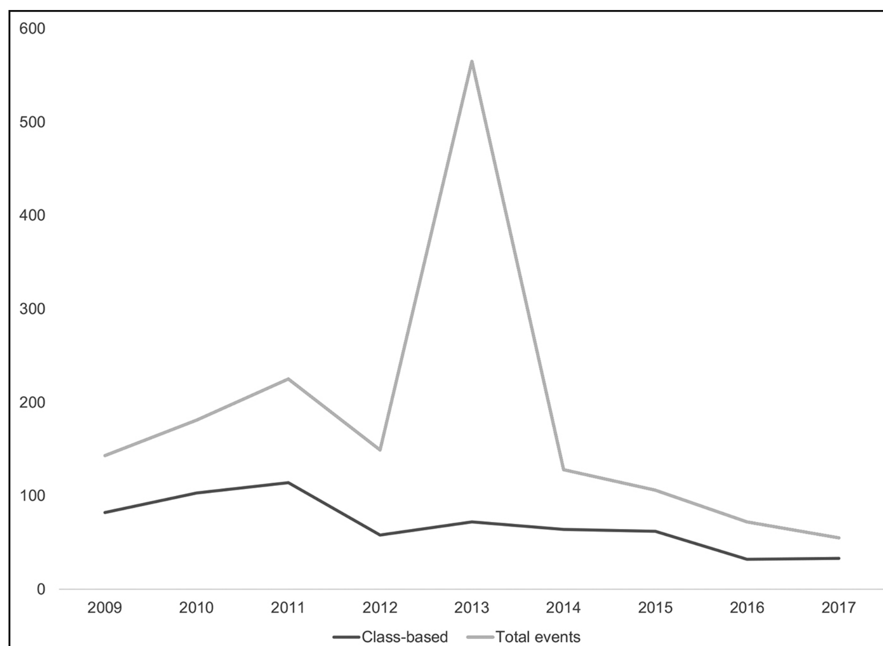
This section starts with a general description of, and trends in, class protests in Bulgaria and Slovenia. It then moves to an exploration of the main class conflicts within the protest arenas in both countries, paying particular attention to causes, repertoires and claim-making.

The first striking finding is the high frequency of class-based protests in both countries. Although the majority of the analysis of protests in the most recent decade in post-socialist Europe focused on new social movements and mass uprisings by horizontal and informal networks, the role played by particular social classes in the protest arena is quite significant. The whole amount of protest events based on a particular social class in the period of nine years is 620 out of 1,624 protest events in Bulgaria and 158 of 409 in Slovenia. This accounts for 38.2 per cent in Bulgaria and

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte
Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

38.6 per cent in Slovenia of all protest events, a highly consistent finding which also challenges the notion of the disappearance of class in contemporary contentious politics.

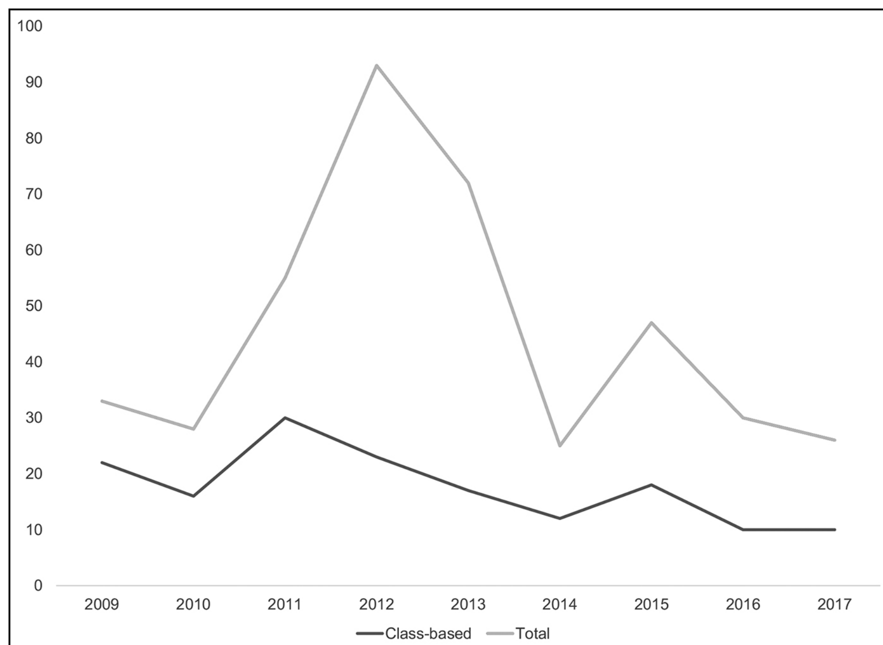
Figure 1 – Class-based protests and all protest events in Bulgaria, 2009-2017 (total number)



Source: Author’s dataset based on news retrieved from Bulgarian Press Agency (Bulgarska Telegrafna Agentsia – BTA)

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

Figure 2 – Class-based protests and all protest events in Slovenia, 2009-2017 (total number)



Source: Author's dataset based on news retrieved from Slovenian Press Agency (Slovenska Tiskovna Agencija – STA)

When it comes to measuring class protest in a diachronic perspective, it seems that the trend in class-based events is similar to the trend in general dissent, with the influential exception of the period of mass social upheaval around 2012-2013. According to historical trends, the distribution of protest actions across the years suggests that class-based protest is quite often a phenomenon, as Figure 1 and Figure 2 both show. Whereas the peak of the protest cycle unfolded in 2012-2013, class-based mobilisations tended to remain at the same levels throughout. This is related to two issues: firstly, news reports during mass demonstrations framed the new protest actor as the 'people' or 'citizens' organising via Facebook, which description hardly tells us anything more about the class position of the protest participants; and, secondly, the absence of class protest was linked to a new type of movement consisting of heterogeneous social and political groups expressing mass discontent and general demands against the political elite and the state of the transition. Hence, it might be said that these waves in mass protest can be either classless or, otherwise, built upon inter-class coalitions.

More specifically, in 2009 class-based protests were 57 per cent of all events in Bulgaria while in Slovenia they accounted for 67 per cent of all events; in 2010 they were 56 per cent in Bulgaria and 57 per cent in Slovenia; and in 2011 51 per cent in

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte
Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

Bulgaria and 55 per cent in Slovenia. Then, during the mass demonstrations, the proportion of class-based protests declined substantially to 18 per cent in Bulgaria and 25 per cent in Slovenia; in the aftermath of this protest cycle, they increased again as, in 2017, they were 60 per cent of all events in Bulgaria and 38 per cent of all events in Slovenia. The percentage of class-based protests has been increasing again since 2014, although the total number of class-led protests has declined substantially from 2011 which was the peak of class-based contention in both countries.

These initial results of our protest event analysis reveal a high proportion of class-based actions taking place in Bulgaria and Slovenia, especially in 'normal' times in the protest arena. During waves of mass discontent, class-driven protests did not disappear; rather, a sizable increase in non-class, or inter-class, protests emerged, led by informal and horizontal movements through social media. Additionally, the findings show a negative trend in terms of a decline in contentious events in the protest arena, going hand-in-hand with a decrease in the amount of class-based protests.

Distribution of protest events across different classes

Moving to the minimalist conception of social classes advanced by Marx, it is evident that most of the reports on class-based protest describe working-class collective action compared to a very few events organised by people belonging to the petite bourgeoisie, farmers and capitalists. In both countries, most contentions are worker-driven: in Bulgaria 428 out of 620 events were organised by the working class; and in Slovenia 139 out of 158. An important difference occurs in collective action in the agricultural sector, which is quite conflictual in Bulgaria in which farmers and agricultural producers led 138 protest events compared to 13 in Slovenia. The category of the petite bourgeoisie accounts for 36 events in Bulgaria and four in Slovenia; these are actions organised by small-business owners of restaurants, cafes, bars and shops, as well as landowners. In regard to the capitalist class category, there are a few organised protest events and strikes by large employers in Bulgaria, for example in 2016 when the Industrial Capital Association mobilised a general strike in privately-owned companies against increases in the price of electricity. While Marxist categories of class demonstrate that the main conflicts are driven by the working class population in both countries, there are still questions arising from the differences arising between workers within occupations and sectors.

To help identify a more complex and nuanced picture of class-based protests, we can attempt to apply Oesch's class scheme. This presents a few challenges when it comes to protest event analysis since news reports are unable to be used as a resource for gathering information on different occupations within the working class and the middle class. Some protests led by workers and labour unions might involve not only production workers and service sector workers, but also technical professionals and higher-grade administrative employees and managers. News reports, however, usually describe the actor as *workers* in a particular factory, or *workers* in particular public sector institutions; but this is rarely sufficient for more complex social class concepts with several layers of hierarchy and work logic, as is the case in Oesch's model. This

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

leads to a misrepresentation of clerks, technical professionals and higher-grade administrative employees and managers.

Nonetheless, the 8-class scheme does help us to understand the role played by workers in different sectors. As is seen in Table 2, there are variations in protest events between workers. Socio-cultural professionals, consisting of specialists in healthcare, education, cultural work and other budget sectors, formed a part of 24 per cent of all class-based events in Bulgaria and as much as 38 per cent in Slovenia. Production workers, a category which consists of occupations within industry and traditional blue collar occupations, are slightly less represented in Bulgaria, at 23 per cent, and slightly more in Slovenia, at 45.6 per cent. Service sector workers include mobilisations of police officers, firefighters and taxi drivers, and account for similar percentages in both Bulgaria and Slovenia (27.4 per cent and 32.9 per cent).

Table 2 – Distribution of protest events across Oesch's 8-class scheme, 2009-2017 (total number)

Oesch's categories	**Bulgaria**	Slovenia
Production workers	22.6% (142)	45.6% (72)
Clerks	–	–
Service workers	27.4% (172)	32.9% (52)
Technical professionals	–	–
Socio-cultural professionals	24.2% (152)	36.7% (58)
Higher grade managers and administration	1.3% (8)	0.6% (1)
Farmers and small business owners	27.7% (174)	11.4% (18)
Large employers	1.8% (11)	0.6% (1)
Events (N)	628	158

Note: The number of protest events per category includes events in which one, or more than one, social class participated. Hence, the total percentage is above 100%.

Source: dataset based on news retrieved from Bulgarian Press Agency (Bulgarska Telegrafna Agentsia – BTA) and Slovenian Press Agency (Slovenska Tiskovna Agencija – STA)

To sum up, the Oesch scheme provides a more complex picture of class-based protest events, but also faces problems in terms of the representation of occupations which are less reported by the news agencies. This is an issue mostly in the representation of clerks, technical professionals, managers and administrators, which are rarely named in media reports on protest events. However, the Oesch distinction be-

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

tween different occupations and sectors can help in understanding the variation in class-based conflict as well as the emergence of cross-class coalitions.

The next part of the article merges the minimalist concept of Marx on class with the findings from the Oesch's more complex concept. To understand the data better, firstly we have to apply a distinction based on employment status and ownership. This involved a dichotomous distinction between workers on the one hand and independents on the other, i.e. farmers, small-business owners and large employers. Then, an additional horizontal axis was applied to workers based on their sector of occupation: socio-cultural sector; service sector; and the production sector.

Table 3 – Number of protest events across different classes, 2009-2017 (total number)

	Workers			Independent	
Country	**Production sector**	**Service sector**	**Socio-cultural sector**	**Small-business and farmers**	**Large employers**
	Mechanics Carpenters Assemblers	Police officers Firefighters Railway workers	Doctors Teachers Social workers	Shop owners Farmers Tobacco producers	Industrial site owners Hotel owners
Bulgaria	142	172	152	174	11
Slovenia	72	52	58	18	1

Source: Author's dataset based on news retrieved from Bulgarian Press Agency (Bulgarska Telegrafna Agentsia – BTA) and Slovenian Press Agency (Slovenska Tiskovna Agencija – STA)

Through these typologies of class-based protest actors, the next part of the article explores the connection between classes, claim-making and repertoires of contention.

Classes and claim-making

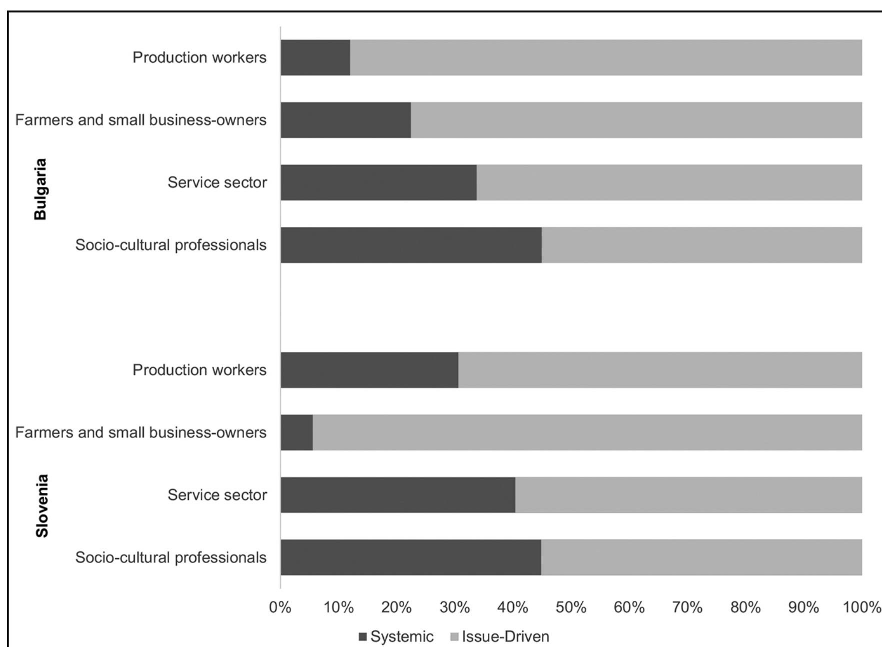
The previous section described the general frequency and proportion of struggles that have a class-based orientation, but it is not clear what are the demands and ideas that drive these contentions. The question of the class aspects of claim-making can be explored through protest event analysis by identifying the main issues and conflicts arising across class-based protest events and understanding which classes are more prone to raise anti-system frameworks compared to others with more moderate, issue-driven claims. System-driven contention refers to the challenging of systemic reforms such as austerity measures in the public sector, privatisation and neo-liberal policies including raising the retirement age. On the contrary, issue-driven contention is related to mobilisations which are geared around specific degradations of rights, privileges and income without this being framed by more systemically-oriented notions.

If we compare claims according to class (see Figure 3), it seems that socio-cultural professionals and workers in the service sector are, in both countries, leading the

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

numbers of systemic protests. The lowest proportion of systemic contentions is observed in the production and agricultural sector. This trend follows from the observation that, during the period under study, austerity measures took place in the public sector, with workers affected by a decline in funding and by budget cuts, whereas in the private sector mobilisations were mostly the result of unpaid salaries and dismissals. In the latter type of contention, production workers usually addressed the company owner or the government to resolve the issue of payments and working conditions.

Figure 3 – Class distributions of claim-making protests in Bulgaria and Slovenia, 2009-2017



Source: Author’s dataset based on news retrieved from Bulgarian Press Agency (Bulgarska Telegrafna Agentsia – BTA) and Slovenian Press Agency (Slovenska Tiskovna Agencija – STA)

Anti-system protests in both countries might be separated into three different periods.

For Slovenia, the first started in 2009 and lasted until the general strike in April 2012. It referred to the rising sense of grievance about austerity measures in the public sector, specifically budget cuts in education and healthcare, the privatisation of formerly publicly-owned companies and demands to increase salaries and improve working conditions. The main protest event that included a claim for systemic change in this period is the mass demonstration in Ljubljana on 28 November 2009, organised by the main labour unions and attended by 30,000 workers in the public

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

and private sector, which demanded increases to the minimum wage and aimed to stop the government's pension reform. The second main event was on 18 April 2012, when more than 100,000 workers participated in a general strike and 10,000 demonstrated in the centre of Ljubljana against austerity measures.

The second phase started in November 2012 and lasted two years. This period is mostly referred to as the moment when mass protest waves challenged the major pillars of the economic transition to neoliberal capitalism. During that time, social movements and horizontal networks organised large demonstrations across Slovenia. While most of the events are hard to fit into clear class-based categories, there were also significant class-based protests during this phase, including a second general strike led by public sector workers (and involving socio-cultural professionals and service sector workers). At the end of January 2013, around 100,000 employees were involved in a general strike with thousands of people demonstrating in Ljubljana, Maribor and Murska Subota. This time, the initial cause was salary cuts in the public sector, but workers shared a general rejection of the political and economic establishment.

The third phase faced a decline in large-scale, class-based protest events and took place against a backdrop of the increasing contention around cultural issues such as the refugee crisis in eastern Europe. The most significant anti-system class-based protest event was in the summer of 2015, when a broad coalition between the Union of Public Sector Employees and the newly-established United Left party saw around 2,000 people demonstrate against the privatisation of Telekom Slovenije.

In Bulgaria, during the first phase of anti-austerity protests, the main class conflicts were related to the privatisation of the former publicly-owned factory, Kremikovtzi, with several demonstrations being organised in the spring of 2009 by the main trade union confederations, CITUB and CL Podkrepa. In the same year, two mass demonstrations in the centre of Sofia mobilised thousands of workers in support of the demand for increased salaries, improved socio-economic conditions and justice. Both these demonstrations were organised by two main unions consisting of socio-cultural specialists and production workers, and included both public and private sector workers. During the last months of 2010, workers in higher education and science, as well as in healthcare, organised several protest events around improved working conditions and increased budget funding. In the next year, farmers and agricultural producers mobilised blockades against budget cuts in the agricultural sector. In the same year, CITUB and CL Podkrepa mobilised what is currently the last mass labour protest in Bulgaria, with more than 40,000 demonstrators in Sofia. The main cause of the protest was the proposed raise in the retirement age and in general against the economic reforms of the Borisov government. That is, during this first period, the government faced numerous strong challenges from different class actors, including production workers, service sector workers, socio-cultural professionals and farmers.

In the cycle of mass protests taking place during 2012-2013 around socio-economic conditions and the corruption of governments, labour protests and class-based protests were insignificant and small. Most of these protest events were co-ordinated through Facebook and horizontal-based networks and involved informal organisa-

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

tions. In this period, three different waves of protest emerged. The first questioned economic injustice and poverty, and demanded changes to the constitution and a radical change in the system. The second started in the summer and demanded the resignation of the socialist-led government. The last wave was organised in the form of student occupations and demanded new elections.

Contrary to Slovenia's case, the labour unions in Bulgaria were not involved actively in these mass demonstrations and, to some extent, this explains the decline in class-based protest during that time. One important example of a class-based protest demonstration that did take place in 2013 is the CITUB protest on 20 November 2013 when a worker protest faced student demonstrations against the Oresharski government on the same day and at the same place. While the workers' protest aimed at defending workers' rights and mobilised around eight thousand people in front of parliament, the student-led demonstrations focused on political demands for the resignation of the current government.

During the next phase of protest events in the aftermath of these mass waves, most of class-based protest struggles were related to unpaid salaries (police officers, firefighters, prison guards), decreases in pay and the raising of the age of retirement. In fact, this third phase was shaped mainly by regular and small class-based protest events, although this trend developed on account of the declining contentiousness of other actors rather than an increase in class protests.

In sum, while a comparison of the number of protest events depicts a lower share of anti-system protests compared to ones that are issue-driven, a detailed picture of the number of the participants involved in major anti-system conflicts shows quite a different perspective.

The most contentious class-based events in the period between 2009 and 2012 saw workers in the public and the private sectors mobilised into strike actions and demonstrations in favour of improving social and economic conditions and challenging austerity measures. In this time, class-based protests and labour unrest were the main forces pushing against neoliberal government policies. Similarly, in both countries during this period, class-based events mobilised sizable levels of participation promoting workers' interests and rights.

During the next phase, Slovenia differed from Bulgaria as its labour unions were an important actor within the broad and mass movement against the neo-liberal reforms of the SDS right-wing government, while in Bulgaria class-based protest was not incorporated in the general discontent of 2013.

In the aftermath of these waves of mass protest, the two countries have returned to a similar trend of declines in participation in protests and, in particular, class-based mobilisations. Despite the rising trend in class-based events after these mass waves, i.e. as a percentage of all protest events, most collective actions have remained small and episodic. Nonetheless, most protests in this period employed non-systemic claims connected with reduced salaries, unpaid wages and dismissals.

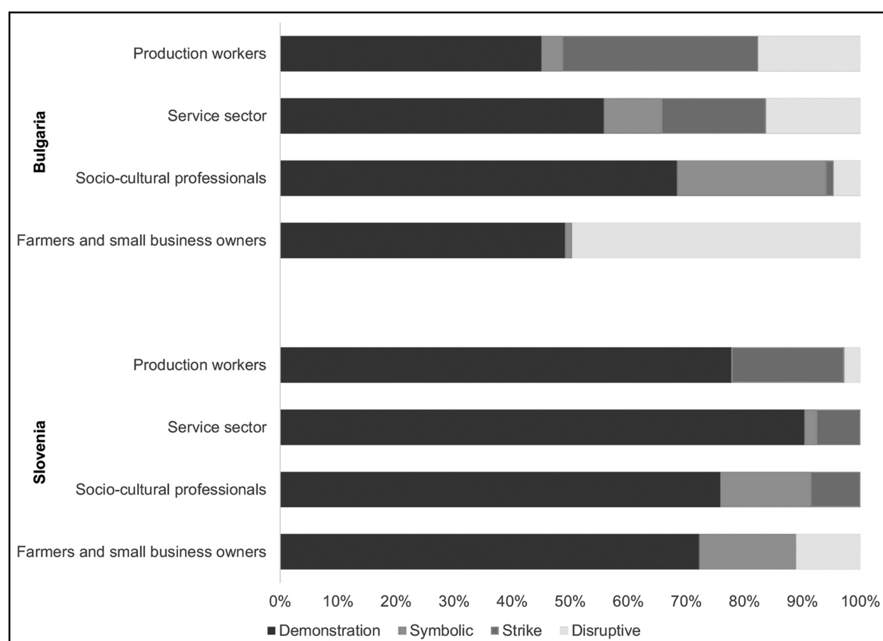
https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte
Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

Classes and repertoires of contention

Contention can of course be expressed in different ways. Analysing measures of class in the arena of protests might therefore help in understanding whether different classes apply different repertoires.

The data depicts a similar trend across both countries since the most popular element in the protest repertoire across all classes is attending demonstrations, public gatherings or rallies of some kind. There are, however, substantial differences concerning other types of collective action. As we can see from Figure 4, farmers and small-business owners demonstrate their grievances in the most disruptive way; especially in Bulgaria this is quite significant as nearly one-half of the protest events in this class category are disruptive. This type of repertoire includes the blocking of main roads, border checkpoints and crossroads, and sit-ins and occupations. In contrast, socio-cultural specialists usually attend demonstrations or participate in more symbolic actions such as signing petitions, writing letters, engaging with boycotts and wearing badges. When it comes to service sector workers and production workers, they are both active in terms of rallies as well as in organising strikes.

Figure 4 – Repertoires of contention by social class in Bulgaria and Slovenia, 2009-2017



Source: Author's dataset based on news retrieved from Bulgarian Press Agency (Bulgarska Telegrafna Agentsia – BTA) and Slovenian Press Agency (Slovenska Tiskovna Agencija – STA)

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

In terms of cross-country differences, disruptive repertoires are more regular across every social class in Bulgaria than they are in Slovenia. This might well be explained by the national tradition of repertoires of contention which have operated in Bulgaria since 1990, especially during the economic crisis of 1996/1997, when demonstrators organised blockades of major road links.

Discussion

Our analysis here had a two-fold aim: to challenge the absence of class-based and trade union protests in the recent decade; and to consider a new technique for measuring the activities of social classes in contentious politics.

So far, our exploration of the protest arena in Bulgaria and Slovenia since 2009 reveals that class-based protest has played an important role in protest mobilisations. Despite most such protests sharing concerns with economic reforms and making economic demands, they are differences in how these protests are framed. Although most contentious protests were rooted in specific issues of unpaid salaries and dismissals, the data captures some important anti-system contentions against austerity measures and privatisation.

Ultimately, while the strike is the traditional working class way of expressing contention, our analysis depicts that class-based protests have also mounted grievances in the form of demonstrations, symbolic actions and disruptive measures such as blockades of main roads and border points. In this sense, protest event analysis allows us to identify that class, as a concept for studying social unrest and mobilisations, can help us in understanding particular dynamics within the protest arena. However, problems did emerge during the analysis in the context of measuring the concepts of class: the more complex concept proposed by Daniel Oesch scarcely fits a PEA approach since news reports on protests tend not to tell us much about the characteristics of participants in particular actions.

Consequently, in contrast to individual-level data, social class might be better observed through PEA via minimalist conceptions of workers and independents; and then to construct detailed analysis around the range of sites and sectors, chiefly, for our purposes here: the socio-cultural sector; the service sector; and the production sector. These typologies might help in developing an appreciation of where contentions arise during particular periods, how people across different classes and sectors participate in protests and under what causes and for what demands.

In further research, this proposed technique for measuring social class might be useful in exploring other case studies and explaining the varieties of political-economic opportunity structures, varieties of capitalism and social structures through cross-case comparisons and historical-comparative research. Since PEA is only one way of studying protest politics, gaining a more in-depth perspective from triangulation with interviews on the question of class mobilisation and class(less) consciousness can further help in broadening our understanding of the dynamics of class in the protest arena.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte
Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

References

Accornero, Guya and Pedro Ramos Pinto (2015) '"Mild Mannered"? Protest and Mobilisation in Portugal under Austerity, 2010–2013' *West European Politics* 38(3): 491-515.

Barker, C, L. Cox, J. Krinsky and A. G. Nilsen (2013) *Marxism and Social Movements* Brill.

Beissinger, Mark R and Gwendolyn Sasse (2013) 'An End to "Patience"?' in Larry Bartels and Nancy Bermeo (Eds.) *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession* Oxford University Press: pp. 334-70.

Burawoy, Michael (2015) 'Facing an Unequal World' *Current Sociology* 63(1): 5-34.

Carrier, James G (2015) 'The concept of class' in Don Kalb and James G. Carrier (Eds.) *Anthropologies of Class Power, Practice and Inequality* Cambridge University Press: pp. 28-40.

Císař, Ondřej and Jiří Navrátil (2017) 'Polanyi, Political-Economic Opportunity Structure and Protest: Capitalism and Contention in the Post-Communist Czech Republic' *Social Movement Studies* 16(1): 82-100.

Della Porta, D, M. Andretta, T. Fernandes, F. O'Connor, E. Romanos and M. Vogiatzoglou (2017) *Late Neoliberalism and Its Discontents in the Economic Crisis: Comparing Social Movements in the European Periphery* Palgrave Macmillan.

Della Porta, Donatella (2015) *Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back Into Protest Analysis* Cambridge: Polity.

Della Porta, Donatella (2017) 'Political Economy and Social Movement Studies: The Class Basis of Anti-Austerity Protests' *Anthropological Theory* 17(4): 453-473.

Della Porta, Donatella and Sidney Tarrow (1986) 'Unwanted Children: Political Violence and the Cycle of Protest in Italy, 1966–1973' *European Journal of Political Research* 14(5-6): 607-632.

Eggert, Nina and Marco Giugni (2015) 'Does the Class Cleavage Still Matter? The Social Composition of Participants in Demonstrations Addressing Redistributive and Cultural Issues in Three Countries' *International Sociology* 30(1): 21-38.

Eidlin, Barry and Jasmine Kerrissey (2018) 'Social Class and Social Movements' in David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi and Holly J. McCammon (Eds.) *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* Wiley Blackwell, pp. 515-536.

Hetland, Gabriel and Jeffrey Goodwin (2013) 'The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies' in Colin Barker *et al*. (Eds.) *Marxism and Social Movements* pp. 82-102.

Hutter, Swen (2014a) 'Protest Event Analysis and Its Offspring' in Della Porta *et al*. (Eds.) *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research* Oxford University Press, pp. 335-367.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

Hutter, Swen (2014b) *Protesting Culture and Economics in Western Europe* London: University of Minnesota Press.

Hylmö, Anders and Magnus Wennerhag (2012) 'Does Class Matter in Protests? Social Class, Attitudes towards Inequality, and Political Trust in European Demonstrations in a Time of Economic Crisis', SISP Conference: Rome.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1994) *The Transformation of European Social Democracy* Cambridge University Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1986) 'Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies' *British Journal of Political Science* 16 (1): 57-85.

Koopmans, R and D. Rucht (2002) 'Protest Event Analysis' in B. Klandermans and S. Staggenborg (Eds.) *Methods of Social Movement Research* University of Minnesota Press, pp. 231-259.

Kriesi, H, E. Grande, M. Dolezal, M. Helbing, S. Hutter and B. Wüest (2012) *Political Conflict in Western Europe* Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, H, R. Koopmans, J. W. Duyvendak and M. Giugni (1995) *New Social Movements In Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* London: UCL Press.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (1967) [1848] *The communist manifesto* (trans. Samuel Moore) London: Penguin.

McAdam, Doug (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970* Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press.

McCarthy, John D and Mayer N. Zald (1977) 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory' *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241.

Norris, Pippa (2002) *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oesch, Daniel (2008) 'The Changing Shape of Class Voting' *European Societies* 10(3): 329-355.

Oesch, Daniel (2012) 'The Class Basis of the Cleavage between the New Left and the Radical Right: An Analysis for Austria, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland' in Jens Rydgren (Ed.) *Class Politics and the Radical Right* London & New York: Routledge, pp. 31-51.

Polanyi, Karl (1957) [1944] *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* London: Beacon Press.

Silver, Beverly J and Sahan Savas Karatasli (2015) 'Historical Dynamics of Capitalism and Labor Movements' in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Štiks, Igor (2015) '"New Left" in the Post-Yugoslav Space: Issues, Sites, and Forms' *Socialism and Democracy* 29(3): 135-146.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

Stoyanova, Veronika (2018) 'Civil Society and Party Politics in Bulgaria after 2013: A Gramscian Look' *Political Studies Review* 16(2): 136-147.

Tarrow, Sidney (2012) *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Therborn, Göran (2013) *The Killing Fields of Inequality* Cambridge: Polity.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.

https://doi.org/10.5771/1435-2869-2020-2-245 - Generiert durch IP 216.73.217.73, am 15.06.2026, 00:17:17. © Urheberrechtlich geschützter Inhalt. Ohne gesonderte
Erlaubnis ist jede urheberrechtliche Nutzung untersagt, insbesondere die Nutzung des Inhalts im Zusammenhang mit, für oder in KI-Systemen, KI-Modellen oder Generativen Sprachmodellen.