

MOBILIZING SUPPORTERS TO SIT-IN: HIGH-COST AND HIGH-RISK ACTIVISM  
IN THE STUDENT ANTI-SWEATSHOP MOVEMENT

A Thesis

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by

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## INTRODUCTION

Participation in social movements is the exception. This is true even for students, although they are more likely to participate than the general population. A recent study by the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute showed that the national incoming class of 2004 had the highest rate of protest experience (46%) since the survey started in 1966 (UCLA, 2000; ctd. in Cowen, 2001). However, by itself this figure is of questionable sociological value because it defines protest activity so broadly. As an alternate method, McAdam (1986) recommends that researchers distinguish between types of protest activity and focus on higher risk/cost movements, such as those recently mobilized in Seattle, DC, Philadelphia, Quebec, Windsor, Melbourne, Prague, Genoa, and other cities. What motivates a small minority to move from protesting to participating in high-risk and/or high-cost actions? I will address this question by analyzing student participation in anti-sweatshop sit-ins at eight universities between January 1999 and April 2000.

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The question of activist recruitment is not a new area in social movements. However, in the past fifteen years McAdam (1986) has initiated a more specific analysis of recruitment by differentiating levels of risk and cost. Because socialization produces ideology, which in turn can lead to participation, his model begins with the traditional social psychological approach. Nevertheless, he finds that structural factors are far more central to social movement recruitment.

My study of student participation in anti-sweatshop sit-ins shall use McAdam's (1986) approach to generate a set of hypotheses addressing the impact of an individual's socialization, history of activism, ideological commitment, network ties, and biographical availability on participation. In addition, I will examine the role of individual expectations and evaluations of protest activity, and address how social psychology and rational choice theories work together to shape individual decision-making.

### *McAdam's Model*

Following the development of a new structural approach to mobilization (see David, Zurcher, and Olson, 1980), McAdam (1986) challenges social movement researchers to increase the precision of their subject. He argues that the concept of "activist" is both imprecise and too broad. Instead, he maintains that participation should be broken down into components of cost and risk, and analyzed as individual acts. He

defines cost as “expenditures of time, money, and energy that are required of a person engaged in any particular form of activism” (p. 67). By contrast, risk consists of “anticipated dangers – whether legal, social, physical, financial, and so forth – of engaging in a particular type of activity” (p. 67). An alternate definition for risk is a future cost that is not under control of the participant (Wiltfang and McAdam, 1991).

McAdam (1986) starts by examining participation in high-risk/cost forms of activism, because he feels this level of involvement has been the most neglected. He creates a model of recruitment that outlines several steps that can move an individual to engage in intense action. At first, “family socialization” and “other socialization influences” can create “receptive political attitudes” (p. 69). By themselves, these attitudes are insufficient to predict activism; however, when combined with “contact with other activist(s)” then they can lead to “initial low risk/cost activism” (p. 69). This initial activism is also insufficient to predict involvement in intense action. At this point McAdam introduces a concept called “biographical availability.” He defines this as “the absence of personal constraints that might increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities” (p. 70). If initial activism is combined with biographical availability then it can lead to a cycle of socialization into activist networks, ideological radicalization, and increased participation in high-risk/cost activism.

McAdam (1986) tests this model by using data from the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer program. He compares applications from volunteers who were accepted by the program but later dropped-out, to those of participants. Volunteers knew their participation involved taking risks, because Mississippi was a bastion of segregation

and violence. The high-cost of participation came from the lack of a stipend and the loss of six weeks of potential summer job income or vacation time.

McAdam's (1986) theory received mixed support in the study. Overall, his findings reinforced the tenets of structural theory. Strong ties to participants or known activists had the strongest effect on participation. In addition, the individual's number of organizational affiliations had a significant positive effect, and strong ties to withdrawals had the expected negative impact. In other respects, the findings failed to support his theory. For instance, the level of prior activism was only marginally significant (0.10 level). With respect to biographical availability, personal constraints such as full-time employment and marital status were not significant, and older people (23 and older) were more likely to go. He explained this last contradictory result by pointing out that younger students needed parental approval.

#### *Extensions of McAdam (1986)*

Two important papers extended McAdam's (1986) model. First, in contrast to McAdam's combination of risk and cost, Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) distinguished between the two and tried to separate subjective risk from objective risk. They classified sanctuary movement activities such that those that directly involved refugees were objectively high-risk. For the subjective measure, they asked respondents if their activities had made them risk arrest. They operationalized cost as the number of hours of sanctuary activism an individual did per week. Not surprisingly, both of their forms of risk were highly correlated ( $r=0.72$ ), making it difficult to discern their respective causes.



By contrast, risk and cost were only moderately correlated ( $r=0.30$ ) making analysis more straightforward.

Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) hypothesize that high-cost activism is a product of biographical availability, whereas high-risk activism is caused by socialization into activism. This distinction exists for age, religious attendance and other activism. By contrast, the result for the “children at home” variable contradicts their theory.

In a second extension of McAdam (1986), McVeigh and Smith (1999) move toward a continuum approach to risk. They examine involvement at three levels of risk, including no activity, institutional activism, and protest participation. These three categories represent levels of no, low, and medium risk. Their results show that similar factors contribute to institutional activism and protest activity. However, this lack of difference may be due to the lack of high risk activities in their study.

Based on McAdam’s (1986) model and its extensions, I propose eight sets of hypotheses about recruitment to high risk/cost activism. In past literature, much research does not separate protest activity by levels of risk or cost. Therefore, one important contribution of this study is to examine how these general recruitment factors propel high risk/cost activism.

### *1. Socialization and Social-Psychological Theories*

While social psychological explanations of participation in social movements were more common thirty years ago, some researchers still use them today. In fact, socialization is the first step in McAdam’s model because it can produce political views that make people available for movement recruitment. In general, the social

psychological approach tries to distinguish who is more likely to protest by creating a profile of the typical activist. It examines factors such as child-raising techniques, student values, student-parent conflict, parental political views, parental political activity, and general demographic factors like religion.

Several sociologists believed that the widespread use of liberal child-raising techniques, as popularized by child expert Dr. Spock, was responsible for the Sixties student population's greater willingness to rebel (Flacks, 1967; Block et al., 1969; Thomas, 1971; Block, 1972). One could also measure parental impact by examining student values, which would be partially a product of parental socialization. Doing this showed that student activists had stronger humanitarian values (Flacks, 1967; Lewis and Kraut, 1972). A popular alternate theory to socialization was that student conflict with parents produced activism (Feuer, 1969; Lewis and Kraut, 1972; Wood and Ng, 1980). However, the evidence was unclear whether this conflict was caused by activism or was its result.

Parents used religion to socialize students to share their values. Several researchers found that Sixties student activists were more likely to be Jewish (Flacks, 1967; Thomas, 1971; Sherkart and Blocker, 1994).

Student political views relate to those of their parents, but the connection between parent political views and student activism is unclear. Several researchers find that this connection is significant (Flacks, 1967; Thomas, 1971; and Park, 1993), but others disagree (Lewis and Kraut, 1972). Wood and Ng (1980) show that a relationship exists for the father but not the mother. Finally, Elliott and Freeman (2001) hint at the declining

importance of parental political views with their finding that parents of student anti-sweatshop activists hold moderate views.

While the relationship between parental political views and student activism is imperfect, one would expect that the connection between parental and student activism would be stronger because they are both action-based factors. Past research has shown a link between parental political activity and student activism (Lewis and Kraut, 1972; Sherkart and Blocker, 1994). However, whether this relationship holds for parental activism is more critical. Thus the work by Duncan and Stewart (1995) on how parental activism for/against the Vietnam War encouraged parallel student activism for/against the Persian Gulf War is more relevant. Likewise, Elliott and Freeman (2001) found that the parents of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) activists had high levels of activism.

In conclusion, parental socialization may be less important than that done through network ties to peers and mentors (Park, 1993), and its effect has likely decreased over the past thirty years. For my study, I expect that parental political views and activism will be correlated with those of their children. My measures include parental political views, parental general protest activity, parental labor protest activity, and joint student-parent participation in protest. Regarding religion, I expect that Jewish students are more likely to participate. In addition, the model controls for the parents' education, though I expect it not to be significant (although Sherkat and Blocker [1994] found that education was significant and positive).

## *2. Ideological Commitment*

Ideological commitment is McAdam's (1986) second cause of high-risk/cost participation. Klandermans and Oegma (1987) were critical of the importance of ideological commitment, finding that it only limits who can be recruited. McAdam shares this view. In Klandermans and Oegma's study, 76% of their sample agreed with the Dutch peace movement's goal, but only 4% participated in the national demonstration against missile deployment. The movement lost possible participants by failing to do outreach to supporters, failing to get supporters to agree to attend, and finally due to supporters breaking their commitment to attend. In these three processes, the movement lost support due to a lack of ties, not due to a lack of ideological commitment. Because McAdam's study was limited to people who supported the project he had a difficult time observing the role of commitment. Yet, he did note that participants showed a stronger commitment by writing longer responses to the application's questions.

Several of the older studies in this area are not so useful as they failed to distinguish between student ideology and activism (e.g. Block, 1972), and assumed that liberal or radical students were also activists. Lewis and Kraut's (1972) work is an exception, though their two measures of student ideology did not correlate with student activism. More recently, Wood and Ng (1980) used a path model to observe that parental views affected the child's political views, which in turn affected the child's activism.

While one could define ideological commitment as general political views or issue-specific views, researchers have primarily used the former. For instance, Hirsch (1990) found that liberal political views were related to participation in the Columbia divestment blockade. Likewise, Ross (2000) found that many USAS activists reacted

positively to socialism. Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) had no measure for political ideology, but since the sanctuary movement was using a religious frame, they used religious ideology instead. They found that religious socialization produced high-risk activism, but not high-cost activism. In summary, I expect that ideology will play a limited role in predicting participation. Since McAdam (1986) does not specify whether to use political views or issue-specific ones, I hypothesize that students with liberal/leftist political views and those who are concerned about sweatshop workers will be more likely to participate.

### *3. History of Activism*

At first, it might seem obvious, as McAdam (1986) argues, that a history of activism would lead to further similar activity. However, there are several difficulties with establishing this connection. By increasing and strengthening ties and commitment, a history of activism should socialize a person into an increased level of participation. For McAdam's Freedom Summer data, the evidence is unclear whether a history as a civil rights activist encourages participation. In his 1986 paper, having an activist history is only marginally significant. Seven years later, McAdam and Paulsen (1993) find that it is only significant before they include the "recruitment context." Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) argue that an activist history matters for risk, but not for cost. In addition, activism history is sometimes insignificant. For instance, Hirsch (1990) finds that previous involvement in the divestment movement is not significant for predicting participation in the movement's high-risk/cost blockade.

Thus, there are potential problems with using this concept. Measuring the relationship is difficult because one must differentiate between a history of activism and activist ties. Controlling for organizational ties may cause history or ties to drop out of the model. Another complication is whether to examine past involvement in the movement under study or to use a general measure of past activity. In addition, some parts of an individual's activist history could encourage behavior at certain levels of cost or risk, whereas other parts might discourage it. For instance, involvement in Earth First! would encourage high-risk activism, while a membership in the Sierra Club might not. Low-cost activism might lead to high-cost activism, and low-risk may lead to high-risk, but not vice-versa. Another possibility is that a person could be caught in a low-cost or risk "trap" where low-cost (or risk) activism would only lead to further low-cost (or risk) activism. Despite these limitations, I expect that a history of activism should still have a positive effect on high-risk/cost participation due to socialization. I will look at participation in general protest, civil disobedience, and sit-ins. In addition, I will test for activist identity and years of activist experience. All these variables should promote participation.

#### *4. Biographical Availability*

McAdam (1986) developed a third set of hypotheses for predicting high-risk/cost activism based on a concept called "biographical availability." He may have adapted this concept from work by Snow, Zurcher, and Olson (1980) who demonstrated the importance of structural availability, which they measured as free time and a lack of

conflicting ties. Unfortunately, most variables that operationalize these two factors combine and confuse them.

Younger people are more likely to be employed part-time or unemployed, be unmarried, have no children, own little property, be of low social status, and to experience unsettling transitions. Thus, they should be more likely to participate in high-risk or cost activism because they have more free time and less to lose. Doherty (1999) confirms McAdam's theory on age for a group of radical English anti-roads activists, and Rutten (2000) does so for a group of Philippine guerillas. Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) note that young people are more likely to participate in high-cost activities, but not high-risk. The age effect that Kitts (1999) finds is only marginally significant, which can be explained by his small sample size of twenty-three people. In contrast to these instances of evidence in McAdam's favor, Friedmann et al. (1998) find that age is not significant. In addition, McAdam (1986) and Nepstad and Smith (1999) contradict the theory by finding that older people are more likely to participate. I expect that in my sample's age range (18-51), age will be a negative factor.

McAdam expected that full-time employment would reduce the individual's availability to be an activist, because it would limit their free time and they would not want to risk losing their job. Wall (1997; ctd. in Doherty, 1999) found support for this in a study of radical environmentalists of whom fourteen were unemployed, nine were students, three were self-employed, and only two were employed full-time. However, others have found opposing results. For instance, Nepstad and Smith (1999) found that people with jobs were more likely to go on a work brigade to Nicaragua. In addition, Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) observed that employment status was not significant for

high-cost activism. By occupation, the groups in their study that were most likely to do high-cost activism were activists, professors, clergy, and clerical workers – either groups that could integrate their activism with their work or people without jobs.

Instead of employment, I will examine time use in general. I expect that people with free time and a flexible schedule will be more likely to participate in cost activism. However, these effects should be reduced because people are unlikely to remember how they spent their time up to one year after their sit-in. For time variables, I will attempt to measure the time spent in leisure, work, class, studies, and extracurricular activities. In addition, I will control for graduate student status. Whether graduate students are more likely to participate, depends on whether their freedom from courses and supervision outweighs their newfound responsibilities as academics-in-training.

A married person has more relational ties, including ties to their spouse, the spouse's family and other acquaintances, and their children. These ties may increase the costs and risks of participation. Two studies of Philippine guerilla movements (Goodwin, 1997; Rutten, 2000) show that movement recruits were more likely to be unmarried, and that their commitment fell if they married. By contrast, three other studies of activists found that marriage was not a factor (Friedmann et al., 1988; Kitts, 1999; Wiltfang and McAdam, 1991). I expect that too few students are married for it to be significant.

Marriage often produces children that should discourage participation in high-risk or cost activism more than marriage alone. However, the evidence is mixed. On the one hand, Walls (1999) finds that nobody in his group of twenty-eight radical environmentalists had dependents. On the other hand, Friedmann et al. (1988) and Kitts (1999) observe that having children is not a factor. Finally, for Wiltfang and McAdam



(1991) having children at home was actually positively correlated to involvement in high-risk activism. They explain this contradictory result was due to older children taking care of themselves and the activists' innovative use of informal child-care. I do not test for children due to the age-range of my sample.

Students with a high family income can afford to volunteer their time and will have a financial safety net if they get in trouble. Income is correlated with employment, which might normally be a conflicting tie, but not for students, because the conflict will only affect their parents. Flacks' (1967) study of University of Chicago student involvement in a 1966 sit-in showed that income was very significant. In his sample, only two out of twenty-three students with family incomes under \$15,000 sat in, while half the twenty-four students with family incomes over \$15,000 participated. Thirty years later, in a summer 1999 survey of ninety-four USAS leaders Elliott and Freeman (2001) found their families were significantly richer than those of the average student. Results for income may differ between students and adults, because students are in transition between their parent's social class and the class that they will join after graduation, and due to the age-specific correlation of family income with employment. This could explain why Nepstad and Smith (1999) found that income was not a factor for the adults who applied for the Nicaraguan delegations. I hypothesize that students with high family incomes will be more likely to participate in cost activism.

Grade Point Average (GPA) measures availability to the extent that students with higher GPAs spend more time studying or are more reluctant to risk hurting their GPA (or even their entire academic career) by engaging in risky or costly activism. While Flacks (1967) found that activists had higher GPAs, he attributes this to the first wave of

Sixties student activists being very privileged. Similarly, Sherkat and Blocker (1994) show that high school GPA was positively correlated with Sixties activism, though activists might not have maintained their GPA once in college. This relationship may have shifted as the student movement broadened during the Sixties. Several years later Langman et al. (1973) found that GPA was negatively correlated with participation in a 1970 student strike at the Loyola University of Chicago. I expect that GPA will be negatively correlated with participation, because involvement conflicts with studying.

Overall, there are noticeable limits to the applicability of the theory of biographical availability. For instance, the relationship between age and participation might not be linear, because both the very young and very old would be less likely to participate. In some circumstances, people can overcome biographical unavailability, while in others its effect is too weak to monitor. Several measures of biographical availability – including marriage, children, and employment – also relate to the individual's number of social ties. These ties could be used to create a support network to assist their participation and to overcome the effects of their otherwise limited biographical availability.

##### *5. Social Networks*

McAdam (1986) found that social networks were the most important factor in predicting high-risk/cost activism. This is not surprising, as many other researchers have discovered similar results as they have moved away from collective behavior and social-psychological models. Instead, they introduced resource mobilization theory, by asserting

that actors are rational and that movement success depends on the ability of entrepreneurs to mobilize resources as well as the configuration of the opportunity structure.

Thirty years ago Eschen, Kirk, and Pinard (1971) challenged mass society theory (which argued that movements were a product of alienation), with their finding that membership in some organizations increases protest participation. Researchers made similar findings in studies of religious recruitment. For instance, Stark and Bainbridge (1980) examined Mormon recruiting and observed that personal ties were of primary importance for recruitment, whereas ideology was secondary. It is likely that similar variables would also be valid for political recruitment. This expectation is justified by the findings of a survey of recruitment studies by Snow, Zurcher, and Olson (1980) that shows networks are the most important factor for both religious and political recruitment. Ties are essential because they make people accessible to recruitment attempts and increase the probability that those attempts will succeed.

For participation in student activism, two studies demonstrate how organizational ties can be important. First, Park (1993) noted that membership in student groups (not necessarily political ones) was correlated with Korean student activism. Second, Paulsen (1994) found that having ties to student service groups had a positive impact upon activism, while the impact of ties to occupational groups was negative.

Several quantitative studies that look specifically at high-cost and/or risk activism show how ties are critical in shaping non-student recruitment. First, Friedmann et al. (1988) looked at high-cost activism by studying leadership positions in voluntary organizations in both Israel and the United States. They learned that network ties to extra-movement groups were important as leaders belonged to more voluntary associations.

In a second example, Kitts (1999) looks at the cost dimension of participation in the environmental movement. He compares twelve “high-level” participants to eleven “low-level” participants and discovers that the number of other group memberships is the largest factor in predicting their level of involvement in the studied group.

For a third example, in their study of participation in Nicaraguan solidarity brigades, Nepstad and Smith (1999) found mixed results regarding social networks, as organizational ties were not important but relational ones were. The reason organizational ties were not a factor might be because their measure combined political and social group memberships.

In addition to these quantitative studies, a qualitative one (Irons, 1998) also demonstrates the importance of social ties in high-risk activism. Irons interviewed thirteen black and white women involved in the civil rights movement and defined three levels of participation: “(1) high-risk activism, (2) low-risk institutional activism, and (3) activist mothering and ‘women’s work’” (p. 696). She argues that the black women’s high-risk involvement was a joint product of their network ties to high-risk-taking groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and their relative deprivation.

In an exception to the abundance of studies emphasizing the importance of social ties, Hirsch (1990) shows that “membership in campus political action organization” and past involvement in the same movement do not matter. The first probably suffers from a lack of specificity (as it could be any activist or political group) and the second could be because only sixteen people in his sample had prior movement involvement. However, Hirsch’s findings aside, in general these results strongly reinforce structural theory and the necessity of including network ties when modeling high-risk and high-cost activism.

For my findings, I will separate weak and strong ties – though I expect both to increase participation in cost and risk. Weak ties are to people and networks off-campus that are part of the anti-sweatshop movement. They include knowing or reading about the movement on other campuses, contacting someone on another campus, knowing people at other campuses who were involved, knowing people at other campuses who had participated in a sit-in, participation in the USAS listserv, participation in USAS conference calls, participation in the two national USAS conferences, participation in a delegation to visit sweatshops in a Third World country, or knowing someone who went on a delegation.

I define strong ties as connections to people and groups on campus because these ties are likely deeper and more frequent. Several ties are directly related to the local anti-sweatshop group, including attendance at group meetings, attendance at events, hours of involvement with the group each week, number of acquaintances in the group, leader status, years of involvement, and number of hours spent planning the sit-in. In addition, ties to people who sat in and activist group memberships should increase participation. The only tie that I do not predict to have a positive effect is hours of involvement with other campus activist groups. It may be a positive factor in the case of successful block recruitment, or a negative one if that involvement conflicts by reducing the person's availability.

#### *6. The Role of Expectations and Evaluations*

People who are considering participating in a protest event hold expectations or evaluations about the event itself, previous similar events, the campaign for which the

event is organized, and the general effectiveness of protest. They do this because they are semi-rational actors who do not make decisions out of pure emotion. These perceptions are constructed through a process of social negotiation. An individual's initial perceptions are based on their values, which are themselves a product of socialization and the real-life circumstances in which the protest and campaign are situated. As the individual interacts with other people, especially members of the protest-organizing group, he or she will construct a new synthesis of expectations and evaluations based on this additional input.

At the point where the individual decides whether to participate in the protest event, his or her expectations and evaluations are relatively fixed. Then the person decides by weighing the costs and benefits of participation as well as they can, given a limited knowledge of the present and imperfect ability to predict the future. At this point individuals are semi-rational social actors. This assumption is similar to that made by Olson (1965) and others (see Oliver [1993] for a survey of the field) who have developed a more purely rational choice theory for predicting collective behavior than the one used here. In summary, the role of individual expectations and evaluations in shaping participation is a joint product of social psychology and rational choice theories.

Friedmann et al. (1988) and Paulsen (1994) found that political efficacy is significant for predicting activist leadership and movement involvement respectively. While one might expect that optimism would increase participation, Oliver (1984) shows that the opposite is also possible.

I hypothesize that students are more likely to participate if they expect an event to be effective, and if they expect its levels of risk and cost to be minimal. In addition, positive perceptions of the effectiveness of sit-ins at other schools, the local and national

anti-sweatshop campaigns, and activism in general will promote participation.

Unfortunately, these expectations and evaluations are all subject to bias, as they were measured after the event.

### *7. Momentum and High-Risk Participation*

Knowing how participation in the action changes over time is important for analyzing the action's success. At different points in time, a high-risk/cost action will grow or decline. I cannot test this relationship for the dependent variable that measures cost, because it already incorporates the sit-in length in its measure. However, for the risk dependent variable I can check for a significant coefficient in a regression on the square of the sit-in's length. I expect it to be negative, representing saturation in the movement's recruitment. The movement must eventually saturate because it cannot obtain more than a one hundred percent rate of participation, and it should do so during the length of a ten-day sit-in. By contrast, a positive coefficient is unlikely because that would indicate that the sit-ins were gaining momentum.

### *8. Differentiating Participation by Sit-In Length*

If something happens during a high-risk/cost action that would recruit different people from the original participants, then there will be significant interaction effects between the sit-in length and other variables. Even without major developments due to the action, newer recruits are still more likely to come from the margins of the movement, as Guthrie (1995) demonstrated by finding that late recruits lacked network

ties. Therefore, I expect that participants in longer sit-ins will have lower network ties and less of an activist history.

*Conclusion*

As students and youth are at the forefront of many of the current high-risk/cost social movements in the U.S. (from protesting the World Trade Organization in Seattle to the Earth Liberation Front), I believe researchers should pay special attention to this age group. I will investigate why, despite their theoretical biographical availability, only a small minority of students participates in high-risk/cost activism.

I shall differentiate between participants and nonparticipants, and between risk and cost. My model will draw upon social psychological, structural, and rational choice theories. It includes measures for socialization, ideological commitment, history of activism, relational and organizational ties, biographical availability, expectations, evaluations, and momentum (see Figure 1).

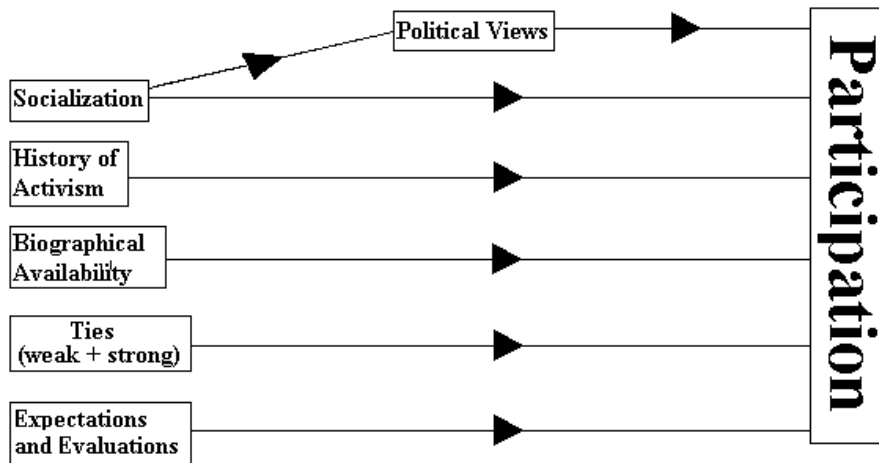


FIGURE 1  
THEORETICAL MODEL



## METHODOLOGY

My approach was primarily quantitative, but over two years of personal involvement and study of the student anti-sweatshop movement reinforce my statistical analysis. I have read over four thousand emails, attended three USAS conferences, and have helped lead Notre Dame's anti-sweatshop campaign. I am also partially familiar with the sit-in tactic, having organized a sit-in that lasted for several hours as part of another student movement. My participation facilitated access to information and gave me an understanding of the motivations and actions of the participants. I used a quantitative approach so that I could test previous research in this area. However, qualitative work would add to any future study.

### *Event Selection*

For the sample frame, I selected all the schools in the geographical constituency of USAS (the United States and Canada) that had anti-sweatshop sit-ins between January 1999 and April 2000 (see Table 1). By using these criteria, I excluded student-labor sit-ins. My list of sit-ins comes from the national USAS listserv and it should be comprehensive. I define "anti-sweatshop" sit-ins as events that explicitly demanded that a university 1) adopt a code of conduct for production of licensed apparel, 2) improve an existing code of conduct, 3) join the WRC<sup>1</sup> (Worker Rights Consortium), or 4) commit to

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<sup>1</sup> Anti-sweatshop monitoring organization focussing on university apparel that was created by activists in the fall of 1999.

not join or leave the FLA<sup>2</sup> (Fair Labor Association). I define “student-labor” sit-ins as events where students supported campus workers in their attempts to unionize and/or improve wages and conditions. When I first started my project, there had been only one student-labor sit-in, so I focussed on anti-sweatshop sit-ins to maximize the homogeneity of the cases. During my study, there were several additional student-labor sit-ins. They were similar to anti-sweatshop ones and if I had more time I would have included them.

TABLE 1  
ANTI-SWEATSHOP AND STUDENT-LABOR SIT-INS FROM JANUARY 1999 TO  
APRIL 2000

Spring 1999		Spring 2000		
<u>Anti-Sweatshop</u>	<u>Student Labor</u>	<u>Anti-Sweatshop</u>	<u>Student-Labor</u>	<u>Multiple Goals</u>
Arizona*	Fairfield	Iowa*	Johns	SUNY Albany
Duke*		Kentucky*	Hopkins	
Georgetown		Macalester	Ohio State	
Michigan*		Michigan	Pitzer	
UNC*		Oregon	Pomona	
Wisconsin		Pennsylvania*	Wesleyan	
		Toronto		
		Tulane*		
		Wisconsin		

\* = Included in my sample

I was fortunate to catch a wave of student anti-sweatshop (and student-labor) sit-ins in the springs of 1999 and 2000. I am unaware of any such sit-ins happening in 1998 or the fall of 1999, and during the 2000/2001 school year there were only three. In my selection of events, I excluded the second sit-in from schools that had two (e.g. Wisconsin and Michigan) because participation in it would be influenced by the outcome

<sup>2</sup> Anti-sweatshop monitoring organization that was created in the spring of 1999. Activists criticized it for being weak and close to corporate interests.

of the first. Out of the thirteen schools I contacted, only eight cooperated in the survey due to problems contacting people, time constraints (several schools sat in on April 4<sup>th</sup> 2000, only several weeks before I sent out the survey), individuals not wanting to overload their members with email, uncertainty as to the accuracy of the survey method, and other reasons. There are no evident differences between respondents and non-respondent schools, though my small sample makes it hard to tell.

### *Web Surveys*

I chose to use a web-based survey, because based on past studies I believe they can achieve equal response rates to mail ones, possibly surpass them for students. Smith (1997) shows that email and mail surveys receive similar response rates. Web-surveys should do even better because they can be more user-friendly. Hypertext markup language (HTML) allows one to make radio buttons, check boxes, drop-down lists, and text boxes. For a student population, the web response rate should be greater than the general population as students have a higher rate of Internet access than other demographic groups. The problems of Internet inequality expressed in “Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide” (1999) apply less to students because they will have high quality access through their university. An important advantage of using a web survey was that it allowed for a rapid collection of responses, with most responses coming within two days. The speed of the method allowed me to survey students at Tulane and Kentucky before they left for the summer. In addition, the monetary cost was zero, and it took less of my time than administering a mail survey would have.

To implement the web survey, I used a form-handling service provided by the University of Notre Dame (<http://www.nd.edu/Forms/>) which enables one to write surveys in HTML without knowing the Common Gateway Interface (CGI) computer language. My goal was to make the survey as simple as possible<sup>3</sup> using advice from Dillman et al. (1998b). A simple survey maximizes loading-speed, avoids possible complications from using programming languages like Java Script (Smith, 1997), minimizes browser incompatibility (Schmidt, 1997), and thus maximizes the response rate (Dillman et al., 1998a).

Web surveys have several additional differences from mail ones. For instance, I had to write a short program in Turbo Pascal to parse the data into comma-delimited text so that I could import it into a statistical package. To ensure that respondents did not inadvertently skip a question while scrolling down, I required responses to all of the non-intrusive questions that were not part of skip patterns. I estimate that 7.7% of the respondents failed to complete the survey, though they could have done anything from just looking at it to giving up halfway through. While I did not give each participant a password for the survey, I believe that all of the survey responses came from people in the sample. Nobody has responded to the survey in the past year that it has remained on the web.

### *Sample*

To get a list of students to survey, I first contacted activist leaders at each school and requested a copy of their group's mailing list from the time of the event. My

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<sup>3</sup> My survey is online: <http://www.nd.edu/~akreider/survey/arizonasurvey2.html>

expectation was that these lists would include participants and supporters who could have been recruited to participate. Due to the sporadic nature of group record keeping, and the year that had elapsed since the first sit-ins, I collected a wide array of lists. I got a list of signatures to a sit-in guest book (Arizona), lists of listserv subscribers (Duke, Iowa, UNC), and general mailing lists of varying sizes (Tulane, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Michigan). As I did not want to flood group members with emails, I set a limit on each school's sample of one hundred people (or 133 for schools with year-old data, based on a graduation rate of 25%). This also allowed for an approximately equal number of students from each school, and a large enough sample to get meaningful results. The school samples ranged from 41 to 133 people.

### *Response Rate*

I emailed 671 people to request their participation in the survey, using three waves (except Pennsylvania where the group requested that I only do two). Fifty-four messages (8%) were returned because the email addresses were bad. I received 227 complete responses, for a response rate of 37.0%, which is close to Elliott and Freeman's (2001) rate of 39.3% for their email survey of USAS activists. One reason this rate is low is that people who were not students (faculty, staff, alumni, community members, or just random list subscribers) may have felt the survey was not designed for them. Four people even emailed me to give that reason for not answering it. I excluded the eleven non-students who responded, because they were so few and I wanted to focus on students.

I suspect that another reason for the low rate was that there were email addresses that appeared to be functional (i.e. did not give error messages), which were not in active

use due to students dropping out or graduating. This would be especially true for schools that gave me a year-old list. The difference in response rate for the schools pooled by year (29.0% in 1999 versus 46.3% in 2000) supports this argument, though it could also be that people were less interested in answering questions from a more distant event. In addition, the response rate was reduced about two percent from having to survey Iowa students after their semester ended. Arizona had the lowest response rate (24.2%), probably because its sample was the least connected to the student anti-sweatshop organization. Overall, the response rate was not as high as I would like and restricts my ability to draw general conclusions from these results.

#### *Lack of Gender Bias*

In the past, previous studies have shown that males are more likely to respond to email or web-surveys (Anderson and Gansneder, 1995) which would bias the results. However, as 53% of my respondents were women, approximately the same percent as in my sample, it appears that this gender bias has eroded over time.

#### *Conclusion*

While the response rate is lower than hoped for, students may not have been more likely to answer a mail survey; other methods, like telephoning, were too time-consuming to consider. In the future one could improve upon my methodology by surveying students closer to the actual event, avoiding surveying students during the summer, and determining which email addresses were not in use. With these improvements, web surveys will prove more effective, especially for a student audience.

In my case, a combination of the nonrepresentative nature of the schools in the sample, the difference in school sampling frames and response rates, along with the differences in the sit-in events creates bias and noise limiting the applicability of my findings.

## EVENT DESCRIPTION AND BACKGROUND

### *Background*

This paper analyzes student participation in eight anti-sweatshop sit-ins. In the Thirties, the labor movement developed the sit-down strike tactic, which played a critical role in organizing the autoworkers. The tactic regained prominence in the Sixties when young civil rights activists pushed for desegregation by sitting in at lunch counters. In the universities, sit-ins were at first peaceful (e.g. the Berkeley Free Speech Movement), but later became more confrontational when they developed into the tactic of “occupation” (e.g. Columbia in 1968). In the thirty years since the Sixties, sit-ins have remained a popular student tactic. For instance, Ontario students organized nine sit-ins in the spring of 1997 to protest provincial cuts to university funding (Hudson et al., 1997).

In the spring of 1999, the student anti-sweatshop movement<sup>4</sup> organized six sit-ins that caught the public’s attention and signaled the start of a new student movement. This wave of sit-ins came at a critical time for the movement. Due to student pressure, universities were deciding whether to write codes of conduct for the production of licensed apparel as well as how to enforce them. Students organized the first wave of sit-ins in the spring of 1999 to get strict codes of conduct adopted. Unlike most student sit-ins during the Sixties, these six sit-ins all led to victories without arrests or any other form of punishment for the participants. That fall students did not organize further sit-ins, probably because they had just created the Worker Rights Consortium and were not yet



ready to escalate their campaign. The goal of the spring 2000 wave of sit-ins was to push universities to join the WRC before its founding meeting in April, which forty universities did. As of April 2002, the WRC has ninety-eight members.

### *Defining “Sit-In”*

A sit-in<sup>5</sup> is the most common form of high-risk/cost activism on campuses. A broad definition for sit-in would include any attempt by a group of people to occupy a space that would inconvenience the university administration (either by embarrassment or by reducing their ability to function) for a long period of time (days rather than hours). I restricted my sample population to sit-ins that involved students entering and attempting to stay in their administration building because the “shantytown” tactic, where students occupy a space outside and construct shelters, is significantly less confrontational. There were two very confrontational sit-ins that were not in my sample: Pomona College – where the students took total control of a building, and Pitzer College – where they did a partial building blockade.

In practice, students often tried to take a building or office by surprise. An average group of two dozen people would enter the president’s office during the day, often during lunch (when it would be largely empty) or in the early morning. In general the students did not get into the personal office of the president, but sat in the lobby. In several cases they were removed by university security or unable to get in the office and occupied a hallway instead. Often the university hired security guards to supervise the participants.

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<sup>4</sup> For additional background on the student anti-sweatshop movement read Kreider (2000).

<sup>5</sup> For a good case study of a sit-in consult Hudson et al. (1997).

### *Event Differences*

I initially assumed that sit-ins would be similar across campuses. However, after additional investigation, it became clear that there were significant differences between the events. At first it seemed that university administrations would not punish students; however, after Wisconsin arrested fifty-four students in March 2000, followed by additional arrests at SUNY Albany, Kentucky, and Iowa, the perceived level of risk increased. As the movement progressed and won initial victories, USAS groups increased their demands. They went from demanding codes of conduct in 1998/1999 to asking universities to join the WRC and leave the Fair Labor Association in 1999/2000. During this period, with increased demands and schools that were less accommodating, it took students longer to achieve victory. In my sample, sit-in length ranged from eight hours to over ten days<sup>6</sup>.

The sit-ins had varying levels of accessibility to the public. Some sit-ins were planned in secret and carried out by an activist core group, whereas in other sit-ins people were free to come and go. Factors that influenced this included the length of the sit-in (longer sit-ins generally had more chances for people to join), the attitude of the administration and security toward letting people join, and the accessibility of the space that was occupied.

Loosely defined participation ranged from thirteen people (Pennsylvania) to the over three hundred people that signed-in visiting Arizona's sit-in, to an estimated 1000-

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<sup>6</sup> Sit-in lengths in hours: Arizona – 225, Duke – 30, Kentucky – 8, Iowa – 129, Michigan – 51, Pennsylvania – 196, Tulane – 246, and UNC – 72.

1500 who attended teach-ins at Iowa. Most sit-ins maintained a constant presence of ten to thirty people.

### *Event Accounts*

Duke Students Against Sweatshops was one of the first groups to start working on this issue. After almost two years of negotiating, the students decided that their administration needed encouragement. At 1pm on Friday January 29, 1999, they sat in the president's lobby. They stayed for thirty-one hours. Their administrators treated them well, never making any threats. One administrator remained in the building (even playing a board game with the students) and a security officer was stationed nearby. The students won an agreement, making Duke the first university to agree to full public disclosure of factory locations. It was only a modest victory, as they failed in their demand of preventing the university from signing on to the weak Collegiate Licensing Company's (CLC) code of conduct, but it was the first and its speed was impressive.

Michigan student activists had only been organizing against sweatshops since August 1998. However, after successes at Duke, Georgetown, and Wisconsin, and after the expiration of their group's deadline, Students Organizing for Labor and Economic Equality (SOLE) sat in. Thirty students occupied the president's lobby from March 17-19, 1999. Their university president publicly welcomed their presence and concern, and did not threaten them. The group achieved success as they won code of conduct language for full public disclosure, women's rights, and a living wage.

UNC students had been focussing on Nike since the fall of 1997 and later expanded their focus to include sweatshops. After their university failed to implement

disclosure and a living wage in its February 1999 code of conduct, Students for Economic Justice sat in the administration building from April 20-23, 1999. Their sit-in was non-confrontational and participants were free to come and go. Most sit-ins benefited from technology (laptops and cellular telephones), but UNC even provided live coverage of their sit-in on a web camera. They won their demands as the chancellor agreed to disclosure, a living wage, and independent monitoring.

At the University of Arizona, students first released a critical report about their university's responsibility for sweatshops in February. Next, the group had a small rally against the CLC code in March, sitting in on an upper floor of their administration building on April 21, 1999. They stayed for 225 hours and won full disclosure, a living wage, women's rights, and half the seats on a newly formed taskforce.

After their university failed to join the WRC and leave the FLA by their Feb. 1, 2000 deadline, thirteen Pennsylvania Students Against Sweatshops members launched the spring 2000 wave by sitting in on Feb. 8, 2001. At times, they antagonized their president by increasing the noise level inside the administration building. They faced some difficulty coming and going from the sit-in, but never a serious threat of discipline. On Feb. 14, the group launched a two-day fast, with supporters joining in from sixty schools. By the next day, the university had agreed to half their demands, becoming the first school to pull out of the FLA. It created a committee with student activist representation to decide the university's final relationship to the FLA and WRC.

Tulane Students Against Sweatshops organized a traditionally conservative campus student body and sat in on March 29, 2000. Coming after the arrests at Wisconsin, Tulane students faced the possibility of arrest on their first night when they

remained in an administrative building after its midnight closing time. However, 220 students rallied outside in support and the university police allowed them to stay. After several days of staying in the building overnight with security taking down their names, and with the administration refusing to negotiate until they left the building at night, they decided to camp out when the building was closed. The university later fined each student who had stayed in the building overnight sixty-eight dollars. After 246 hours, students agreed to a compromise where Tulane would temporarily leave both the FLA and the WRC, and the university would put the issue to a student referendum.

On April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., University of Kentucky activists rallied 200 people, attended a trustees meeting, and then eighteen students locked down in the administration building. Their act was met with police repression. The students dropped their major demands of leaving the FLA and joining the WRC, only asking to hold a public forum with the president. But twelve of them were still arrested at 1:45am. They ended up with a meeting with administrators below the level of the president, and achieved the least amount of success of any of the sit-ins.

In March 2000, the University of Iowa's Human Rights committee, which had been delegated the responsibility for investigating the issue by the president, recommended that the university leave the FLA, "actively explore" joining the WRC, and enact a strict code of conduct. The university agreed to consider the WRC, and then after students sat in on April 4 it solidified its commitment. Students remained to protest Iowa's membership in the FLA until April 8, when twenty police ended the sit-in by telling protestors that they were violating the fire code and had to leave. The police

arrested five students who refused to leave, and another twenty students left willingly. The arrested students were later fined \$200 for criminal trespass.

The sit-in tactic emerged out of the movement's need to target university administrations. It was diffused through email, telephone calls, conferences, and the media. The sit-ins were the product of long campaigns and considerable strategic planning. While the dimensions of risk and cost differed at each school, they all shared at least a small level of each. Due to the large number of anti-sweatshop sit-ins on college campuses, this is a good case study to analyze participation in high-risk/cost activism.

## DATA RESULTS

### *The Dependent Variables*

I created two dependent variables to measure participation. The first measures three possible levels of participation in the sit-in and thus also of risk. The levels include non-participants (coded as 0), outside supporters (coded as 1), and self-identified participants (coded as 2). Non-participants had negligible risk. Outside supporters helped the sit-in by promoting support (e.g. organizing a rally or maintaining a presence near the sit-in), without sitting in themselves. Their level of risk was medium and proportional to both the time they spent at the sit-in location and their willingness to be arrested. A person who met these two criteria was more likely to be punished if the university police intervened to end the sit-in. Self-identified participants had the greatest level of risk because they had the highest level of participation. My sample included 57 non-participants, 42 supporters, and 117 participants.

The cost dependent variable measures the relative time that a person participated in a sit-in. It is the number of days that an individual participated divided by the length of their sit-in<sup>7</sup> (in hours) multiplied by 24. Alternatively, I could have used an absolute

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<sup>7</sup> My survey asked students for both the number of hours and number of days for which they had participated. However, respondents interpreted these questions differently. Some gave both numbers for days and for hours, whereas others gave only hours or only days. In fact their answers for days and hours were not correlated ( $r=0.064$ ). I use the days answer since more students gave a response for days than hours, and since the hours values had a large group of outliers due to the inconsistent manner in which students answered the question. In addition, of the 51 students who gave hours data but not days data, 25 were from Kentucky. They were only able to give an hours value since their sit-in lasted only one day and thus I only asked them for an hours value. For the students who only gave hours values, the cost dependent

measure based upon the number of days that a student had participated. However, as sit-ins ranged from one to eleven days, this would have been problematic. Thus, for example, the most committed activist at Kentucky could have only participated for one day. By using this relative measure, I am assuming that students would have participated an equal percentage of time if the sit-in of their school had lasted longer. This assumption is not entirely correct, as there is evidence of a small amount of momentum. However, participation was primarily a linear function of sit-in length. While both relative and absolute methods of measuring cost are imperfect, the evidence is strongest in favor of using the relative one.

The cost and risk dependent variables are strongly correlated ( $r = 0.578$ ), and it is not surprising that they share many of the same causes. Neither variable purely measures risk or cost. For instance, the level of risk varied over the duration of the sit-in, but the cumulative amount of risk would generally increase with the length of time a student participated in the sit-in. Thus, the cost dependent variable measures risk as well. Likewise, the risk dependent variable includes a cost element as well, as non-participants and outside supporters spent less time at the sit-in, and probably less time overall.

### *Regression Methodology*

For the models of each dependent variable, I use ordinary least squares regression. In the case of the risk dependent variable (which can only take three values), this is advantageous because it provides similar results as using the ordinal logistic method and

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variable was the number of hours they participated divided by the length of their sit-in in hours (without multiplying by 24).



it allows me to compare its results with those of the cost one. I imputed missing values using a software program called NORM<sup>8</sup>.

*Controlling for Sit-In Length*

Table 2 shows that sit-in length is positively correlated with participation and participation at a higher level of risk. Thus a student at Tulane, Arizona, or Pennsylvania was likely to participate at one half a level of risk higher than students at Kentucky or Duke. This is not surprising because the longer a sit-in lasted, the more opportunities someone had to get involved. Due to its importance, in the following models for risk I will control for sit-in length. I cannot do the same thing for cost, because sit-in length is already incorporated into the construction of that dependent variable.

TABLE 2  
BASE MODEL FOR RISK

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	Risk (b)	SE
Sit-in Length	.002944***	.00062
Constant	.888***	.099
R <sup>2</sup>	.095	
N	216	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

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<sup>8</sup> Variables with missing data rates above four percent: parental protest - 24.1%, parental labor protest - 26.4%, tactical exhaustion - 16.7%, progress in negotiations - 11.6%, expected effectiveness - 15.3%, expected threats of discipline - 17.1%, expected actual discipline - 20.4%, expected length of sit-in - 14.8%, effectiveness of other sit-ins - 37.5%, expected effectiveness of the local campaign - 17.6%, and expected effectiveness of the national campaign - 9.7%. The imputations were done in accordance with NORM's documentation that recommended including all of the variables that might be related to the dependent variables. This was sixty-three variables for the risk dependent variable, and sixty-two for the cost one (for which I excluded sit-in length because it was used to construct the dependent variable).

1. *Socialization*

Socialization has direct and indirect effects upon student participation. Indirectly, students are socialized into a set of political views that then influences their participation (McAdam, 1986). In my sample, Table 3 shows that families socialized students through their parents’ political views, level of education, social class (as measured by family income), and their impact upon the student’s commitment to religion (as measured by religious attendance). Students developed similar political views to their parents. Religious commitment has a strong moderating impact on political views. Students with higher family incomes were also more moderate. Education also affects student political views. High levels of parental education, graduate student status, and social sciences or humanities majors all have a liberalizing effect. Homosexuals are more liberal, perhaps because of their personal experiences of oppression. Surprisingly race and gender did not have a similar effect. Overall, socialization plays a significant role in developing student political views, although separate analysis shows that the effect is less for older students.

TABLE 3  
SOCIALIZATION INTO POLITICAL VIEWS (1: LEFTWING ... 5: RIGHTWING)

	Pol. Views (b)	SE
Parents' Political Views	.07786**	.025
Parents' Education	-.0697*	.029
Religious Attendance	.192***	.041
Income	.07348*	.031
Graduate Student	-.286*	.113
Homosexuality	-.163**	.055
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	-.274**	.093
Constant	1.497***	.335
R <sup>2</sup>	.269	
N	216	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

Parental socialization could have a direct impact upon student participation. However, in my study most parental factors do not matter for cost or risk (see Table 4). This weakness is surprising, because one would expect student behavior to correlate with that of their parents. However, parental protest activity<sup>9</sup>, union membership, political views, and religion are all irrelevant. Parents' education is the only exception. Parents with a university level education might have a better understanding of campus life and be more supportive of their child, which may explain why their child is more likely to sit-in.

TABLE 4  
PARENTAL SOCIALIZATION AND PARTICIPATION

	Risk		Cost	
	b	SE	b	SE
Sit-in Length	.003053***	.0006	-----	-----
Parents' Political Views	.04092	.036	.007782	.022
Parents' Protest History	.05294	.084	.009362	.052
Parents' Labor Protest History	-.0205	.134	-.0113	.090
Student Protest with Parents	.139	.129	.04873	.077
Parents' Education	.07641*	.035	.02984	.021
Jewish	-.244	.201	-.147	.121
Constant	.03165	.529	.310	.323
R <sup>2</sup>	.131		.017	
N	216		215	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

## 2. Ideological Commitment

McAdam argued that ideological commitment was important in encouraging high-risk/cost activism. My sample indicates that this commitment exists, as half of the respondents have political views that are the furthest category to the left. This is in sharp

<sup>9</sup> The significance of parental protest and parental labor protest is not affected by the use of imputation.

contrast to a general student population that is equally divided between left and right (UCLA, 2000; ctd. in Cowen, 2001). All except a handful of the students in my sample are liberal enough that they likely support the anti-sweatshop movement’s goals. However, support for a sit-in might require political views even further to the left. Table 5 shows that ideology has an impact upon participation in cost, but not risk.

TABLE 5  
IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT AND PARTICIPATION

	Risk		Cost	
	b	SE	b	SE
Sit-in Length	.003167***	.0006	-----	-----
Political Views (1: leftwing ... 5: rightwing)	-.147	.075	-.135**	.043
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	-.000258	.027	-0.000303	.016
Constant	1.099***	.197	.723***	.111
R <sup>2</sup>	.111		.044	
N	216		215	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

The insignificant result regarding concern that students felt for sweatshop workers is counter-intuitive. The only logical possibility for this is that respondents misinterpreted the sweatshop question, confusing “unconcerned” and “concerned.”

### 3. History of Activism

McAdam asserts that activism experience is necessary for participation in high-risk/cost activism. In Table 6, self-identification as an activist is positively correlated with high-risk and high-cost involvement. However, students who lacked activist experience also joined. For instance, forty percent of the self-identified non-activists still

sat in (compared to sixty percent of the activists). Activist experience is not significant, perhaps because strength of commitment is more important than length.

TABLE 6  
HISTORY OF ACTIVISM AND PARTICIPATION

	Risk		Cost	
	b	SE	b	SE
Sit-in Length	.003643***	.0006	-----	-----
Activist Identity	.550**	.204	.259*	.119
Years of Activism	-.0768	.056	-.0596	.032
Protest Attendance	.09083	.072	.120**	.041
Sit-in Experience	-.138	.269	-.225	.165
Civil Disobedience Experience	.346	.246	.226	.144
Constant	-.411	.459	-.114	.255
R <sup>2</sup>	.171		.112	
N	216		215	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

Past protest experience is important only for cost involvement, perhaps because it best prepared students for the lengthy sit-ins. The insignificance of prior experience of high-risk activism (sit-ins and civil disobedience) can be explained by the fact that only 8% of the sample had done either form of activity. In conclusion, having a history of activism is important for both types of participation, and in contradiction to Wiltfang and McAdam (1991), it is more so for cost.

#### 4. Biographical Availability

According to Wiltfang and McAdam (1991), biographical availability is more important for predicting cost than risk. My results coincide (see Table 7), as five measures of availability are significant for cost, whereas only one is for risk. Younger students have age based availability that facilitates both types of participation. For cost,

high family income, undergraduate status, and freedom from work all increase participation.

TABLE 7  
BIOGRAPHICAL AVAILABILITY AND PARTICIPATION

	Risk		Cost				
Sit-in Length	.002935*** (.0006)	.002987*** (.0006)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Income	.04423 (.039)		.03543 (.023)	.04658* (.021)			
GPA	.05507 (.071)		-.0217 (.041)				
Graduate Student	.01287 (.231)		-.124 (.136)		-.211** (.081)		
Married	.348 (.324)		.104 (.191)				
Age	-.0284 (.020)	-.0252* (.012)	-.000970 (.012)			-.0173* (.007)	
Schedule Flexibility	.07639 (.060)		.06074 (.035)				
Studying (hrs/week)	.03016 (.037)		.002049 (.022)				
Class (hrs/week)	-.0221 (.058)		.0181 (.035)				
Work (hrs/week)	-.0296 (.047)		-.0337 (.028)				-.0541* (.025)
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	.007149 (.064)		-.0137 (.037)				
Leisure (hrs/week)	-.0647 (.041)		-.0483* (.024)				
Constant	1.06 (.739)	1.444*** (.292)	.499 (.436)	.308*** (.091)	.545*** (.037)	.886*** (.169)	.646*** (.075)
R <sup>2</sup>	.149	.112	.076	.024	.031	.025	.021
N	216		215				

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

Leisure is correlated with inactivity. Students with high amounts of leisure are less likely to study, have work, classes, or to be involved in activism. The lack of activist ties explains why students with more time are less likely to participate.

The four other significant variables for cost share some commonalities and can be divided into two factors. First, age is strongly correlated with being a graduate student ( $r=0.758$ ); together, they might be showing how having fewer responsibilities increases availability. Second, income is negatively correlated with hours of work ( $r = -0.279$ ) and, the two variables combine to demonstrate how social class affects availability.

The strong correlation between age and graduate student status makes it even more surprising that, out of the two, only age matters for participation in risk. There must be a factor in age that is not present in the other variables, and that causes age-based recruitment. By contrast, income and hours of work are equally insignificant for participation in risk, which makes sense because they are measures of time availability.

Interestingly working is more important than studying or class time – both of which do not matter. Perhaps hours of work functions as a good measure of additional time stress, because students who work will have a similar amount of courses and need for studying as those who do not work.

Regarding the other variables, there are too few married students in the sample for marriage to be significant. Using the relative form of the dependent variable for cost makes GPA insignificant. However, if participation is measured in terms of days instead of as a percent, then GPA is consistently negatively correlated to participation in cost. Student with high GPAs might prioritize academic over activism.

One important shortcoming in the data is that the responses regarding student time commitments and flexibility are likely inaccurate. Separating the regressions by sit-in year, shows that the schedule-related responses from schools that had sit-ins in 1999

contribute little to the model, while the same variables for schools with sit-ins in 2000 is more useful.

In conclusion, biographical availability has a moderate effect upon participation, being especially significant for cost.

### *5. Ties*

Weak ties have a surprisingly significant effect on participation (see Table 8). This may be due to the method of diffusion of the sit-in tactic and the necessity of working with students at other schools to win the campaign. Knowing someone who had participated in an anti-sweatshop delegation or having contacted someone in USAS at another school increases the probability that someone would participate in high risk or cost activism. While only two students in the sample went on delegations, almost half “knew” (i.e. had a weak tie to) someone who did. Delegations raised student consciousness about working conditions. In addition, a quarter of the students demonstrated leadership by contacting another school, likely deepening their commitment. By contrast, other ties, such as just knowing about USAS on another campus, or knowing movement or sit-in participants, are all insufficient to encourage participation.

Conference calls serve to connect activists to the greater student anti-sweatshop movement and reinforced commitment in a way that impersonal email communications cannot. As conference calls could take several hours, participation represents a significant time commitment. Thus, it is not surprising that conference call participation is correlated with high-cost participation.



TABLE 8  
WEAK TIES AND PARTICIPATION

	Risk		Cost		
Sit-in Length	.003685*** (.0006)	0.003419*** (.0006)	-----	-----	
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	-.111 (.587)		-.160 (.339)		
Know Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	.316** (.117)	.316** (.115)	.169* (.067)	.177** (.066)	.224*** (.064)
Aware of USAS Activism at other Campuses	-.269 (.163)		-.0284 (.094)		
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	.138 (.088)		.03424 (.051)		
Know Sit-in Participants at other Campuses	-.0636 (.132)		.06847 (.075)		
Contacted USAS at other Schools	.259 (.160)	.295* (.129)	.203* (.093)	.255*** (.075)	
USAS Listserv Participation	-.0676 (.084)		-.0852 (.047)		
USAS Conference Call Participation	.08124 (.212)		.221 (.123)		.265** (.095)
Attendance of USAS National Conference in 1999	-.0357 (.449)		-.206 (.259)		
Attendance of USAS National Conference in 1998	.720 (.632)		.524 (.364)		
Constant	-.246 (.984)	-0.0292 (.230)	-0.376 (.555)	-.0912 (.116)	-.128 (.133)
R <sup>2</sup>	.198	.170	.159	.118	.103
N	216		215		

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

While attending a national USAS conference conceivably would have inspired a deeper level of engagement than reading email or participating in conference calls, too few students attended for that to be significant.

Strong ties have the largest impact upon both types of participation of any set of factors, and the time spent planning the sit-in is the most important strong tie (see Table 9). For instance, a fifth of the sample and over a third of the participants spent ten or

more hours planning the sit-in. During this time, they developed strong ties to their fellow activists and a commitment to participate in the event. If one excludes the planning variable, the second most important strong tie is hours of weekly involvement in the local group (the two are strongly correlated:  $r = 0.651$ ). Knowing other people who are sitting in also becomes significant at this point.

TABLE 9  
STRONG TIES AND PARTICIPATION

	Risk					Cost			
Sit-in Length	.003367*** (.0006)	.003477*** (.0005)	.003266*** (.0006)	.003310*** (.0006)	-----	-----			
Activist Group Memberships	.02939 (.046)				.05392* (.025)	.05167* (.021)		.06894** (.023)	
Attendance at Local USAS Events	.02517 (.093)				.05483 (.050)				
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	-.0311 (.063)				-.0541 (.035)				
Know Local USAS Members	-.0474 (.109)				-.0277 (.059)				
Years Involved in Local USAS	-.0635 (.070)				.0000831 (.039)				
Leader of Local USAS	.147 (.173)				-.0528 (.095)				
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	.04695 (.069)		.169*** (.047)	.225*** (.043)	.07229 (.038)			.120*** (.026)	.166*** (.024)
Involvement in other Activist Groups (hrs/week)	.01692 (.051)				-.0298 (.028)				
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	.08862 (.080)		.165** (.061)		.07026 (.043)			.08980* (.035)	
Sit-in Planning (hours)	.292*** (.061)	.332*** (.041)			.181*** (.034)	.210*** (.024)	.229*** (.023)		
Constant	-.156 (.302)	.09794 (.130)	.02307 (.188)	.390** (.133)	-.169 (.151)	-.110 (.073)	.007336 (.056)	-.211* (.101)	.172** (.057)
R <sup>2</sup>	.326	.311	.227	.200	.366	.342	.324	.257	.180
N	216				215				

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

Most of the other variables' effects are overwhelmed by the impact of the planning variable. If planning is excluded, then all of the strong tie variables (except hourly involvement in other activist groups), are positively correlated with both cost and risk. This is logical because these ties are most closely associated with sit-in participation. Involvement in other groups is the exception because it could indicate a stronger activist commitment, while also reducing availability.

#### *6. Expectations and Evaluations*

I don't think we would have seriously considered a sit-in if it hadn't succeeded elsewhere.

–Avery Kolers, Arizona Students Against Sweatshops

They were experts at singling us out one by one and intimidating us. They told us we wouldn't graduate. They told us we couldn't get accepted to the bar. They told us we would lose scholarships. They were very skilled at harassment. They've obviously had practice. Additionally, there were indirect threats of injury when the arrest process began.

–Lindsey Clouse, a University of Kentucky activist arrested at 1:45am.

Student expectations and evaluations about the movement play a substantial part in shaping their participation (see Table 10). This is especially so for the risk model, where three variables are significant, while the cost model has only one.

TABLE 10  
EXPECTATIONS, EVALUATIONS, AND PARTICIPATION<sup>10</sup>

	Risk		Cost	
Sit-in Length	.002842*** (.0008)	.002780*** (.0006)	-----	-----
Tactical Exhaustion	.245*** (.072)	.249*** (.065)	.171*** (.040)	.179*** (.037)
Progress in Negotiations with the Administration	.003007 (.084)		-.0121 (.046)	
Expectation of the Sit-in's Effectiveness	-.0191 (.049)		-.0127 (.030)	
Expectation of Threats of Risk to Participants	.138* (.066)	.135** (.049)	.007611 (.043)	
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	.006393 (.065)		-.00316 (.038)	
Expectation of Sit-in Length	.01582 (.056)		.03294 (.026)	
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at other Schools	.136* (.065)	.136* (.064)	.06434 (.041)	
Belief that Individual Action Can Make a Difference	.03748 (.057)		-.0602 (.034)	
Expectation of Effectiveness of the Local Campaign	-.102 (.075)		-.00894 (.043)	
Expectation of Effectiveness of the National Campaign	.07994 (.085)		.01437 (.052)	
Constant	-.847 (.603)	-.704* (.298)	-.0911 (.339)	.0635 (.120)
R <sup>2</sup>	.225	.216	.134	.100
N	216		215	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

Prior expectation of a high level of threats of disciplinary action actually led to greater participation in terms of risk, perhaps because students felt that they would have to take the risk burden upon themselves. Expectations regarding threats were more important than those for actual discipline were, possibly because the threats would have

<sup>10</sup> By using dummy variables, I find that the effects of the imputed values for tactical exhaustion and expectation of disciplinary threats differ from those of the non-imputed values. This difference occurs because students who did not answer these two questions did so because they had fewer activist ties. Once planning is included in the model, these dummy variables are no longer significant.

had more time to affect participation. Disciplinary action was only effective in discouraging participation if it was predictable (and often it was not), or if it had occurred before students joined the sit-in. If disciplinary action happened after students had already joined, then it was still effective (e.g. intervention ended sit-ins at Kentucky and Iowa). However, my models do not measure this effect because they only look at participation during the sit-in.

Sit-in effectiveness is critical for tactical diffusion, and a student's evaluation of the effectiveness of the tactic at other universities is significant in the risk model<sup>11</sup>. It influences the student's initial decision regarding level of participation more than duration.

Both cost and risk were strongly affected by the strategic need for escalation in local campaigns, which was due to the exhaustion of other tactics. Because this variable is correlated with political views ( $r = -0.295$ ), it may be more indicative of an individual's willingness to take radical action than an objective measure of the state of the campus movement.

It is puzzling, that while exhaustion of tactics is significant, progress in negotiations is not. This may be because a group's success in negotiations would simultaneously encourage it to work within the system and to fight its campaign more intensely.

Many of these variables could easily be compromised because they attempt to measure pre-sit-in expectations after the event. Respondents likely biased their answers based on the local outcome. For instance, if their school had a long sit-in, then they

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<sup>11</sup> If non-imputed values are used, effectiveness of sit-ins at other universities is significant for cost, not risk.

would claim to have expected a longer sit-in before the event than they actually did. This may have eroded the measurable effects of several variables, including expectations of the sit-in's effectiveness, its length, and the actual risk to participants.

The questions about expectations of local and national campaign effectiveness, and belief in individual action may have been too general to have an impact.

### *7. Momentum and High-Risk Participation*

The longer a sit-in lasted, the more likely students were to participate at a higher level of risk. In addition, Table 11 shows they were also more likely to do so at an increasing rate (and at even a greater rate if participation is treated at the individual level). This momentum is especially surprising given the fact that the risk dependent variable has a limit, because students cannot be more than a full participant, and one would expect that a ten day sit-in would be long enough to reach saturation. Part of this can be explained by the fact that as a sit-in continued without university intervention, the level of subjective risk for participating would fall. Therefore a student might participate directly in the sit-in, after they felt that the risk was within what they were willing to do. This observed momentum concurs with the case histories of sit-ins. Note that one should not overstate the role of momentum, as the quadratic and squared-term models explain only a fraction more of the outcome than the linear one.

TABLE 11  
MOMENTUM AND PARTICIPATION

	Linear	Quadratic	Squared
Sit-in Length	.002944*** (.0006)	-.00346 (.0031)	
Sit-in Length Squared		.00002404* (.0000121)	.00001159*** (.0000023)
Constant	.888*** (.099)	1.122*** (.147)	.982*** (.080)
R <sup>2</sup>	.095	.114	.109
N	216		

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

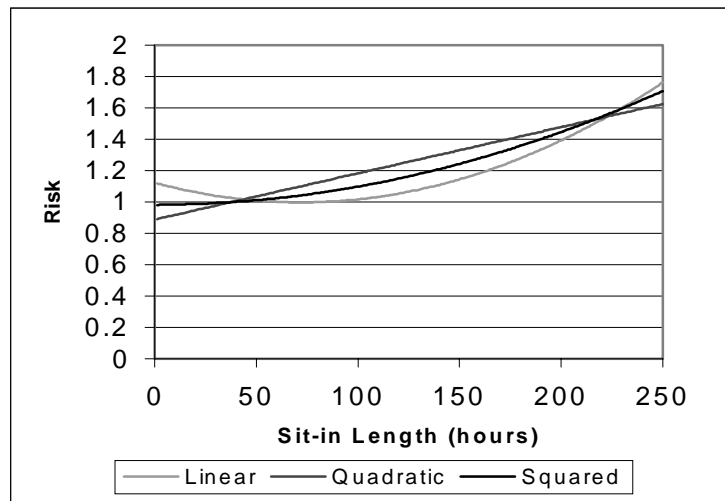


FIGURE 2  
MOMENTUM AND PARTICIPATION IN RISK

### 8. Differentiating Participation by Sit-in Length

Tables 12 and 13 show two significant interaction effects between sit-in length and the remaining variables in the final models (see Tables 14 and 15). These interaction effects show that the positive effect of sit-in length is reduced for students who were involved in planning or who self-identified as activists. For planning, the interaction

effect is so strong that for students who planned the most the interaction effect overcomes the regular sit-in length effect. Thus, the overall effect for these students is that long sit-ins reduced their rate of participation. While the interaction effect for being an activist is less, it still reduces the positive impact of sit-in length on risk participation by one third for self-identified activists. If the sit-ins had lasted longer, students with low planning values and the non-activists would have been more likely to participate than their well-networked and/or activist counterparts. The turning point occurs at a sit-in length of 299 hours for activist identity, and at 342 hours for planning. However, this is the turning point for average participation in the sit-in. At an individual level, assuming a constant influx of new participants, the turning point would be half of these values (see Figure 4) because late joiners would have to balance out the impact of early joiners before the overall impact of activist identity (or planning) would change. Thus, students who before the event were not activists and lacked ties, may in the latter stages of the longest sit-ins in my sample (Tulane and Arizona) have been more likely to join. These results make sense, because longer sit-ins give students who initially lacked network ties or an activist identity time to build new ties and develop this identity, thus facilitating their participation.



TABLE 12  
INTERACTION BETWEEN SIT-IN LENGTH AND PLANNING

	Non-Interaction	Interaction
Sit-in Length	.003477*** (.0005)	.006808*** (.0011)
Sit-in Planning (hours)	.332*** (.041)	.530*** (.070)
Sit-in Length and Planning Interaction		-.00155*** (.00046)
Constant	.09794 (.130)	-.346 (.182)
R <sup>2</sup>	.311	.346
N	216	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

TABLE 13  
INTERACTION BETWEEN SIT-IN LENGTH AND ACTIVIST IDENTITY

	Non-Interaction	Interaction
Sit-in Length	.003253*** (.0006)	.007751*** (.0022)
Activist Identity	.424*** (.115)	.803*** (.214)
Interaction of Activist Identity and Sit-in Length		-.00269* (.0013)
Constant	.144 (.223)	-.505 (.381)
R <sup>2</sup>	.150	.167
N	216	

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

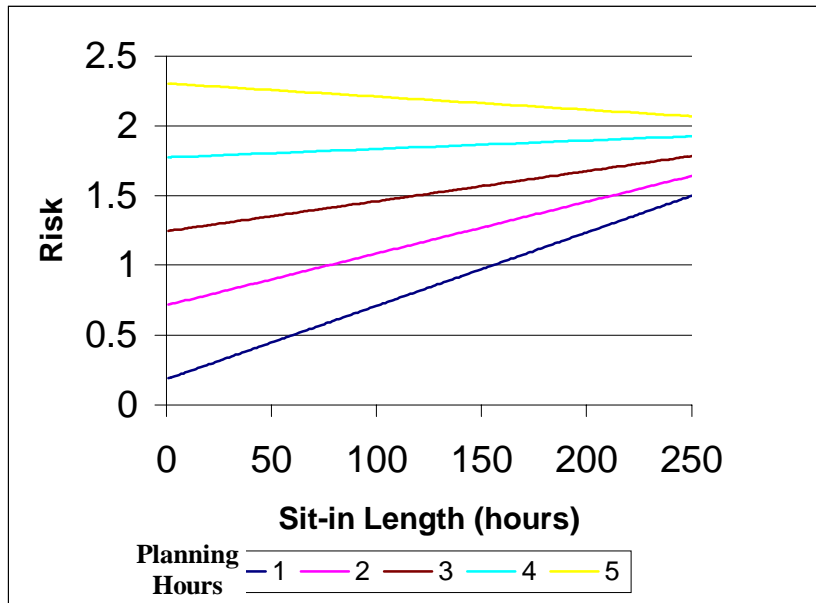


FIGURE 3  
PLANNING AND SIT-IN LENGTH INTERACTION

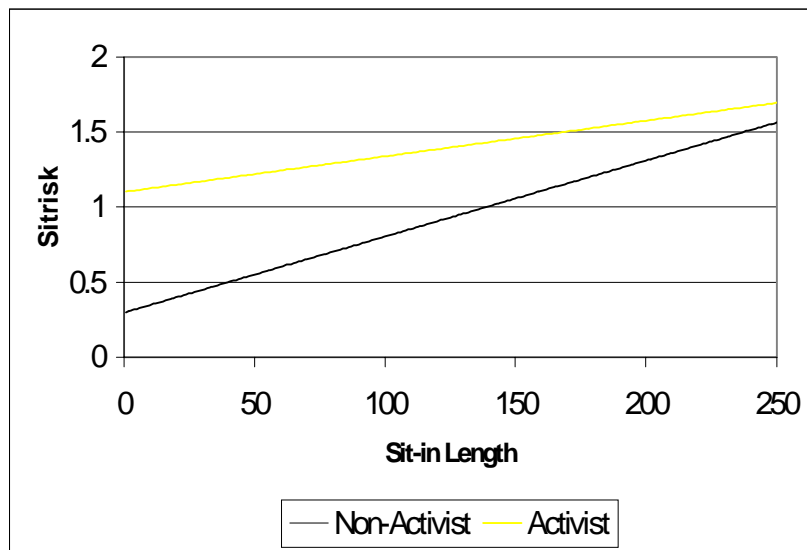


FIGURE 4  
ACTIVIST IDENTITY AND SIT-IN LENGTH INTERACTION

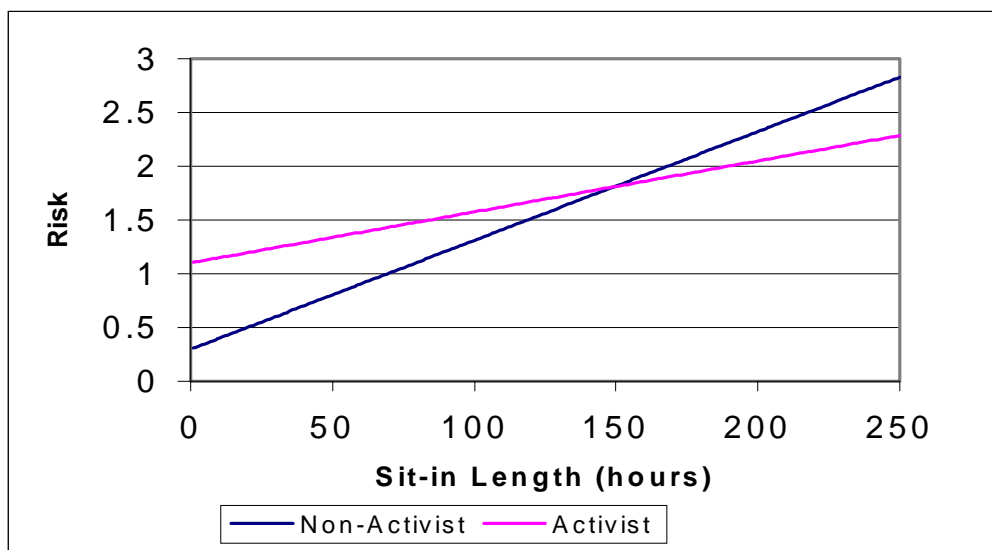


FIGURE 5  
 ACTIVIST IDENTITY AND SIT-IN LENGTH INTERACTION –  
 THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL EFFECT

### 9. Final Models

Table 14 shows the interplay of different factors. For cost, the direct impact of socialization (including education) is negligible throughout. Political views are initially significant, but their effect is later reduced due to their correlation with activist history and network ties. Graduate students are less likely to participate in cost activism, until weak ties are introduced in the model. One of the weak ties (contacting students at other schools) is important until strong ties are included. Of the two strong ties in these models, planning has a strong effect throughout, while activist group memberships is consistently weak and only becomes significant at the last step. As for expectations and evaluations, individual perception of tactical exhaustion adds to the model. The final model for cost includes hours of planning, activist group memberships, and tactical exhaustion.

TABLE 14  
FINAL MODEL FOR COST

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
<u>Socialization</u>								
Parents' Education	.02511 (.019)	.01711 (.019)	.01532 (.019)	.01201 (.018)	.01274 (.018)	.000884 (.016)	-.000728 (.016)	
<u>Ideology</u>								
Political Views		-.130** (.044)	-.0660 (.047)	-.102* (.047)	-.0885 (.046)	-.0610 (.041)	-.0269 (.043)	
<u>Activist History</u>								
Activist Identity			.0815 (.080)	.06576 (.078)	.05147 (.077)	-.0214 (.074)	-.0187 (.073)	
Protest Attendance			.09355* (.042)	.105* (.041)	.06045 (.042)	.02302 (.038)	.02028 (.038)	
<u>Biographical Availability</u>								
Graduate Student				-.295*** (.079)	-.262*** (.078)	-.132 (.072)	-.132 (.072)	
<u>Weak Ties</u>								
Know an Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant					.124 (.066)	.008623 (.062)	-.0290 (.065)	
Contacted USAS at other Schools					.180* (.078)	.00495 (.074)	-.0204 (.074)	
<u>Strong Ties</u>								
Sit-in Planning (hours)						.190*** (.028)	.189*** (.028)	.195*** (.024)
Activist Group Memberships						.04393 (.025)	.04030 (.024)	.04440* (.021)
<u>Expectations and Evaluations</u>								
Tactical Exhaustion							.08919* (.036)	.08836** (.033)
Expectation of Threats of Risk to Participants							-.0127 (.027)	
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at other Schools							.03904 (.036)	
Constant	.296 (.161)	.575** (.184)	.118 (.233)	.263 (.230)	-.0563 (.242)	.03582 (.218)	-.262 (.282)	-.335** (.110)
R <sup>2</sup>	.008	.048	.093	.164	.198	.358	.383	.365
N	216							

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

For participation in risk, Table 15 shows that controlling for sit-in length is important for all models. Education is mildly significant at first, but not after other variables are added. Political views do not matter. For the activist history variables, protest attendance is not important, but activist identity is significant until strong ties are included. Graduate students are no more likely to participate in risk. For weak ties, knowing a delegation participant is significant until strong ties are included, while contacting another school is not. For strong ties, planning is always very important, while activist group memberships is not. Tactical exhaustion and expectation of threats of risk are both significant, whereas the effectiveness of sit-ins at other schools is not. The final model for risk includes sit-in length, hours of planning, tactical exhaustion, and expectation of threats of risk.

TABLE 15  
FINAL MODEL FOR RISK

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Sit-in Length	.002931*** (.0006)	.003123*** (.0006)	.003435*** (.0006)	.003519*** (.0006)	.003645*** (.0006)	.003584*** (.0006)	.003165*** (.0006)	.003103*** (.0005)
<u>Socialization</u>								
Parent's Education	.06587* (.032)	.0572 (.032)	.05231 (.032)	.04996 (.032)	.05273 (.031)	.03481 (.029)	.02216 (.029)	
<u>Ideology</u>								
Political Views		-.126 (.076)	-.0373 (.080)	-.0643 (.081)	-.0423 (.080)	-.00752 (.074)	.02415 (.075)	
<u>Activist History</u>								
Activist Identity			.319* (.136)	.309* (.135)	.279* (.133)	.237 (.132)	.234 (.135)	
Protest Attendance			.06960 (.073)	.08084 (.073)	.01996 (.075)	-.0258 (.070)	-.0278 (.069)	
<u>Biographical Availability</u>								
Graduate Student				-.237 (.136)	-.175 (.135)	-.00447 (.129)	-.0488 (.129)	
<u>Weak Ties</u>								
Know an Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant					.258* (.116)	.116 (.112)	.09729 (.114)	
Contacted USAS at other schools					.216 (.136)	-.0417 (.134)	-.0863 (.134)	
<u>Strong Ties</u>								
Sit-in Planning (hours)						.299*** (.050)	.275*** (.050)	.292*** (.041)
Activist Group Memberships						-.00619 (.044)	-.0193 (.044)	
<u>Expectations and Evaluations</u>								
Tactical Exhaustion							.154* (.065)	.167** (.059)
Expectation of Threats of Risk to Participants							.117* (.046)	.112* (.045)
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at other Schools							.03086 (.067)	
Constant	.348 (.281)	.599 (.317)	-.248 (.406)	-.158 (.407)	-.712 (.435)	-.549 (.405)	-1.194** (.438)	-.646** (.241)
R <sup>2</sup>	.113	.124	.168	.180	.219	.334	.372	.351
N	215							

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

### *1. Does This Agree with McAdam's Theory and Results?*

McAdam (1986) found that ties had the strongest effect on participation. My results agree with his, as shown by the overwhelming strength of the planning variable. In addition, the significance of each of the local tie variables is eroded by multicollinearity, without which all of them (except involvement with other activist groups) would be significant for both cost and risk in the early stages of the models.

Ties are important, but not all ties are equal. Some ties measure attitudes and concepts more directly. For instance, the planning variable is more useful than the local group involvement one because it has a closer relation to organizing the sit-in. Another example of this is that weak ties are no longer important after controlling for strong ones.

### *2. Differences between Cost and Risk*

I find several differences between the causes of cost and risk. In general, variables that measure previous cost activity are best at predicting future cost involvement, and the same is true for risk. Thus, conference call participation and protest attendance are significant only for predicting cost. As additional evidence, hours of planning and of local group involvement are significant for both cost and risk, but contribute more to the cost model. Similarly, expectations about risk are significant for risk, but not for cost.

Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) distinguished between risk and cost by arguing that biographical availability was important for high-cost activism, while socialization into activism was more critical for high-risk activism. My results for biographical availability variables show that age was important for both cost and risk. In addition, there are three biographical availability factors that are marginally significant only for cost, including income, schedule flexibility, and weekly hours of work. This evidence, which supports Wiltfang and McAdam, is even stronger if I operationalize cost in an absolute form as the number of days a student participated<sup>12</sup>.

Regarding their hypothesis that activism history leads more to high-risk involvement than high-cost, my results show the opposite. Before controlling for network ties, self-identification as an activist and protest attendance are significant factors for cost, whereas only activist identity matters for risk. The difference in significance in the two models for protest attendance might be because most protests are low-risk. Thus, protest attendance would be a better measure of prior involvement in cost than risk.

Several additional differences between cost and risk are more difficult to explain. Political views are initially more important for cost, though not so after controlling for ties. In addition, the number of activist group memberships is only significant for cost. Perhaps membership represents participation in group activities. If the memberships were in university activist groups then their activities would have a larger cost component than risk, because student activism in general (and perhaps most activism in the United States)

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<sup>12</sup> The major difference between measuring cost as a percent of the length of the sit-in, instead of using the absolute number of days, is that doing so causes a couple of biographical availability variables to become less significant. Notably, GPA is consistently negatively correlated to participation in number of days, whereas this relationship does not exist for the relative measure. In addition, using the relative measure makes the impact of income weaker.



has more cost than risk<sup>13</sup>. Finally, the result for the effectiveness of other sit-ins is unreliable – the variable is only significant for risk if one uses imputation, or only significant for cost without imputation.

In general, my small sample size and the high correlation of my two dependent variables ( $r = 0.578$ ) makes it difficult to distinguish between causes of risk and cost. However, the results show that there is clearly room for additional research on this, especially with a better operationalization and differentiation of cost and risk in the independent variables.

### *3. Evaluations and Expectations*

By identifying a series of additional variables that contribute to high-risk and cost participation, this paper moves beyond merely reviewing McAdam's results. What these four variables share is that they represent the student's strategic analysis of the effectiveness of social movements. The student evaluates the relevant circumstances surrounding the movement, the tactic, or activism in general, and this affects their participation. In general, students are more likely to participate if they evaluate a campaign or tactic to be effective. However, in agreement with Oliver (1984), the result for expectations of threats of risk shows that a negative expectation can also motivate people. These results reinforce the importance of perception and rational choice in shaping participation.

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<sup>13</sup> All the sit-ins in the sample occurred before the April 16, 2000 protest in DC against the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and none of the universities with sit-ins in 1999 were near enough to Seattle to have significantly participated in the protest against the World Trade Organization. Even after Seattle, typical student activism still includes primarily low risk activities such as protesting (with a permit or university approval), leafletting, doing research, showing videos, writing letters, and hosting speakers.

#### *4. Ideology Is Still Important*

While political views drop out of the final model, three of the four final variables (including planning, activist group memberships, and tactical exhaustion) are all correlated with leftist views. At a minimum, ideology serves as an intermediate step in developing availability to high-cost or risk action.

#### *5. Developing a Theory of High-Risk/Cost Recruitment*

What can these eight cases teach us about recruiting participants for student sit-ins? This question is important because its answers are also valid for other high-risk/cost actions. While high-risk/cost actions find their strength in depth, they need breadth as well to maximize their power. Participants must do something significant enough to exert considerable pressure on their target, and there must be enough participants for the action to succeed.

An activist group can plan a sit-in to maximize participation, although it may also encounter externally imposed barriers to doing this. At first, a group can build a wide base of support for its issue before sitting in. For one or two years it can try to meet with administrators, collect signatures, invite speakers, show videos, write letters, and hold rallies. These steps are necessary, because even if the campaign starts with a majority of student support, far fewer students will support a sit-in. Thus, most campuses had large educational campaigns before their sit-in, even including canvasses of entire student bodies (Macalester and Harvard). By these activities, local groups created a critical mass of activists with strong movement ties that could organize a sit-in. This preparation was critical to success, but ignored by the media and the student movement; because it lacked

the excitement of direct action. The sit-ins were only organized when a local campaign had reached a critical level of momentum, strategically analyzed its position, and believed that it could win in a showdown with its administration. When it came time to sit-in, over a third of the participants spent over ten hours in planning the event. While one can engage in high-risk/cost actions without significant preparation (ex. a riot), these cases show that the success rate is greater if preparation is done, in terms of education and planning.

Second, a group can plan its action to disrupt university operations as much as possible without inviting rapid repression that would end or dramatically reduce chances for participation. This allows the group to use the time during which the administration hesitates to intervene to build its support and make repressive intervention less likely. For a sit-in, one would want to organize an event that was just confrontational enough to merit being called a sit-in and to exert pressure as one. Student groups realized this, and the vast majority of student sit-ins occupied a lobby or hallway instead of a president's actual office. These events were a significant step below taking over an office or a building, or doing a building blockade – all of which would have invited repression. While my results show that expectations of threats of risk increased participation, I suspect that at a very high level of risk (e.g. the building takeover level) participation would drop.

Having the action last for several days is essential for obtaining mass support. The movement will grow as the sit-in receives widespread media coverage, the university fails to intervene, and supporters do outreach. Peripheral supporters who lacked ties and an activist identity will join the sit-in once it seems safer to participate and that the

campaign is on the threshold of success (see Figures 2 and 3). Thus, the student anti-sweatshop sit-ins gained momentum, building the campus movement's power often until the last day of the sit-in. After several days of gaining momentum, given favorable local conditions a local group might do well by escalating its tactics. For instance, a group could move the sit-in from a hallway or lounge to an office, convert a sit-in into an occupation that physically bars university employees, or launch an additional sit-in or takeover with another target. The sit-ins differ from events like Freedom Summer or the Nicaraguan solidarity brigades due to their greater accessibility (when not blocked off by university security), and their immediate proximity to their movement's constituency that allowed the event to affect additional students. While sanctuary activism was open to new participants, it likely received less public attention and thus failed to mobilize many new recruits due to the movement participants' need for secrecy. Researchers should examine how people with little or no previous social movement involvement can be recruited into participation – even participation at high levels of risk/cost – during a several-day or longer action.

Third, a group can plan the action to accommodate participation at different levels of cost and risk. This will ensure that low-risk and low-cost tasks are done and facilitate recruitment into higher levels of participation. In the student anti-sweatshop movement, sit-ins allowed for direct participation as well as less risky and costly actions. This distinction of roles is not always easy, as the actions of high-risk/cost activists can increase the cost or risk for everyone else, or they can alienate them by using radical tactics. This difficulty is clear from the conflict in the anti-globalization movement over whether to support a “diversity of tactics.” For instance, the high-risk actions of the Black

Bloc, especially property destruction, alienate many of the movement's supporters and increase the likelihood that the police will use tear gas or mass arrests against all of the demonstrators. This problem is less significant in situations like student sit-ins, where the action is under the control of one organization. This group can choose to control the range of tactics, whereas with the large anti-globalization demonstrations this is impossible. Examining whether and how groups manage to create roles at different levels of participation (in terms of risk and cost) allows for a better understanding of social movement mobilization and strength.

Fourth, while not necessarily under the group's control, the physical accessibility of the sit-in is critical for increasing participation and socializing low-risk/cost activists into greater involvement. The group can try to choose a space that the university security will not seal, but the final decision rests with the university administration because most spaces worth occupying can be sealed. Sit-ins where students are free to come and go allow for participants to attend classes, work jobs, and take breaks to maintain their sanity (see Hudson et al. [1997] for a case of siege mentality at Guelph). In addition, accessible sit-ins allowed hundreds of students to visit and get a taste of what the action is like. Group decisions on matters such as choosing which space to sit-in shape participation in social movements.

An external factor that can limit participation is the tactical need for secrecy during planning so that police do not preempt the action. This initially restricts participation to people in the activist group's network. However, this restriction can be overcome if the sit-in is accessible and lasts longer than a day. Another possibility for a short sit-in is to organize the logistics with a core group, and then invite people to

participate immediately before it starts. This could be done at a rally (e.g. Columbia in 1986), by email, or via telephone.

An additional external factor that determines the rate of participation is the strength of opposition of the target, because this affects the level of risk and length of the sit-in. Some university administrations will tolerate sit-ins and even express support for the participant's goals (Michigan), while others will quickly use repression (Kentucky).

In summary, students are more fluid in their willingness to participate than McAdam's theory suggests. For instance, of the thirty-four people in my sample who had not protested in the past two years, thirteen sat in and ten did support. As these cases show, an innovative action can generate enthusiasm causing initial involvement. The intensity of the action leads to a rapid development of activist identity and ties, potentially leading to a high level of participation in the high-risk/cost action. Other participants were not swept away by this process, but rather they were recruited due to their leftist political views that had led to prior ties with local activists who organized the sit-ins. In addition to these factors, student participation was influenced by the actions of their group and of the university administration.

#### *6. Suggestions for Future Research*

When studying this area, future researchers could improve in several ways. First, there are several additional variables to include. If one is studying students, the size of their loans might matter, as students with large loans might be more worried about getting suspended or expelled from university before getting a degree. It would be useful to have better questions for student time availability. In addition, one would want a better

measure of prior high-risk or cost activism than my question about experience with civil disobedience or sit-ins. For instance, one could ask whether someone has ever risked arrest, and if so, what the level of risk was. Due to the lack of risk in student activism, this is the hardest component of the two to operationalize.

In the future, the dependent variable for cost should be measured as additional hours of activism that take time away from other student priorities like classes, work, studying, and even their social life. Using this method, a person's ability to integrate their work with the sit-in (or other event) would be critical in determining the cost one day (or hour) of sit-in participation. A person's ability to study at the sit-in could be influenced by the noise level, the number or density of other participants, the number and length of participant meetings, availability of laptop computers, their ability to leave the site and return, and other factors. With a better measure of cost, it would be easier to separate its causes from those of risk.

Second, one should test if participants had made a prior commitment to a minimum level of risk (e.g. willingness to be arrested) or cost. I found evidence of this at several schools. Did students make a formal commitment that they discussed with others, or did they decide in their own mind what they were willing to do? Did advance commitments encourage participation?

Third, one should survey actors before and after the event. It would be especially useful to measure student expectations and evaluations before the sit-in. Doing this is tricky, as one must predict where sit-ins will happen. This requires in-depth knowledge of the movement and a large wave of student activism.

Fourth, to get an adequate sample size, one should include all types of student sit-ins, not just anti-sweatshop ones. The similarity of the events is what matters, not the issue. With a larger sample, one could investigate institutional-level causes of high-risk and high-cost activism, including institutional ranking, enrollment, tuition, history of activism, and factors specific to the local group and its campaign.

Fifth, one could analyze the sit-in's internal dynamics. At a minimum, one could compare initial participants to late joiners to identify different motivating factors. For instance, Guthrie (1995) found that media coverage mobilized late joiners who lacked organizational ties into the 1989 Chinese Student Movement. To do this comparison one could measure student participation in the campus movement's main events, including each day of the sit-in.

Ultimately, the best method to learn the dynamics of participation in high-risk and cost activism would be to take an ethnographic approach. By ignoring the micro-level details of tactics like sit-ins, researchers may ignore important causes of participation. At a minimum, one could interview activists to ask how they experienced the events, focussing on their perceptions of risk and cost. Ideally one would observe and/or participate in high-risk and high-cost activism to learn what happens first hand. Combining this ethnographic approach with a survey would be best.

### *Conclusion*

Initial student participation in high-risk/cost anti-sweatshop sit-ins is a result of being socialized into leftist political views by their parents and other factors, a history of activism that is intertwined with having network ties to activist organizations,



biographical availability (being young, having free time, and a high family income), and the student's evaluations and expectations about the movement. Biographical availability and other cost-related variables led to participation in terms of cost in the sit-in. These findings confirm previous work in the field, including McAdam's (1986) results on the primacy of networks and Wilfang and McAdam (1991) on biographical availability, while adding some additional areas of theoretical interest. Moving beyond structural theory, perceptions also matter, and researchers need to include actors' expectations and strategic evaluations if we are to gain a fuller understanding of the causes of high-risk and high-cost participation. In addition, the accessibility of the high risk/cost action is critical in determining whether the movement can expand its base of support beyond the initial activists who organized the event. An accessible action that receives media coverage, allows non-participants to visit, dramatically seizes a community's attention, and that is accompanied by outreach can recruit new participants who previously lacked activist ties and an activist history – thus increasing the movement's probability of achieving success.

APPENDIX 1  
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Political Views	216	1	4	1.648	0.751
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	216	1	7	4.986	2.094
Belief that Individual Action Can Make a Difference	216	1	5	4.245	0.969
Expectation of Effectiveness of the Local Campaign	216	0	7	3.727	1.014
Expectation of Effectiveness of the National Campaign	216	1	5	4.125	0.856
Expectation of the Sit-in's Effectiveness	216	-1	5	2.250	1.158
Expectation of Threats of Discipline to Participants	216	0	5	3.245	1.087
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	216	1	7	3.500	1.169
Expectation of Sit-in Length	216	1	8	2.889	1.328
Female	216	0	1	0.532	0.500
Homosexuality	216	1	5	1.560	0.816
Religious Attendance	216	1	5	2.199	1.122
Parents' Protest History	216	0	4	1.856	0.859
Parents' Labor Protest History	216	0	2	1.319	0.477
Student Protest with Parents	216	1	3	1.245	0.510
Number of Parent Union Members	216	1	3	1.264	0.519
Income	216	1	8	4.162	1.596
GPA	216	1	6	4.398	0.857
Study (hrs/week)	216	1	7	3.634	1.717
Class (hrs/week)	216	1	6	3.301	1.115
Work (hrs/week)	216	1	5	2.671	1.301
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	216	1	5	2.306	0.915
Leisure (hrs/week)	216	1	7	3.231	1.547
Schedule Flexibility	216	1	5	3.394	1.099
Activist Group Memberships	216	1	6	3.051	1.348
Activist Identity	216	1	2	1.657	0.476
Past Protest Activity	216	1	4	2.481	0.940
Sit-in Experience	216	1	2	1.046	0.211
Civil Disobedience Experience	216	1	2	1.056	0.230
Aware of USAS Activism at Other Campuses	216	1	2	1.852	0.356
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	216	1	5	3.083	0.803
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	216	1	2	1.009	0.096
Know Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	216	1	2	1.519	0.501
Attendance at Local USAS Events	216	1	3	2.130	0.729
Know Local USAS Members	216	1	3	2.653	0.606
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	216	1	5	2.699	1.627
Years Involved in Local USAS	216	1	5	2.245	1.129
Leader of Local USAS	216	1	2	1.144	0.351
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	216	1	5	1.995	1.241

APPENDIX 1  
CONTINUED

	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Involvement in other Activist Groups (hrs/week)	216	1	5	2.449	1.176
Progress in Negotiations with the Administration	216	0	4	1.773	0.721
Tactical Exhaustion	216	1	5	3.167	0.857
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	216	1	4	2.944	0.948
Age	216	18	51	22.310	4.434
Married	216	0	1	0.032	0.177
Graduate Student	216	0	1	0.208	0.407
Years of Activism	216	0	5	1.972	1.752
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	216	1	3	1.676	0.816
Know Sit-in Participants at other Campuses	216	1	3	1.213	0.511
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	216	1	2	1.269	0.444
USAS Listserv Participation	216	1	4	1.444	0.872
USAS Conference Call Participation	216	1	3	1.093	0.335
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	216	1	2	1.019	0.135
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	216	1	2	1.009	0.096
Jewish	216	1	2	1.097	0.297
Sit-in Planning (hours)	216	1	4	2.167	1.205
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	216	0	1	0.606	0.490
Arizona	216	0	1	0.102	0.303
Duke	216	0	1	0.074	0.262
Iowa	216	0	1	0.130	0.337
Kentucky	216	0	1	0.116	0.321
Michigan	216	0	1	0.157	0.365
Pennsylvania	216	0	1	0.120	0.326
Tulane	216	0	1	0.208	0.407
UNC	216	0	1	0.093	0.291
Sit-in Length	216	8	246	132.4	89.6
Sit-in Length Squared	216	64	60516	25513	24351
Sit-in Participation - Risk	216	0	2	1.278	0.855
Sit-in Participation - Cost	215	0	11	2.623	3.296
Parents' Political Views	216	2	10	5.843	1.886
Parents' Education	216	2	10	8.218	1.721

## APPENDIX 2 CORRELATIONS

	Political Views	Concern for Sweatshop Workers	Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	Expect. Effect. National Campaign	Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	Expectation of Sit-in Length	Female	Homosexuality	Religious Attendance	Parents' Protest History
Political Views	1	-0.024	0.055	-0.041	-0.040	0.102	0.089	0.069	-0.053	0.092	-0.147*	0.304**	-0.158*
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	-0.024	1	0.279**	0.117	0.196**	0.047	-0.197*	-0.136**	-0.014	0.100	0.094	0.005	-0.097
Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	0.055	0.279**	1	0.239**	0.215**	0.016	-0.110	-0.055	0.057	0.046	-0.004	0.169*	0.003
Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	-0.041	0.117	0.239**	1	0.645**	-0.056	-0.095	-0.159*	-0.009	0.040	0.000	-0.038	-0.013
Expect. Effect. National Campaign	-0.040	0.196**	0.215**	0.645**	1	-0.022	-0.238**	-0.174**	-0.016	0.181**	-0.061	-0.007	-0.045
Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	0.102	0.047	0.016	-0.056	-0.022	1	-0.182**	-0.264**	0.251**	0.155*	-0.075	0.083	0.060
Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	0.089	-0.197**	-0.110	-0.095	-0.238**	-0.182**	1	0.682**	-0.236**	0.024	0.007	0.109	0.108
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	0.069	-0.136*	-0.055	-0.159*	-0.174**	-0.264**	0.682**	1	-0.213**	-0.068	0.007	0.030	0.123
Expectation of Sit-in Length	-0.053	-0.014	0.057	-0.009	-0.016	0.251**	-0.236**	-0.213**	1	0.040	-0.028	-0.007	0.080
Female	0.092	0.100	0.046	0.040	0.181**	0.155*	0.024	-0.068	0.040	1	0.189**	0.051	-0.016
Homosexuality	-0.147*	0.094	-0.004	0.000	-0.061	-0.075	0.007	0.007	-0.028	0.189**	1	-0.087	-0.090
Religious Attendance	0.304**	0.005	0.169*	-0.038	-0.007	0.083	0.109	0.030	-0.007	0.051	-0.087	1	0.020
Parents' Protest History	-0.158*	-0.097	0.003	-0.013	-0.045	0.060	0.108	0.123	0.080	-0.016	-0.090	0.020	1
Parents' Labor Protest History	-0.100	-0.140*	-0.040	-0.059	-0.030	0.099	0.117	0.054	0.020	-0.151*	-0.151*	-0.076	0.566**
Student Protest with Parents	-0.077	-0.123	-0.047	-0.077	-0.007	0.037	0.218**	0.160**	0.034	0.051	-0.131	-0.004	0.484**
Parunion	0.048	0.012	-0.102	0.067	0.103	-0.110	-0.008	-0.050	0.056	-0.042	-0.098	-0.027	0.190**
Income	0.071	-0.125	-0.029	-0.090	-0.090	-0.105	0.197**	0.176*	-0.038	0.037	0.105	0.042	0.054
GPA	-0.280**	-0.051	0.005	0.029	0.097	0.054	-0.100	-0.125	0.055	0.013	-0.128	-0.010	0.027
Study (hrs/week)	-0.201**	0.021	-0.072	-0.007	0.006	-0.103	-0.026	-0.119	-0.016	-0.151*	-0.132	-0.018	0.103
Class (hrs/week)	0.199**	0.044	0.108	0.028	0.019	0.050	-0.103	0.0160	0.073	0.037	-0.038	0.008	0.011
Work (hrs/week)	-0.114	0.022	0.005	0.034	-0.117	0.079	-0.002	-0.078	0.070	-0.023	0.043	-0.095	0.049
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	0.022	-0.034	0.135*	0.161*	0.099	-0.165*	-0.085	-0.113	-0.022	-0.042	-0.075	0.122	-0.021
Leisure (hrs/week)	0.151*	-0.184**	-0.088	-0.075	-0.099	-0.157*	0.154*	0.129	-0.051	-0.088	-0.011	-0.086	-0.080
Schedule Flexibility	-0.068	-0.042	-0.104	0.072	0.150*	-0.048	0.020	-0.024	-0.145*	-0.044	0.085	-0.181*	-0.043
Activist Group Memberships	-0.212**	0.068	0.140*	0.187*	0.035	-0.071	-0.050	-0.093	0.112	-0.040	0.029	-0.056	0.147*
Activist Identity	-0.313**	0.047	0.113	0.104	0.003	0.038	-0.053	-0.092	0.072	-0.090	0.077	-0.081	0.221**
Past Protest Activity	-0.411**	0.029	-0.013	0.100	0.000	-0.094	-0.075	-0.182**	0.218**	-0.122	0.095	-0.109	0.086
Sit-in Experience	-0.102	0.160*	0.035	-0.071	0.097	0.010	0.011	0.038	-0.098	0.030	0.011	0.059	0.140*
Civil Disobedience Experience	-0.210	0.021	0.043	-0.034	-0.012	-0.105	0.038	0.087	0.097	-0.097	0.032	0.083	0.159*
Aware of USAS Activism	-0.022	-0.059	0.011	-0.035	-0.046	0.147*	-0.122	-0.201**	-0.055	0.001	0.031	0.004	0.037
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	-0.221**	0.109	0.039	0.017	0.005	0.008	-0.253**	-0.139*	0.127	-0.204**	0.035	-0.194*	0.017
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	-0.019	-0.184**	-0.025	0.170*	-0.127	0.063	0.112	0.083	0.045	-0.006	-0.007	0.026	0.129
Know Delegation Participant	-0.106	0.056	0.082	0.005	0.087	0.048	-0.218**	-0.143*	0.143*	0.025	-0.065	0.022	-0.053
Attendance at Local USAS Events	-0.281**	-0.035	-0.025	0.067	0.086	0.055	-0.152*	-0.278**	0.130	0.014	0.112	-0.009	0.052
Know Local USAS Members	-0.127	-0.033	-0.052	-0.011	-0.068	0.058	-0.068	-0.135*	0.010	0.014	0.094	-0.076	0.074
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	-0.235**	-0.102	-0.118	-0.067	-0.046	0.100	0.008	-0.023	-0.095	-0.139*	0.057	-0.059	0.036
Years Involved in Local USAS	-0.221**	-0.077	-0.089	0.010	-0.017	0.003	-0.072	-0.090	-0.038	-0.076	-0.019	-0.064	0.065
Leader of Local USAS	-0.143*	-0.124	-0.049	-0.111	-0.122	-0.123	0.054	0.130	-0.095	-0.093	-0.055	-0.049	0.022
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	-0.231**	-0.036	-0.111	0.017	0.014	-0.070	0.056	0.014	-0.113	-0.168*	0.012	-0.033	0.065
Involvement in other Activist Groups	-0.299**	0.174*	0.127	0.205**	0.115	-0.049	-0.057	-0.134*	0.050	0.034	0.032	-0.019	0.152*
Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	0.015	-0.233**	0.020	0.004	-0.044	-0.060	0.148*	0.141*	-0.094	-0.089	-0.099	0.085	0.067
Tactical Exhaustion	-0.320**	0.009	0.046	0.074	0.219**	-0.103	-0.104	0.009	0.069	-0.045	0.065	0.004	-0.031
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	-0.230**	0.100	0.015	-0.055	-0.020	-0.017	-0.054	-0.113	-0.075	-0.006	0.094	-0.121	-0.027
Age	-0.245**	0.009	-0.094	-0.041	-0.002	0.014	-0.039	-0.057	-0.103	-0.146*	-0.005	-0.030	-0.126
Married	-0.089	-0.099	-0.101	0.024	-0.088	0.006	0.055	0.011	-0.004	-0.038	-0.094	-0.009	-0.122
Graduate Student	-0.231**	-0.057	-0.107	-0.031	-0.022	0.017	0.042	-0.015	-0.095	-0.136*	-0.045	-0.020	-0.074
Years of Activism	-0.315**	0.000	0.042	0.045	-0.041	0.031	0.038	0.009	0.013	-0.095	0.096	-0.099	0.214**
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	-0.187**	-0.062	0.001	0.039	-0.055	-0.027	-0.083	-0.093	0.070	-0.054	0.029	-0.005	0.079
Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	-0.155*	-0.062	0.044	0.059	0.003	-0.043	-0.153*	-0.062	0.021	-0.027	-0.009	-0.009	-0.089
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	-0.245**	-0.001	-0.013	0.102	0.034	-0.068	-0.06	-0.054	-0.004	-0.060	0.019	-0.033	0.065
USAS Listserv Participation	-0.080	-0.121	-0.042	0.149*	0.081	-0.092	0.002	-0.009	-0.182**	-0.097	-0.064	-0.039	-0.020
USAS Conference Call Participation	-0.129	-0.164*	-0.156*	0.047	0.024	-0.120	0.027	0.036	-0.134	-0.073	-0.037	0.013	0.111
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	0.065	-0.065	0.072	0.071	-0.060	0.000	0.064	0.029	0.141*	-0.009	-0.010	0.160*	0.023
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	0.045	-0.184**	-0.174*	0.074	-0.071	-0.105	0.112	0.124	0.045	-0.103	-0.067	0.026	0.073
Jewish	-0.117	-0.132	-0.002	0.011	-0.048	-0.085	0.113	0.060	-0.079	0.026	-0.015	0.151*	0.274**
Sit-in Planning (hours)	-0.213**	0.001	-0.027	0.072	0.110	0.010	0.018	-0.053	-0.038	0.084	0.117	-0.049	0.068
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	-0.201**	-0.114	-0.050	-0.021	0.007	-0.129	-0.010	0.004	-0.153*	0.024	-0.063	0.092	0.097
Arizona	-0.046	0.097	-0.133	-0.076	-0.067	-0.020	0.164*	0.118	-0.214**	-0.083	0.032	-0.087	-0.033
Duke	0.062	-0.159*	-0.090	-0.046	-0.083	-0.122	0.197**	0.167*	0.064	-0.125	-0.086	0.092	0.068
Iowa	-0.113	-0.083	-0.126	0.104	0.121	0.083	-0.240**	-0.319**	-0.113	-0.025	-0.029	0.018	-0.144*
Kentucky	-0.062	0.134*	0.088	0.026	0.133	0.235**	-0.469**	-0.416**	0.500**	0.194**	0.053	-0.129	-0.041
Michigan	0.016	-0.009	-0.031	0.016	-0.093	0.137*	0.148*	0.109	0.266**	-0.079	0.015	-0.066	0.072
Pennsylvania	0.022	-0.004	0.171*	0.086	0.096	-0.203**	0.166*	0.171*	-0.173*	0.062	-0.062	0.227**	0.195**
Tulane	0.271**	0.047	0.070	-0.109	-0.102	-0.012	-0.042	0.034	-0.335**	0.047	0.025	0.011	-0.047
UNC	-0.234**	-0.059	0.018	0.007	0.009	-0.152*	0.134*	0.178**	0.075	-0.021	0.035	-0.057	-0.058
Sit-in Length	0.182**	0.057	0.030	-0.066	-0.059	-0.145*	0.146*	0.163*	-0.624**	-0.007	-0.001	0.093	-0.002
Sit-in Length Squared	0.217**	0.082	0.045	-0.09	-0.072	-0.115	0.106	0.140*	-0.573**	0.015	0.009	0.071	-0.002
Sit-in Participation - Risk	-0.072	0.023	0.024	-0.057	0.022	-0.127	0.126	0.121	-0.169*	-0.043	0.016	-0.024	0.067
Sit-in Participation - Cost	-0.005	0.029	-0.023	0.002	0.039	-0.162*	0.118	0.137*	-0.365**	0.021	0.077	-0.008	-0.045
Parents' Political Views	0.283**	0.129	0.141*	0.177*	0.127	-0.035	-0.058	-0.044	0.060	0.114	0.073	0.105	-0.465**
Parents' Education	-0.138*	-0.019	-0.015	0.010	-0.053	-0.027	0.073	0.124	-0.063	-0.103	-0.094	0.108	0.273**

## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED

	Parents' Labor Protest History	Student Protest with Parents	Parunion	Income	GPA	Study (hrs/week)	Class (hrs/week)	Work (hrs/week)	Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	Leisure (hrs/week)	Schedule Flexibility	Activist Group Memberships	Activist Identity
Political Views	-0.100	-0.077	0.048	0.071	-0.280**	-0.201**	0.199**	-0.114	0.022	0.151*	-0.068	-0.212**	-0.313**
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	-0.140*	-0.123	0.012	-0.125	-0.051	0.021	0.044	0.022	-0.034	-0.184**	-0.042	0.068	0.047
Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	-0.040	-0.047	-0.102	-0.029	0.005	-0.072	0.108	0.005	0.135*	-0.088	-0.104	0.140*	0.113
Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	-0.059	-0.077	0.067	-0.090	0.029	-0.007	0.028	0.034	0.161**	-0.075	0.072	0.187**	0.104
Expect. Effect. National Campaign	-0.030	-0.007	0.103	-0.090	0.097	0.006	0.019	-0.117	0.099	-0.099	0.150*	0.035	0.003
Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	0.099	0.037	-0.110	-0.105	0.054	-0.103	0.050	0.079	-0.165*	-0.157*	-0.048	-0.071	0.038
Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	0.117	0.218**	-0.008	0.197**	-0.100	-0.026	-0.103	-0.002	-0.085	0.154*	0.020	-0.050	-0.053
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	0.054	0.160*	-0.050	0.176*	-0.125	-0.119	0.016	-0.078	-0.113	0.129	-0.024	-0.093	-0.092
Expectation of Sit-in Length	0.020	0.034	0.056	-0.038	0.055	-0.016	0.073	0.070	-0.022	-0.051	-0.145*	0.112	0.072
Female	-0.151*	0.051	-0.042	0.037	0.013	-0.151*	0.037	-0.023	-0.042	-0.088	-0.044	-0.040	-0.090
Homosexuality	-0.151*	-0.131	-0.098	0.105	-0.128	-0.132	-0.038	0.043	-0.075	-0.011	0.085	0.029	0.077
Religious Attendance	-0.076	-0.004	-0.027	0.042	-0.010	-0.018	0.008	-0.095	0.122	-0.086	-0.181**	-0.056	-0.081
Parents' Protest History	0.566**	0.484**	0.190**	0.054	0.027	0.103	0.011	0.049	-0.021	-0.080	-0.043	0.147*	0.221**
Parents' Labor Protest History	1	0.402**	0.409**	0.060	0.143*	0.132	-0.033	-0.070	0.042	-0.025	-0.001	-0.004	0.177*
Student Protest with Parents	0.402**	1	0.228**	0.117	-0.065	0.076	-0.040	0.038	-0.052	-0.078	-0.057	0.022	0.099
Parunion	0.409**	0.228**	1	0.0100	0.045	-0.006	-0.001	0.012	0.006	-0.030	0.062	-0.106	-0.028
Income	0.060	0.117	0.010	1	0.000	-0.065	0.030	-0.279**	0.052	0.039	-0.076	0.106	0.080
GPA	0.143*	-0.065	0.045	0.000	1	0.261**	-0.102	-0.003	-0.008	-0.214**	-0.182**	0.027	0.108
Study (hrs/week)	0.132	0.076	-0.006	-0.065	0.261**	1	-0.061	0.069	-0.003	-0.187**	-0.170*	-0.052	0.057
Class (hrs/week)	-0.033	-0.040	-0.001	0.030	-0.102	-0.061	1	-0.134	0.247**	-0.108	-0.310**	0.064	-0.068
Work (hrs/week)	-0.070	0.038	0.012	-0.279	-0.003	0.069	-0.134	1	0.054	-0.147*	-0.082	-0.059	-0.033
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	0.042	-0.052	0.006	0.052	-0.008	-0.003	0.247**	0.054	1	-0.139*	-0.120	0.244**	0.039
Leisure (hrs/week)	-0.025	-0.078	-0.03	0.039	-0.214**	-0.187**	-0.108	-0.147*	-0.139	1	0.387**	-0.162*	-0.113
Schedule Flexibility	-0.001	-0.057	0.062	-0.076	-0.182**	-0.170*	-0.310**	-0.082	-0.12	0.387**	1	-0.007	0.001
Activist Group Memberships	-0.004	0.022	-0.106	0.106	0.027	-0.052	0.064	-0.059	0.244**	-0.162*	-0.007	1	0.499**
Activist Identity	0.177*	0.099	-0.028	0.080	0.108	0.057	-0.068	-0.033	0.039	-0.113	0.001	0.499**	1
Past Protest Activity	0.060	0.102	0.034	0.044	0.165*	0.164*	-0.086	0.141*	0.077	-0.163*	-0.036	0.399**	0.537**
Sit-in Experience	0.037	0.110	-0.027	0.019	0.000	0.176**	-0.020	0.056	-0.098	-0.076	-0.079	0.008	0.066
Civil Disobedience Experience	0.007	0.042	-0.085	0.013	-0.137*	0.064	-0.029	0.139*	-0.015	-0.089	-0.069	0.066	0.132
Aware of USAS Activism	0.033	0.047	0.036	-0.007	0.118	0.048	0.019	0.035	0.054	-0.081	-0.041	0.239**	0.303**
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	0.185**	0.063	0.081	-0.141*	-0.076	-0.049	0.071	-0.125	0.124	-0.109	0.079	0.138*	0.160*
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	-0.065	0.048	-0.049	0.021	-0.045	-0.092	-0.070	0.136*	-0.032	-0.077	-0.123	0.140*	0.070
Know Delegation Participant	-0.015	-0.045	-0.028	0.052	0.004	-0.027	0.094	-0.158*	0.120	-0.078	-0.102	0.333**	0.222**
Attendance at Local USAS Events	0.068	0.039	-0.042	0.070	0.125	0.057	-0.008	0.040	0.122	-0.200**	-0.029	0.391**	0.303**
Know Local USAS Members	0.096	-0.069	-0.033	0.049	0.106	-0.038	-0.058	0.079	0.083	-0.038	0.115	0.289**	0.424**
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	0.041	0.045	-0.010	0.101	0.078	-0.070	-0.063	-0.029	0.090	-0.199**	-0.043	0.253**	0.329**
Years Involved in Local USAS	0.001	0	-0.040	0.115	0.076	0.130	0.011	-0.024	0.139*	-0.190**	-0.119	0.331**	0.400**
Leader of Local USAS	-0.081	0.062	-0.132	0.141*	0.118	0.049	-0.016	-0.090	-0.007	-0.138*	-0.087	0.132	0.240**
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	0.018	0.083	-0.020	0.036	0.041	0.078	-0.063	-0.093	0.026	-0.145*	-0.033	0.203**	0.313**
Involvement in other Activist Groups	0.091	0.033	0.064	-0.039	0.108	0.135*	-0.033	0.097	0.252**	-0.254**	-0.069	0.523**	0.476**
Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	0.090	0.076	0.098	-0.061	0.019	0.079	0.131	0.128	0.113	-0.082	-0.092	-0.084	-0.011
Tactical Exhaustion	-0.063	0.002	-0.037	-0.054	0.080	-0.078	-0.174*	-0.013	0.000	-0.054	0.187**	0.202**	0.163*
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	-0.012	-0.049	-0.055	0.046	0.067	0.033	0.007	0.015	0.068	-0.159**	0.0210	0.333**	0.360**
Age	-0.056	-0.046	-0.129	-0.319**	0.218**	0.326**	-0.266**	0.254**	-0.092	-0.058	-0.034	-0.064	0.046
Married	-0.068	-0.088	-0.043	0.031	0.129	0.115	0.021	0.087	-0.033	0.023	-0.113	0.013	-0.033
Graduate Student	-0.009	0.021	-0.107	-0.238**	0.188**	0.396**	-0.364**	0.271**	-0.059	0.026	0.045	-0.062	0.058
Years of Activism	0.228**	0.205**	-0.017	0.095	0.100	0.103	-0.091	0.059	-0.018	-0.044	-0.002	0.369**	0.815**
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	0.028	0.125	0.005	0.019	0.086	0.094	-0.015	0.026	0.021	-0.213**	-0.018	0.286**	0.264**
Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	-0.013	0.102	0.050	0.043	0.071	0.137*	-0.072	0.057	-0.001	-0.092	-0.075	0.126	0.148*
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	0.032	0.036	0.014	0.011	0.084	0.081	-0.154*	0.009	-0.008	-0.145*	0.011	0.272**	0.217**
USAS Listserv Participation	-0.130	0.078	-0.065	0.092	0.055	0.075	-0.081	0.027	0.033	-0.077	-0.038	0.123	0.122
USAS Conference Call Participation	0.076	0.166*	0.099	0.111	0.065	0.180*	-0.075	-0.143*	0.029	-0.095	-0.087	0.041	0.112
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	-0.020	0.069	-0.070	0.137*	-0.064	0.089	-0.006	-0.071	0.105	-0.087	-0.143*	0.046	0.027
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	-0.065	-0.047	-0.049	0.112	0.012	0.049	0.017	-0.050	0.127	0.017	-0.079	-0.004	-0.032
Jewish	0.174*	0.272**	0.165*	0.094	0.103	0.097	-0.117	-0.073	0.113	-0.100	-0.089	0.092	0.072
Sit-in Planning (hours)	-0.004	0.062	-0.041	0.155*	0.044	-0.051	-0.062	-0.110	0.008	-0.181**	0.006	0.324	0.262**
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	0.003	-0.003	0.044	0.118	0.187**	0.116	-0.234**	0.044	-0.073	-0.045	0.021	0.038	0.097
Arizona	-0.001	0.048	-0.053	-0.198**	0.058	0.206**	-0.229**	0.121	-0.146*	-0.031	0.144*	-0.206**	-0.144*
Duke	0.033	-0.067	-0.008	0.093	0.075	-0.012	-0.061	-0.119	0.138*	0.164*	0.027	0.042	0.055
Iowa	-0.143*	-0.105	-0.010	-0.100	-0.019	-0.006	-0.055	0.193**	0.037	-0.013	0.063	-0.097	-0.012
Kentucky	-0.121	-0.061	-0.045	-0.055	0.035	-0.125	0.097	-0.042	0.006	-0.017	0.015	0.245**	0.109
Michigan	0.164*	0.141*	0.148*	0.124	0.022	0.055	0.066	0.031	-0.061	-0.122	-0.202**	-0.111	-0.036
Pennsylvania	0.110	0.129	0.031	0.186**	0.044	-0.037	-0.011	-0.093	0.032	-0.037	-0.042	0.124	-0.003
Tulane	-0.033	-0.113	-0.019	-0.002	-0.172*	-0.090	0.189**	-0.151*	-0.022	0.056	0.065	0.023	-0.038
UNC	-0.013	0.034	-0.070	-0.063	0.019	0.040	-0.086	0.081	0.051	0.035	-0.056	-0.012	0.096
Sit-in Length	0.002	-0.019	-0.032	-0.051	-0.109	0.043	-0.006	-0.036	-0.083	0.003	0.131	-0.105	-0.137*
Sit-in Length Squared	-0.004	-0.035	-0.038	-0.052	-0.116	0.022	0.026	-0.075	-0.087	0.014	0.139*	-0.070	-0.128
Sit-in Participation - Risk	0.032	0.067	0.002	0.107	0.039	0.050	-0.005	-0.089	-0.008	-0.077	0.076	0.165*	0.189**
Sit-in Participation - Cost	0.017	-0.029	-0.010	0.149*	-0.177**	0.028	0.044	-0.159*	-0.056	-0.049	0.162*	0.119	0.009
Parents' Political Views	-0.487**	-0.385**	-0.128	-0.072	-0.068	-0.159*	0.076	-0.031	-0.004	0.027	-0.019	0.021	-0.092
Parents' Education	0.147*	0.167*	-0.054	0.336**	0.118	0.117	-0.054	-0.161*	0.020	-0.036	0.036	0.079	0.091

## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED

	Past Protest Activity	Sit-in Experience	Civil Disobedience Experience	Aware of USAS Activism	Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	Know Delegation Participant	Attendance at Local USAS Events	Know Local USAS Members	Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	Years Involved in Local USAS	Leader of Local USAS	Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)
Political Views	-0.411**	-0.102	-0.210**	-0.022	-0.221**	-0.019	-0.106	-0.281**	-0.127	-0.235**	-0.221**	-0.143*	-0.231**
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	0.029	0.160*	0.021	-0.059	0.109	-0.184**	0.056	-0.035	-0.033	-0.102	-0.077	-0.124	-0.036
Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	-0.013	0.035	0.043	0.011	0.039	-0.025	0.082	-0.025	-0.052	-0.118	-0.089	-0.049	-0.111
Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	0.100	-0.071	-0.034	-0.035	0.017	0.170*	0.005	0.067	-0.011	-0.067	0.010	-0.111	0.017
Expect. Effect. National Campaign	0.000	0.097	-0.012	-0.046	0.005	-0.127	0.087	0.086	-0.068	-0.046	-0.017	-0.122	0.014
Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	-0.094	0.010	-0.105	0.147*	0.008	0.063	0.048	0.055	0.058	0.010	0.003	-0.123	-0.070
Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	-0.075	0.011	0.038	-0.122	-0.253**	0.112	-0.218**	-0.152*	-0.068	0.008	-0.072	0.054	0.056
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	-0.182**	0.038	0.087	-0.201**	-0.139*	0.083	-0.143*	-0.278**	-0.135*	-0.023	-0.090	0.130	0.014
Expectation of Sit-in Length	0.218**	-0.098	0.097	-0.055	0.127	0.045	0.143*	0.130	0.010	-0.095	-0.038	-0.095	-0.113
Female	-0.122	0.030	-0.097	0.001	-0.204**	-0.006	0.025	0.014	0.014	-0.139*	-0.076	-0.093	-0.168*
Homosexuality	0.095	0.011	0.032	0.031	0.035	-0.007	-0.065	0.112	0.094	0.057	-0.019	-0.055	0.012
Religious Attendance	-0.109	0.059	0.083	0.004	-0.194**	0.026	0.022	-0.009	-0.076	-0.059	-0.064	-0.049	-0.033
Parents' Protest History	0.086	0.140*	0.159*	0.037	0.017	0.129	-0.053	0.052	0.074	0.036	0.065	0.022	0.065
Parents' Labor Protest History	0.060	0.037	0.007	0.033	0.185**	-0.065	-0.015	0.068	0.096	0.041	0.001	-0.081	0.018
Student Protest with Parents	0.102	0.110	0.042	0.047	0.063	0.048	-0.045	0.039	-0.069	0.045	0.000	0.062	0.083
Parunion	0.034	-0.027	-0.085	0.036	0.081	-0.049	-0.028	-0.042	-0.033	-0.010	-0.040	-0.132	-0.020
Income	0.044	0.019	0.013	-0.007	-0.141*	0.021	0.052	0.070	0.049	0.101	0.115	0.141*	0.036
GPA	0.165*	0.000	-0.137*	0.118	-0.076	-0.045	0.004	0.125	0.106	0.076	0.076	0.118	0.041
Study (hrs/week)	0.164*	0.176**	0.064	0.048	-0.049	-0.092	-0.027	0.057	-0.038	0.070	0.130	0.049	0.078
Class (hrs/week)	-0.086	-0.020	-0.029	0.019	0.071	-0.070	0.094	-0.008	-0.058	-0.063	0.011	-0.016	-0.063
Work (hrs/week)	0.141*	0.056	0.139*	0.035	-0.125	0.136*	-0.158*	0.040	0.079	-0.029	-0.024	-0.090	-0.093
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	0.077	-0.098	-0.015	0.054	0.124	-0.032	0.120	0.122	0.083	0.090	0.139*	-0.007	0.026
Leisure (hrs/week)	-0.163*	-0.076	-0.089	-0.081	-0.109	-0.077	-0.078	-0.200**	-0.038	-0.199**	-0.190**	-0.138*	-0.145*
Schedule Flexibility	-0.036	-0.079	-0.069	-0.041	0.079	-0.123	-0.102	-0.029	0.115	-0.043	-0.119	-0.087	-0.033
Activist Group Memberships	0.399**	0.008	0.066	0.239**	0.138*	0.140*	0.333**	0.391**	0.289**	0.253**	0.331**	0.132	0.203**
Activist Identity	0.537**	0.066	0.132	0.303**	0.160*	0.070	0.222**	0.303**	0.424**	0.329**	0.400**	0.240**	0.313**
Past Protest Activity	1	0.075	0.199**	0.186**	0.150*	0.105	0.248**	0.567**	0.377**	0.393**	0.467**	0.269**	0.345**
Sit-in Experience	0.075	1	0.235**	0.092	-0.133	-0.021	-0.052	-0.009	0.017	-0.041	-0.068	-0.027	-0.017
Civil Disobedience Experience	0.199**	0.235**	1	0.044	-0.151*	0.188**	0.112	0.123	0.072	0.157*	0.145*	0.131	0.197**
Aware of USAS Activism	0.186**	0.092	0.044	1	0.092	0.040	0.094	0.253**	0.299**	0.332**	0.311**	0.171**	0.262**
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	0.150*	-0.133	-0.151*	0.092	1	-0.070	-0.015	0.164*	0.041	0.208**	0.208**	0.106	0.145*
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	0.105	-0.021	0.188**	0.040	-0.070	1	0.093	0.116	0.056	0.107	0.065	0.098	0.039
Know Delegation Participant	0.248**	-0.052	0.112	0.094	-0.015	0.093	1	0.388**	0.320**	0.329**	0.366**	0.157*	0.318**
Attendance at Local USAS Events	0.567**	-0.009	0.123	0.253**	0.164*	0.116	0.388**	1	0.418**	0.586**	0.577**	0.344**	0.468**
Know Local USAS Members	0.377**	0.017	0.072	0.299**	0.041	0.056	0.320**	0.418**	1	0.445**	0.417**	0.213**	0.357**
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	0.393**	-0.041	0.157*	0.332**	0.208**	0.107	0.329**	0.586**	0.445**	1	0.744**	0.474**	0.764**
Years Involved in Local USAS	0.467**	-0.068	0.145*	0.311**	0.208**	0.065	0.366**	0.577**	0.417**	0.744**	1	0.450**	0.615**
Leader of Local USAS	0.269**	-0.027	0.131	0.171*	0.106	0.098	0.157*	0.344**	0.213**	0.474**	0.450**	1	0.546**
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	0.345**	-0.017	0.197*	0.262**	0.145*	0.039	0.318**	0.468**	0.357**	0.764**	0.615**	0.546**	1
Involvement in other Activist Groups	0.489**	0.160*	0.148*	0.182**	0.054	0.004	0.195**	0.279**	0.239**	0.166*	0.249**	0.035	0.177**
Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	-0.065	0.008	0.161*	0.086	-0.015	-0.037	-0.059	0.003	0.042	0.140*	0.114	0.074	0.170*
Tactical Exhaustion	0.241**	0.009	0.142*	0.173*	0.061	0.094	0.329**	0.255**	0.148*	0.229**	0.150*	0.136	0.198**
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	0.427**	0.013	0.121	0.237**	0.049	0.057	0.433**	0.468**	0.630**	0.598**	0.517**	0.345**	0.446**
Age	0.137*	0.164*	0.111	0.073	0.018	-0.018	-0.087	0.005	0.009	-0.040	0.005	-0.017	0.027
Married	-0.038	0.084	-0.044	-0.071	0.046	-0.018	-0.033	0.003	-0.068	-0.030	0.007	-0.075	-0.042
Graduate Student	0.138*	0.158*	0.025	0.021	0.018	-0.050	-0.122	0.003	-0.026	-0.024	0.040	-0.080	-0.053
Years of Activism	0.519**	0.180**	0.166*	0.239**	0.094	0.085	0.080	0.207**	0.311**	0.193**	0.243**	0.142	0.222**
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	0.410**	0.088	0.196**	0.346**	0.041	0.098	0.254**	0.407**	0.326**	0.437**	0.450**	0.341**	0.393**
Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	0.299**	0.124	0.018	0.123	0.093	-0.040	0.257**	0.300**	0.180**	0.290**	0.280**	0.217**	0.302**
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	0.402**	0.065	0.263	0.253**	0.080	0.160*	0.354**	0.409**	0.279**	0.530**	0.480**	0.407**	0.593**
USAS Listserv Participation	0.220**	-0.011	0.085	0.213**	0.040	0.173*	0.215**	0.289**	0.179**	0.406**	0.418**	0.413**	0.479**
USAS Conference Call Participation	0.153*	0.005	0.054	0.115	0.023	-0.027	0.184**	0.198**	0.159*	0.367**	0.358**	0.361**	0.516**
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	0.076	-0.030	-0.033	0.057	-0.057	-0.013	0.132	0.164*	0.079	0.110	0.123	0.238**	0.222**
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	0.053	-0.021	0.188**	0.040	-0.252**	-0.009	0.093	0.116	0.056	0.137*	0.151*	0.236**	0.235**
Jewish	0.048	-0.072	-0.080	0.093	0.024	-0.032	0.097	-0.037	0.033	0.042	0.109	-0.001	0.052
Sit-in Planning (hours)	0.340**	-0.049	0.135*	0.253**	0.048	0.107	0.388**	0.510**	0.354**	0.678**	0.496**	0.394**	0.651**
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	0.100	0.132	0.154*	0.064	-0.188**	0.078	0.039	0.078	0.196**	0.102	0.041	0.059	0.135
Arizona	-0.075	0.071	-0.082	-0.118	0.003	-0.033	-0.258**	-0.186**	-0.262**	-0.164*	-0.182**	-0.007	-0.073
Duke	0.043	-0.062	0.163*	0.068	-0.140*	0.157*	0.025	0.095	0.133	0.172*	0.127	0.187**	0.244**
Iowa	0.008	0.046	0.027	0.122	0.080	-0.037	-0.125	0.177**	0.016	0.139*	0.099	0.039	0.135*
Kentucky	0.200**	-0.080	-0.025	0.110	0.125	-0.035	0.320**	0.214**	0.160*	0.067	0.152*	-0.024	-0.034
Michigan	0.036	0.026	-0.105	-0.034	0.146*	-0.042	-0.118	-0.060	0.017	-0.022	-0.060	-0.032	-0.029
Pennsylvania	-0.023	0.054	0.035	-0.006	-0.127	-0.036	0.129	-0.027	0.001	0.016	-0.005	-0.030	0.024
Tulane	-0.239**	-0.059	-0.075	0.021	-0.082	0.069	0.015	-0.170*	0.012	-0.109	-0.081	-0.015	-0.127
UNC	0.126	0.006	0.132	-0.182**	-0.033	-0.031	0.020	0.009	-0.081	-0.059	-0.013	-0.085	-0.076
Sit-in Length	-0.291**	0.048	-0.085	-0.051	-0.128	0.007	-0.156*	-0.260**	-0.177**	-0.168*	-0.185**	-0.035	-0.117
Sit-in Length Squared	-0.289**	0.025	-0.097	-0.040	-0.126	0.021	-0.112	-0.263**	-0.152*	-0.175**	-0.178**	-0.030	-0.134*
Sit-in Participation - Risk	0.087	0.006	0.087	-0.048	-0.034	0.025	0.183**	0.166*	0.115	0.251**	0.151*	0.223**	0.286**
Sit-in Participation - Cost	-0.033	-0.011	0.022	-0.072	0.049	-0.048	0.043	0.096	0.034	0.155*	0.068	0.176**	0.212**
Parents' Political Views	-0.091	-0.087	-0.001	-0.028	-0.151*	0.008	0.062	0.035	-0.072	-0.012	-0.025	-0.085	-0.078
Parents' Education	0.070	-0.002	-0.066	0.022	0.064	0.072	-0.018	0.133	0.122	0.077	0.066	0.117	0.064

## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED

	Involvement in other Activist Groups	Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	Tactical Exhaustion	Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	Age	Married	Graduate Student	Years of Activism	Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	Contacted USAS at other Campuses	USAS Listserv Participation	USAS Conference Call Participation
Political Views	-0.299**	0.015	-0.320**	-0.230**	-0.245**	-0.089	-0.231**	-0.315**	-0.187**	-0.155*	-0.245**	-0.080	-0.129
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	0.174**	-0.233**	0.009	0.100	0.009	-0.099	-0.057	0	-0.062	-0.062	-0.001	-0.121	-0.164*
Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	0.127	0.020	0.046	0.015	-0.094	-0.101	-0.107	0.042	0.001	0.044	-0.013	-0.042	-0.156*
Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	0.205**	0.004	0.074	-0.055	-0.041	0.024	-0.031	0.045	0.039	0.059	0.102	0.149*	0.047
Expect. Effect. National Campaign	0.115	-0.044	0.219**	-0.020	-0.002	-0.088	-0.022	-0.041	-0.055	0.003	0.034	0.081	0.024
Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	-0.049	-0.060	-0.103	-0.017	0.014	0.006	0.017	0.031	-0.027	-0.043	-0.068	-0.092	-0.120
Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	-0.057	0.148*	-0.104	-0.054	-0.039	0.055	0.042	0.038	-0.083	-0.153*	-0.060	0.002	0.027
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	-0.134*	0.141*	0.009	-0.113	-0.057	0.011	-0.015	0.009	-0.093	-0.062	-0.054	-0.009	0.036
Expectation of Sit-in Length	0.050	-0.094	0.069	-0.075	-0.103	-0.004	-0.095	0.013	0.070	0.021	-0.004	-0.182**	-0.134
Female	0.034	-0.089	-0.045	-0.006	-0.146*	-0.038	-0.136*	-0.095	-0.054	-0.027	-0.060	-0.097	-0.073
Homosexuality	0.032	-0.099	0.065	0.094	-0.005	-0.094	-0.045	0.096	0.029	-0.009	0.019	-0.064	-0.037
Religious Attendance	-0.019	0.085	0.004	-0.121	-0.030	-0.009	-0.020	-0.099	-0.005	-0.009	-0.033	-0.039	0.013
Parents' Protest History	0.152*	0.067	-0.031	-0.027	-0.126	-0.122	-0.074	0.214**	0.079	-0.089	0.065	-0.020	0.111
Parents' Labor Protest History	0.091	0.090	-0.063	-0.012	-0.056	-0.068	-0.009	0.228**	0.028	-0.013	0.032	-0.130	0.076
Student Protest with Parents	0.033	0.076	0.002	-0.049	-0.046	-0.088	0.021	0.205**	0.125	0.102	0.036	0.078	0.166*
Parunion	0.064	0.098	-0.037	-0.055	-0.129	-0.043	-0.107	-0.017	0.005	0.050	0.014	-0.065	0.099
Income	-0.039	-0.061	-0.054	0.046	-0.319**	0.031	-0.238**	0.095	0.019	0.043	0.011	0.092	0.111
GPA	0.108	0.019	0.080	0.067	0.218**	0.129	0.188**	0.100	0.086	0.071	0.084	0.055	0.065
Study (hrs/week)	0.135*	0.079	-0.078	0.033	0.326**	0.115	0.396**	0.103	0.094	0.137*	0.081	0.075	0.180**
Class (hrs/week)	-0.033	0.131	-0.174*	0.007	-0.266**	0.021	-0.364**	-0.091	-0.015	-0.072	-0.154*	-0.081	-0.075
Work (hrs/week)	0.097	0.128	-0.013	0.015	0.254**	0.087	0.271**	0.059	0.026	0.057	0.009	0.027	-0.143*
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	0.252**	0.113	0.000	0.068	-0.092	-0.033	-0.059	-0.018	0.021	-0.001	-0.008	0.033	0.029
Leisure (hrs/week)	-0.254**	-0.082	-0.054	-0.159*	-0.058	0.023	0.026	-0.044	-0.213**	-0.092	-0.145*	-0.077	-0.095
Schedule Flexibility	-0.069	-0.092	0.187**	0.021	-0.034	-0.113	0.045	-0.002	-0.018	-0.075	0.011	-0.038	-0.087
Activist Group Memberships	0.523**	-0.084	0.202**	0.333**	-0.064	0.013	-0.062	0.369**	0.286**	0.126	0.272**	0.123	0.041
Activist Identity	0.476**	-0.011	0.163*	0.360**	0.046	-0.033	0.058	0.815**	0.264**	0.148*	0.217**	0.122	0.112
Past Protest Activity	0.489**	-0.065	0.241**	0.427**	0.137*	-0.038	0.138*	0.519**	0.410**	0.299**	0.402**	0.220**	0.153*
Sit-in Experience	0.160*	0.008	0.009	0.013	0.164*	0.084	0.158*	0.180**	0.088	0.124	0.065	-0.011	0.005
Civil Disobedience Experience	0.148*	0.161*	0.142*	0.121	0.111	-0.044	0.025	0.166*	0.196**	0.018	0.263**	0.085	0.054
Aware of USAS Activism	0.182**	0.086	0.173*	0.237**	0.073	-0.071	0.021	0.239**	0.346**	0.123	0.253**	0.213**	0.115
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	0.054	-0.015	0.061	0.049	0.018	0.046	0.018	0.094	0.041	0.093	0.080	0.040	0.023
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	0.004	-0.037	0.094	0.057	-0.018	-0.018	-0.050	0.085	0.098	-0.040	0.160*	0.173*	-0.027
Know Delegation Participant	0.195**	-0.059	0.329**	0.433**	-0.087	-0.033	-0.122	0.080	0.254**	0.257**	0.354**	0.215**	0.184**
Attendance at Local USAS Events	0.279**	0.003	0.255**	0.468**	0.005	0.003	0.003	0.207**	0.407**	0.300**	0.409**	0.289**	0.198**
Know Local USAS Members	0.239**	0.042	0.148*	0.630**	-0.009	-0.068	-0.026	0.311**	0.326**	0.180**	0.279**	0.179**	0.159*
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	0.166*	0.140*	0.229**	0.598**	0.040	-0.030	-0.024	0.193**	0.437**	0.290**	0.530**	0.406**	0.367**
Years Involved in Local USAS	0.249**	0.114	0.150*	0.517**	0.005	0.007	0.040	0.243**	0.450**	0.280**	0.480**	0.418**	0.358**
Leader of Local USAS	0.035	0.074	0.136*	0.345**	-0.017	-0.075	-0.080	0.142*	0.341**	0.217**	0.407**	0.413**	0.361**
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	0.177**	0.170*	0.198**	0.446**	0.027	-0.042	-0.053	0.222**	0.393**	0.302**	0.593**	0.479**	0.516**
Involvement in other Activist Groups	1	-0.033	0.142*	0.273**	0.137*	0.086	0.105	0.426**	0.235**	0.188**	0.267**	0.068	0.071
Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	-0.033	1	-0.239**	-0.053	0.118	-0.051	0.082	-0.027	0.048	-0.020	0.060	0.095	0.145*
Tactical Exhaustion	0.142*	-0.239**	1	0.223**	0.068	-0.127	0.060	0.180**	0.191**	0.173*	0.309**	0.131	0.059
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	0.273**	-0.053	0.223**	1	-0.017	0.038	-0.042	0.254**	0.433**	0.284**	0.367**	0.283**	0.221**
Age	0.137*	0.118	0.068	-0.017	1	0.111	0.758**	0.221**	-0.030	0.061	0.076	0.140*	-0.051
Married	0.086	-0.051	-0.127	0.038	0.111	1	0.164*	-0.012	0.041	0.180**	0.007	-0.033	-0.051
Graduate Student	0.105	0.082	0.060	-0.042	0.758**	0.164*	1	0.230**	-0.048	0.054	0.024	0.013	-0.074
Years of Activism	0.426**	-0.027	0.180**	0.254**	0.221**	-0.012	0.230**	1	0.221**	0.199**	0.201**	0.081	0.092
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	0.235**	0.048	0.191**	0.433**	-0.030	0.041	-0.048	0.221**	1	0.456**	0.562**	0.373**	0.382**
Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	0.188**	-0.020	0.173*	0.284**	0.061	0.180**	0.054	0.199**	0.456**	1	0.402**	0.350**	0.373**
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	0.267**	0.060	0.309**	0.367**	0.076	0.007	0.024	0.201**	0.562**	0.402**	1	0.447**	0.395**
USAS Listserv Participation	0.068	0.095	0.131	0.283**	0.140*	-0.033	0.013	0.081	0.373**	0.350**	0.447**	1	0.559**
USAS Conference Call Participation	0.071	0.145*	0.059	0.221**	-0.051	-0.051	-0.074	0.092	0.382**	0.373**	0.395**	0.559**	1
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	-0.023	-0.052	0.094	0.081	-0.017	-0.025	-0.070	0.022	0.139*	0.145*	0.149*	0.285**	0.373**
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	0.045	0.030	0.038	0.006	0.004	-0.018	-0.050	0.002	0.157*	-0.040	0.160*	0.284**	0.262**
Jewish	0.074	0.103	0.064	0.069	-0.072	-0.060	-0.014	0.086	0.111	0.139*	-0.023	0.066	0.283**
Sit-in Planning (hours)	0.183**	-0.047	0.279**	0.513**	-0.129	-0.091	-0.175*	0.139*	0.405**	0.244**	0.472**	0.261**	0.261**
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	0.098	0.009	0.113	0.093	0.089	0.147*	0.040	0.139*	0.017	0.113	0.103	0.041	0.081
Arizona	-0.129	-0.149*	-0.012	-0.142*	0.250**	0.111	0.280**	-0.073	-0.110	-0.081	-0.100	-0.066	-0.002
Duke	0.057	0.187**	-0.076	-0.021	-0.108	-0.052	-0.102	-0.036	0.113	-0.118	0.188**	0.099	0.186**
Iowa	0.028	0.141**	-0.059	-0.002	0.306**	0.085	0.243**	0.038	-0.016	0.163*	0.139*	0.151*	-0.024
Kentucky	0.158*	-0.288**	0.200**	0.174**	-0.120	0.016	-0.150*	0.006	0.179**	0.076	0.107	-0.102	-0.057
Michigan	-0.122	0.172*	-0.233**	-0.109	-0.105	-0.007	-0.065	-0.008	-0.031	0.019	-0.118	-0.045	0.032
Pennsylvania	-0.032	-0.002	0.094	0.022	-0.167**	-0.068	-0.155*	-0.035	-0.027	-0.043	-0.032	-0.042	0.025
Tulane	-0.051	-0.076	0.007	0.090	-0.170*	-0.030	-0.207**	-0.005	-0.062	-0.080	-0.079	0.079	-0.108
UNC	0.136*	0.034	0.106	-0.032	0.173*	-0.058	0.229**	0.115	-0.010	0.055	-0.049	-0.090	0.007
Sit-in Length	-0.148*	-0.079	0.012	-0.027	0.034	0.025	0.015	-0.046	-0.174*	-0.094	-0.136*	0.057	-0.092
Sit-in Length Squared	-0.138*	-0.129	0.031	0.002	-0.025	0.021	-0.046	-0.054	-0.150*	-0.113	-0.133	0.045	-0.099
Sit-in Participation - Risk	0.079	-0.101	0.279**	0.283**	-0.120	0.063	-0.073	0.136*	0.123	0.066	0.170*	0.102	0.088
Sit-in Participation - Cost	-0.038	-0.087	0.207**	0.196**	-0.129	-0.035	-0.096	-0.025	-0.017	0.056	0.108	0.075	0.120
Parents' Political Views	-0.104	-0.180**	0.019	-0.041	-0.141*	0.071	-0.102	-0.217**	-0.118	-0.090	-0.060	-0.008	-0.124
Parents' Education	0.016	-0.031	0.089	0.042	-0.064	-0.038	-0.005	0.116	0.120	0.074	0.057	0.065	0.118

## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED

	USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	USAS 1998 conference Attendance	Jewish	Sit-in Planning (hours)	Social Sciences or Humanities Major	Arizona	Duke	Iowa	Kentucky	Michigan	Pennsylvania	Tulane	UNC
Political Views	0.065	0.045	-0.117	-0.213**	-0.201**	-0.046	0.062	-0.113	-0.062	0.016	0.022	0.271**	-0.234**
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	-0.065	-0.184**	-0.132	0.001	-0.114	0.097	-0.159*	-0.083	0.134*	-0.009	-0.004	0.047	-0.059
Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	0.072	-0.174*	-0.002	-0.027	-0.050	-0.133	-0.090	-0.126	0.088	-0.031	0.171*	0.070	0.018
Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	0.071	0.074	0.011	0.072	-0.021	-0.076	-0.046	0.104	0.026	0.016	0.086	-0.109	0.007
Expect. Effect. National Campaign	-0.060	-0.071	-0.048	0.110	0.007	-0.067	-0.083	0.121	0.133	-0.093	0.096	-0.102	0.009
Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	0.000	-0.105	-0.085	0.010	-0.129	-0.020	-0.122	0.083	0.235**	0.137*	-0.203**	-0.012	-0.152*
Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	0.064	0.112	0.113	0.018	-0.010	0.164*	0.197**	-0.240**	-0.469**	0.148*	0.166*	-0.042	0.134*
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	0.029	0.124	0.060	-0.053	0.004	0.118	0.167*	-0.319**	-0.416**	0.109	0.171*	0.034	0.178**
Expectation of Sit-in Length	0.141*	0.045	-0.079	-0.038	-0.153*	-0.214**	0.064	-0.113	0.500**	0.266**	-0.173*	-0.335**	0.075
Female	-0.009	-0.103	0.026	0.084	0.024	-0.083	-0.125	-0.025	0.194**	-0.079	0.062	0.047	-0.021
Homosexuality	-0.010	-0.067	-0.015	0.117	-0.063	0.032	-0.086	-0.029	0.053	0.015	-0.062	0.025	0.035
Religious Attendance	0.160*	0.026	0.151*	-0.049	0.092	-0.087	0.092	0.018	-0.129	-0.066	0.227**	0.011	-0.057
Parents' Protest History	0.023	0.073	0.274**	0.068	0.097	-0.033	0.068	-0.144*	-0.041	0.072	0.195**	-0.047	-0.058
Parents' Labor Protest History	-0.020	-0.065	0.174*	-0.004	0.003	-0.001	0.033	-0.143*	-0.121	0.164*	0.110	-0.033	-0.013
Student Protest with Parents	0.069	-0.047	0.272**	0.062	-0.003	0.048	-0.067	-0.105	-0.061	0.141*	0.129	-0.113	0.034
Parunion	-0.070	-0.049	0.165*	-0.041	0.044	-0.053	-0.008	-0.010	-0.045	0.148*	0.031	-0.019	-0.070
Income	0.137*	0.112	0.094	0.155*	0.118	-0.198**	0.093	-0.100	-0.055	0.124	0.186**	-0.002	-0.063
GPA	-0.064	0.012	0.103	0.044	0.187**	0.058	0.075	-0.019	0.035	0.022	0.044	-0.172*	0.019
Study (hrs/week)	0.089	0.049	0.097	-0.051	0.116	0.206**	-0.012	-0.006	-0.125	0.055	-0.037	-0.090	0.040
Class (hrs/week)	-0.006	0.017	-0.117	-0.062	-0.234**	-0.229**	-0.061	-0.055	0.097	0.066	-0.011	0.189**	-0.086
Work (hrs/week)	-0.071	-0.050	-0.073	-0.110	0.044	0.121	-0.119	0.193**	-0.042	0.031	-0.093	-0.151*	0.081
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	0.105	0.127	0.113	0.008	-0.073	-0.146*	0.138	0.037	0.006	-0.061	0.032	-0.022	0.051
Leisure (hrs/week)	-0.087	0.017	-0.100	-0.181**	-0.045	-0.031	0.164*	-0.013	-0.017	-0.122	-0.037	0.056	0.035
Schedule Flexibility	-0.143*	-0.079	-0.089	0.006	0.021	0.144*	0.027	0.063	0.015	-0.202**	-0.042	0.065	-0.056
Activist Group Memberships	0.046	-0.004	0.092	0.324**	0.038	-0.206**	0.042	-0.097	0.245**	-0.111	0.124	0.023	-0.012
Activist Identity	0.027	-0.032	0.072	0.262**	0.097	-0.144*	0.055	-0.012	0.109	-0.036	-0.003	-0.038	0.096
Past Protest Activity	0.076	0.053	0.048	0.340**	0.100	-0.075	0.043	0.008	0.200**	0.036	-0.023	-0.239**	0.126
Sit-in Experience	-0.030	-0.021	-0.072	-0.049	0.132	0.071	-0.062	0.046	-0.080	0.026	0.054	-0.059	0.006
Civil Disobedience Experience	-0.033	0.188**	-0.080	0.135*	0.154*	-0.082	0.163*	0.027	-0.025	-0.105	0.035	-0.075	0.132
Aware of USAS Activism	0.057	0.040	0.093	0.253**	0.064	-0.118	0.068	0.122	0.110	-0.034	-0.006	0.021	-0.182
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	-0.057	-0.252**	0.024	0.048	-0.188**	0.003	-0.140*	0.080	0.125	0.146*	-0.127	-0.082	-0.033
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	-0.013	-0.009	-0.032	0.107	0.078	-0.033	0.157*	-0.037	-0.035	-0.042	-0.036	0.069	-0.031
Know Delegation Participant	0.132	0.093	0.097	0.388**	0.039	-0.258**	0.025	-0.125	0.320**	-0.118	0.129	0.015	0.020
Attendance at Local USAS Events	0.164*	0.116	-0.037	0.510**	0.078	-0.186**	0.095	0.177**	0.214**	-0.060	-0.027	-0.170*	0.009
Know Local USAS Members	0.079	0.056	0.033	0.354**	0.196**	-0.262**	0.133	0.016	0.160*	0.017	0.001	0.012	-0.081
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	0.110	0.137*	0.042	0.678**	0.102	-0.164*	0.172*	0.139*	0.067	-0.022	0.016	-0.109	-0.059
Years Involved in Local USAS	0.123	0.151*	0.109	0.496**	0.041	-0.182**	0.127	0.099	0.152*	-0.060	-0.005	-0.081	-0.013
Leader of Local USAS	0.238**	0.236**	-0.001	0.394**	0.059	-0.007	0.187**	0.039	-0.024	-0.032	-0.030	-0.015	-0.085
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	0.222**	0.235**	0.052	0.651**	0.135*	-0.073	0.244**	0.135*	-0.034	-0.029	0.024	-0.127	-0.076
Involvement in other Activist Groups	-0.023	0.045	0.074	0.183**	0.098	-0.129	0.057	0.028	0.158*	-0.122	-0.032	-0.051	0.136*
Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	-0.052	0.030	0.103	-0.047	0.009	-0.149*	0.187**	0.141*	-0.288**	0.172*	-0.002	-0.076	0.034
Tactical Exhaustion	0.094	0.038	0.064	0.279**	0.113	-0.012	-0.076	-0.059	0.200**	-0.233**	0.094	0.007	0.106
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	0.081	0.006	0.069	0.513**	0.093	-0.142*	-0.002	-0.021	0.174*	-0.109	0.022	0.090	-0.032
Age	-0.017	0.004	-0.072	-0.129	0.089	0.250**	-0.108	0.306**	-0.120	-0.105	-0.167*	-0.170*	0.173*
Married	-0.025	-0.018	-0.060	-0.091	0.147*	0.111	-0.052	0.085	0.016	-0.007	-0.068	-0.030	-0.058
Graduate Student	-0.070	-0.050	-0.014	-0.175**	0.040	0.280**	-0.102	0.243**	-0.150*	-0.065	-0.155*	-0.207**	0.229**
Years of Activism	0.022	0.002	0.086	0.139*	0.139*	-0.073	-0.036	0.038	0.006	-0.008	-0.035	-0.005	0.115
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	0.139*	0.157*	0.111	0.405**	0.017	-0.110	0.113	-0.016	0.179**	-0.031	-0.027	-0.062	-0.010
Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	0.145*	-0.040	0.139*	0.244**	0.113	-0.081	-0.118	0.163*	0.076	0.019	-0.043	-0.080	0.055
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	0.149*	0.160*	-0.023	0.472**	0.103	-0.100	0.188**	0.139*	0.107	-0.118	-0.032	-0.079	-0.049
USAS Listserv Participation	0.285**	0.284**	0.066	0.261**	0.041	-0.066	0.099	0.151*	-0.102	-0.045	-0.042	0.079	-0.090
USAS Conference Call Participation	0.373**	0.262**	0.283**	0.261**	0.081	-0.002	0.186**	-0.024	-0.057	0.032	0.025	-0.108	0.007
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	1	0.345**	0.071	0.124	0.040	-0.046	0.092	-0.053	-0.050	0.129	0.055	-0.070	-0.044
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	0.345**	1	-0.032	0.107	0.078	-0.033	0.342**	-0.037	-0.035	-0.042	-0.036	-0.050	-0.031
Jewish	0.071	-0.032	1	0.072	0.232**	-0.059	-0.093	-0.127	-0.070	0.116	0.359**	-0.091	-0.051
Sit-in Planning (hours)	0.124	0.107	0.072	1	0.143*	-0.085	0.049	0.061	0.203**	-0.060	0.233**	-0.185**	-0.177**
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	0.040	0.078	0.232**	0.143*	1	0.115	-0.025	0.085	-0.153*	-0.068	0.181**	-0.030	-0.102
Arizona	-0.046	-0.033	-0.059	-0.085	0.115	1	-0.095	-0.130	-0.122	-0.146*	-0.125	-0.173*	-0.108
Duke	0.092	0.342**	-0.093	0.049	-0.025	-0.095	1	-0.109	-0.102	-0.122	-0.105	-0.145*	-0.090
Iowa	-0.053	-0.037	-0.127	0.061	0.085	-0.130	-0.109	1	-0.140*	-0.167*	-0.143*	-0.198**	-0.123
Kentucky	-0.050	-0.035	-0.070	0.203**	-0.153*	-0.122	-0.102	-0.140*	1	-0.156*	-0.134	-0.186**	-0.116
Michigan	0.129	-0.042	0.116	-0.060	-0.068	-0.146*	-0.122	-0.167*	-0.156*	1	-0.160*	-0.222**	-0.138*
Pennsylvania	0.055	-0.036	0.359**	0.233**	0.181**	-0.125	-0.105	-0.143*	-0.134*	-0.160*	1	-0.190**	-0.118
Tulane	-0.070	-0.050	-0.091	-0.185**	-0.030	-0.173*	-0.145*	-0.198**	-0.186**	-0.222**	-0.190**	1	-0.164*
UNC	-0.044	-0.031	-0.051	-0.177**	-0.102	-0.108	-0.090	-0.123	-0.116	-0.138*	-0.118	-0.164*	1
Sit-in Length	-0.077	-0.110	0.049	-0.119	0.180**	0.349**	-0.321**	-0.015	-0.504**	-0.394**	0.263**	0.652**	-0.216**
Sit-in Length Squared	-0.081	-0.098	0.026	-0.119	0.145*	0.348**	-0.286**	-0.141*	-0.379**	-0.408**	0.196**	0.739**	-0.267**
Sit-in Participation - Risk	0.036	0.082	-0.034	0.424**	0.162*	0.106	0.012	-0.109	-0.050	-0.275**	0.130	0.234**	-0.067
Sit-in Participation - Cost	0.026	-0.033	-0.058	0.288**	0.081	0.123	-0.140*	-0.065	-0.179**	-0.237**	0.142*	0.389**	-0.134
Parents' Political Views	0.030	0.059	-0.313**	-0.015	-0.108	-0.021	0.042	-0.026	0.115	-0.112	-0.098	0.049	0.069
Parents' Education	0.103	0.072	0.195**	0.128	0.168*	0.020	0.077	-0.041	-0.113	0.064	0.202**	-0.118	-0.059



## APPENDIX 2 CONTINUED

	Sit-in Length	Sit-in Length Squared	Sit-in Participation - Risk	Sit-in Participation - Cost	Parents' Political Views	Parents' Education
Political Views	0.182**	0.217**	-0.072	-0.005	0.283**	-0.138*
Concern for Sweatshop Workers	0.057	0.082	0.023	0.029	0.129	-0.019
Belief Individual Action Make a Dif.	0.030	0.045	0.024	-0.023	0.141*	-0.015
Expect. Effect. of the Local Campaign	-0.066	-0.090	-0.057	0.002	0.177**	0.010
Expect. Effect. National Campaign	-0.059	-0.072	0.022	0.039	0.127	-0.053
Expect. Sit-in's Effectiveness	-0.145*	-0.115	-0.127	-0.162*	-0.035	-0.027
Expect. Threats Discipline to Participants	0.146*	0.106	0.126	0.118	-0.058	0.073
Expectation of Actual Risk to Participants	0.163*	0.140*	0.121	0.137*	-0.044	0.124
Expectation of Sit-in Length	-0.624**	-0.573**	-0.169*	-0.365**	0.060	-0.063
Female	-0.007	0.015	-0.043	0.021	0.114	-0.103
Homosexuality	-0.001	0.009	0.016	0.077	0.073	-0.094
Religious Attendance	0.093	0.071	-0.024	-0.008	0.105	0.108
Parents' Protest History	-0.002	-0.002	0.067	-0.045	-0.465**	0.273**
Parents' Labor Protest History	0.002	-0.004	0.032	0.017	-0.487**	0.147*
Student Protest with Parents	-0.019	-0.035	0.067	-0.029	-0.385**	0.167*
Parunion	-0.032	-0.038	0.002	-0.010	-0.128	-0.054
Income	-0.051	-0.052	0.107	0.149*	-0.072	0.336**
GPA	-0.109	-0.116	0.039	-0.177**	-0.068	0.118
Study (hrs/week)	0.043	0.022	0.050	0.028	-0.159*	0.117
Class (hrs/week)	-0.006	0.026	-0.005	0.044	0.076	-0.054
Work (hrs/week)	-0.036	-0.075	-0.089	-0.159*	-0.031	-0.161
Extra-Curricular Activities (hrs/week)	-0.083	-0.087	-0.008	-0.056	-0.004	0.020
Leisure (hrs/week)	0.003	0.014	-0.077	-0.049	0.027	-0.036
Schedule Flexibility	0.131	0.139*	0.076	0.162*	-0.019	0.036
Activist Group Memberships	-0.105	-0.070	0.165*	0.119	0.021	0.079
Activist Identity	-0.137**	-0.128	0.189**	0.009	-0.092	0.091
Past Protest Activity	-0.291**	-0.289**	0.087	-0.033	-0.091	0.070
Sit-in Experience	0.048	0.025	0.006	-0.011	-0.087	-0.002
Civil Disobedience Experience	-0.085	-0.097	0.087	0.022	-0.001	-0.066
Aware of USAS Activism	-0.051	-0.040	-0.048	-0.072	-0.028	0.022
Effectiveness of Sit-ins at Other Campuses	-0.128	-0.126	-0.034	0.049	-0.151*	0.064
Anti-Sweatshop Delegation Participant	0.007	0.021	0.025	-0.048	0.008	0.072
Know Delegation Participant	-0.156*	-0.112	0.183**	0.043	0.062	-0.018
Attendance at Local USAS Events	-0.260**	-0.263**	0.166*	0.096	0.035	0.133
Know Local USAS Members	-0.177**	-0.152*	0.115	0.034	-0.072	0.122
Attendance at Local USAS Meetings	-0.168*	-0.175**	0.251**	0.155*	-0.012	0.077
Years Involved in Local USAS	-0.185**	-0.178**	0.151*	0.068	-0.025	0.066
Leader of Local USAS	-0.035	-0.030	0.223**	0.176**	-0.085	0.117
Involvement in Local USAS (hrs/week)	-0.117	-0.134*	0.286**	0.212**	-0.078	0.064
Involvement in other Activist Groups	-0.148*	-0.138*	0.079	-0.038	-0.104	0.016
Progress in Negotiations with Admin.	-0.079	-0.129	-0.101	-0.087	-0.180**	-0.031
Tactical Exhaustion	0.012	0.031	0.279**	0.207**	0.019	0.089
Number of Acquaintances who Sat in	-0.027	0.002	0.283**	0.196**	-0.041	0.042
Age	0.034	-0.025	-0.120	-0.129	-0.141*	-0.064
Married	0.025	0.021	0.063	-0.035	0.071	-0.038
Graduate Student	0.015	-0.046	-0.073	-0.096	-0.102	-0.005
Years of Activism	-0.046	-0.054	0.136*	-0.025	-0.217**	0.116
Know USAS Activists at other Campuses	-0.174*	-0.150*	0.123	-0.017	-0.118	0.120
Know Sit-in Participants other Campuses	-0.094	-0.113	0.066	0.056	-0.090	0.074
Contacted USAS at other Campuses	-0.136*	-0.133	0.170*	0.108	-0.060	0.057
USAS Listserv Participation	0.057	0.045	0.102	0.075	-0.008	0.065
USAS Conference Call Participation	-0.092	-0.099	0.088	0.120	-0.124	0.118
USAS 1999 Conference Attendance	-0.077	-0.081	0.036	0.026	0.030	0.103
USAS 1998 conference Attendance	-0.110	-0.098	0.082	-0.033	0.059	0.072
Jewish	0.049	0.026	-0.034	-0.058	-0.313**	0.195**
Sit-in Planning (hours)	-0.119	-0.119	0.424**	0.288**	-0.015	0.128
Social Sciences or Humanities Major	0.180**	0.145*	0.162*	0.081	-0.108	0.168*
Arizona	0.349**	0.348**	0.106	0.123	-0.021	0.020
Duke	-0.321**	-0.286**	0.012	-0.140*	0.042	0.077
Iowa	-0.015	-0.141*	-0.109	-0.065	-0.026	-0.041
Kentucky	-0.504**	-0.379**	-0.050	-0.179**	0.115	-0.113
Michigan	-0.394**	-0.408**	-0.275**	-0.237**	-0.112	0.064
Pennsylvania	0.263**	0.196**	0.130	0.142*	-0.098	0.202**
Tulane	0.652**	0.739**	0.234**	0.389**	0.049	-0.118
UNC	-0.216**	-0.267**	-0.067	-0.134	0.069	-0.059
Sit-in Length	1	0.979**	0.308**	0.500**	-0.043	0.010
Sit-in Length Squared	0.979**	1	0.330**	0.510**	-0.019	-0.013
Sit-in Participation - Risk	0.308**	0.330**	1	0.567**	0.004	0.136*
Sit-in Participation - Cost	0.500**	0.510**	0.567**	1	0.001	0.100
Parents' Political Views	-0.043	-0.019	0.004	0.001	1	-0.335**
Parents' Education	0.010	-0.013	0.136*	0.100	-0.335**	1

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