A TWO-STAGE MODEL FOR A TWO-STAGE PROCESS: HOW BIOGRAPHICAL AVAILABILITY MATTERS FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENT MOBILIZATION*

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Abstract

This paper contributes to the social movement literature on differential participation by modeling protest activism as a two-stage mobilization process: willingness to engage in protest action and conversion of protest willingness into actual protest participation. We demonstrate how modeling protest activism as a two-stage mobilization process resolves one of the more puzzling empirical findings to emerge from the social movement literature on differential participation: the lack of constraining effects for biographical unavailability. Drawing on a nationally representative sample of individuals in the United States, we find that while our measures of biographical unavailability have no effect on the second stage of the mobilization process (conversion of protest willingness to actual protest behavior), they show striking robust negative effects on the first-stage of the mobilization process, removing people from the pool of willing protest participants. We also find that gender moderates the relationship between some of our measures of biographical unavailability—particularly marital status—and protest willingness. Our results suggest that future researchers would benefit from specifically modeling the distinct stages of social movement mobilization.

A TWO-STAGE MODEL FOR A TWO-STAGE PROCESS: HOW BIOGRAPHICAL AVAILABILITY MATTERS FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENT MOBILIZATION

One of the most significant theoretical advances in the study of social movement activism in recent decades has been the recognition that participation is a sequential process, with individuals passing through or dropping out at least two distinct stages (Klandermans 1997; Klandermans and Oegema 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994). Before individuals are "eligible" to participate in social movement activism, they must pass through the initial stage of the mobilization process and become part of movements' mobilization potential by committing themselves to the goals and tactics of social movements. As Klandermans and Oegema (1987: 519) observe, "People who are not part of the mobilization potential will not consider participating in movement activities, even if they are reached by attempts at mobilization." But passage through the initial stage of the mobilization process does not necessarily translate into social movement activism, as a good number of individuals who are committed to the goals and tactics of social movements never engage in activism on behalf of social movements. For social movement activism to occur, individuals must not only commit to the goals and tactics of movements, but they must also pass through the second stage of the mobilization process where their commitment is converted to actual participation.[1]

Despite this theoretical advance in our understanding of activist participation, empirical studies of social movement activism have generally not modeled participation as a two-stage mobilization process. This is largely because of the way in which social movement scholars have drawn and analyzed their samples. Scholars studying social movement activism have tended to sample movement sympathizers and focus on the reasons why certain movement sympathizers participate while others do not (Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995; Kitts 1999; Nepstad and Smith 1999; Passy and Giugni 2001; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980; Walsh and Warland 1983; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991) (for notable exceptions, see Klandermans 1997; Klandermans and Oegema 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994). In his classic study, for example, McAdam (1986) selected applicants to the Freedom Summer Project

and identified the characteristics that differentiated applicants who eventually traveled to Mississippi and volunteered for this project from those who withdrew and stayed home. As valuable and informative as such studies are, their sampling and methodological strategies preclude modeling social movement participation as a two-stage mobilization process. Because studies like McAdam's (1986) consist entirely of people who are already committed to the goals and tactics of movements, it is impossible to identify the factors that distinguish individuals who initially support movement goals and tactics from those who initially reject them. In other words, such studies cannot tell us whether the factors that account for passage through the second stage of the mobilization process also account for passage through the initial stage of the mobilization process.

In this paper, we demonstrate how modeling activism as a two-stage mobilization process resolves one of the more puzzling empirical findings to emerge from the social movement literature on differential participation: the lack of negative effects for biographical unavailability. Notwithstanding theoretical expectations that the costs and risks associated with being biographically unavailable should minimize participation in activism, prior studies have generally *not* found that biographical unavailability hinders participation in social movements (Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995; Kitts 1999; Passy and Giugni 2001; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). If anything, these studies have found that biographical unavailability actually *increases* involvement in social movements (McAdam 1986; Nepstad and Smith 2001; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). However, as we discuss in detail below, a critical limitation of these studies is their exclusive focus on the second stage of the mobilization process, sampling only movement sympathizers and analyzing the factors that differentiated sympathizers who participated from sympathizers who did not. But this methodological approach cannot examine whether biographical unavailability reduces the likelihood of passage through the first stage of the mobilization process, given that people who are uncommitted to the goals and tactics of social movements were excluded from the sample.

To investigate the relationship between biographical unavailability and the two-stage

process of mobilization, we draw on a nationally representative sample of individuals from the United States and estimate a statistical model that simultaneously tests the effects of biographical unavailability on each stage of the mobilization process. We accomplish this by estimating two equations at the same time. The first equation models the effect of biographical unavailability (and other covariates) on willingness to participate in protest action.[2] Social movement scholars have generally not considered the effect of biographical unavailability on the initial stage of the mobilization process, as their samples have been limited to those who are already committed to the goals and tactics of social movements. Our second equation conceptually tests the question that the majority of previous studies pose: what determines actual participation among those committed to the goals and tactics of social movements. Whereas previous studies have accomplished this by only including a sample of those sympathetic to movements, we accomplish this by including all members of our sample along with a measure of individuals' protest willingness as a predictor in the model. We suggest that this two-stage approach is a more appropriate way to model the possible impact of biographical unavailability on social movement participation, and our results resolve the counter-intuitive findings of past research by showing that biographical unavailability does *constrain* social movement activism, but it does so only for the first stage of the mobilization process, removing people from the pool of potential participants.

BIOGRAPHICAL AVAILABILITY AND THE TWO-STAGE MOBILIZATION PROCESS

Biographical availability has and continues to be a central concept in the social movement literature on differential participation. McAdam (1986: 70) defines biographical availability as "the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation." The costs of movement participation refer to "expenditures of time, money, and energy that are required of a person engaged in any particular form of activism, while the risks refer to "the anticipated dangers – whether legal, social, physically in particular

type of activity (McAdam 1986: 67). Because people who are more biographically available have fewer social obligations, alternative commitments, and countervailing relationships than those who are less biographically available (Rochford 1985; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980), the costs and risks of social movement activity are likely to be lower for them. Biographically available individuals, then, should be more likely to participate in social movement activity since they have fewer personal constraints. In what follows, we discuss the four main ways in which social movement scholars have operationalized the concept of biographical availability—marital status, parenthood, employment, and age—and how they have sought to explain its constraining effects on activist participation.

Theories of biographical availability suggest that marriage or presence of children likely hinders social movement participation by increasing both the costs and risks associated with participation. For instance, since obligations of marriage likely reduce the time and energy available for activism, married people face an increased cost to participate in activism. Likewise, the presence of children, especially young children, imposes a considerable cost, limiting the amount of time and energy that people can devote to activism. In addition, marriage or the presence of children likely increases the risk of social movement participation since spending time in jail would take valuable time away from partners or children and being injured would make it more difficult to care for partners or children. And depending on families' financial and working situation, imprisonment and injury from social movement participation may place extra financial burdens on partners. Finally, people who are married or have children may receive negative sanctions from loved ones if they were to participate in activism, particularly dangerous activism, as this participation could jeopardize family life and stability (c.f. Goodwin 1997). In this way, partners or children represent important counteracting social ties, discouraging participation in social movements. The increased costs and risks of social movement activism that married people or those with children face should reduce the likelihood of involvement in protest action compared to those who are single or childless.

The costs and risks of social movement participation are also expected to be greater for the employed than the unemployed (McCarthy and Zald 1973; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). In terms of the costs of activism, people who are not working have more time to devote to activism than those working in the labor force. Employment may also increase the risks of activism as incomes could be lost and co-workers and supervisors could express disapproval for involvement in collective action, particularly for people employed in sectors that oppose the goals of social movements. For instance, government workers may face legal or normative sanctions for their participation in social movement activism. Other variants of the biographical availability model have suggested that since individuals who are self-employed or employed in autonomous occupations (e.g., academics) enjoy greater time flexibility and freedom from employment sanctions and pressures, they may be more likely to participate in activism than the rest of the employed population (McCarthy and Zald 1973; Nepstad and Smith 1999; Smith 1996; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). Thus, freedom from work hours and work-related sanctions are crucial for increasing biographical availability for activism: either for those who are unemployed or those who have jobs that allow greater autonomy.

Finally, social movement scholars also posit that age is an important source of biographical availability/unavailability. In this view, younger people are likely to be freer of social roles, commitments, and relationships, given that they tend to be unmarried and attending school rather than working and thus their costs and risks of activism should be lower (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). Similarly, it is argued that older people also tend to be more biographically available as their children most likely have moved out and they have retired from the work force (Nepstad and Smith 1999). Hence, younger and older people not only have more time to spend on activism since they are free from family and professional duties, but they are also not subject to family and work-related obligations and sanctions. This implies that the relationship between age and social movement participation is curvilinear, with activism declining as people approach middle age, then increasing thereafter.

Given these arguments about the increased costs and risks of activism for those who are biographically unavailable, we would expect marriage, parenthood, employment status and type, and age to differentiate social movement participants from nonparticipants. But a large body of empirical literature on differential participation has *not* found this to be the case. In his study of applicants to Freedom Summer, McAdam (1986) found that those who were married and who were engaged in full-time employment were *more* likely to volunteer in the Freedom Summer Project than those who were not married and not engaged in full-time employment. He also found in this sample of mostly young adults that age had a positive effect on Freedom Summer participation among applicants, with those over age 22 who applied more likely to go to Mississippi than those between the ages of 18 and 21 who applied.

Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) also generally found that being less biographically available did not hinder U.S. Central American peace movement activism among members of Sanctuary (one of three main organizations of this movement). They showed that neither being married nor having children significantly differentiated Sanctuary members who engaged in costly and risky activities from those who did not. In fact, when Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) included children currently living in the household, they found that this measure actually *increased* the likelihood of engaging in risky activities of this movement. Also contrary to theories of biographical availability, they documented that individuals who were unemployed were no more likely to have engaged in costly and risky activism than those who were employed full-time. Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) did find a significant negative relationship between age and participation in costly activities of this movement.

Nepstad and Smith (1999) examined the relationship between biographical availability and another instance of high-risk/cost activism of the U.S. Central America peace movement. They focused on whether personal constraints among applicants volunteering for brigade harvest in Nicaragua distinguished individuals who actually became volunteers from those who did not. Nepstad and Smith (1999) found that applicants who were employed in occupations with the least time flexibility were *more* likely to become brigade harvest volunteers than applicants who

were employed in occupations with the most time flexibility. In contrast to their expected concave effect for age, they identified a convex effect where younger and older applicants were more likely to drop out than were middle-aged applicants. Because of a lack of information, they could not investigate whether marital status and number of children differentiated applicants who volunteered from applicants who dropped out.

Still other studies have shown that biographical unavailability does not undermine participation in social movement activism. Kitts (1999) reported that being married, having children at home, and engaging in full-time employment were unrelated to level of involvement among members of a voluntary organization mobilizing to thwart a hazardous waste facility from being located in their community (the effect of age was not modeled). Similarly, Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker (1995) found that marital status, number of children, and age were unrelated to activism on behalf of Bread for the World (BFW)—an antihunger movement organization—among members of this group. They did not consider the effect of employment status or type of activism for BFW. Passy and Ginui (2001) showed that among members of Bern Declaration—a Swiss solidarity movement organization—age did not significantly predict intensity of involvement for this organization while the amount of time working in paid employment was *positively* related to intensity of participation. The effect of marital status and children could not be discerned since Passy and Ginui (2001) did not include these variables in their models.

Overall, then, there is very little empirical support that biographical unavailability hinders participation in social movement activism. In many cases, the findings suggest just the opposite: personal constraints appear to *facilitate* involvement in social movement participation. Why does this state of affairs exist? One possibility is that the failure to find an empirical negative relationship between biographical unavailability and activist participation does not necessarily mean that a relationship does not exist. It is possible that with more precise measurements and model specifications, or greater statistical power from larger samples, scholars would have found that biographical unavailability explains why certain movement sympathizers did not participate. However, given the number of studies of social movement sympathizers that have investigated

and failed to find a significant negative relationship between biographical unavailability and activist participation, we think it is unlikely that modeling and statistical issues are the only explanation for these null or positive findings.[3] Another possibility that we highlight and on which we focus is that all of the studies discussed above were based on samples of individuals who were *already committed* to social movement participation: either applicants to high-risk/cost projects (McAdam 1986; Nepstad and Smith 1999) or members of social movement organizations (Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995; Kitts 1999; Passy and Giugni 2001; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). These studies thus focused exclusively on the second stage of the mobilization process. This is a key point that we emphasize in our paper: while personal constraints may not hinder activism among people who are already committed, they may nonetheless prevent people from passing through the first-stage of the mobilization process by rendering them initially unwilling to engage in social movement activism.

McAdam (1986) discusses the possibility that biographical unavailability may be important for explaining variation in the first-stage of the mobilization process. He points out that given the high-risk/cost nature of Freedom Summer, biographical unavailability was plausibly a significant determinant of who applied to volunteer for the Freedom Summer Project in the first place. Since he did not have information on non-applicants, McAdam (1986) could not directly compare the biographical availability of the two groups. However, when he compared the biographical availability of applicants to that of the general population, he found that applicants were considerably freer of personal constraints than were ordinary Americans.

Since there is reason to suspect that biographical unavailability eliminates people at the first-stage of the mobilization process, the exclusive focus on the second stage of the mobilization process by prior social movement studies may have obscured detection of this effect. People who are less biographically available would likely never make it to the second-stage of the mobilization process given that the costs and risks they face would render them initially unwilling to engage in protest tactics. In the models that follow, we directly test this

hypothesis by modeling the effect of biographical availability on both stages of the mobilization process with data drawn from a nationally representative sample of Americans.

INTERACTION EFFECTS AMONG BIOGRAPHICAL UNAVAILABILITY MEASURES AND THE CONDITIONING ROLE OF GENDER

While each measure of biological unavailability previously discussed should individually reduce the likelihood of protest willingness, we also consider whether these characteristics have particularly strong effects on willingness *in combination*. This issue has received scant attention in social movement scholarship, presumably because of data and sampling limitations.[4] While there are theoretical reasons to expect that marital status should moderate the effect of parental status and labor force status on protest willingness, these reasons lead to competing hypotheses. On the one hand, we would expect the costs and risks of activism to be low for married parents who work. Despite time constraints from workplace responsibilities, married working parents have someone to help with housework and childcare, freeing up time and energy and thus lowering the costs of activism. If spouses also work outside the home, this second income would reduce the risk of financial loss from activism due to jail time or injury. On the other hand, it is conceivable that marriage increases the costs of activism through the obligation to spend free time with spouses and children. Likewise, marriage may increase the risk of activism since one partner's imprisonment or injury makes the other solely responsible for taking care of the house and children. Additionally, given that participation in protest action poses threats to family stability (c.f. Goodwin 1997), married persons likely face negative sanctions from their partners for such participation. On theoretical grounds, then, it is ambiguous what moderating effect marriage will have for the relationship of parenthood and labor work participation on protest willingness. We explore this moderating effect in our models that follow.

Gender likely further complicates the relationship among marriage, parenthood, work status, and protest willingness. Social movement studies, especially those focusing on environmental activism, suggest that gender conditions the process of activism (Blocker and

Eckberg 1989; Cable 1992; Edwards, Edwards, and Watts 1984; Irons 1998; Krauss 1993; McAdam 1992; Tindall, Davies, and Mauboulés 2003), which has important implications for the effect of different dimensions of biographical availability on protest willingness. In such western industrialized societies as the United States, gendered norms create a situation in which domestic work falls disproportionately on women. As a result, married working women with children often not only work at outside jobs, but also take care of their house and children, the so called "second shift" (Hochschild 1989).[5] Since they must juggle the responsibilities of housework, childcare, and labor force participation, women in this situation will have very little time and energy left to devote to activism and thus their costs of activism are high. Since women work "both shifts," the risk of injury or imprisonment from activism may be greater for them than their husbands. For women, there is not only a direct risk of lost income from outside employment, but also an indirect risk of financial loss as someone would have to be hired or men would have to sacrifice their careers to stay home to care for the children and house if women are jailed or injured from activism. Given these costs and risks and the gendered norms that pervade in the United States, wives likely face severe sanctions from husbands for participating in activism. For wives who do not work outside the home, which is especially likely when children are present, the implications are less clear.[6] Although they arguably have more discretionary time during the day and thus lower costs of activism, they face substantial risks as imprisonment or injury from activism would necessitate obtaining help from their husbands or outside help for housework and childcare, which would likely generate negative sanctions from their husbands. Overall, then, marriage is likely to be more detrimental to protest willingness for female parents, especially female working parents. In the models that follow, we test this possible differential effect of gender.

DATA AND METHODS

Methodology

We employ a simultaneous equations model to estimate the effect of biographical

unavailability (and other covariates) on willingness to participate in protest action and actual protest participation holding protest willingness constant. Our first equation tests whether the measures of biographical unavailability affect willingness to participate, as coefficient A on the path in our conceptual model in Figure 1 indicates. This equation is an important contribution of our paper as prior social movement studies have been unable to account for the effect of biographical availability on willingness to participate in protest action (first-stage of the mobilization process), focusing instead on members who were already committed to social movement activism. Our second equation tests whether biographical availability affects actual participation in protest action, which coefficient C for the path in Figure 1 represents. While past studies have generally modeled predictors of social movement participation based on samples of committed members, we rather include all respondents of our national sample and take into account willingness to participate in protest action by including it as a predictor variable in our model. Coefficient B captures this effect. Thus, our estimate of the effect of the biographical availability variables on the second-stage of the mobilization process (coefficient C) controls for the willingness of the individual to participate. Additionally, our model allows the measures of biographical availability to have an *indirect* effect on protest participation by increasing protest willingness (coefficient A in Figure 1), which can then increase actual protest behavior (coefficient B in Figure 1). To account for the categorical nature of our protest willingness and protest participation variables (see specific description of these variable that follow), we used a polychoric correlation matrix and diagonally weighted least squares estimation of our structural equation models in Mplus 3.0.

<<<FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE>>>

Data

Our data come from the 1996 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) Role of the Government III module of the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted in the United States (Davis, Smith, and Marsden 1972-2002). This is a clustered and stratified probability sample of

non-institutionalized adults 18 years and older in the United States, with a final sample of 1,332 respondents who answered the questions for our dependent variables (those who completed the ISSP Role of Government III module). Because of its favorable properties compared to other strategies such as listwise or pairwise deletion, we used multiple imputation to handle missing data (Allison 2002; Rubin 1987). This strategy assumes only that the data are missing at random (MAR), in contrast to listwise deletion, which requires the stronger assumption that the data are missing completely at random (MCAR).

Dependent Variables

Our first dependent variable measures willingness to participate in protest action against the government, while our second dependent variable measures actual participation in protest action against the government. The question wording for protest willingness asked whether the respondent would "go on a protest march or demonstration to protest against a government action you strongly oppose." The response categories were: a) definitely would, b) probably would, c) probably would not, or d) definitely would not. Our actual protest participation variable measured whether the respondent had actually gone on a public march or demonstration to protest against a government action in the last five years.[7] As seen in Table 1, which displays the summary statistics for all variables used in our analyses, only about 9 percent of the sample had participated in a protest against the government in the past five years.

<<<TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE>>>

Independent Variables

Since our focus is on testing the effect of biographical unavailability on the two-stage mobilization process, we included the four main measures of this concept identified in the literature: age, marital status, presence of children, and employment status and type. To capture possible nonlinearities over the life course, we included measures of both age and age squared of respondents (centered at the mean to reduce collinearity). We captured family obligations and commitments through measures of presence of children and marital status. We included three measures of the presence and age of children in the home: the number of children less than 5,

the number of children 6 through 12 years old, and the number of children 13-18 years old. We included measures of marital status: married, divorced, or widowed, with single as the reference category. Since theories of biographical unavailability also suggest that those who are working will have less time to engage in protest behavior, we created a series of measures designed to capture the respondent's current employment status. Our dichotomous measures indicate whether the respondent is currently: 1) employed full-time, 2) employed part-time, 3) laid off, 4) retired, 5) keeping house, 6) in school, or 7) other. We used the in school measure as our reference category for the employment status variables. We also included a measure of whether the respondent currently works for the government since this would likely affect willingness to protest against the government.[8]

Additionally, we tested for possible interaction effects among the different dimensions of biographical availability as well as the role of gender in these effects (in our main effect models, gender is coded dichotomously, with females coded as one and males coded as zero). As we highlighted above, because the theoretical predictions for how certain dimensions of biographical availability may moderate the effects of others on protest willingness and how gender influences these effects are not always clear, we took an exploratory approach. We therefore created indicator variables by cross-classifying the main dimensions of biographical availability: 1) the marital status of the respondent, 2) whether the respondent had children, 3) the work status of the respondent and 4) the work status of his/her spouse (if married).[9] We then introduced gender into these cross-classifications. Since each of these has two categories, this theoretically results in 32 possible combinations (2x2x2x2x2=32). However, some categories are not possible (e.g., if the respondent is single, there can be no work status for the spouse), whereas some are extremely rare and thus not present in appreciable numbers in our sample (e.g., married males who do not work but whose spouse does work). These latter instances were collapsed into a single catchall category, though we do not interpret it because its heterogeneity renders it substantively meaningless. This modeling approach allows us the greatest analytic flexibility in

examining how some of these categories may or may not moderate the effect of others on protest willingness.[10]

We included numerous control variables that may have otherwise confounded the effect of biographical availability on protest willingness and actual protest participation. Since research suggests that socio-economic status enhances personal support for and ability to engage in movement activity, we included measures of years of education and household income in our models. We controlled for the possible positive network effects of formal ties on protest willingness and protest participation by including three measures: 1) a count of the number of organization types in which the respondent maintains *active* involvement; 2) a measure of the frequency the respondent attends religious congregations; and 3) whether the respondent is a member of a labor union. To capture possible differences in protest attitudes and activity for different racial/ethnic groups, we included dummy variables denoting those who are African-American, white, or another race, with whites serving as the reference category in our models. Since those living in more urban areas may be more willing and have more opportunities to engage in protest activity, we included a measure of the population size of the community in which the respondent resides. Finally, because certain political attitudes may predispose respondents to be more or less willing to engage in protest activity and to participate in this activity, we included a measure of political conservatism\liberalism of the respondent (a seven-point Likert scale, ranging from extremely conservative to extremely liberal), and an indicator of whether the respondent lives in the South (a traditionally politically conservative region).

Results: Willingness and Actual Participation in Protesting against the Government

We begin by viewing the relationship between willingness to participate in protest action against the government and actual protest participation against the government. As the two-stage mobilization model predicts, we find that without a willingness to protest, this behavior almost never occurs. For individuals who indicate that they would definitely not participate in protest action against the government, less than 1 percent have actually done so. Similarly, only 3

percent of people who indicated that they would probably not participate in protest have actually protested. Although being willing to protest against the government keeps people in the pool of potential participants, only a small minority of those who are willing to protest have actually done so. Only 13 percent of those who report that they would probably protest and only 23 percent of those who report that they would definitely protest have actually protested against the government. This finding is also consistent with the two-stage mobilization process in that willingness alone is generally not enough to produce protest participation. Issues of temporality for our measures should be kept in mind. Recall that respondents are reporting on protest behavior in the previous five years, but are reporting on their current attitude of protest willingness. If it is the case that those who have protested are more likely to report willingness, then the proportion of those willing who actually then participate in protest action will be even *lower*.

We next turn to our full model that simultaneously estimates the effect of biographical unavailability (and other covariates) on willingness to participate in protest action against government and actual protest participation while holding this willingness constant. We find that age has a strong nonlinear effect on willingness to engage in demonstrations, as seen in equation 1 in Table 2. However, graphing the marginal effect of age on protest willingness in Figure 2 shows that this nonlinear age effect contradicts hypotheses that willingness to protest will be greatest for those who are young and old. Instead, we find an inverted-U relationship between age and willingness to participate in protest against the government, with a peak of protest willingness occurring around age 44, when controlling for other variables.[11] Thus, those who are younger are less willing to protest, whereas after age 44 individuals also begin to remove themselves from the pool of potential participants by becoming increasingly less willing to engage in protest action. Importantly, there is no significant direct effect of age on actual protest participation against the government, as seen in equation 2 showing the direct effects of age on this protest participation. Note that this equation mirrors the common strategy employed in most social movement studies of differential participation, only viewing the effect of biographical

unavailability on the second stage of the mobilization process. Yet our results indicate that the effect of age on participation in protest action against the government occurs entirely because it affects individuals' *willingness* to engage in this behavior. These findings thus highlight the importance of simultaneously modeling both stages of the mobilization process, as focusing only on the second stage of this process would not capture the effect that age has on willingness to participate in protest action.

<<<TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE>>>

<<<FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE>>>

We also see strong negative effects of marital status on the first-stage of the mobilization process. Consistent with expectations, marriage strongly discourages willingness to protest against government action, even controlling for our other factors. Relative to those who are single, people who are married are about 40 percent less willing to participate in this protest action.[12] Similarly, those who are divorced or widowed are significantly less willing to protest compared to those who single. As with age, marital status has no direct effect on actual participation in protest action; its effect is completely indirect through protest willingness. In other words, married people are less likely to protest against the government compared to single people because they remove themselves at the first stage of the mobilization process through their unwillingness. Again, focusing only on the second stage of the mobilization process would miss this important hindering effect of marriage. On the other hand, the effects for the number of children on protest willingness and actual protest behavior are quite modest. The only significant finding is the counterintuitive result that individuals with a greater number of pre-teens are *more* willing to protest.

We also find that work status affects willingness to participate in protest action against the government. There is strong evidence that those in school are much more willing to protest than are nearly all other work statuses, as seen in equation 1 of Table 2. This suggests that those who are working—regardless of whether it is full- or part-time—are less willing to protest due to work-related costs and risks. Once again, we see in the second column of Table 2 that there is no

direct effect on protest action for employment status. Individuals who work are less likely to engage in protest action against the government than those who are in school entirely because they remove themselves from the first-stage of the mobilization process due to their greater unwillingness to protest. For instance, since our model indicates that a full-time worker has a -.486 effect on protest willingness and that a one unit increase in protest willingness has a .584 change in actual protest participation, a full-time worker has a -.284 indirect effect on protest participation compared to a student, as seen in the column 3 of Table 2 (-.486 * .584 = -.284). .On the other hand, there is no significant difference between those who work for the government and those who do not regarding protest willingness and actual protest behavior.

Although we do not focus on our demographic variables, there are several noteworthy findings, which we briefly highlight. Our model shows the importance of separating SES into its constituent components. While increasing household income has little effect on protest willingness or behavior, education has positive effects. Those with higher levels of education engage in far more protests, mostly because they are much more *willing* to engage in this behavior. This may be due to their greater skill levels, network centrality, or cognitive proficiencies (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996). Likewise, race/ethnicity is important because of its relationship to expressed willingness to demonstrate: African-Americans are considerably more likely to express willingness to protest against the government than either whites or other races. As hypothesized, the two attitudinal variables—South and political conservatism\liberalism—affect attitudes towards protesting but have no direct effect on protesting. Similar to studies finding no or weak effects of union membership on general electoral participation (Delaney, Masters, and Schwochau 1988; Sousa 1993), we found no relationship between union membership and protest behavior or protest willingness, though this may be different in other countries where unions have greater political clout (i.e., European countries). And whereas one might suspect that those living in larger communities would have more opportunities to protest against the government, we find no such effect here. Finally, we see no evidence that females are any less willing to protest against the government or that they

participate any less frequently in protest action against the government than males. Below, however, we test whether gender *moderates* any of these measures of biographical unavailability.

Sensitivity Tests

We have analyzed the effect of willingness to protest (stage one) on actual protest behavior (stage two) and demonstrated the importance of biographical unavailability in this process. It is always possible, however, that the causal direction also runs the other way, where actual protest behavior (stage two) affects willingness to protest (stage one). This is especially relevant in our case since actual protest participation is a retrospective measure of the "last five years." Consequently, it is important to assess whether a possible feedback effect of protest participation on willingness substantially alters our observed biographical unavailability effects for willingness to protest on protest participation. We would ideally assess whether this is the case or not by employing longitudinal models. Because we are limited to cross-sectional data, one option would be to employ an instrumental variables approach to estimate this feedback effect. Unfortunately, instruments are notoriously difficult to obtain, and our data contained no satisfactory ones.[13]

Given these limitations, we instead use a novel approach where we conducted sensitivity tests *assuming that such a reciprocal relationship indeed exists.* This approach is possible in a maximum likelihood framework, and is accomplished by setting the feedback path from protest behavior to protest willingness to particular values.[14] For instance, while in the model we have estimated above we assumed that 100% of the relationship between these two constructs is due to the effect of protest willingness upon protest behavior, suppose we hypothesize that half of this relationship is due to the effect of protest behavior upon willingness. This would imply that protest willingness and behavior should have equal effects upon each other. Since these two constructs are in different metrics, we place them in similar metrics by using their standardized coefficients. Thus, in this hypothesized instance, we want to estimate a model in which we constrain the effect of protest behavior on willingness such that in the estimated model the

standardized coefficients between these two constructs are the same.[15] Following this same logic, we can estimate models where the effect of this feedback path is set to smaller values if we believe that the causal direction runs primarily from willingness to behavior. These sensitivity tests showed our results to be particularly robust. Even in the extreme instance where we assume that the effect of protest behavior on willingness is the same magnitude as that of willingness on protest behavior (such that they have equal standardized coefficients), none of our prior findings for the effect of biographical unavailability on protest willingness or protest participation were altered, as seen in Table 3. Note that this may be a particularly strong test, as it is unlikely that the feedback effect of actual protest participation on willingness to protest would be the same size as the effect of willingness to protest on actual participation. We find that our effects for biographical availability are robust to this test; in fact, they become stronger (more negative) with the inclusion of the feedback effect for actual protest participation on willingness to protest.[16]

<<<TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE>>>

Interaction Effects Among Biographical Unavailability Measures And The Conditioning Role Of Gender

Finally, we tested models in which we allowed certain dimensions of biographical availability to moderate the effects of other dimensions on protest willingness and protest participation, as well as testing the role of gender in these effects. We first tested a three-way interaction among marital status, work status, and the presence of children. The main story here is that marital status has a strong negative effect on protest willingness, as seen in Figure 3. In this figure, the four categories of respondents who are most willing to protest (at the left-hand side of this figure with the coefficient values sorted in descending sequence) all have in common that they are unmarried respondents. There are almost no significant differences *among* the categories of married respondents; the sole exception being that couples without children who do not work are significantly *less* willing to protest than any type of married couple with children. For the married respondents, therefore, there is little evidence that children reduce protest

willingness. Why should marital status have such an effect? Following the suggestion of the "second shift" perspective, we next estimated a model that incorporates the moderating effect of gender.

<<<FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE>>>

When taking into account gender's role in moderating the effect of the combinations of the different dimensions of biographical availability, we identify some key insights. First, consistent with the suggestion of the "second shift" perspective that married women work outside the home and take on the majority of work inside the home, we see in Figure 4A that marriage has a particularly strong negative effect on women's willingness to protest. In this figure, unmarried women are significantly more willing to protest than married women, regardless of their work status or whether they have children.[17] We also see that it is marital status—not the presence of children—that is particularly important for reducing women's willingness to protest. For married women, those with children are actually somewhat more willing to protest than those without children when they are not active in the labor force. Consistent with the "second shift" perspective, we see that for dual earning households with children, the wife is particularly unwilling to protest. These findings are in stark contrast to those of men: Looking at Figure 4B, we see that combinations of the different dimensions of biographical unavailability have essentially *no* effects on men's willingness to protest. There are no significant differences among any of the categories in this figure. Thus, we conclude that while marital status significantly reduces *women's* willingness to protest, no such effect is present for men. As with our prior results, we again find that biographical unavailability is more important for explaining protest *willingness* than for protest behavior when taking into account this willingness.[18] We also performed sensitivity tests for endogeneity similar to our main effects analyses in which we set a possible feedback effect from protest behavior to willingness to various values and found that our results for these interaction effects were unchanged (results available upon request from the authors).

<<<FIGURE 4A ABOUT HERE>>>

<<<FIGURE 4B ABOUT HERE>>>

CONCLUSION

One of the most important theoretical advances in the study of social movement activism in recent decades has been the conceptualization of participation as a sequential process involving at least two distinct stages of mobilization (Klandermans 1997; Klandermans and Oegema 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994). To pass through the initial stage of the mobilization process people must commit themselves to the goals and tactics of social movements, while passage through second stage requires conversion of this commitment to actual participation. This theoretical advance notwithstanding, prior empirical studies of activism have generally neglected to examine the first stage of the mobilization process, instead focusing entirely on the second stage of this process by sampling movement sympathizers and analyzing the factors that differentiate sympathizers who participate from those who do not. In contrast to these studies, we modeled activism as a two-stage process by simultaneously estimating equations predicting willingness to participate in protest action and actual participation in protest action when controlling for this willingness. By doing so, we resolved one of the more puzzling findings to emerge from the social movement literature on differential participation: the lack of negative effects for biographical unavailability. Our measures of biographical unavailability generally had significant negative effects on *willingness* to participate in protest action, but no effect on actual protest participation when holding protest willingness constant. Biographical unavailability therefore *does constrain* people from participating in activism, but it does so only for the first-stage of the mobilization, removing people from the pool of potential participants. Because of their exclusive focus on explaining variation in participation among movement sympathizers, prior social movement studies have missed this important hindering effect of biographical unavailability.

Our models supported the hypothesis that social obligations and commitments to partners reduce the willingness of married people to participate in protest action relative to single people.

In addition, this greater unwillingness likely reflects the fact that married persons face greater risks for protest participation as imprisonment sacrifices time that could otherwise be spent with partners and injury limits one's ability to provide care and support for partners. Furthermore, married people are likely to receive negative sanctions from partners for engaging in protest participation because this participation can be damaging to marriages (c.f. Goodwin 1997). Being married thus represents an important countervailing social relationship, discouraging people from personally committing themselves to protest action. Our similar findings for those who are divorced suggest that exiting a marriage may not entirely free one from the costs and risks associated with marriage. For example, divorcees may still have obligations and interactions with previous partners, particularly if children are involved, and this combined with the time demands of possible new relationships suggests that the costs and risks of those who are divorced may possibly match those of married people. A possible direction for future research, then, would be to measure specifically the costs and risks of various marital statuses (e.g., using time diaries) to assess the relative hindrance of these on protest willingness for each marital status.

Our models also supported the hypothesis that full-time and part-time workers are less willing to participate in protest action than students. This is consistent with arguments that those in the labor force face greater costs and risks from protest activity and thus remove themselves from the first stage of the mobilization process. The lack of energy and free time due to working and the threat of social sanctions from workers and the possible loss of income are apparently strong deterrents that affect the initial decision of protest willingness. Students, on the other hand, are generally freer from work-related demands, duties, and sanctions, which likely explains their greater probability of passage through the first-stage of the mobilization process.

We found that age had a significant nonlinear effect on willingness to participate in protest action, with the younger and the older being *less* willing to participate relative to the middle-aged. This challenges previous assumptions that younger and older people are more biographically available and thus more likely to pass through the first-stage of the mobilization

process. Because we controlled for several important biographical constraints—parenthood, marriage, and employment—that are often posited to explain age effects on activism, we suggest several other possible explanations for our observed age effects, beginning with the younger adult effect. First, to the extent that individuals in their late teenage years and early twenties are somewhat financially dependent on their parents, they are subject to their control and authority. By participating in activism, younger adults could jeopardize financial support from their parents as their parents may disapprove of this activism, given the costs and risks involved (McAdam 1986). Second, young adults have had fewer years to gain activist experience and skills, which increases the costs and risks of activism. Last, young adults may have competing cultural interests: the notion of "sex, drugs, and rock and roll" suggests that younger individuals pursue and value interests that likely undermine committing to activism.[19] Taken together, these reasons may explain why we observed that people who are in their late teenage years and early twenties were particularly unwilling to participate in protest action net of controls for other biographical constraints.

Other possible reasons may explain why those who are older remove themselves at the first stage of the process. The older aged may be less willing to protest as overall declines in health and fitness make them generally unfit to meet the physical demands of protest participation. For instance, participating in protests requires a good deal of physical stamina and strength, as protesters often must march for extended periods of time and sometimes must resist the force of counter mobilizing agents and law enforcement officials. Respect for authority, especially government authority, may also explain why older people are generally unwilling to protest. To the extent that older people tend to value authority and support institutions of authority, they may personally disapprove of participating in protest action, which generally constitutes a direct challenge to authority structures.

Additionally, there is an important ambiguity regarding our age findings that we note. Specifically, we face the age-period-cohort conundrum common to all cross-sectional data. That is, age of respondent in our analysis could represent an age transition, a cohort effect, or even a

period effect where those experiencing profound societal upheaval will have a greater willingness to protest. In our study, a cohort effect may be important for explaining our age findings. Since middle-aged people in our sample came of age during the late 1960s and early 1970s, we would expect them to be particularly experienced and skilled at activism as well as antagonistic to all types of authority. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, social movements challenging authority were thriving in the United States and thus coming of age during this time meant greater opportunities for involvement in these movements and greater exposure to counter–cultural lifestyles and values. Numerous studies have shown that activists of the 1960s and 1970s have remained distinctive in their political activism and ideologies (see, for example, Jennings and Niemi 1981; McAdam 1989). Middle-aged people in our sample, then, are not only unlikely to face the health constraints of the old and financial dependencies of the young, but they are also unlikely to face the costs and risks of being inexperienced and unskilled at activism of the young and the costs and risks of violating norms of authority of the old. These reasons may explain why we found that middle-aged respondents were personally more willing to protest than these other age groups. But we are very cautious in interpreting what the effect of age actually represents. To the extent that it represents a cohort effect, this peak of age will continue to increase as this generation continues to age. Likewise, the emergence of another active cohort would similarly affect age peaks as this new cohort ages. On the other hand, if the process is largely driven by an age effect, the value of the peak we found should continue to be discovered in future surveys. Empirical data from future studies will be necessary to explicate whether the cohort effect or the aging effect is the stronger process at work here.

Besides the main effects for the different dimensions of biographical availability, we identified several noteworthy interaction effects, especially when introducing gender. We outlined a theory for how the different dimensions of biographical may interact with each other and gender, noting the ambiguity in these predictions. Focusing only on the three-way interaction among marital status, labor force status, and parental status, we showed that marriage had a strong deterrent effect on protest willingness, as the unmarried of all categories were more

willing to protest relative to all of the married categories. Interestingly, among those who were married, children somewhat increased the extent to which people were willing to protest. Gender, however, moderated both of these findings. Although there were no differences between married and unmarried men concerning the effect of the combination of work status and parental status on protest willingness, there were substantial differences in this regard for women. Presumably because of gendered norms of the West, marriage poses particularly significant costs and risks of activism for women and thus decreases their willingness to protest.

Additionally, parenthood had no effect on married (or unmarried) men's protest willingness, regardless of their working status. But this is not true for women. For married women not working outside the home, the presence of children increased the probability of protest willingness. This highlights that failing to differentiate the effects of these biographical unavailability measures by gender obscures some important relationships. Recall in our main effect models that, contrary to expectation, we found no instance where the number of children in total or of any age range significantly decreased protest willingness or actual participation in protest activity. One possibility for this unanticipated finding is that parents have an interest in a greater number of government issues *because of* the presence of children, for instance public education or safe neighborhoods. This would suggest that the negative effects of the risks and costs associated with children may be offset by an increase in political interest and motivation to protect them, though future research needs to explore this possibility explicitly. An interesting sidebar to this possibility is that it may also explain the anomalous finding in our main analysis that the presence of children aged 6-12 actually *increased* willingness to protest. In auxiliary interaction analyses in which we estimated a model interacting the presence of children aged 6-12 (rather than children of any age), we found that willingness to protest was somewhat stronger for those with children of this age, particularly so for unmarried women with such children (results available upon request from the authors). Given the considerable biographical constraints for unmarried women with children, this suggests that children of this age may

provide particularly strong political interests and motivations and suggests an avenue for future research.

Although our measures of biographical unavailability generally conformed to expectation as they decreased protest willingness, our measure of working for the government did not. Contrary to what we posited, working for the government was not a significant predictor of willingness to protest against the government. However, this finding may be due to possible measurement error in our government worker variable since we were forced to classify workers based on occupation codes due to data limitations. Future research may wish to collect information that directly assesses whether the individual would feel pressure from their workplace if they were to participate in protest activity.

While our tests using this national level data set have some key advantages over past studies in the literature on differential participation, it is also important to highlight the limitations of our study. In particular, our cross-sectional data limit the ability to make strong causal claims. This is especially the case since our ultimate outcome variable was a retrospective measure of whether the respondent had protested anytime during the last five years. Since it is possible that past protest participation might actually increase current reports of protest willingness, longitudinal data is necessary for testing whether biographical unavailability is indeed most important for explaining the first stage of the mobilization process. While future research using longitudinal data is necessary for answering this question definitively, we conducted sensitivity tests with our cross-sectional data assuming various sizes for the feedback effect of protest behavior on willingness to protest. It is reassuring that the effects we detected for biographical unavailability on protest willingness were robust when estimating various nonzero feedback effects from protest behavior to willingness. Indeed, all of these theorized effects remained even in the extreme instance where we assumed that the feedback effect was *twice the size* of our estimated effect of willingness on protest behavior in a nonrecursive model (see footnote 16). Nonetheless, tests with longitudinal data will be needed to confirm the results of these sensitivity tests.

Future research should also investigate the extent to which our findings for the two-stage mobilization process and biographical unavailability generalize to forms of social movement activism other than protest participation. Social movement scholars have long argued that the processes that explain high-risk/cost activity need not necessarily explain low-risk/cost activity (McAdam 1986). Biographical unavailability thus may be less of a factor in removing people from the pool of eligible participants for lower-risk/cost activities. While this suggests a fruitful direction for future research, we attempted a modest test of this proposition using the only other social movement activity available in our data: "attend a public meeting organized to protest against government action." We found a very similar pattern of results for this somewhat lower risk/cost social movement activity (results available upon request from the authors). But whether our findings for biographical unavailability and willingness to engage in activity hold for even less risky and costly social movement behavior, such as petition campaigns or volunteer efforts for activist organizations, is an open question that future studies should explore. Likewise, while we feel that a strength of our study is its focus on general protest willingness and activity, future studies may want to test whether our findings hold when studying specific social movements.

There is also the issue of directly measuring the dimensions of biographical unavailability that constrain willingness to engage in activism. Like prior studies, we operationalized the concept of biographical availability with measures for marriage, parenthood, working status, and age. These measures thus served as proxies for the social obligations, alternative commitments, and countervailing relationships of biographical unavailability that are thought to reduce the likelihood of willingness to protest. Had we been able to measure directly the actual costs—for example, time and energy—and risks—for example, income loss and discouragement from loved ones—of biographical unavailability, we expect that our findings for biographical unavailability would have even been stronger. Although marriage, parenthood, working status, and age tap some of the possible countervailing social ties that likely render willingness to protest unlikely, there are other ties that we could not measure that may be even a greater source of negative sanctions for protest willingness, such as family members and close friends who strongly

disapprove of protest participation (Rochford 1985; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980). Future research should focus on developing and testing measures that directly capture the obligations, commitments, and relationships that are posited to explain the constraining effects of biographical unavailability that we observed. By doing so, we would be able to pinpoint the precise dimensions of biographical unavailability that are most important for explaining protest unwillingness and protest action and identify whether combinations of different dimensions, for example little free time from work and partner disapproval—produce even greater unwillingness.

To conclude, because we theoretically know that social movement activism is a complex process, it is important that our empirical models reflect this complexity. Drawing on the work of Klandermans and colleagues (Klandermans 1997; Klandermans and Oegema 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994), we modeled social movement activism as a two-stage mobilization process consisting of willingness to participate in protest action and actual protest participation holding protest willingness constant. By modeling social movement participation in this way, we demonstrated that biographical unavailability generally had a robust negative effect on the first-stage of the mobilization process, removing people from the pool of willing participants. Prior studies have missed this important constraining effect of biographical unavailability by exclusively sampling and focusing on participation variation among individuals already committed to the goals and tactics of social movements. Although we have shown the importance of the hindering effect of biographical unavailability on social movement activism for the first-stage of the mobilization process, other variables that we could not measure may also matter at this stage, such as awareness of protest organizations (Walsh and Warland 1983). Furthermore, it is also likely that other variables for which we did not have measures are important for explaining the second-stage of the mobilization process. For instance, integration into protest networks may be more important for explaining conversion of protest willingness to protest participation. By modeling social movement activism as a two-stage process, future social movement scholarship on activist participation will be able to parse out how these and

other important theoretical concepts influence the complex process of mobilizing people to engage in protest action to advance the goals of social movements.

Endnotes

[1] Although this conversion may also involve multiple stages, we do not focus on them in this paper (for a discussion of these stages, see Klandermans 1997; Klandermans and Oegema 1987; Oegema and Klandermans 1994).

[2] Klandermans and Oegema (1987) specify that the first stage of the mobilization process consists of accepting both the goals and the tactics of a particular social movement. While not satisfying either of these two conditions drops individuals from the first-stage of the mobilization process, our study focuses on the more restrictive condition of this process: supporting the tactics of social movements. No matter how personally committed individuals are to the goals of social movements, they must also accept the tactics of movements for them to join the pool of potential participants ready to engage in activism to advance the goals of movements. In terms of personal support of social movement tactics, Klandermans and Oegema (1987) focus on protest potential or willingness to engage in unconventional political participation (Barnes, Kaase, Allerbeck, Farah, Heunks, Inglehart, Jennings, Kilngemann, Marsh, and Rosenmayr 1979: 59). Our approach of modeling protest willingness thus reflects the tactical focus of Klandermans and Oegema's (1987) first stage of the mobilization process.

[3] It is true that a couple of small-N studies of social movement sympathizers have found that people cite personal constraints for not participating (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980; Walsh and Warland 1983). Beyond small sample size and other methodological concerns, it is questionable whether these constraints hinder conversion of willingness to action. In these studies, sympathizers were defined as those who agree with the goals of the movement rather than the tactics of the movement. Had sympathizers rather been defined in terms of willingness to engage in particular social movement tactics it is likely that these studies would have found that people who were biographically unavailable would have been excluded from the pool of sympathizers in the first place (see footnote two for a discussion of the important difference between agreement with the goals of social movements and the tactics of social movements).

[4] One exception is McAdam's (1986) study where he summed the different measures of biographical unavailability together to create an overall biographical unavailability measure. Given his data constraints, this was a defensible strategy for examining the constraining effects of different dimensions of biographical unavailability simultaneously. Nonetheless, it does not do so in a way that adequately allows for interaction effects in which one dimension of biographical unavailability moderates another. While McAdam (1986) did not find any significant effects for his summed measure of biographical unavailability, the sole focus on the second stage of the mobilization process as well as the inability to test adequately these moderating effects, suggest that they were not rigorously tested.

[5] For instance, as Chao (2004) reports, whereas in 1970 there was a 37 percent gap between the labor force participation of men and women (80 percent versus 43 percent), by 2002 this gap had narrowed to just 14 percent (74 percent versus 60 percent). Note that these numbers lump together women with and without children. Thus, the current difference between the work status of men and women without children is now nearly nonexistent. Although this difference increases when children are present, the majority of married women with children work outside the house (see footnote 6 for the difference in work status of women with and without children).

[6] There is evidence that the presence of children widens the labor force participation gap between husbands and wives: whereas in 2002 the gap between all husbands and wives was 16 percent (77 percent versus 61 percent), this widens to 22 percent for those with any children less than 18 years of age (94 percent versus 72 percent), and to 32 percent for those with children less than six years of age (96 percent versus 64 percent) (Chao 2004).

[7] While the survey question asked about the number of times the respondent had demonstrated in the last five years, we found that there were too few instances of participation in more than one demonstration to be useful, so we collapsed this into a dichotomous measure.

[8] Using the 1980 occupation code variable, individuals in the following categories were classified as government workers: legislators; those in Public Administration; those in protective services; and those in the Armed Forces.

[9] For these analyses, we could only create interactions using a measure for the presence of children *of any* age. Creating interactions with the presence of children of different ages (as we did in the main analyses) would nearly triple the number of indicators. Such an approach would result in categories with too few respondents for meaningful analysis. Nonetheless, we experimented in auxiliary analyses with models in which we replaced the measure of the presence of children of any age with a measure of children of a particular age (either less than 5, 6 through 12, or 13 through 18). Each of these three auxiliary models yielded results very similar to those presented here using the measure of children of any age (results available upon request).

[10] A downside of this analytic strategy is that the large number of indicators rendered estimation taking into account the categorical nature of the outcome variables impossible. That is, these categories with somewhat small numbers of respondents resulted in instances in which a category perfectly predicted either the failure or the occurrence of the outcome. In such an instance, probit estimation is not possible. Therefore, for these additional models we estimated them treating the outcome measure as continuous, but using robust standard errors to take into account the heteroskedasticity introduced by the categorical outcomes. Note that while not entirely appropriate, this likely has minimal effect on the substantive conclusions. For instance, we replicated our main models with estimation ignoring the categorical nature of the data and obtained results substantively the same as those presented in the text. Thus, we suggest that these interaction models are likely accurately portraying the magnitude of the relationship between these biographical categories and protest willingness and participation (with reasonable standard errors), even if the coefficients cannot be precisely interpreted.

[11] We produced this graph by multiplying the age and age squared of hypothetical individuals (centered to mirror our data coding strategy) by the coefficients in our model. Thus, this illustrates the marginal effects of age on protest willingness. The peak can be seen by inspection, or by taking the first derivative of the age and age squared coefficients and setting it equal to zero.

[12] To determine the magnitude of the effects, we calculated predicted probabilities. We accomplished this in this instance by holding all variables at their current values and then calculating the predicted probability for each of the four thresholds of the willingness variable when all cases are given a value of zero on the marriage variable (i.e., the predicted probability for a single person), and then again when all cases are given a value of one for the marriage variable (i.e., the predicted probability for a married person). We found that the predicted probability of being *very unwilling* to protest is .185 for single people and .302 for married persons. We also found that the predicted probability of being *very willing* to protest is .275 for single people and .16 for married persons. Taking these ratios, we see that single persons are 40 percent less likely to be very unwilling to protest and 70 percent more likely to be very willing to protest than are married people.

[13] In an instrumental variable approach, one needs "instruments" (a variable that affects one of the outcome measures but not the other). In our instance, we would need both 1) a variable that affects willingness to protest but not actual participation, and 2) another variable that affects

actual protest behavior but not willingness. Without these two instruments, our attempt to estimate these reciprocal relations would not be identified. Unfortunately, our data contained no suitable candidate variables.

[14] We thank Kenneth Bollen for this suggestion.

[15] These relative values are created based on the size of the standardized coefficients. That is, we used the size of the unstandardized coefficient in the initial model and the standard deviations for each of our outcome variables to fix this path to a particular value. As a result, for instance, in the model in which we set the feedback path to be 50 percent of the value of the initial path, a result of our estimation is that the standardized coefficient for this feedback path is 50 percent as large as the estimated standardized coefficient for the path from willingness to protest in this model.

[16] We estimated additional models where we assumed that the feedback effect from protest behavior to willingness was *twice the size* of the effect of willingness upon protest behavior (measured in standardized coefficients). In this model, all of the effects remain. Indeed, note the direction of the change of coefficients in Table 3 when we move from no assumed feedback effect (our models specified in Table 2) to an assumed feedback effect with a standardized coefficient equal to that of willingness on protest; when we assume a feedback effect twice as large as that of willingness on protest, these coefficients continue moving even further in the same direction. Thus, these biographical unavailability effects upon protest willingness are particularly robust to any reasonable assumption of the size of the feedback effect from protest behavior to willingness.

[17] While there are no significant differences *among* the four categories of unmarried women, these unmarried women are generally significantly more willing to protest than any of the married counterparts. For instance, the three left-most categories are all significantly more willing to protest than married women with no kids where both spouses work, and all categories to the right of this one. And married women who do not work and have no children are significantly less willing to protest than any category of unmarried women, which again highlights the important constraining effect of marriage for women.

[18] In these models, the only significant difference we found for females was that unmarried females with no children (but working) are more likely to protest than married women with children who work. Thus, it takes this extreme difference in biographical constraints to result in significant differences above and beyond the effect on willingness. For males, there were no significant differences in protest behavior for these different biographical constraints.

[19] An important alternative possibility that a reviewer suggested was that young respondents may simply not have had much chance to protest. Those 18 to 21 years of age may be willing to protest, but have had few opportunities over the last five years to engage in protest behavior since would have likely been in middle or high school during these years. We tested this by estimating an additional model incorporating a variable indicating whether the respondent was between 18-21 years of age. This variable had no effect on willingness or actual protest activity (the coefficient was smaller than the standard error), and, importantly, did not change any of our other findings. While there are many possible cohort effects, because of the possible strong effects for these young members of our sample we also tested whether young liberals in the Clinton years (less than 22 years of age) were less likely to protest, whereas liberals in the 22-25 range had the greatest possibility since they may have been mobilized during the Gulf War. We accomplished this by creating indicator variables for each of these age ranges as well as interactions with the liberalness of the respondent. None of these effects were significant, as all had coefficients smaller than their standard errors, and our main results remained unchanged.

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Table 1. Summary Statistics for Variables Used in the Analysis: General Social Survey, 1996

Two-Stage Mobilization Process Measures	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min*	*Max*
Willingness to protest	2.434	1.075	1	4
Have Protested against Government Action (past five years)	0.091	0.287	0	1
Biographical Availability Measures				
Age	44.298	16.759	18	99
Married	0.492	0.500	0	1
Divorced	0.195	0.396	0	1
Widowed	0.086	0.281	0	1
Single	0.227	0.419	0	1
Number of children < 5 years old	0.236	0.552	0	4
Number of children 6-12 years old	0.273	0.621	0	4
Number of children 13-18 years old	0.187	0.497	0	4
Full-time worker	0.587	0.493	0	1
Part-time worker	0.110	0.313	0	1
Laid off	0.020	0.141	0	1
Retired	0.113	0.317	0	1
Keeping house	0.119	0.324	0	1
Other	0.022	0.146	0	1
In School	0.028	0.164	0	1
Work in a government job	0.073	0.260	0	1
Control variables				
Education	13.337	2.867	3	20
Household Income	14.867	5.135	1	21
White	0.812	0.391	0	1
African-American	0.135	0.342	0	1
Other race	0.053	0.223	0	1
Union member	0.110	0.313	0	1
Population size of community	5.984	2.626	0	9
South	0.348	0.476	0	1
Political liberalism/conservatism	2.786	1.348	0	6
Number of organization types active in	1.437	1.832	0	11
Frequency attend religious services	3.677	2.630	0	8
Female	0.552	0.497	0	1

N=1,332

Table 2. Simultaneous Probit Models Predicting Protest Willingness and Protest Participation: General Social Survey, 1996

	(1)		(2)		(3)
	Willingness to Protest against Government Action		*Protest Participation: Direct Effects*		*Protest Participation: Indirect Effects*
	coef	*SE*	*coef*	*SE*	*coef*
Willingness to protest			0.584	(0.064) **	
Biographical Availability					
Age	-0.082	(0.299)	-0.506	(0.655)	-0.048
Age squared	-4.198	(1.203) **	2.103	(2.990)	-2.452 **
Married	-0.432	(0.099) **	-0.095	(0.206)	-0.252 **
Divorced	-0.272	(0.103) **	0.167	(0.194)	-0.159 *
Widowed	-0.519	(0.150) **	0.208	(0.381)	-0.303 **
Single (reference category)	0.000		0.000		0.000
Number of children < 5 years old	0.058	(0.066)	0.000	(0.132)	0.034
Number of children 6-12 years old	0.132	(0.054) *	-0.173	(0.108)	0.077 *
Number of children 13-18 years old	0.034	(0.067)	-0.188	(0.183)	0.020
Full-time worker	-0.486	(0.205) *	0.915	(0.535)	-0.284 *
Part-time worker	-0.519	(0.225) *	0.766	(0.540)	-0.303 *
Laid off	-0.297	(0.294)	0.805	(0.707)	-0.173
Retired	-0.624	(0.241) **	0.662	(0.632)	-0.364 *
Keeping house	-0.481	(0.228) *	0.702	(0.567)	-0.281 *
Other	-0.815	(0.301) **	1.103	(0.701)	-0.476 *
In school (reference category)	0.000		0.000		0.000
Work in a government job	-0.030	(0.122)	0.165	(0.215)	-0.018
Control variables					
Education	0.090	(0.013) **	0.040	(0.029)	0.053 **
Household Income	0.002	(0.009)	-0.016	(0.020)	0.001
African-American	0.316	(0.094) **	0.055	(0.196)	0.185 **
Other race	-0.098	(0.133)	0.439	(0.222) *	-0.057
White (reference category)	0.000		0.000		0.000
Female	-0.050	(0.069)	-0.122	(0.145)	-0.029
Union member	-0.002	(0.099)	0.003	(0.221)	-0.001
Population size of community	0.001	(0.012)	0.010	(0.027)	0.001
South	-0.157	(0.068) *	-0.129	(0.150)	-0.092 *
Political liberalism/conservatism	0.051	(0.024) *	0.055	(0.044)	0.030
Number of organization types active in	0.001	(0.018)	0.054	(0.035)	0.001
Frequency attend religious services	-0.017	(0.012)	0.041	(0.029)	-0.010
R-squared	0.209		0.368		

*Note: ** p < .01; * p < .05, two-tail test. Standard errors in parentheses. N=1,332.*

Table 3. Sensitivity test for nonrecursive model: allowing for a return effect from protest behavior to willingness (fixed to the same size of effect as from willingness to behavior): General Social Survey, 1996

	Recursive model: causal effect only from protest willingness to behavior				*Nonrecursive model: allowing for a return effect from protest behavior to willingness (fixed to the same size of effect as from willingness to behavior)*			
	(1)		*(2)*		*(3)*		*(4)*	
	Willingness to Protest against Government Action		*Protest Participation: Direct Effects*		*Willingness to Protest against Government Action*		*Protest Participation: Direct Effects*	
	coef	*SE*	*coef*	*SE*	*coef*	*SE*	*coef*	*SE*
Willingness to protest			0.584	(0.064) **			0.272	(0.051) **
Protest participation					0.270	--		
Biographical Availability								
Age	-0.082	(0.299)	-0.506	(0.655)	0.053	(0.338)	-0.510	(0.636)
Age squared	-4.198	(1.203) **	2.103	(2.990)	-4.601	(1.371) **	0.934	(2.916)
Married	-0.432	(0.099) **	-0.095	(0.206)	-0.392	(0.113) **	-0.204	(0.199)
Divorced	-0.272	(0.103) **	0.167	(0.194)	-0.306	(0.112) **	0.090	(0.189)
Widowed	-0.519	(0.150) **	0.208	(0.381)	-0.555	(0.171) **	0.066	(0.372)
Single (reference category)	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
Number of children < 5 years old	0.058	(0.066)	0.000	(0.132)	0.056	(0.074)	0.015	(0.128)
Number of children 6-12 years old	0.132	(0.054) *	-0.173	(0.108)	0.172	(0.063) **	-0.132	(0.104)
Number of children 13-18 years old	0.034	(0.067)	-0.188	(0.183)	0.082	(0.082)	-0.173	(0.176)
Full-time worker	-0.486	(0.205) *	0.915	(0.535)	-0.707	(0.258) **	0.756	(0.512)
Part-time worker	-0.519	(0.225) *	0.766	(0.540)	-0.701	(0.274) *	0.604	(0.517)
Laid off	-0.297	(0.294)	0.805	(0.707)	-0.497	(0.362)	0.700	(0.674)
Retired	-0.624	(0.241) **	0.662	(0.632)	-0.775	(0.300) **	0.476	(0.606)
Keeping house	-0.481	(0.228) *	0.702	(0.567)	-0.648	(0.275) *	0.553	(0.547)
Other	-0.815	(0.301) **	1.103	(0.701)	-1.075	(0.356) **	0.852	(0.674)
In school (reference category)	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
Work in a government job	-0.030	(0.122)	0.165	(0.215)	-0.072	(0.133)	0.151	(0.208)
Control variables								
Education	0.090	(0.013) **	0.040	(0.029)	0.076	(0.015) **	0.062	(0.028) *
Household Income	0.002	(0.009)	-0.016	(0.020)	0.006	(0.010)	-0.015	(0.019)
African-American	0.316	(0.094) **	0.055	(0.196)	0.291	(0.110) **	0.136	(0.188)
Other race	-0.098	(0.133)	0.439	(0.222) *	-0.209	(0.141)	0.398	(0.217) †
White (reference category)	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	
Female	-0.050	(0.069)	-0.122	(0.145)	-0.016	(0.078)	-0.131	(0.140)
Union member	-0.002	(0.099)	0.003	(0.221)	-0.003	(0.111)	0.003	(0.215)
Population size of community	0.001	(0.012)	0.010	(0.027)	-0.002	(0.014)	0.010	(0.026)
South	-0.157	(0.068) *	-0.129	(0.150)	-0.118	(0.080)	-0.165	(0.144)
Political liberalism/conservatism	0.051	(0.024) *	0.055	(0.044)	0.035	(0.027)	0.066	(0.043)
Number of organization types active in	0.001	(0.018)	0.054	(0.035)	-0.013	(0.020)	0.053	(0.034)
Frequency attend religious services	-0.017	(0.012)	0.041	(0.029)	-0.028	(0.015) †	0.035	(0.028)

*Note: ** p < .01; * p < .05, two-tail test. Standard errors in parentheses. N=1,332.*

Figure 1. Theoretical model of
Two-Stage Mobilization Process

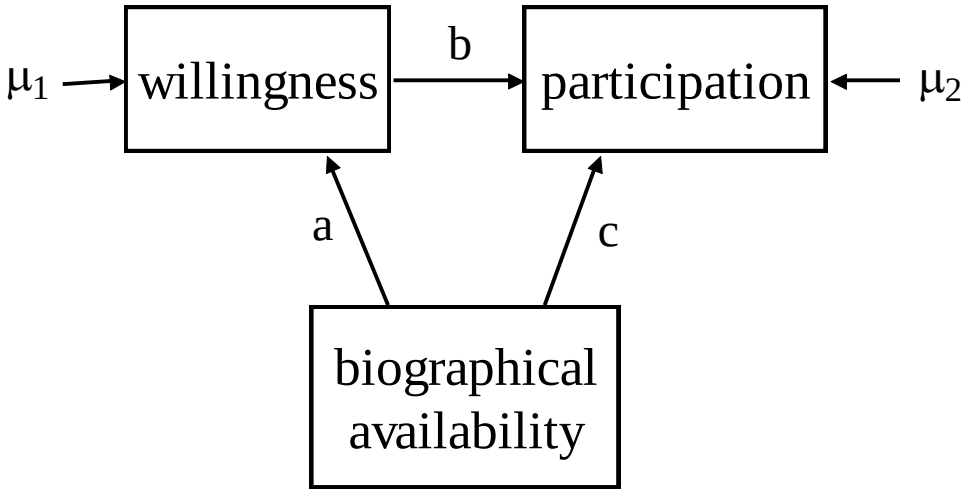

Figure 2. Marginal effect of age on protest willingness

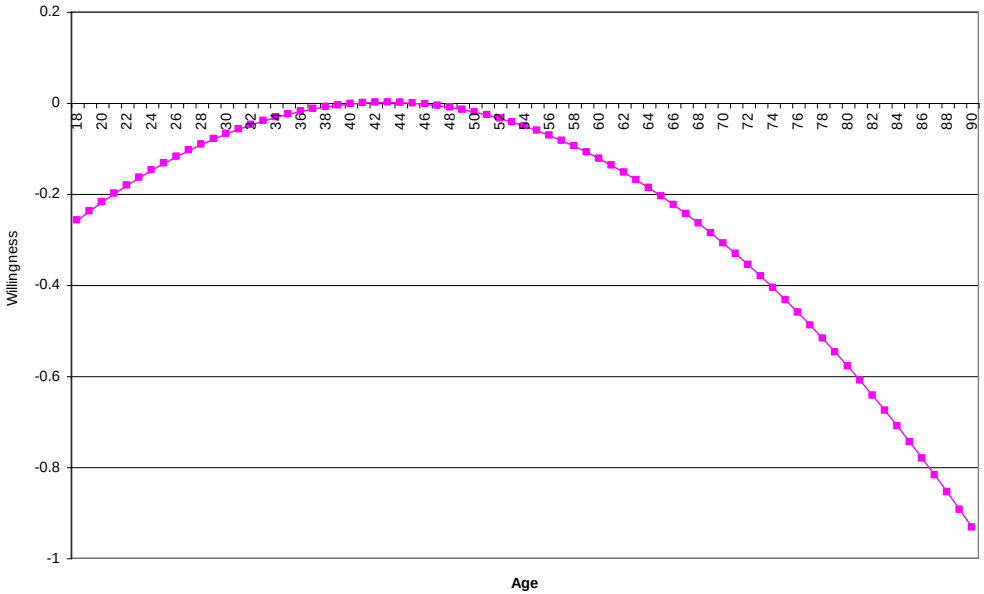

Figure 3
. Willingness to protest, interaction of marital status, presence of children, and work status

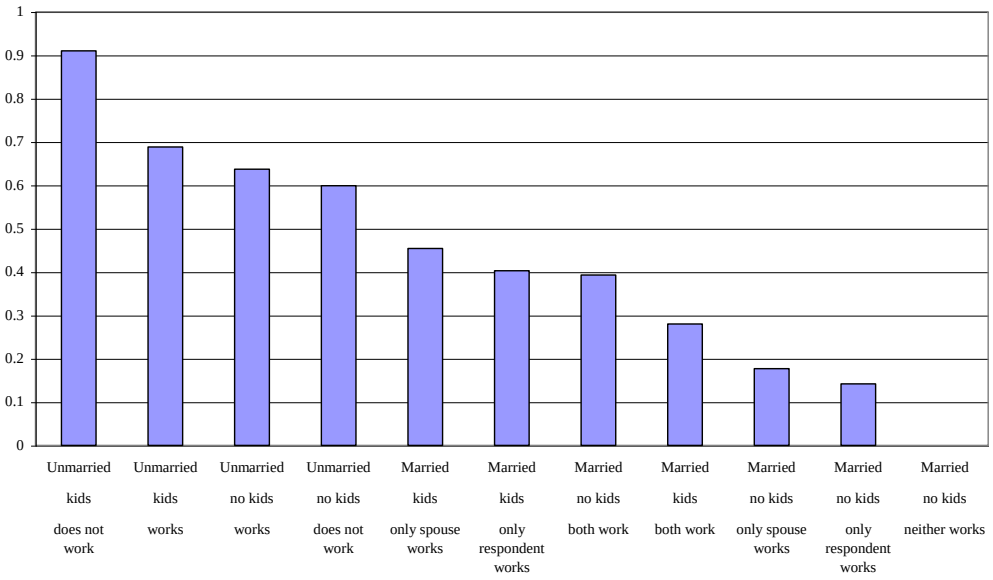

Figure 4A. Willingness to protest for females: interaction of marital status, presence of children, and household work status

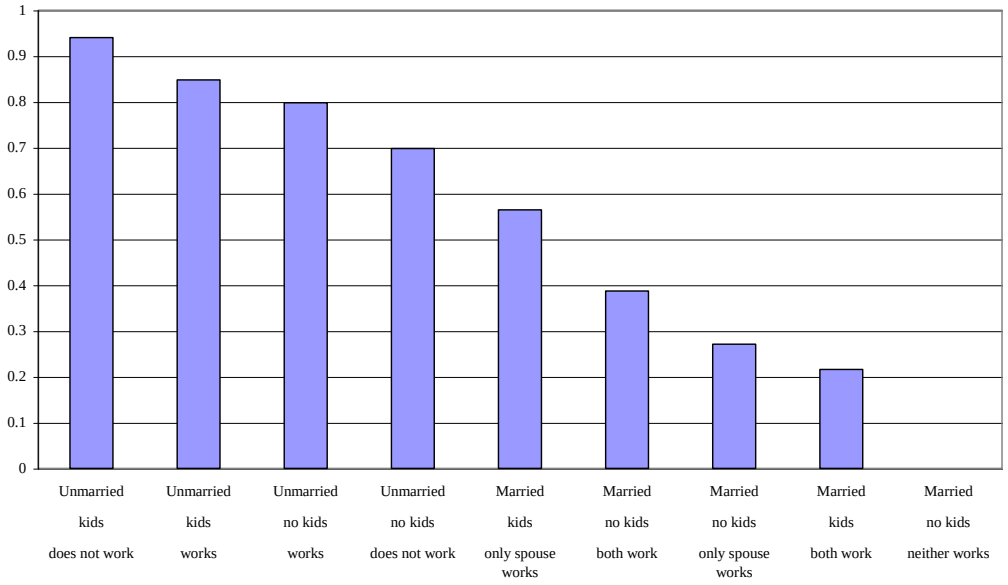

Figure 4B. Willingness to protest for males: interaction of marital status, presence of children, and household work status