

Measuring Social Movement Phenomena: Action, Message, and Community

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Abstract

Social movements are often categorized into broad, mutually exclusive categories based on tactics and strategies. We introduce a more fine-grained approach: placement in a multi-dimensional space based on protest motivations – direct action towards a policy or goal, changing public discourse narratives, or building movement identities or communities. This measurement technique recognizes that multiple motivations may exist, and allows protest events, organizations or whole movements to be compared based on where they are in this multi-dimensional space. To test our theoretical dimensions we surveyed protesters at the 2016 Republican National Convention and Democratic National Convention. Using confirmatory factor analysis, we confirm the existence of three dimensions using questions about participant goals and targets. We also show how these dimensions provide real information about the differences between protest outside the two conventions. We conclude that our multi-dimensional measure can facilitate better comparisons of movements and related phenomenon across time and space

1 Introduction

Scholars have developed categorizations of social movements in order to understand organizational and mobilization processes across different movements (Gamson 1975; Rucht 1988; Melucci 1980). These categorizations – many of which are defined at least partially around differences in goals and tactics – place movements into a limited number of highly differentiated categories such as instrumental versus expressive or old versus new (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004; Melucci 1980; Rucht 1988). Here we develop a new method of categorizing social movements and differentiating social movement phenomena such as organizations or events.¹ We argue that previous attempts that have focused chiefly on categorizing movements have been too rigid. A rigid dividing line between categories of social movements obscures that movements are complex phenomenon that evolve over time and often include internal disagreement over goals, tactics, and organization (Bernstein 1997; McCammon 2003). At the same time, we argue that the immediate goals and tactics are important for understanding movement phenomenon as different tactical choices will dictate how a movements relates to the state, other social movements, and the way counter-movements evolve.

Given the complexity of social movements, we propose two innovations in how scholars develop categorizations of movements. First, we focus on categorizing component parts of social movements which here we call social movement phenomenon, through surveys of participants about their immediate short-term goals and targets. As activists plan and organize they make decisions about how to achieve their long-term goals through short-term actions. Thus, the short-term tactics and goals of participants can be used to identify how social movement phenomenon vary. Second, to quantify that variation we propose a multi-dimensional space with three dimension: 1) engaging in direct and immediate action to alter

¹The categorization we develop could be utilized to study social movements but also other units of analysis common in the study of social movements such as organizations or events. For that reason, we utilize the term social movement phenomena in the discussion below. Our empirical findings in this paper concentrate on the difference between the protests at the Republican and Democratic National conventions.

policies, events, or actors; 2) altering the specific views or frames of bystander publics and the media; and 3) building collective identity around movement's norms or a culture of solidarity that might encourage or intensify future mobilization. Contrary to many categorizations, these dimensions are not mutually exclusive but can be present in different degrees within movements, organizations or events. Using these dimensions, researchers can build up from social movement activists, events and organizations to get a better map the internal life of a social movement.

To test our theoretical dimensions we utilize surveys fielded outside the 2016 Republican National Convention (RNC) and the 2016 Democratic National Convention (DNC) to examine whether we can validate the existence of three different dimensions and whether they could be used as measures to differentiate events.² We choose protest at the RNC and DNC, since most protest events, which tend to focus on a single issue or be organized by a coherent set of organizations often sharing the same outlook, will likely provide limited variation in tactics and goals. In contrast, the RNC and DNC are quadrennial events with a history of drawing protest from a wide array of groups and individuals (Meyer 2014; Heaney and Rojas 2015; Heaney 2016). This provides fertile ground for examining whether perceptions of tactics and goals can be used to develop dimensions to characterize different events, organizations or movements.

The challenges of surveying a multi-day protest event required us to extend current survey techniques to ensure we captured a representative sample. The sampling technique we utilize will also be useful for others working to survey both multi-day and single day protest events. From this survey we show that three distinct groups of targets and goals were present at the RNC and DNC, and that although there was overlap among them they represent three distinct dimensions that differentiate between protesters at the RNC and at the DNC.

We begin by first outlining the three dimensions that we believe characterize social move-

²We do not go the extra step to analyze differences in organizations or movements in this paper, making comparisons only between the RNC and DNC protests. But we believe the three dimensions and the method of aggregating individual responses could be extended to make such comparisons.

ment phenomenon. We focus not only on why these three dimensions represent the range of goals and targets of individual protesters and larger movements, but also how these dimensions are important for understanding movements and movement events. Events dominated by a desire to take direct action will be different from those that are primarily concerned with building movement community. We then discuss the link between the targets and short-term goals of individual protesters, social movement events, social movement organizations and social movements as a whole.

Next we discuss the background of the 2016 DNC and RNC and how we surveyed the participants at each event. After a brief description of protest participants and our battery of questions to examine short term goals and targets, we use confirmatory factor analysis to examine whether the underlying motivations for participation map onto our three proposed dimensions. We then show the utility in this measure by comparing participants at the DNC and the RNC. We find that the main line of differentiation between activists outside the DNC and the RNC was the degree to which they were focused on immediate change. Those at the DNC largely concentrated on trying to alter the course of the convention, while those at the RNC were less concerned about immediate change. In both cases there were a mixture of individuals that were focused on changing the narrative around issues and building identity. We conclude by discussing the implications of our multi-dimensional measure for understanding different social movement phenomena.

2 Categorizing Movements

While social movement scholars focus most often on testing hypotheses and theory development, less attention has been given to the role that categorization plays in our understandings of social movements (Amenta et al. 2009). Nonetheless, because social movement scholars utilize categorization schemes to identify how theories generalize across social movements and related phenomenon, the nature of such categories and the boundaries between them

play a large role in the discipline (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168). New social movement theorists, for example, separated traditional labor movements that existed prior to World War II from the movements that emerged in the 1960s, developing new theories of movement mobilization around the differences in goals, organizational forms and tactics that existed between 'new' and 'old' social movements (Dalton and Kuechler 1990; Melucci 1980, 1989; Offe 1985; Habermas 1981). Despite considerable debate about the conceptual underpinnings of this categorization, theories based on these categorizations continue to be highlighted in texts on social movements (for example Buechler 2016; Staggenborg 2015; Ruggiero and Montagna 2008). While not all categorizations result in a new theoretical paradigm, typologies and categorization are fundamental to understanding variation in a single social movement (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004; Kitschelt 1986; Aberle 1966) or across movements (Kriesi et al. 1995; Rucht 1988). In other words, the categorization of movements assumes that “[due] to characteristics *inherent* to the movements—their logic of action and their general orientation—movements of the same type follow comparable interactive dynamics” (Kriesi et al. 1995, 82). Identifying similarities between movements requires first identifying a set of relevant characteristics that are meaningful. Relevant characteristics might be the social class of participants (e.g. Piven and Cloward 1979), the goals (e.g. Rucht 1988), the actions that are taken (e.g. Gamson 1975; Gillan N.d.) or the degree of professionalization (e.g. McCarthy and Zald 1977). Each of these characteristics focuses on constituent parts of a movement in order to advance our understanding of movements.

Previous categorizations of movements generally focus on creating a small number of categories with clear lines between categories, leading to significant simplification. For example, Rucht (1988) distinguishes between instrumental (or action-oriented) and expressive (or identity-oriented) movements. These categories allow researchers to generalize from one movement to another such as when Rucht (1988) notes similarities between environmental and peace movements. Yet this rough dichotomy based on instrumental versus expressive movements provides limited analytical traction. There is extensive variation within each

movement category. The category of instrumental movements, for example, subsumes those that utilize not only very violent confrontational tactics such as riots, but also marches, boycotts, and events meant to highlight issues through drama such as die-ins. Moreover expressive and instrumental actions are often mixed together within a movement and even within a single event. For example Kaminski and Taylor (2008) shows how drag shows are used both to build an identity (an expressive goal) within the LGBTQ community while also working to create sympathetic allies (an instrumental goal) outside that community. Similarly Gillan (forthcoming) notes that many attempts at direct action are focused on targeting both immediate change and changing public opinion.

Moreover, movements are not static but evolve over time. Yet, movement categorizations are static. Together this implies that either movement categories are so large that movements rarely escape the confines of their initial categorization or that scholars are unwilling to re-categorize movements as they change. For that reason, categories are rarely utilized by scholars studying a single movement across time. Thus, many categorizations imply the existence of a static, enduring dichotomy of tactics, events or movements that may be false (Bernstein 1997).

The ambiguity inherent within social movements and the dynamic changes that occur over time are also evident as one moves to more micro levels of analysis. There is significant variation at the organizational level, with a single organization simultaneously acting in ways that could be characterized as both instrumental and expressive. For example, the National Organization for Women from its very onset utilized lobbying and demonstrations to try to influence government to change social policy at the same time as they focused on changing cultural patterns. The degree to which they employed these tactics shifted across time and many single tactics were complex and mixed aspects of both of the expressive and instrumental categories (Barakso 2004). The picture becomes more complex as there was variation within National Organization for Women but also between it and other organizations making up the women's movement. Because of the high degree of internal variation,

dichotomizing movements or movement organizations by one tactic or the other provides an incomplete picture (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004).

Our method for comparing movement phenomenon builds off of these concerns. We use a dimensional analysis, instead of categorization which accommodates movements simultaneously engaging in tactics to build movement community and identity, change public opinion or cultural norms, and act to create immediate changes in policy or practice. In identifying where a social movement is on these dimensions we focus on the immediate goals and targets of participants. In doing so we break down the large question of how to categorize movements into a smaller question about the goals of individual activists which can then be used to compare the events, organizations, and movements that those individuals inhabit. Although this aggregation process, from individual activists to movements, is more complicated than the use of the static simplified categories discussed above, this complication contributes to the development of social movement theory and practice by allowing better comparisons across units or time.

Through surveys we are able to capture how participants in social movement activity view their participation. We recognize that surveys of participants is only one among several ways to capture information that would allow us to place movements along these dimensions. By surveying participants though we are able to capture the views of of active members of a movement, instead of focusing on organizational leadership or the wider supporters of a movement.

Table 1 outlines the three different dimensions of tactics that we utilize to place movement phenomenon in a three dimensional space. The three broad dimensions vary on the degree to which the target of the tactic is the participants themselves or others, and the degree to which that target is specific or diffuse. The three dimensions are ordered in the table by the immediacy of their effect in creating social change, with *direct action* designed to effect immediate change while *changing narratives* and *building identities* tend to be more long-term strategies for social change. Below we discuss these dimensions in detail, paying

attention to not only what sort of events fit into each category but also what the event type means for expectations of future mobilization. Although the initial discussions of each dimension focuses on extreme cases to distinguish better between these types, we argue that these dimensions are not mutually exclusive but exist to some degree in most social movement activities.

Table 1: Three Dimensions of Social Movement Phenomenon

Dimension	Goal	Targeting	Focus	Examples
Direct Action	Alter a specific actor, event or organizational process	Non-Participants	Specific	1999 WTO Protests; Labor union Strikes; Product Boycotts
Change Narrative	Alter understanding or salience of an issue or group	Non-Participants	Dispersed	Miss America Protest; Banner Drops
Build Identity	Build a community around an issue or group	Participants	Specific	Pride Marches; Intentional Communities

Note: While we breakdown each dimension to show the proximity of target, degree of target specificity, and immediacy of strategy, the event examples used to illustrate each dimension would likely include aspects of other dimensions as well. The examples only illustrate the central concepts behind each dimension.

2.1 Direct Action

Our first dimension, *direct action*, refers to movement actions focused on creating some sort of immediate change. This change need not necessarily be a policy change, although it can be. The important characteristic of direct action is that participants in an action/event seek to alter the course of the target. This can be canceling an event, changing the value of a company's stock, or even eliciting a repressive response from government. The target of *direct action* events is focused outward away from participants and is targeted directly at specific institutions, organizations or individuals. These immediate targets are often, but not necessarily, viewed as culpable for the problems at the root of the social movement mobilization³. In the language of Turner and Killian (1957) these actions are likely to fall under coercion, where groups are threatening disruption in order to gain some sort of benefit.

³Javeline (2003) discusses the importance of specificity in assigning blame or identifying problem-solvers but specificity in direct action need only be mildly correlated with these two other forms of specificity. Movement activists can engage in direct action against specific targets even when culpability is general or undefined or when the solution lies in complicated non-specific processes.

A few examples highlight this particular dimension. One extreme case is the Black Bloc—a group of activists who dress in black, and often participate in property destruction. Proponents of Black Bloc tactics argue that this engagement is appropriate because it takes on the state directly (confronting, for example, repressive police forces) and because it empowers people to engage directly in revolutionary action (Young 2001). Movement organizers or individuals may not necessarily objectively assess the probabilities of real change of the state as achievable but they believe that it is important still to directly engage with the state and its repressive forces. In the case of the Black Bloc, they believe that direct action against the state or capitalist institution is the only way to bring about social change.

Direct action need not be violent or only in the context of left movements. Pro-life activists engage in direct action outside of abortion clinics using both attempts to convert people entering into the clinic and at times attempting to block access to clinics (Maxwell 2002). In this case, those who pursue direct action believe that there was a high probability that they could save the lives of “unborn children.”⁴ Their view was that the specific context—particularly that abortion clinics were limited in the number of ways they could be accessed—could immediately result in fewer abortions even though often they did not feel they could change the larger political context. In this case, direct action could have immediate and highly significant effects.

Direct action need not be focused on affecting only the local target or location. Something as diffuse as multinational corporations, for example, have been the target of direct action at locations far from company headquarters. Campaigns against corporations, aimed at changing their policy, often focus on trying to change corporate policies or activities. These actions can lead to decreases in the value of companies (King and Soule 2007) or changes in corporate policy on important issues (Raeburn 2004). In addition, our concept of direct action combines different forms or location of tactics. Here direct action can include both action outside and inside of institutions (Raeburn 2004; Banaszak 2010; Banaszak and

⁴See also Klatch (2010).

Whitesell 2017). Attempts to create immediate change occur when activists work inside of institutions as well; the definition focuses on whether the targets are outside of the movement itself but were specific individuals, organizations or institutions that the movement was targeting.⁵

2.2 Change the Narrative

Our second dimension, *changing the narrative*, focuses on attempts by activists to persuade others to alter their understanding of issues or concepts central to the movement through increasing the amount of media coverage or transforming the way that media discusses particular topics. Ultimately movements seek to insert their voices into the public debate in order to convert others to the movement position: mobilizing additional supporters, increasing the number of allies, or altering public opinion on the issues central to the movement (McAdam 1996; Ferree et al. 2002). In this case, movement activists may engage in protest because they believe that dramatic protest is a good strategy for encouraging coverage of their issue in the public press or among citizens (such as on social media) (Benford 2013). In contrast to the strategy of direct action, the target of the action or event is diffuse, not specific individuals or organizations but everyone.

In *changing the narrative* activists see the change as a two-step process. Their protest may increase the salience of the issue to the general public, raising new issues that they had not realized existed or thought important. Protest may also alter the public discourse by altering attitudes on a particular issue; those who sit on the fence or oppose certain beliefs may have their opinions altered by the event (Banaszak and Ondercin 2016; Branton et al. 2015). Only later, when their frame has altered the public discourse, will this strategy lead to a successful outcome, either organically from the changes that have already occurred in discourse or by moving to a strategy of direct action that can then be used to create concrete

⁵We also note that direct action is the action most likely to lead to violence, arrests, and other forms of disruption, because the focus on the target can lead to increased conflict that may result. This does not mean however that all direct action is disruptive, violent, or even conflictual.

policy change (Amenta et al. 2010, p. 297).

Symbolism and drama play important roles in the strategy of altering the public discourse, and as a result movements often present their ideas in the starkest terms in the hopes of attracting media attention and capturing the public's attention. For example, activists have consistently used actions involving coffins to *change the narrative* around a variety of issues. Activists protesting Nestle's marketing of baby formula deployed coffins of babies at stockholder events in the 1990s (Dillner 1993). A family that lost a son in the Iraq War joined the anti-war movement by setting up a mock coffin for him in cities across the United States (Leitz 2011). Finally, the pro-life movement has integrated coffins in many actions, creating at times a "cemetery of the innocents" to represent the abortions performed each day in the United States (Maxwell 1995). In each case, participants were attempting to encourage media attention and change how the public viewed an issue by drawing on the enormity of 'death' caused by the current status quo.

2.3 Building Identity

Finally, events and organizations can be focused around the strategy of *building identity*. Collective identity and emotional connections to issues, other activists and the movement are powerful influences on the ability of a movement to survive and thrive (Polletta and Jasper 2001; Hunt and Benford 2004; Jasper 2011). Identity creation is viewed as important from the perspective of movement leaders as well. Friedman and McAdam (1992) discuss the importance of movements actively working to expand the number of people who identify with the movement. Events and organizations targeted at *building identity* focus on influencing the internal motivations and attitudes of the participants themselves instead of those who are outside of the movement as the previous categories do. Since the focus is on the events' participants, the targets are specific and local to a particular event and its participants, like the *direct action* category. Similar to *changing the narrative*, *building identity* is not expected to lead to immediate changes but is a step in creating future change by creating and

motivating activists that will take action in future events. Building collective identity and solidarity strengthens the group or movement building opportunities for the future. Building identity is especially important for those outside the mainstream discourse, where the first step in creating a movement is first creating a shared identity (Ferree 2003; Katzenstein 1999).

Pride marches, which continue to be central to the LGBT movement and experience, illustrate this dimension well. An annual event, Pride marches are a time for members and allies of the LGBT community to celebrate their identity in public. They create a sense of shared identity for members of the LGBT community and their allies, expanding the movement's base of support and building a sense of joy around membership in the LGBT community (Bruce 2013; De Waal and Manion 2006). Similarly Taylor et al. (2009) argues that same-sex weddings themselves have become moments of collective identity building within the LGBT movement; creating or strengthening individuals' collective identity through same-sex weddings mobilizes future activists to take action on behalf of the movement (Taylor et al. 2009). Events on May Day, also known as International Workers' Day, similarly celebrate the shared struggle of workers (Foner 1986), creating a collective identity of workers across industries and nations.⁶

At the extreme end of actions designed to build identity are Utopian or intentional communities. Intentional communities are purposeful living arrangements among a group of people that conform to some set of ideology or belief structure (Kozeny 1995; Smith 2002). A wide set of communities are subsumed under this definition, including, ecovillages, cooperative houses, and communes (Smith 2002). Intentional communities are often considered a way for members of a particular social movement to implement the goals of the movement in a small way (Schehr 1997). For example, the White Power Movement (WPM) utilizes this tactic to convert and recruit new members as well as to develop networks of like-minded

⁶Interestingly, both Pride and May Day marches memorialize incidents of violence and oppression against the identity being built. Pride marches memorialize the Stonewall Riots (Faderman 2015; Armstrong and Cragge 2006) whereas May Day is rooted in the Haymarket Massacre (Foner 1986).

communities in which activists in the WPM can live. Through intentional communities, white power concerts and conventions, those on the fringes of the movement are able to develop a stronger identity with the movement and so become more involved (Futrell and Simi 2004).

2.4 The Relationship Between the Three Dimensions

These three dimensions are not mutually exclusive and so the combination of dimensions is important for understanding social movement phenomena including events. Returning to the example of Black Bloc tactics, although these are predicated on the necessity of direct action to change things, Black Bloc tactics provide ancillary goals as well as they may be used to call the status quo into question in the public discourse and help to build a sense of identity among participants around taking action (Young 2001). Similarly, pride marches, although primarily about creating a sense of collective identity, are also conceived by activists as a way of changing the public discourse around what it means to be a member of the LGBT community (Bruce 2013). Participants are not only creating an identity but also performing it for a broader audience. The performance of this identity challenges existing cultural understandings of or norms about the LGBT community, but importantly this identity can only be performed once it is created and understood by participants.

Our understanding of similarities and differences across movements and within a single movement across time may be enhanced by understanding the degree to which movements combine different positions on these three dimensions. In particular, it allows us to recognize the more complex mix of these three dimensions within a particular movement at a particular time. It also provides more continuous measures of movements with which to explore similarities and differences. We might, for example, be able to analyze change in a movement's focus on building identity over time by watching the degree to which this strategy is emphasized or compare movements cross-nationally and the degree they place different emphasis on *direct action* versus *building identity*.

2.5 Using Individuals to Measure Social Movement Phenomena

In the discussion above we focus mainly on the existence of our theoretical dimensions in protest events and organizations but we argue that these dimensions can also apply to social movement organizations and social movements as a whole. By focusing on how the targets and goals of individual activists aggregate to organizational and event levels, and then to the larger movement level we can better accommodate the fact that movements themselves are often messy. Movements are rarely unified in how they approach change, and organizations within movements often clash (Zald and McCarthy 1980; Benford and Zurcher 1990; Soule and King 2008). This not only has made it difficult to categorize movements in the past, but poses theoretical questions about what part of the movement matters for categorization. In the application that follows we utilize the individual level activists as the basic building blocks. However, we argue that the dimensional technique used here could also be applied to movement organizations, movements as a whole, and even social movement industries.

Rather than try to create a single measure of social movements we focus on the distribution of opinions of movement participants. This allows us to capture variation within and between social movement phenomena. A focus on individual participants provides a more accurate picture of movements, events and organizations than a single summary measure. The variation within social movements tends to get lost in cross-movement comparisons and theorizing. By focusing on breaking apart social movements into smaller parts we follow the path of McCarthy and Zald (1977) and their division between social movement industries, social movements and social movement organization.

In aggregating up from individual activists to organizations, events and finally movements, we can provide not only aggregate comparative measures of each of these units of analysis, but can also examine the heterogeneity within each of these movement phenomena. If researchers can examine not only how a movement, as a whole, approaches change, but also the degree of internal disagreement within a movement over that approach we can better understand the course of a movement.

3 Testing the Dimensionality of Movements

To test the validity of our multidimensional movement measure, we sought movement phenomenon where the units of analysis could vary along these dimensions. Protests at the national party conventions seemed ideal cases because party conventions attract responses from a variety of movement types and organizations given their central location in the democratic process, and because they are concentrated both in location and time making them an easy target for protesters (and researchers). Although there may be multi-movement coalitions that organize the majority of protests at a convention, these are not the work of a single organization or movement. Consequently, party conventions are one of the few events where we might expect considerable variation in the types of movements, organizations, and individuals that participate in the protest. This variation is critical for testing the coherence and existence of our three dimensions across a variety of organizations and movements.

3.1 Surveying Protesters

We fielded a survey at protest events outside the 2016 Republican National Convention in Cleveland and the 2016 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. Our target population were those participating in public events outside the convention that were purposefully performed or advertised as related to the convention, either as a response to or in a few cases as a compliment to the convention. Although these events were contextualized within the narrative of the convention they were not formally connected to the convention planners. Over the multiple days of the convention and the multiple locations where events were held, a wide variety of organizations were mobilized. For example, Code Pink, Bikers for Trump, Cleveland Jobs for Justice, and the local Democratic party were all present outside the Republican National Convention.

Our sampling frame was developed in order to represent the population at these events as closely as possible. First, we only surveyed during the days of the convention. This was an

important rule as there were auxiliary events happening before and after each convention. By surveying only during the convention we imposed a conservative rule on our sample frame. Although it is plausible that there were individuals who only participated in events before or after the convention, we believe that most individuals who participated at all would also participate during the convention.

Second, we created a list of both permitted and unofficial events and marches that were publicized prior to the convention on a variety of websites and social media platforms. Using this information we divided surveyors across events each morning, aiming to cover all possible events and marches. Throughout the day we tracked changes to events, paying particular attention to any unplanned gatherings that were forming. We purposefully attempted to cover all plausible events, not just those that were media focal points. We surveyed both relatively small and relatively large events. In order to account for the potential differential sampling rates caused by event size, the survey team leaders collected estimates of event size when surveying began. This information is incorporated into the final survey weights in the process outlined in the online supplemental material. We also use the estimates of event size below to talk about the relative size of protests outside the Republican and Democratic conventions.

Our sampling process followed protocols outlined and tested as part of the European Protest Survey (Klandermans et al. 2011). These protocols have been widely used to survey protesters at protests in European and Latin American countries (Della Porta and Reiter 2012; Saunders et al. 2012; Van Leeuwen, Klandermans and van Stekelenburg 2015; Klandermans et al. 2014; Inclán and Almeida 2015). Participants at events were sampled through a process of division and counting. Each protest site was divided into sections and then a single research team worked its way through each section, systematically surveying every n th subjects. Sampling of marchers was similar. In order to reduce implicit bias in choosing the subject, the individual survey respondent was chosen by a pointer who then assigned the survey to an individual surveyor, who was not allowed to alter the choice of subject. Because

the protocols used at other protests were designed for single events in one location at at one point in time, we also sought to control for individuals participating across multiple events over the course of the convention. This was accomplished by asking subjects about their expected participation which was then used to weight responses (see the online supplemental material for details).

Finally, our survey consisted of two “waves” of questions, the first asked on-site and the second after the events were over. We made this design choice in order to maximize the number of protesters that could be sampled. In addition this design was expected to reduce attrition in survey participants. Participants willing to fill out a long 15 or 20 minute survey in the midst of a march or rally ought to be assumed to be substantively different than participants who are unwilling to commit the time. By separating the survey into two waves we sought to reduce bias caused by this sort of attrition. We also collected information about the gender and race of protesters who refused to be interviewed.

To account for attrition between waves propensity survey weights were estimated and are used for the descriptive statistics presented below. We weight for initial response (whether a participant was willing to participate on-site), willingness to participate in the post-protest survey (whether a participant provided either an email address or took a survey booklet for the post survey), and finally if they completed the post-protest survey. At each stage variables collected in the previous stage was used to predict participation in the next stage. For initial participation we employed variables about the time of day the participant was asked, information about the event, and surveyor estimates of gender and race. For a complete discussion of the survey weights see Appendix A. The use of propensity weights and the random sampling of participants at the event means that we can make inferences about the protesters at the convention. A total of 200 individuals participated in the post-protest survey.

3.2 Who were the Protesters?

Our sample of protesters from the conventions met our expectations of what such a sample of committed activists would look like, and also provided significant variation to examine the coherence of our three dimensions across the two conventions. Table 2 displays demographic details of the participants at both the Democratic National Convention (Column 1) and the Republican National Convention (Column 2). There are some broad similarities between the two groups. At the DNC approximately 51% were female and at the RNC 44% were female. The majority (80%) of participants outside of both events were white. In addition about 11% of participants at the DNC were Hispanic and 5% were Asian while 7% were Hispanic at the RNC and 1% were Asian. Few African American participants entered into our sample at either event.

Participants were as a whole more educated than the national average with 8% at the DNC and 7% at the RNC reporting doctoral degrees and 23% and 28% reporting masters degrees. In comparison, in 2015 12% of the U.S. population had an advanced degree (Ryan and Bauman 2016). This is unsurprising given that education is related to protest participation, and political participation as a whole (Schussman and Soule 2005; Schlozman, Verba and Brady 2012). A plurality at both events also indicated that they were full time employees. In contrast though the crowd at the RNC was more likely to be retired (28% at the RNC compared to 12% at the DNC) and the crowd at the DNC was more likely to have part-time work (18% to 9%).

The age of participants was different across the two events. Figure 1 plots a histogram of the weighted ages along with a loess line, which provides a locally weighted smoothed distribution. The distributions were not unimodal, although the RNC was less bimodal than the DNC. Participants outside the DNC tended to be younger, but there were also a substantial number of protesters there in their 50s and above. The ages at the RNC were more uniformly distributed excluding a large number of individuals in their late 50s.

There is a striking difference among reported votes for the President. At the DNC, there

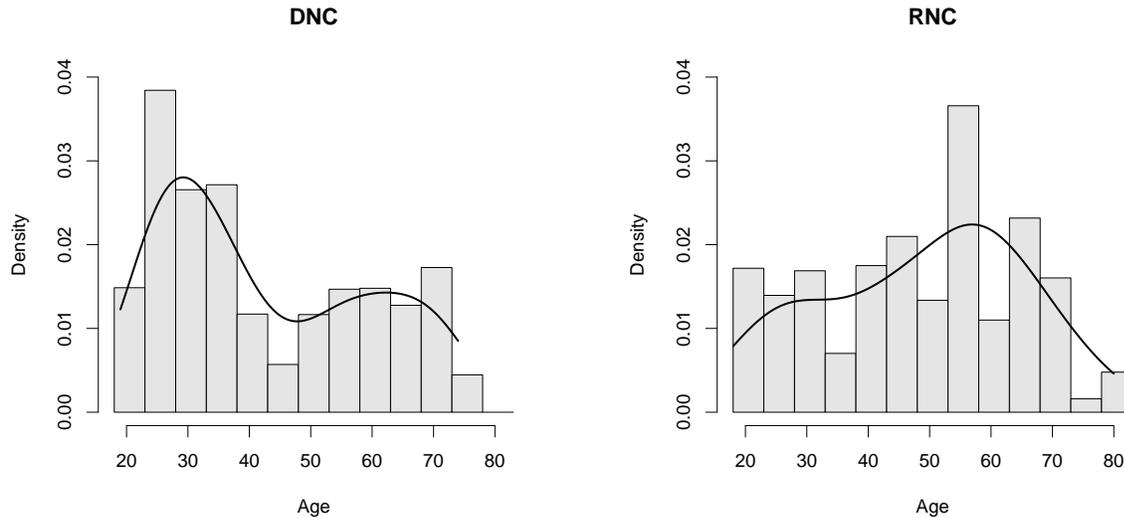
Table: 2: Demographics of Participants

	DNC	RNC
Gender	114	56
Female	0.51 (0.05)	0.44 (0.07)
Race/Ethnicity	114	56
White	0.79 (0.04)	0.80 (0.05)
Black	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Hispanic	0.11 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)
Asian	0.05 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)
Education	114	57
High School	0.06 (0.02)	0.06 (0.03)
Some College	0.16 (0.04)	0.13 (0.05)
2 Year Degree	0.10 (0.03)	0.17 (0.07)
4 Year Degree	0.36 (0.05)	0.24 (0.06)
Masters Degree	0.23 (0.04)	0.28 (0.07)
Doctoral Degree	0.08 (0.03)	0.07 (0.04)
Employment	114	57
Full Time	0.49 (0.05)	0.40 (0.07)
Part Time	0.18 (0.04)	0.09 (0.04)
Retired	0.12 (0.03)	0.28 (0.08)
Student	0.06 (0.02)	0.09 (0.04)

Note: Selected demographics of participants at the RNC and DNC protests. Standard errors are in parentheses. The total responses for each question are listed next to the category.

was near unanimous support for Bernie Sanders with over 90% reporting that they voted for him in the primary. In contrast, only 38% at the RNC reported that they voted for Bernie Sanders and 23% voted for Hillary Clinton. Another 12% voted for Donald Trump

Figure: 1: Age of Participants



Note: Histogram of the age of participants at the events outside the RNC and DNC. The line is a loess line of the ages to for better visualization of distribution. The N for the DNC is 110 and for the RNC 54.

and 5% voted for Ted Cruz. There was also a higher rate of non-voters at the RNC with 9% saying they did not vote and another 10% saying they were unable to vote, while at the DNC this was 1% and 4% respectively. The DNC crowd was then much more unified in their support for the Sanders while the RNC crowd reflected not only traditional Democrats but also some on the right (Trump and Cruz supporters) and some that were disconnected from the electoral system.

Finally participants were also asked about the issues that brought them to the convention. We asked them to identify *all* of the issues that brought them to the convention as well as which of these was the most important issue. Participants were given a list of options to select, and those who did not believe their issue fit into any offered option were given the opportunity to provide their own issue. Figure 2 displays the issues identified as most important. At the DNC the predominant focus of protesters was on corruption and the party's nominee. In discussions with participants at the site, although they believed there were issues of corruption broadly across the political system, they were especially focused on corruption within the Democratic Party. At the RNC there was a large range of issues

Table 3: Reported Primary Election Vote

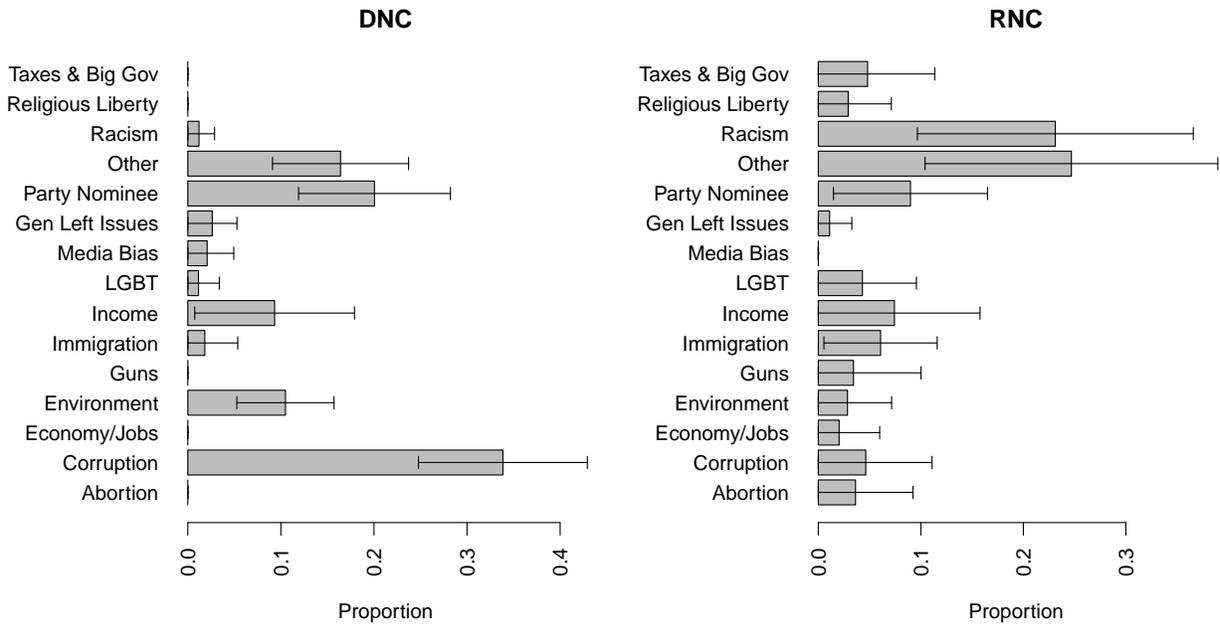
	DNC	RNC
Clinton	0.03 (0.02)	0.23 (0.07)
Sanders	0.92 (0.03)	0.38 (0.07)
Trump	-	0.12 (0.06)
Cruz	-	0.05 (0.03)
Did not Vote	0.01 (0.01)	0.09 (0.04)
Could not Vote	0.04 (0.02)	0.10 (0.04)
N	117	58

Note: Proportion of reported votes for each candidate in the general election. 0.02 reported voting for another candidate at the RNC. Standard errors are in parentheses.

present with racism the most pronounced issue. At both conventions there were a range of ‘other issues’ this included more traditional political issues such as drug reform, international peace, education and mental health issues as well as some less commonly held concerns such as protests against the ‘new world order’.

Thus, the participants at the conventions represented a range of issues and movements within both the left and right as well as representing more or less radical ideological positions. This allows us to be confident that the typology of tactics that we are testing would be applicable across different movements. The descriptive information on the participants also suggest some significant differences in demographics, political leanings, and motivating issues between the Republican and Democratic conventions. In the end, the events seem to have drawn a different set of individuals with very different mobilizing issues. We now turn to a validation of our measure but will return to the differences between the events outside the two conventions to illustrate the usefulness of our multi-dimensional measure.

Figure: 2: Most Important Issue



Note: Reported most important issue that brought them to participate outside the convention. The N for the DNC is 124 and for the RNC it is 57.

4 Testing for Dimensionality

To examine whether our data fits with the dimensions we developed from theory, we utilize confirmatory factor analysis on a battery of questions designed to capture participants’ short term goals and intended targets. In particular, we asked participants two sets of questions. First, we gave participants a list of targets – party leaders and candidates (Targ: Party Leaders), convention participants (Targ: Conv Part), the general public (Targ: Pub), the media (Targ: Media), and people like me (Targ: Like People) – and asked them to indicate how important it was to have them hear the participant’s message; participants were able to indicate whether these targets were a top priority, a high priority, a medium priority, or not a priority at all. Second, participants were given a list of reasons why they participated in events outside the convention, and were asked to indicate how important (‘Most Important’, ‘Very Important’, ‘Of Medium Importance’ or ‘Not Important at All’) these were to their decision. Goals included: to pressure politicians to make changes to policy (Goal: Press Polit); to change the party’s nominee (Goal: Party Nom); to change party positions on an

issue (Goal: Party Pos); to change the public's views on an issue (Goal: Pub); to express solidarity (Goal: Solidarity), and because "I felt obligated to speak out on an issue" (Goal: Speak Out). The specific language used in the Target questions is in Table 4 and the language used for goals is in Table 5.

Table 4: Questions related to Targets

	Top Priority	High Priority	Medium Priority	Not a Priority At All
Democratic (Republican) party leaders and candidates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Democratic (Republican) convention participants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The general public	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People like me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Note: Survey participants were asked to mark who they wanted to hear their message. The specific question asked was: "Who did you most want to hear your message? From the list below, please indicate which group was the top priority, which group or groups was a high priority, medium priority or was not a priority at all."

The responses across protests at both conventions are found in Figure 3. There is some variation in the aggregate across the questions. Changing the party nomination was marked as most important by a larger percentage of participants than any other goal but there was still a sizable proportion of people that saw this as not important at all. Similarly, changing the party position was most identified as having some level of importance. Focusing on the public or the media, either as a target or as a goal, was not the most important or highest priority for participants at the two conventions but was still named as a goal or target by a significant number of participants. These aggregate statistics hide a lot of variation that we can use to examine the validity of our proposed latent dimensions.

To see if the data support the existence of three dimensions of movement strategy we used confirmatory factor analysis to examine responses to these questions. Unlike exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis can be used to test if hypotheses about the

Table 5: Questions related to Goals

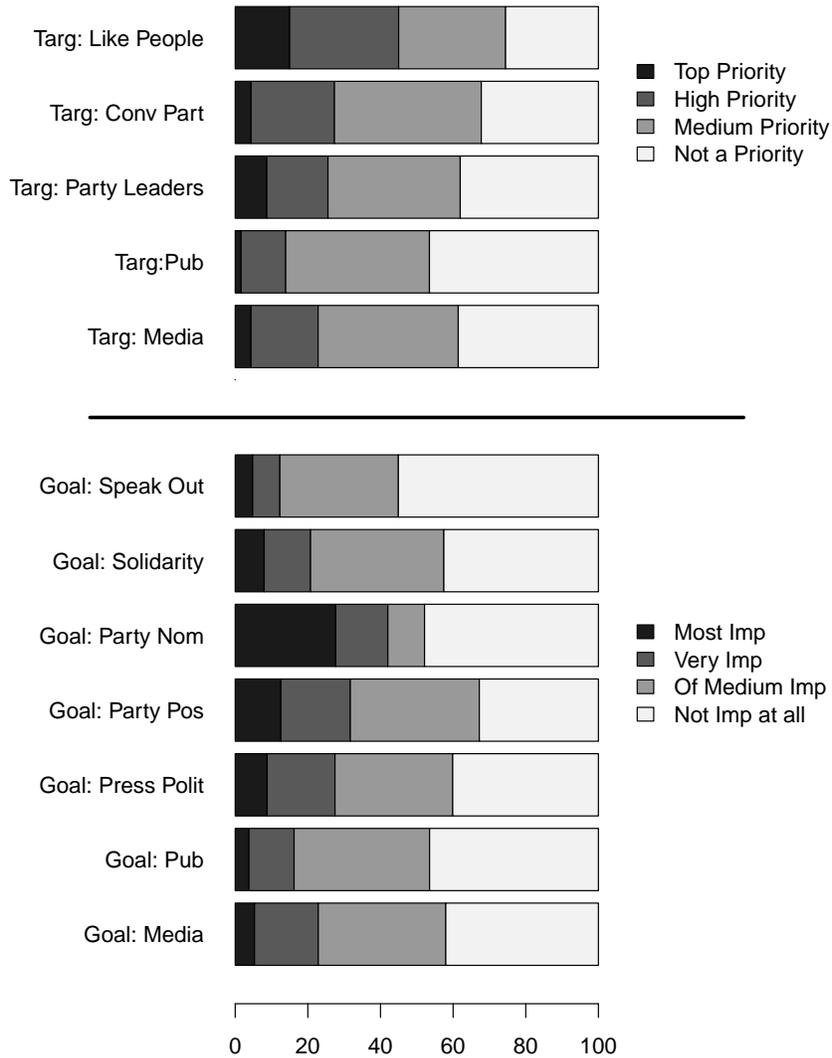
	Most Important	Very Important	Of Medium Importance	Not Important At All
To pressure politicians to make changes to policy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To change the party’s nominee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To change party positions on an issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To increase media coverage of an issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To change the publics views on an issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To express solidarity Because I felt obligated to speak out on an issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Note: Survey participants were asked to mark how important different goals were for their participation. The specific question asked was: “Why did you participate? Again, from the list below, please indicate which reason was the most important, which were very important, of medium importance, and which were was not important at all.”

underlying structure of the data are correct (Brown 2015). To do this we estimated a structural equation model using three latent factors: *Direct Action*, *Change the Narrative*, *Build Identity*. These three factors were allowed to covary in our model. In addition, we assumed that because there were two sets of questions, one focusing on targets the other focusing on goals, that there would be covariance in the errors within each set. For items that were not expected to load onto the same factor but were from the same set of questions (either “Goals” or “Targets”) we allowed their error terms to covary.

The model specifications are depicted in Figure 4. Each rectangle represents one question in our survey, and the circles are the latent dimensions. The dashed lines indicate that there is expected to be a relationship between the items that are connected. For example, the latent dimension *Change the Narrative* is hypothesized to cause responses about the degree an individual targeted the media or the public and had their goal of changing media narratives or changing public perceptions, which is indicated with the dashed lines. In addition *Change the Narrative* is expected to covary with the two other latent dimensions.

Figure: 3: Frequency of Target or Goal Identified at Convention Events



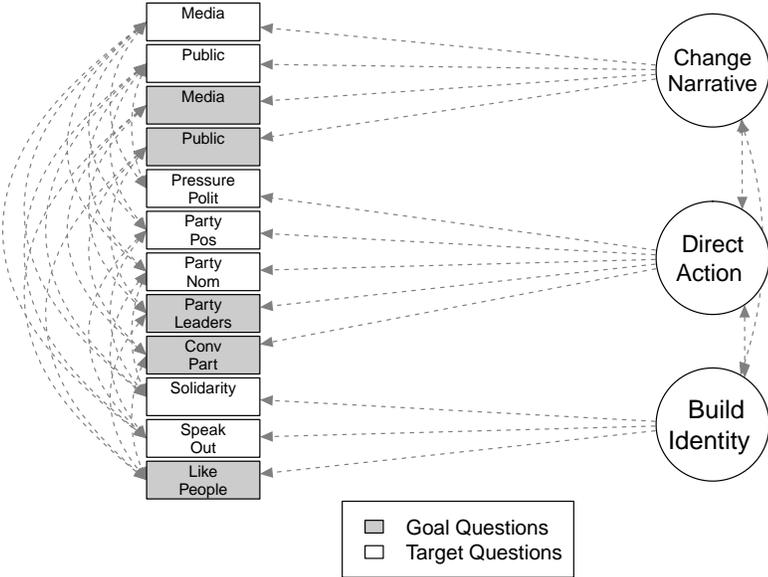
Note: Shows the percentage of responses for each category from each question. Responses are weighted using the weights developed in the Appendix. No single goal or target was predominantly focused on by all protesters. Number of observations varies from 180 to 188.

Change the Narrative is not expected to directly cause any variation in other indicators. The dotted lines on the left hand side indicate where we expect there to be covariance among questions in the same battery – that is, the questions about targets are all expected to covary and all of the questions about goals have been given covariances with other goal questions.

All models are estimated in R using the *lavaan* package (Rosseel 2012) with the indicators

treated as ordinal using diagonally weighted least squares estimator.⁷ In the confirmatory factor analysis, we pooled the data across both the DNC and the RNC as we have no theoretical expectations for why the relationships ought to be different across these two sites. In the Appendix we estimate each model separately and find no substantive differences.

Figure 4: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model



Note: Plot of the structural equation model estimated for the confirmatory factor analysis using two dimensions. Circles indicate latent variables, and squares indicate items. The line between items indicate residual covariance.

Table 6 displays the Comparative Fit Index, Tucker-Lewis Index and the Standard Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) for this model on the the data from both conventions. While there is no single test to indicate how well the proposed model fits the data, these tests are typically utilized in confirmatory factor analyses, and so we examine each here. All test statistics are robust statistics, accounting for the estimation process (Savalei 2014). First, we examine the Comparative Fit Index which looks at the fit of the structural model to the existing data while accounting for sample size. The Comparative Fit Index may vary from 0

⁷The diagonally weighted least squares estimator also helps to account for the small sample size (Flora and Curran 2004).

to 1, with higher numbers indicating stronger fit of the structural model to the data. In our case, the Comparative Fit Index is 0.95, indicating that the model fits the data well (Brown 2015).⁸ Second, we examine the Tucker-Lewis Index, which incorporates a penalty for the number of estimated parameters. The Tucker-Lewis Index is 0.88 which is slightly lower because of the correction for the number of parameters, but is still close to 0.90 indicating again that the model fits well (Brown 2015). Finally, the SRMR, which also varies from 0 to 1, provides a standardized measure of the difference between the true correlations and the one predicted by the model. Lower values indicate better fit, the SRMR is 0.07, providing reasonably strong evidence that the model fits the data (Brown 2015).

As an additional test, we compared the three factor model to two other models that might be argued to better capture the underlying latent trait(s). The first alternative specification supposes there are two latent traits—an expressive and an instrumental strategy. The instrumental latent trait captures both the motivation to change the narrative and direct action, while the expressive trait captures the motivation to just build identity.⁹ Second we test a model with just a single latent dimension. To test the models we use χ^2 test to compare which model better fits the data (Satorra 2000). The χ^2 statistics are reported in Table 6 and a significant value indicates that we can reject the null that there is no difference between the two models. In both cases it is significant, indicating that the model with three latent variables fits the data better than just the model divided between expressive and instrumental motivations and better than a model with only a single latent dimension.

The standardized parameter estimates from the three factor model are displayed in Table 7. All of the parameters are significant at the 0.01 level. The individual questions all load into the latent dimensions that we had identified from the theoretical discussion as we would expect, although the relationship is weak for a few of them. All of the factors also load in the direction that we would expect; that is, all of the coefficients are positive indicating

⁸Values of .9 or above are generally thought to indicate a strong fit.

⁹This is a restricted model of the initial model where change the narrative and direct action are restricted to covary perfectly.

Table 6: Analysis of Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model Fit

Comparative Fit Index	0.95
Tucker-Lewis Index	0.88
SRMR	0.07
Test Against 2 Dimensions	
χ^2 difference	19.10
P-value	>0.01
Test Against 1 Latent Dimension	
χ^2 difference	35.46
P-value	>0.01

Note: Test statistics from confirmatory factor analysis. Bottom two rows is a test comparing the full model to a nested model which is restricted to having only one single latent dimension. See text for details of model specification.

that the more important these targets or goals are to the participant the more they are positively associated with the underlying latent dimension. Generally we would hope that individual items would have coefficients that are above 0.6 if they are to be strongly related to the underlying latent dimension, and overall this expectation is met. Only three of the coefficients are less than .6. The indicators of *Direct Action* are best at capturing the latent variable with all of the coefficients above 0.6 and several above 0.8. Two of the four coefficients contributing to the *Change the Narrative* dimension are very strong, although the coefficient for the measure on targeting the media is only .56 and the coefficient for the measure asking whether it was important for “the general public” to hear the message was very weak (.19). As a group the three questions designed to capture the importance of *building identity* within the movement ranged only between .45 to .67, suggesting that our initial questions were not as strongly related to this dimension as we would like. Certainly, while we have confidence that the three underlying dimensions are important, the results suggest that we might want to add additional questions or revisit the language in the existing questions to better capture this latent dimension.

The confirmatory factor analysis provides strong evidence that there were three dimensions motivating participants at the Democratic and Republican national conventions. These three motivating factors—direct action, changing the narrative, and building identity—were

Table 7: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Estimates

Trait	Indicator	Coefficient	
Change Narrative	Goal: Media	0.80 (0.08)	
	Goal: Public	0.81 (0.08)	
	Targ: Media	0.56 (0.08)	
	Targ: Public	0.19 (0.08)	
Direct Action	Goal: Pressure Politicians	0.87 (0.03)	
	Goal: Party Position	0.84 (0.03)	
	Goal: Party Nominee	0.74 (0.06)	
	Targ: Party Leaders	0.74 (0.05)	
	Targ: Convention Participants	0.63 (0.06)	
	Build Identity	Goal: Solidarity	0.56 (0.11)
		Goal: Speak Out	0.67 (0.11)
		Targ: Like People	0.45 (0.11)
	Covariances		
Change Narrative	Direct Action	0.50 (0.10)	
Direct Action	Build Identity	0.33 (0.10)	
Change Narrative	Build Identity	0.51 (0.14)	
N		159	

Note: Standard parameters from estimation of confirmatory factor analysis. Parameters were estimated using diagonal weighted least squares. Standard errors are in parenthesis. See text for model details.

reflected in the underlying traits that led to the answers that participants gave to our questions about participation at the convention. Although the data indicate that these underlying traits have validity, the covariance matrix at the bottom of Table 7 also shows that the dimensions positively covary, meaning that participants who rated high one dimension, may

also be ranked high on another dimension. The covariation is not perfect though and so there is still room for individuals ranked high in one dimension and low in other dimensions. The fact that there is some covariation supports our hypothesis that these dimensions are not mutually exclusive categories. Finally, we note that the conventions attracted participants from a variety of ideologies and social movement organizations from the left and right. Thus, there is strong evidence that our multidimensional measure fits well with data from a wide swathe of activists.

4.1 Distinguishing Participants at the DNC and RNC

Although we are theoretically driven by an attempt to classify differences between movements, our limited survey data does not permit us to make strong claims about the differences in movements that were present. To provide a test of predictive validity, we focus instead on differences between the protests at the Republican and Democratic party conventions, which in the aggregate attracted different types of participants. Participants at the RNC were drawn more closely from anti-racist pro-immigration movements along with a combination of far left anti-capitalist movements. In contrast, participants at the DNC were more often drawn from an anti-elite populist driven movement related to the Sanders campaign.

In order to examine differences between the participants at the two conventions we calculated the factor scores for each individual. Each individual was categorized as either partaking of protest at the DNC or at the RNC. We then estimated a Support Vector Machine (SVM) to investigate if there were systematic differences between the two sets of protesters. A SVM, is a type of machine classifier that fits a flexible plane to separate the two groups of participants (Berk 2008).¹⁰

Figure 5 illustrates plots of the participants using their factor scores and the SVM plane

¹⁰A SVM does not assume linear relationships, but does require a selection of a kernel and parameters for it. In this case we use a radial kernel with a cost of 4 and a γ of 0.125 and were chosen to minimize the error rate using 10 fold cross validation. The classification error rate is 17%. The SVM was estimated using the `e1071` package in R.

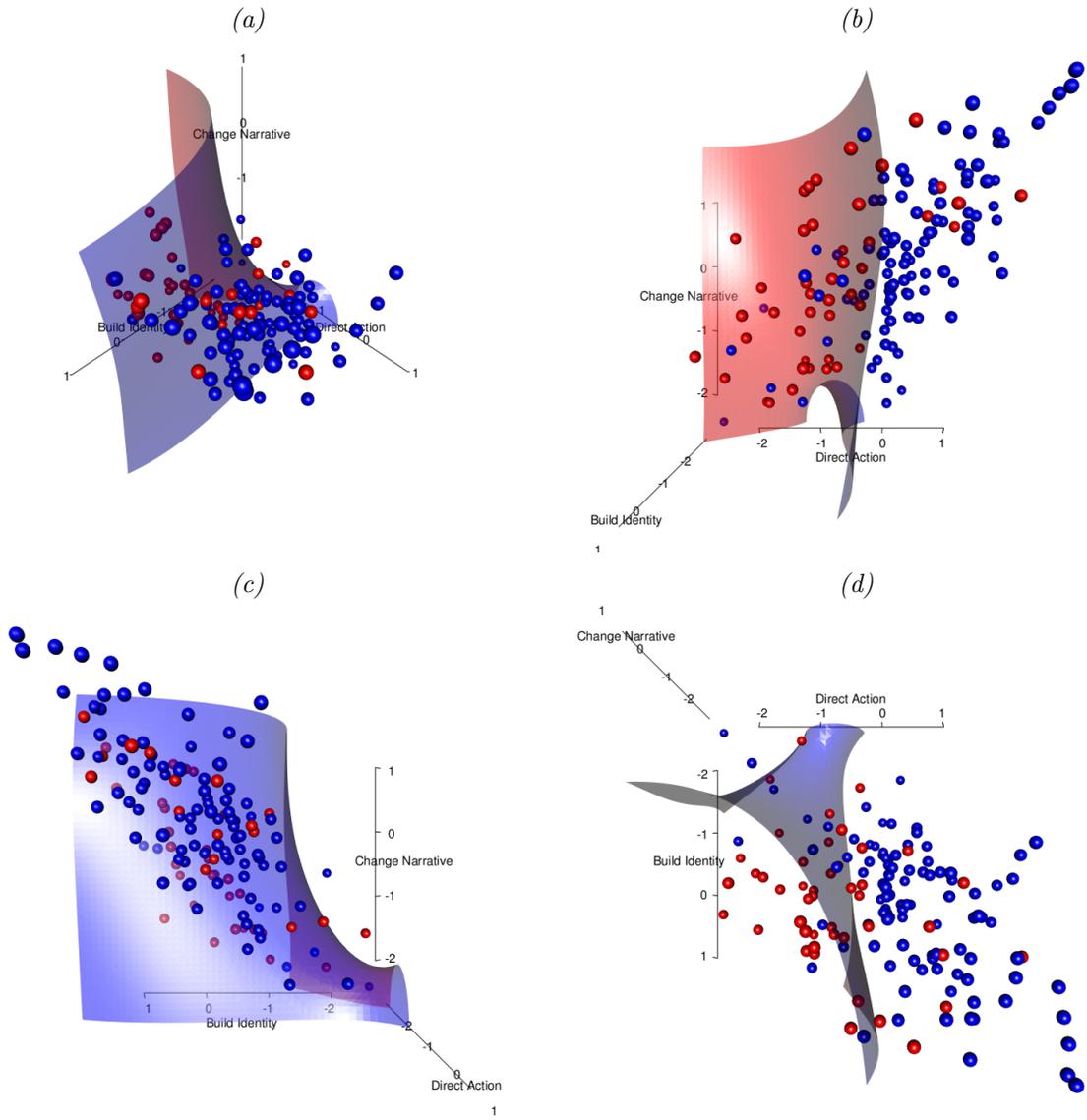
from several different perspectives. The blue dots are DNC participants, and the red dots are RNC participants. In addition each side of the SVM is colored to indicate which side the different sets of protesters are expected to be on. The four plots are the same data, but from different angles in order to make it easier to view the three dimensional data. Figure 5(a) shows the plot from a head-on angle showing variation in all three dimensions while the remaining three plots show the data in a way that minimizes one of the dimensions. For example the angle in Figure 5(b) illustrates the Direction Action and Change Narrative dimensions while hiding variation in the Build Identity dimension.

The SVM separates the latent space mainly between those high on direct action and those low on direct action. This is apparent in Figures 5(b) and (d) which shows a perspective where variation along direct action is on the horizontal axis. Protesters at the DNC were higher along the direct action dimension, with a mean of 0.26 compared to the mean of RNC protesters on the direct action dimension of -0.73. There are not substantial differences among the other two dimensions.

These differences align with our expectations about the two different types of movements being drawn to the DNC and the RNC protests. Movements at the DNC, driven by populist rhetoric of the Sanders campaign, were focused on immediate change, summed up by Sanders consistent invocation of a ‘political revolution’. In contrast, participants at the RNC were part of movements that seemed to be focused less on immediate change and more on building a community of supporters.

To expand upon these differences we provide profiles of a few participants who vary on the three different latent variables in Table 8. We include whether they attended the RNC or DNC, the groups that they were members of or participated in, and their open ended response to the question: “What was the main message you wanted to send by participating in protests, rallies, or other public events outside the [convention]?” Participant B provides a good example of someone participating in order to change the narrative and build identity, their main message focused on the ‘unique community’ that happened near the RNC and on

Figure 5 Scatter Plot of Activist Dimensions at DNC and RNC



Note: Scatter plot of activists at the DNC and RNC and their location on the three dimensions. Blue indicates activists at the DNC, and red activists at the RNC. The plane indicates the dividing line estimated between the two groups using SVM. See text for details.

Table 8: Individual Participant Responses

ID	Convention	Direct Action	Change Narrative	Build Identity	Group Memberships	Notes from Main message
A	DNC	Medium	Low	Low	Bartlet Club	“a lot of Democrats do NOT feel represented by [the DNC]”
B	RNC	Low	Medium	Medium	Womens Action for New Direction; Union for Concerned Citizens; Emily’s List	“Be part of the unique community that public square became [...] give my reasons as to why I support Hillary Clinton”
C	DNC	High	High	Low	None Listed	“[The DNC] also did not inspire people to get out and vote in smaller elections, which they can blame on voters all they want, but at the end of the day they failed to do their job. I have left the Democratic Party.”
D	DNC	Medium	High	Medium	Black Lives Matter; The Mazzoni Center	“Hate is not accepted in Philly. Every gender and sexuality is accepted, loved, and cherished. Being transgender is just as normal as being cisgender.”
E	RNC	Low	High	High	Cleveland Jobs with Justice; OPEIU Local 1794; Cuyahoga Democratic Party	“End Poverty Now, Stop Deportations, build bridges not walls”

Note: Participants’ placement on the three scales, their group memberships, and their main messages.

explaining her support of Hillary Clinton to others. In contrast, participant C is an individual focused on changing the narrative but also being part of immediate direct action. Their main message discusses this direct action, mentioning how they have ‘left the Democratic Party’.

Overall, the qualitative and quantitative analyses of our multi-dimensional measure to categorize social movement phenomena suggest that we are able to distinguish between participants at the Republican and Democratic convention events when we place them in this multi-dimensional space. Participants at the Democratic National Convention were much more likely to be motivated by direct action. Moreover, the plane that divides these two events corresponds with qualitative differences between participants in the main message they were trying to send by participating in events. Overall, then the multi-dimensional space does an excellent job of distinguishing between participants at the Republican and Democratic convention protests. While we do not have sufficient numbers to analyze individual social movement organizations or social movements, this initial analysis suggests that analytical techniques using individual level data and multi-dimensional categorizations could help social movement scholars meaningfully differentiate among social movements as well as their organizations and events.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have introduced a multidimensional scale that allows the categorization and comparison of many forms of collective action: from peaceful marches to smashing windows and from petition drives to utopian communities. We define three dimensions based on tactical goals and targets – 1) direct action seeking immediate change, 2) attempts to influence public opinion and change the discourse, and 3) a focus on building movement identity, solidarity and community. While these dimensions are prevalent in the literature on social movements they are often examined individually or seen as mutually exclusive types of action. We argue that these tactical choices are not mutually exclusive but are

part of – to a greater or lesser extent – most social movement action. This recognition leads us to introduce multi-dimensional measurement techniques to categorize not only social movements, but also their organizations and events. Even without the untenable assumption that these types of tactics are mutually exclusive, these central concepts can still be used to meaningfully measure differences among social movement events. We test the validity of the measure using a survey of participants engaged in protest events outside the Republican and Democratic national party conventions in 2016, and illustrate the usefulness of the technique in differentiating between the two events. We find evidence that our multi-dimensional index draws meaningful distinctions across a group of activists that was exceedingly diverse in terms of their ideology and main issue concerns.

Our major purpose in focusing on these techniques is to create useful measurement techniques that will increase our ability to simultaneously analyze cross-movement variation and over time changes in movements while at the same time allowing meaningful discussion of the variation that occurs within movements at a particular time. Cross-movement research is rare in the field of social movements and is hampered in part by the difficulty in categorizing movements vis-a-vis each other while at the same time reflecting the rich variation that lies within each movement. We hope to alleviate this measurement issue by introducing a technique that can be utilized at multiple levels of analysis – micro-, meso-, and macro-level data; that can measure dynamic changes in a single movement over time and be employed to show macro-comparisons across movements or the same movement in different countries. The analyses here, which test to see if the three dimensions meaningfully represent the way individual protesters participated in collective action outside the Republican and Democratic conventions, provides support for our argument that multi-dimensional measurement could be used to compare a wide array of movements or across a single movement cross-nationally or over time.

In our analysis, we utilize an original survey of protesters outside of the 2016 party conventions. We collected these data in order to capture a wide variety of different forms of

participation, issues concerns, and movement goals. While we utilize these data to introduce our argument on measurement, individual participant data are not necessary in order to utilize the multi-dimensional scaling method we propose. Similar analyses could be based on a variety of data techniques from organizational documents to elite statements to newspaper accounts of protest. Important is only careful collection of data that will potentially capture variation on all three dimensions of targets and goals. Moreover, although most of our focus has been on addressing concerns about how movements are categorized, we argue that depending on the level at which data are measured, the techniques could be used to examine social movement organizations, protest events, or large scale differences among movements around the globe. Indeed, we hope the portability of this method to different time periods, geographical locations and levels of analysis will invigorate comparisons across all of these levels and increase the opportunities for new types of comparisons – say within and between geographical locations at the same time.

We recognize that the analysis here does not directly capture organizational tactics or movement tactics, based as it is on surveys of individual participants. Instead we use a survey of participant’s motivations which provides rich information about how activists perceive their participation as part of a movement activity. While we have used our measure to compare two different events, aggregating individual participants’ views of collective action to the organizational level, and then examining the cohesion of individuals across organizations also provides information about movement organizations. At the organizational level we would expect to be able to measure similar distinctions between organizations, with groups focusing on different emphases of the three dimensions. In the end, we hope that this multi-dimensional method for categorizing social movement phenomena will permit a more nuanced analysis of social movements and their tactics.

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A Weighting of the Surveys

Weighting was used to correct for survey unit nonresponse and differential opportunities for being contacted at the conventions. First, we estimated probability weights to correct for survey unit non-response, specifically refusals to participate and drop off between survey waves. This required three stages of weighting to account for three opportunities for refusal or attrition: 1) at the time of initial contact, 2) when asking respondents to take a survey booklet or provide contact information for the web survey, and 3) in completing the post-event survey. At each of these stages a logit model was estimated predicting an individual's likelihood of participation based on known characteristics. Weights were then calculated as the inverse of the predictions from the logit models. In the following stage the previous stage(s) weights were used when estimating the logit.

Second, to correct for the fact that the survey was completed over the course of multiple days and multiple events, an additional weight was estimated based on the likelihood of an individual being asked to participate. This was estimated based on responses to the question of how many hours a participant expected to participate at standing rallies/protests and how many marches they were planning on participating in while at the convention. Each value was divided by the total number of hours reasonable (8 hours each day for 48 hours total) and number of marches (1 a day for the RNC and 2 a day for the DNC). These two values were then averaged and put in a logit transformation that normalized the distribution towards a mean of .5. This was to account for the wide dispersion of the weight which – once normalized – ran from nearly 0 to 1. The resulting weight equated to an approximation of the differential probability of being asked to participate in the protest survey, and so was inverted to create a weight.

The tables below are the estimated coefficients of the logit models at each stage of participation.

Table 9: Logit to create Stage 1 weights

	DNC	RNC
Female	-0.033 (0.204)	0.129 (0.197)
White	0.165 (0.226)	0.026 (0.216)
Event Size (Logged)	0.002 (0.206)	-0.083 (0.153)
Stationary Event	0.823** (0.316)	0.028 (0.319)
Unofficial March	0.938 (1.065)	-0.756 (0.548)
Day 2	-1.849** (0.396)	-0.476 (0.333)
Day 3	-1.722** (0.447)	-0.360 (0.334)
Day 4	-1.462* (0.719)	-0.472 (0.318)
Evening Event	0.718 (0.436)	0.233 (0.266)
Morning Event	-0.845 (0.438)	0.450 (0.332)
Intercept	1.905 (1.478)	1.039 (0.960)
Observations	623	484

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Estimated coefficients of participation in the first stage of the survey (agreeing to be surveyed).

Table 10: Logit to create Stage 2 weights

	DNC	RNC
Female	0.538 (0.373)	0.478 (0.361)
White	-0.472 (0.451)	0.324 (0.388)
Log Event Size	-0.435 (0.445)	0.140 (0.270)
Stationary Event	0.593 (0.639)	0.283 (0.582)
Unofficial March	-1.049 (0.973)	1.353 (1.243)
Day 2	-1.174 (0.777)	-0.538 (0.635)
Day 3	-1.670* (0.847)	-0.237 (0.667)
Day 4	-2.520 (1.428)	-0.495 (0.617)
Evening Event	-0.319 (0.626)	-0.587 (0.439)
Morning Event	-0.914 (0.819)	-0.020 (0.628)
Corruption	1.425** (0.510)	0.751 (1.045)
Nominee	1.298 (0.753)	-0.502 (0.542)
Other	0.971 (0.638)	-1.399** (0.508)
Racism	1.599 (0.848)	-0.602 (0.533)
Environment	1.582* (0.725)	
Immigration		-0.377 (0.746)
Income	1.299 (0.860)	0.147 (0.845)
Intercept	4.932 (3.212)	1.083 (1.737)
Observations	473	282

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Estimated coefficients on participation in the second stage of the survey (agreeing to participate in the post-survey). Weights generated in stage 1 used during estimation.

Table 11: Stage 3

	DNC	RNC
Female	0.400*	0.420
	(0.223)	(0.351)
White	0.200	0.250
	(0.267)	(0.396)
Log Event Size	0.485	0.091
	(0.266)	(0.273)
Stationary Event	0.157	0.644
	(0.359)	(0.613)
Unofficial March	-1.400	1.099
	(1.065)	(1.075)
Day 2	0.546	-0.701
	(0.460)	(0.581)
Day 3	0.330	-0.815
	(0.476)	(0.576)
Day 5	1.303	-0.165
	(0.861)	(0.544)
Evening Event	-0.735	0.685
	(0.461)	(0.457)
Morning Event	0.414	0.033
	(0.472)	(0.559)
Corruption	0.577	-1.227
	(0.455)	(0.911)
Nominee	0.566	0.645
	(0.545)	(0.480)
Other	0.281	-0.164
	(0.532)	(0.560)
Racism	-1.273	-0.623
	(0.765)	(0.554)
Environment	0.913	
	(0.512)	
Immigration		1.189
		(0.616)
Income	1.409*	0.381
	(0.595)	(0.668)
Intercept	-5.066**	-2.332
	(1.960)	(1.772)
Observations	436	234

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Estimated coefficients of participation in the third stage of the survey (participating in the post-survey). Weights generated in stage 2 and 1 used during estimation.

B Confirmatory Factor Analyses separated by Convention

To test if our results hold separately for each convention we reestimate the CFA models presented in the main text but separately for those at the DNC and those at the RNC. In Table 12 we recreate Table 6 from the main text which shows the fit statistics for the models. The statistics are very similar to what was found for the full model. The smaller sample size is reflected in the smaller χ^2 tests but they are still significant and so we can reject the null of there being no difference between the three dimensional model and the reduced models. The other statistics indicate that the three dimensional models fit well.

Table 12: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model Fit for Separate Models

	DNC	RNC
Comparative Fit Index	0.95	0.95
Tucker-Lewis Index	0.88	0.90
SRMR	0.07	0.11
Test Against 2 Dimensions		
χ^2 difference	13.21	10.86
P-value	>0.01	>0.01
Test Against 1 Latent Dimension		
χ^2 difference	24.55	14.02
P-value	>0.01	>0.01

Note: Test statistics from confirmatory factor analysis. Bottom two rows is a test comparing the full model to a nested model which is restricted to having only one single latent dimension. See text for details of model specification.

In Table 13 we recreate Table 7 from the main document. The estimated coefficients are similar to the model presented in the main document. The largest divergence is for Targeting the Public where the coefficient for the RNC dataset is no longer significantly different from 0. This indicates that this question did not load well for those at the RNC. We already found this to be a weak question in the main text and this confirms that it was particularly weak for those at the RNC (but actually stronger for those at the DNC).

Overall this shows that the results found in the main document are not dependent on aggregating the two conventions together. Our results still hold while estimating the models separately.

Table 13: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Estimates for Separate Models

Trait	Indicator	DNC	RNC	
Change Narrative	Goal: Media	0.77 (0.09)	0.74 (0.18)	
	Goal: Public	0.79 (0.09)	0.94 (0.27)	
	Targ: Media	0.66 (0.39)	0.28 (0.13)	
	Targ: Public	0.39 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.22)	
Direct Action	Goal: Pressure Politicians	0.89 (0.06)	0.67 (0.10)	
	Goal: Party Position	0.79 (0.06)	0.76 (0.09)	
	Goal: Party Nominee	0.52 (0.10)	0.76 (0.09)	
	Targ: Party Leaders	0.54 (0.08)	0.77 (0.10)	
	Targ: Convention Participants	0.55 (0.07)	0.64 (0.12)	
	Build Identity	Goal: Solidarity	0.63 (0.10)	0.29 (0.23)
		Goal: Speak Out	0.73 (0.08)	0.45 (0.31)
		Targ: Like People	0.54 (0.09)	0.58 (0.33)
	Covariances			
Change Narrative	Immediate Action	0.57 (0.10)	0.37 (0.16)	
Immediate Action	Build Identity	0.61 (0.10)	-0.15 (0.23)	
Change Narrative	Build Identity	0.62 (0.11)	0.32 (0.27)	
N		112	47	

Note: Standard parameters from estimation of confirmatory factor analysis. Parameters were estimated using diagonal weighted least squares. See text for model details.