

# **The Different Movers in a Social Movement: Survey data from the May 1 immigration rallies in Los Angeles**

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## Abstract:

Building on social network and protest literature, this paper studies participation in social movements using original survey data collected during the May 1 immigration reform rallies in Los Angeles, California in 2006. More than 500,000 people were estimated to have participated in the May Day rallies in Los Angeles as part of a nationwide movement to bring attention to immigration reform in the United States following the passage of H.R. 4437. Our paper describes the population that participated in this recent social movement. We compare the protestors across three different rally locations to make inferences as to whether the ideological differences of the different rally organizers were reflected in the characteristics of the protestors surveyed. Using the survey responses of 876 demonstration participants at the three different demonstration locations, this paper questions several claims made in the media regarding participation in the May 1 rallies and also makes several remarks to the characteristic differences between first-time and repeat protesters. Though limited to data selecting on the dependent variable (only rally attendees were surveyed), we can split our survey respondents into different groups based on previous protest experience and zip code of residence to make comparisons across subpopulations and come up with meaningful results.

## Acknowledgements:

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at various UCLA workshops. Many people have contributed to the research reported below, and we thank them, especially: Matthew Barragan, Rio Diaz, Kathy Galeano, Giovanni Galeano, Kelly Hoehn, Mark Kaswan, Namhee Lee, Jeff Lewis, Devorah Manekin, Ana Mojica, Hector Quezada, Maria Quezada, Tyson Roberts, Abigail Sarfatti, Mark Sawyer, Megan Stevens, Jennifer Stier, Jamie Tica, Lynn Vavreck, Katie Willmore, and Allison Woods. All errors or omissions are our own.

## INTRODUCTION

Los Angeles is the epicenter of the immigrant rights movement that has arisen in response to the *Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act* (H.R. 4437) passed by the House of Representatives in December 2005. Currently, an immigrant's illegal status is a civil offense, but under the terms of H.R. 4437 sponsored by Wisconsin Republican James Sensenbrenner, illegal residence would now be a criminal felony such that illegal residents and their employers face imprisonment and heavy fines. In addition, the bill also had provisions to strengthen the border and deport illegal residents. No region in America is home to more Latino immigrants than Southern California. On Monday, May 1, 2006, an estimated half a million people across three interlinked event spaces demonstrated in support of a revised immigration policy.

Our paper describes the population that participated in this recent social movement. . Using the variation in the population, we also conduct initial on some pertinent questions in the social movement literature. We compare the protestors across three different rally locations to make inferences as to whether the ideological differences of the different rally organizers was reflected in the characteristics of the protestors surveyed. Using the survey responses of 876 demonstration participants, this paper makes several remarks to the characteristic differences between first-time and repeat protestors as well as questions several claims made in the media regarding participation in the May 1 rallies.

The paper is structured as follows. We begin with a brief description of the May 1 demonstrations in Los Angeles and the media coverage of the event. We then provide an account of our research procedures and some descriptive statistics of rally participants surveyed. In this second section, we provide some insight beyond media coverage of the immigration rallies in Los Angeles and even question some of the media accounts. The descriptive work is followed by some initial findings comparing different populations within the survey. Finally, we address some of the shortcomings of our survey data.

## THE MAY 1 PROTESTS IN LOS ANGELES

At twelve noon on May 1, 2006, hundreds of thousands of protestors gathered at Olympic and Broadway began marching towards Los Angeles City Hall to launch "A Day Without An Immigrant." The organizers of the morning march – the March 25 Coalition – mobilized half a million people in Downtown Los Angeles just one month earlier on March 25, 2006. This previous protest was designed to urge the Senate to pass a more liberal immigration bill. The May 1 "A Day Without An Immigrant" and its Downtown march were also explicitly linked to a proposed boycott of consumer goods as well as a walkout from employment and school. Jesse Diaz, a doctoral student in Sociology and UC Riverside, devised the boycott and walkout after overhearing members of the Minutemen militia who patrol the U.S.-Mexican Border shout that illegal immigrants burdened the economy; he wanted to prove them wrong" (Taxin 2006). Thus, the early day rally Downtown was also meant to demonstrate the economic benefits that the Latino population provide to the community.

Between 2pm and 4pm on May 1, 2006, a second march began to organize at MacArthur Park on Wilshire Boulevard with participants heading westward to an end-of-the-day celebration to be held at the intersection of Wilshire and La Brea. This second march was designed to start late enough so that those who could not walk out of work still had an opportunity to protest in support of immigrant rights. This second activity was organized by the Archdiocese of Los Angeles along with labor unions and local civic associations. The second march questioned the legitimacy of necessarily linking the economic impact of immigrants to the political issue of securing improved human rights. It was not directly linked to the economic boycott and the timing of this later event was purposely chosen so as not to conflict with work and school activities.

The March 25 Coalition and organizations allied with the Archdiocese were divided about the merits of protesting on May 1. The choice of holding another mass protest so soon after the hugely visible March 2006 demonstration, the choice of walking out of work on a weekday and the choice of an economic boycott were all highly contentious decisions within the movement. First off, many key players in the movement felt that enough forward momentum had already been gained by the previous demonstrations. As liberal *Nation* correspondent Marc Cooper (2006) wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, “With the Senate back in session and struggling to agree on liberalized bipartisan reform, with President Bush finally (but still not forcefully enough) bringing some of his clout to bear, with public opinion polls showing new majorities in favor of much of what immigrant advocates have been lobbying for, we can't think of a worse time to stage a confrontational boycott like that planned for May 1.” The fear about another radical protest is that persistent agitation might upset the liberal policies being developed in Washington. Thus, many individuals worried that until this new and increasingly positive consensus congeals some more it might be wise to hold out on another protest so as not lead to any unnecessary reversals of action.

#### THE MEDIA'S PORTRAYAL OF MAY 1

Our first analysis of our survey data relates to how well the evidence supports the conclusions of the media about the event. Our discussion about the protests lies largely in the hands of the news media. However, the media itself is involved in constructing the identity of an event (Smith 1996, 232). The media does this not only by its inherent political biases, but also in the professionalization and business mentality of media organizations. Smith identifies that an event must be “newsworthy” and that this is dependent on whether or not the media can find a “news peg upon which to ‘hang’ a story” (1996, 233). Below we illustrate the various news pegs that journalists hung the story of the May 1 protests on.

*It's All About Radio:* On April 30, 2006 the front page of *The Washington Post's* Business Section had this to say about the Los Angeles marches: El Piolin's “quiet triumph over English language [radio] shows speaks volumes about the living arrangement between Americans and the estimated 11 million to 12 million immigrants

who reside in this country illegally” (Fears 2006). On April 30<sup>th</sup>, *The New York Times* chimed in to claim, “the radio is as effective as ever” (Mirta 2006).

The radio peg seems somewhat curious given the reluctance of radio disc jockeys (DJs) to officially support the radical nature of the boycott. The mainstream media’s celebration of El Piolín as the prime mover for Latino mobilization belies the fact that Piolín did not fully support the May 1 boycott until April 27<sup>th</sup>. However, before April 27, El Piolín did provide airtime in which members of the Latino community debated the merits of the May 1 protest and walkout. There is reason to be skeptical of a movement made by radio, when radio itself was not overly enthusiastic about “A Day Without An Immigrant” from the get go. Since mobilization efforts started in late March, there must be more to this story than radio. Why does the radio story generate so much interest?

First, radio was given credit for mobilizing the March 25<sup>th</sup> rally in Downtown Los Angeles. The turnout of approximately a half of million protesters was a complete surprise to the traditional news media and to public officials. Only a paltry 20,000 protesters were expected to show up. USC Communications Professor Félix Gutiérrez argued, “If the mainstream media had been paying better attention there would not have been the surprise about the turnout” (Harris 2006). The news media was targeted for missing the power that radio still held in a modern era reliance on the Internet and 24-hour news. Furthermore, the movement leaders themselves consciously directed the media coverage toward the radio DJ story by setting up press conferences where the DJs and not the coalition were the main attraction. “Rodríguez laid much of the groundwork for the DJ détente by organizing a breakfast March 14 that not only resulted in massive local news coverage but also prompted an invitation from El Mandril to appear on his show. Two days later, El Mandril called his rival El Piolín on the air, and the DJ movement was on” (Morales 2006). Rodríguez made a smart move as Spanish radio Arbitron ratings continually eclipse those of English language competitors. Radio is no doubt a medium to get the message across, but somehow the radio story has turned into a monster.

We believe El Piolín triumphed because he served as an appropriate news peg; he had the appropriate narrative to which the media could attach to the movement. He came to America at 16, finished high school in California, went straight to work for free to prove his worth, got hired as a radio personality but eventually was exposed by his competitor. On the day he was due to be deported “a clerk walked up to [El Piolín] and said, ‘Here’s your work permit’” (Fears 2006). The engaging narrative of the story is effective in explaining the struggle, the fear, and the hard working ethic that the movement wants to display. For this reason, it is quite appealing to the news media and serves as a peg. But the important thing now is to step back and consider what nuanced role the radio played in the entire project.

For our purposes, the original *Washington Post* quote itself is of interest because it suggests that radio rather than the Internet or television will be the predominate information source for Latino protest participants because of their living situation.

Though we cannot compare populations of Latinos to non-Latinos to determine the differing impact of radio on protest mobilization, we later test this prediction using language as a proxy and comparing Spanish speakers to English speakers.

*The Day of Two Marches.* As previously discussed, the protests centered around two events – the march to City Hall and the MacArthur Park march along Wilshire Boulevard– organized by a distinct set of pro-immigrant organizations. The MacArthur Park activities are designed so that individuals could participate without walking out of work or school. There is supposed to be a difference in militancy by the varying costs of attending the daytime rally where one is taking off work or attending the late afternoon march where one could feasibly go to work/school prior to attending the rally. It is important to keep in perspective, despite the expectations for the MacArthur Park march, many rally participants congregated in the early afternoon and thus were likely to have walked out of work. The celebration at La Brea went far later into the evening such that those who worked to the early evening could still attend. Thus, our data set is split into three locations: (1) Downtown, (2) MacArthur Park – the start of the second march, and (3) La Brea – the end of the second march.

The La Brea site is rarely mentioned in our conventional news sources above despite it being home to the day-end celebration with Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and the Archbishop of Los Angeles, Cardinal Roger Mahony. Both Mayor Villaraigosa and Cardinal Mahony requested that the protest did not take on the radical aspect of boycott and walkout. Thus, the La Brea site itself suggests a markedly different character and is born out in the data such that we recommend viewing MacArthur Park and Downtown as a unitary event despite being two marches and La Brea being a distinctly different event. The population sampled in our survey at the La Brea site is markedly different from those surveyed at MacArthur Park.

*New Mobilization.* Coverage of the immigrant marches assumed that those who attended had never before engaged in protest activity. Our findings do not propose such a conclusion should be assumed. If a half million people protest on March 25, 2006 and another half million people protest just over a month later, could this be more or less the same group of people at both events? Our data do not answer this question specifically, but 44% of respondents in our sample previously attended an event similar to the immigrant rights rallies on May 1.

*Alternative Prime Movers.* Following radio, two other sources of information diffusion were often mentioned in the media. First, coverage often extended to the way Internet communities have expedited the ability to spread the word about protest mobilization.<sup>1</sup> Second, *The New York Times* argued that Spanish language television has long been the dominant force of news dissemination for Latinos in America whether newly immigrated or long established: “When you talk about Spanish-language media in this country, you're mostly talking about television” (Mirta 2006). But again, even in this article, Univision correspondent Maria Elena remarks about how the newscast does not promote

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<sup>1</sup> Cites pending.

participation, but rather only reports news of the event. Thus, we have evidence of coverage but not necessarily evidence of persuasion.

*The Overall Narrative.* A narrative is central to the both the construction of and the maintenance of a collective identity by means of helping people to “make sense of unfamiliar events” (Poletta 1998, 143). Poletta finds that narratives are a tool in which people can *legitimate* the moral value of their action and *evaluate* the development of the movement. A frame is a “persuasive device employed by movement leaders to convince an audience that a situation is unjust and that change is both possible and imperative” (Nepstad 2001, 24). Overall, the legitimacy of the narrative seems to ride on the claim that basic human/citizen rights should be transferred to illegal residents and the development of the movement is being framed in terms of a movement finding its voice. The day after the protests, *The Los Angeles Times* printed an opinion piece celebrating the fact that the above narrative had been successfully conveyed. Eliseo Medina, executive vice president of the Service Employees International Union, argued that the movement has been heard in Washington, where “instead of debating a plan to criminalize and deport immigrant workers, the Senate is talking about how to create a path to citizenship.” Additionally, in the House, “leaders who supported criminalization in December are now trying to distance themselves from that vote” (Medina 2006).

## THE SURVEY AND SOME DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

On May 1, 2006, graduate students<sup>2</sup> surveyed participants at three immigration rallies in Los Angeles. Originally interested in what motivates participation in social movements following discussions in a concurrent graduate seminar, the research team saw an opportunity to conduct real-time research on participation in social movements. Inspired by a seminar discussion of an article written by Doug McAdam (1986), we wanted to explore the role of social networks in the mobilization for the May 1 marches in Los Angeles, which at the time were only 3 days away. The idea to use the May 1 marches as an outlet was appealing for many reasons. Los Angeles, due to its lack of central spaces and public transportation, is often a city that one considers to inhibit a mass protest, yet half a million people were mobilized to protest immigration rights on March 25th and another half million were expected to show up on May 1. Thus, as researchers we had an opportunity that simply could not be passed upon. The survey tool was created and refined in less than 48 hours.

The brief survey<sup>3</sup> was then translated into Spanish, Korean, and Tagalog.<sup>4</sup> Survey respondents, not interviewers, selected the response language.<sup>5</sup> Rally attendees were

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<sup>2</sup> [Look at Green’s experiment work as a model for better description of survey methods here.]

<sup>3</sup> A portable data file (PDF) version of the survey is available online at the research project’s web site: <http://ucla.ps269.googlepages.com/final.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Four surveyors piloted the research project on Sunday, April 30 at the Los Angeles Times Book Fair held on the UCLA campus. Two hours of surveying elicited 282

surveyed at three different locations: Downtown Los Angeles, MacArthur Park, and La Brea.

<b>Survey Responses</b>	downtown	mac park	la brea	total
<i>Number of Respondents</i>	307	437	132	876

Respondents were asked how they heard of the event; how many people were with them; where they would otherwise be if not at the rally; their zip code, gender, and age; the language(s) they spoke at home; and whether they had ever been to an event such as this before. Below are some descriptive statistics of the respondents surveyed in our sample.

***Language***

Respondents were categorized based on the language of response.<sup>6</sup> For the rest of the paper, this indicator is used because we retain all cases using this information as a proxy for language. The tests were done using both language filled out and language of respondent, but no glaring differences were noted. In general, the response to both of these indicators paints a similar trend across events.

More than 60% of our total sample responded using the Spanish language version of the survey, and roughly 38% responded in English. Across the three protest sites, there is a considerable difference between daytime events (Downtown/MacArthur Park) and the evening event (La Brea). Of all the surveys collected Downtown, 60.1% were filled out in Spanish and 66.5% of those collected from MacArthur Park were filled out in Spanish, whereas only 47.7% of those from La Brea were filled out in Spanish.

<b>Survey Language</b>		downtown	mac park	la brea	total
English	count	121	145	69	335
	percent	39.4%	33.2%	52.3%	<b>38.2%</b>
Spanish	count	182	288	63	533
	percent	59.3%	65.9%	47.7%	<b>60.8%</b>

Furthermore, Spanish is more frequently spoken at home by those attending the Downtown (80.8%) and MacArthur Park (84.9%) events than by those attending the La Brea site (66.7%). Consequently, English is more frequently spoken at home by survey respondents at La Brea (64.4%) than by those surveyed Downtown (44.0%) and at MacArthur Park (40.7%). Other languages were more frequent at La Brea (6.8%) than Downtown (3.9%) and MacArthur Park (2.3%). Finally, bilingual and multilingual

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responses. Minor translation adjustments were made before the May 1 survey was conducted.

<sup>5</sup> The Spanish and English versions were printed on the same sheet side-by-side. Korean and Tagalog versions were printed side-by-side on the flip side of the Spanish/English version.

<sup>6</sup> The small remainder of our survey sample responded in either Korean or Tagalog.

respondents are fairly evenly distributed – 30% of Downtown respondents, 28.8% of MacArthur Park respondents and 33.3% of La Brea respondents listed more than one language when asked which languages are spoken at home. In short, the evening festivities at La Brea attracted the most diverse and non-Spanish-speaking crowd of the day.

### ***How Did You Hear About This Event?***

Survey respondents were asked, “How did you hear about the event?” On the form, respondents were checking all of the information sources they heard from and not simply the most important information source. TV and Radio clearly dominated responses at all three protest locations. 55.7% of Downtown respondents heard about the event through TV, 60.4% at MacArthur Park and 61.4% at La Brea. Spanish language news media dominated the daytime events more than the evening events – 83.3% of Downtown respondents and 7.9% of those at MacArthur Park heard about the event through Spanish language media compared to just 66.7% at La Brea. 56.0% of respondents Downtown, 59% at MacArthur Park and 58.3% at La Brea heard about the event through the radio. Spanish language radio stations were more important Downtown (66.7%) and at MacArthur Park (81%) than at La Brea (44.4%).

The third and fourth most important sources of information were newspapers and friends, respectively. Newspapers were important for about a third of the protesters at each event site – 33.9% Downtown, 32.0% at MacArthur Park and 38.6% at La Brea. Newspaper language was only identified by 30 protesters across the three sites, but this appears to be somewhat evenly spread between both Spanish-language and English-language news sources – 60% Spanish Downtown, 50% at MacArthur Park and 60% at La Brea. Friends were mentioned nearly as often as newspapers – 31.6% of Downtown respondents selected friends as a source of information, as did 35.7% of respondents at MacArthur Park and 39.4% of La Brea respondents.

In fifth place came family, which was important for approximately 27% of participants at all protest sites. The Internet ranked sixth among sources of information. This indicator is very interesting because it exhibits a distinct pattern that we have not yet seen. The Internet is mentioned by 15.6% of those Downtown, 18.8% at MacArthur Park and 28.8% at La Brea. The same pattern reappears for the eighth-ranked category, phone, where 4.9% of those surveyed downtown found the Internet important compared to 7.3% at MacArthur Park and 9.1% at La Brea. Thus, different forms of communication may have served each location, or the phone and Internet may have served as a mean of recruiting people as the day progressed. And finally, we jump back to the seventh most important indicator, organizations, which were important sources of information for around 15% of protesters at all locations.

### ***Where Else Would You Have Been?***

The majority of survey respondents Downtown (61.6%) and at MacArthur Park (53.5%) would have been at work if they did not choose to attend the protest, compared to just

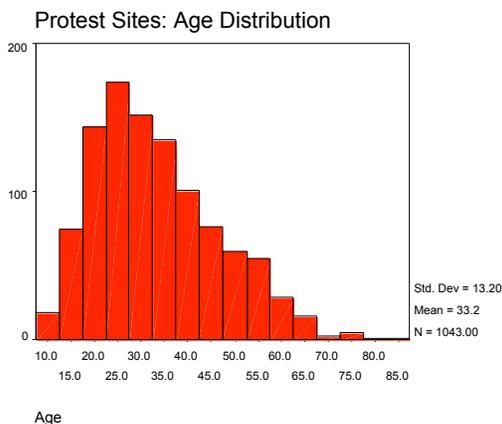
35.6% of those attending the event at La Brea. People who would have spent Monday, May 1 at home were less prevalent at the Downtown rally (21.8%), than at the MacArthur Park rally (30.0%) or at the La Brea celebration (50.8%). School children represented approximately 15% of respondents at all locations. Finally, only 8 out of 876 people surveyed at the protest would have been engaging in “recreation” if they had not chosen to attend. It is important to note that since surveying was conducted as late as 7pm at the corner of La Brea and Wilshire Boulevards, many people would have been doing some sort of “recreation” type activity at this time, yet very few people saw the protest as a trade-off with a recreational activity.

### *Gender and Age*

Our survey sampled slightly more men than women at all three event sites. Almost 19% of our respondents did not select male or female on the survey.

<b>Respondents' Gender</b>		downtown	mac park	la brea	total
Female	count	111	160	58	329
	percent	36.2%	36.6%	43.9%	<b>37.6%</b>
Male	count	132	186	64	382
	percent	43.0%	42.6%	48.5%	<b>43.6%</b>
Not reported	count	64	90	9	163
	percent	20.8%	20.6%	6.8%	<b>18.6%</b>

About half of our sample at all three protest sites are between 18 – 34 years of age, and approximately 75% of all protesters at each site are between 18 – 51 years of age. Approximately 15% of respondents at each site are above 52 years of age and 8 – 10% below 18. The age variation is fairly constant across all events. Below is a histogram of the age distribution of the three protest sites combined.

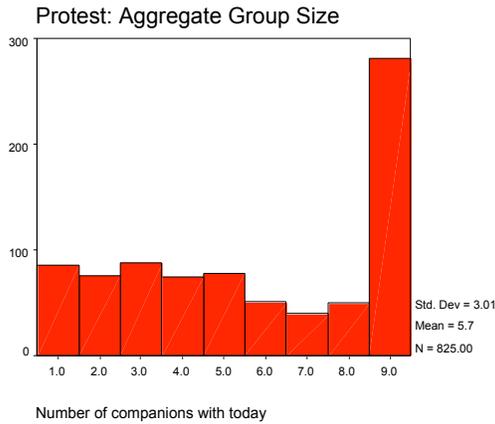


## Number of People

Location \* Number of companions with today Crosstabulation

			Number of companions with today									Total	
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9+
Location	fob	Count	19	66	64	42	36	26	9	9	2	8	281
		% within Location	6.8%	23.5%	22.8%	14.9%	12.8%	9.3%	3.2%	3.2%	.7%	2.8%	100.0%
	downtown	Count	8	23	31	32	27	21	17	8	17	104	288
		% within Location	2.8%	8.0%	10.8%	11.1%	9.4%	7.3%	5.9%	2.8%	5.9%	36.1%	100.0%
	macarthur	Count	7	30	35	42	33	41	27	31	26	137	409
		% within Location	1.7%	7.3%	8.6%	10.3%	8.1%	10.0%	6.6%	7.6%	6.4%	33.5%	100.0%
	labrea	Count	5	13	10	14	15	16	7	1	7	40	128
		% within Location	3.9%	10.2%	7.8%	10.9%	11.7%	12.5%	5.5%	.8%	5.5%	31.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	132	140	130	111	104	60	49	52	289	1106
		% within Location	3.5%	11.9%	12.7%	11.8%	10.0%	9.4%	5.4%	4.4%	4.7%	26.1%	100.0%

Around one-third of protesters at all events were in groups of 9+. Comparatively only a few people at each event came alone (20 people).



## First Time

All survey respondents were asked “Is this your first time at an event like this?” There is only minor variation across protest sites – 52.0% said yes at the Downtown rally, 48.8% at MacArthur Park and 56.3% at La Brea. Thus, on an aggregate level, information about previous protest experience does not appear to differentiate the various crowds.

Location \* First time Crosstabulation

			First time		Total
			no	yes	
Location	fob	Count	84	178	262
		% within Location	32.1%	67.9%	100.0%
	downtown	Count	135	146	281
		% within Location	48.0%	52.0%	100.0%
	macarthur	Count	194	185	379
		% within Location	51.2%	48.8%	100.0%
	labrea	Count	55	71	126
		% within Location	43.7%	56.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	468	580	1048
		% within Location	44.7%	55.3%	100.0%

## *Summary*

The aggregate data reveals some items that need further analysis. First, the La Brea protest appears to have a very different composition than the daytime events Downtown and at MacArthur Park. Further, the aggregate data shows that the Downtown and MacArthur park respondents were more likely to speak Spanish. We see that Radio and TV are the two most important information sources about the events for the attendees and that around one-third of protesters come in very large groups – 9+. However, the aggregate data does not allow us to understand the push and pull that might have affected the cost-benefit calculations for different groups in the protest environment. We do not see differentiation between the three protest sites based on the question “Is this your first time at an event like this?” The expectation was that the post-work/post-school end-of-the-day celebration at the corner of La Brea and Wilshire Boulevards would have attracted a more family-friendly and less militant crowd. We now turn towards a comparison between different groups to see if we can have a more nuanced understanding of the protesters surveyed.

## COMPARISON OF FIRST-TIME PROTESTERS TO REPEAT PROTESTERS

Because we are limited by our sample to only those who engaged in the protest, we can only make intragroup comparisons, rather than compare protesters to people who stayed home on May 1. In his study of the Freedom Summer, Doug McAdam finds that “participants were distinguished from withdrawals primarily on the basis of their “(a) greater number of organizational affiliations, (b) higher levels of prior civil rights activity, and (c) stronger and more extensive ties to other participants” (1986, 64). We do not have a sophisticated measure of an individual’s organizational affiliations, but we do allow an individual to let us know if she heard about the event through an “organization” and give her the opportunity to name the organization itself. To assess part (b) we ask, “Is this your first time at an event like this?” Respondents then are given the choice of circling “Y” for yes and “N” for no. And finally, for (c) we ask, “How many of your friends and family are here today?” with a response scale from 0 to 9+. In joining the Freedom Summer individuals were putting their own personal welfare at risk for the movement. As previously discussed, many of the protesters in Los Angeles faced risks as well. Illegal immigrants risked exposing themselves in public, low-wage workers missed out on a day’s wage and the Latino/immigrant movement as a whole risked potential political and public opinion backlash. But overall, high-risk activism is not appropriate to describe the entire population we are looking at. Thus, it is important to consider if any of the conclusions we draw can be affected by the risk someone faces in joining the movement.

McAdam (1986) is really trying to identify the cost-benefit calculation a person undergoes when trying to decide whether or not to join the movement. He is able to get at this more directly than we can due to the fact that his respondents went through multi-hour interviews and because he has a data-set with information on participants/non-participants. In a second paper, McAdam and Paulsen look at the high-rate of defection from Freedom Summer participation and ask, “If 96% of all those who are attitudinally or

psychologically disposed to activism choose, as they did in this case, not to participate, then clearly some other factor or set of factors is mediating the recruitment process” (1993, 643). McAdam and Paulsen search for answers in terms of ties and organizational involvement, but in the end find no simple link to explain the jump from interest to involvement. We try to get at this cost-benefit calculation in our survey by asking the question, “If you weren’t here today, where would you be?” An individual who will walk out of work on a Monday morning experiences a higher cost than someone who would have been doing some sort of recreational activity. And, as discussed earlier, there were already media expectation of turnouts at the various events. Furthermore, this question is of great interest in a labor movement perspective. The rumblings of the Latino immigration movement have been associated with a long-line of scholarship analyzing the growth of a service-based economy of Latino immigrants. It will be interesting in this regard to see the percentage of walkouts among those who would have otherwise been at work across the three protest events.

Many respondents identified themselves as first time attendees. In our regression, we try to understand how the probability of being a first-time protester depends on the influence of the measurements we have taken in our survey instrument. Our focus here is on how the explanatory variables affect the probability of someone being a first time or repeat protester.<sup>7</sup> The percentages of first-time protestors in each location were: MacArthur Park 49%, Downtown 51% and La Brea 56%.

**Previous Protest Experience by Location**

			Location			Total
			downtown	macarthur	labrea	
First time	no	Count	135	194	55	384
		% within Location	48.0%	51.2%	43.7%	48.9%
	yes	Count	146	185	71	402
		% within Location	52.0%	48.8%	56.3%	51.1%
Total		Count	281	379	126	786
		% within Location	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

When treating previous protest experience as the dependent variable, we expect first time protesters are likely to come in larger groups, to have received personal contact rather than just media diffusion, to be less likely to miss work, and to be more likely to be radio listeners. A Binary Logistic Regression revealed several differences between first time and repeat protestors. The choice in model was determined by the common knowledge or narrative already in circulation. As previously discussed, it was commonly said that radio, specifically Spanish language radio, helped encourage people to go to the protest. Along with the common narrative variables, standard demographic variables were also added to the model.

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<sup>7</sup> Of the 876 surveys collected across the three protest sites, 786 respondents, or 89.7%, answered the question about previous protest experience. Approximately 12% of forms from MacArthur Park have missing values for this question, 7% from Downtown and 5% from La Brea.

Because this is an investigation of only attendees and not of those who stayed home, questions as to whether or not radio encouraged people to come to the rallies will not be answered. Rather, what will be answered is, of those who attended for the first time and those who had been to something similar before, did radio influence these groups differently? Given this distinction here are some initial findings. In all cases we have held all the variables in the model at their mean except for the variable under discussion.

Our major findings from the binary logistic regression are (see table on the following page):

- People who responded using the Spanish-language survey rather than the English-language survey were about 20 percentage points more likely to be a first-time protester. In this case we see little difference between the three sites.
- The number of people a respondent knew at the rally only showed a statistically significant effect at the La Brea site. At this location as the number of people one knew at the rally increased, the likelihood of being a first-time protester decreased. This varied from 0 people: 75% likely, 5 people: 43%, to 10 people: 16%. Although not statistically significant, MacArthur Park and Downtown showed a milder opposite effect.
- In seeming contradiction to the previous result, although not necessarily, having heard about the rally from friends showed an almost 40 % increase in first-time protesting likelihood at the La Brea site. It also had an almost equally strong but opposite effect at the MacArthur Park site.
- Radio as an information source had little differing effect for first timers at the MacArthur Park and Downtown locations. We see at La Brea a counterintuitive result. Attendees are 27% more likely to be a first timer if they did not hear about the rally on the radio.
- However, TV as an information source significantly increases first time likelihood at both the Downtown (25%) and La Brea (27%) protest sites.
- Across the board, we see Organizations as a greater influence on repeat protesters.

**Regression Estimates if respondent was a first time attendee**

	Mac Park	Downtown	La Brea
language survey filled out	-0.703* (0.319)	-0.723* (0.306)	-0.799 (0.552)
Number of people known at event	-0.070 (0.049)	0.051 (0.045)	<b>0.275**</b> (0.098)
<b>HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT EVENT</b>			
Newspaper	0.278 (0.324)	<b>0.708*</b> (0.330)	0.057 (0.598)
Radio	-0.141 (0.309)	-0.292 (0.290)	<b>1.098*</b> (0.567)
TV	-0.181 (0.302)	<b>-0.625*</b> (0.273)	<b>-1.206*</b> (0.570)
Organization	<b>0.971*</b> (0.441)	0.460 (0.403)	<b>1.342</b> (0.821)
Telephone	<b>-1.571*</b> (0.772)	-0.340 (0.537)	-0.963 (0.985)
Internet	0.366 (0.424)	0.299 (0.401)	0.235 (0.610)
Flyer or Billboard	<b>-1.358*</b> (0.628)	-0.482 (0.455)	0.534 (0.828)
Friends	<b>1.003*</b> (0.447)	-0.478 (0.358)	<b>-1.675**</b> (0.630)
Family	-0.551 (0.451)	<b>1.159**</b> (0.395)	0.131 (0.703)
<b>PARTICIPATION COSTS</b>			
Missed School	-0.432 (0.473)	0.490 (0.418)	0.357 (0.784)
Missed Work	-0.192 (0.356)	-0.038 (0.285)	0.071 (0.522)
<b>DEMOGRAPHIC</b>			
Female	0.177 (0.309)	<b>-0.536+</b> (0.284)	-0.573 (0.521)
Age	-0.011 (0.013)	<b>0.021+</b> (0.012)	<b>0.036</b> (0.023)
Bilingual	0.156 (0.312)	0.220 (0.281)	0.080 (0.532)
<b>BASED ON ZIP CODE</b>			
% Latino/Hispanic	-1.260 (1.508)	1.659 (1.590)	-3.865 (3.310)
Median Family Income/ 10,000	<b>-0.476*</b> (0.199)	<b>-0.450*</b> (0.190)	0.262 (0.304)
Median Houshold size	<b>0.592+</b> (0.354)	-0.054 (0.340)	-0.043 (0.808)
% graduated High School	0.787 (2.411)	3.346 (2.598)	-7.167 (5.463)
% Unskilled Labor	<b>-6.676+</b> (3.613)	<b>-8.763**</b> (3.355)	-3.774 (6.408)
<b>Constant</b>	3.219 (2.452)	1.278 (2.568)	5.219 (5.388)
<b>N</b>	244	315	119
<b>- 2 Log Likelihood</b>	305.382	376.639	126.068
<b>% Correctly Predicted</b>	52.5	51.7	55.5
Binary Logistic Regression, standard errors in parentheses + p< .10, * p< .05, ** p< .01			

## INFERRING PROTEST PARTICIPATION FROM ZIP CODE DATA

Zip code information provides two dependent variables that can be used to assess the characteristics that make a person likely to protest, even without knowing the characteristics of those who did not protest. First, we can know from the surveys how many respondents were from each zip code. Demographic information that was not gathered on the survey is available from the U.S. Census on each of these zip codes. This information can be combined to determine the characteristics of the zip codes with greatest turnout. Second, we can use a respondent's zip code to determine how far he traveled to be at the march.

We test the effects of three groups of variables to determine whether people turn out to a protest: those that measure physical cost, such as lost pay; those that measure personal comfort with protest; and those that measure affinity with the message of the protest. We find that though some variables from each of these categories are significant, affinity is the most consistent predictor of protest.

Because there is no information on those who did not attend the protest, we must determine the characteristics that make people likely to protest by analyzing variations among participants. Every participant had a latent propensity to be at the protest: maybe he is someone who goes to every protest (high latent propensity for protest) or maybe he was only there because of some peculiar circumstance (low). We use zip codes to create two dependent variables that can allow us to determine how different characteristics affect someone's likelihood of turning out.

First, we altered the unit of analysis from the individual to the zip code. The dependent variable in this analysis is the number of respondents from each zip code at the protests: the number ranges from one to 32. In this case, we work on the assumption that higher turnout in an area is a result of higher protest propensities among its residents. We collected demographic information on the residents from each zip code using the most recent (1999) census and employed averages as the independent variables. Using average zip code information to infer something about the incentives of individuals of course requires that those who attended the march are representative of the zip code. We find some support for the second assumption in the fact that respondents who spoke only Spanish, which suggests that they are Latino immigrants, were overwhelmingly from zip codes with high Latino and foreign-born populations.

The second dependent variable we use is the approximate distance from the respondent's home to the march, based on the zip code he reported. With this variable, we assume that someone with an otherwise low propensity for protest is even more unlikely to appear at a march he had to travel a great distance to reach. Those who came from afar can be assumed to be the type of people with a high likelihood of turning out.

We used GIS software to determine the approximate distances people traveled. Though the software is capable of making such calculations, we did not use exact distance for a number of reasons. First, we do not know which part of a zip code a respondent comes

from. Since many of the zip codes are a mile across or more, an exact calculation represents false precision. Second, the distance is measured as-the-crow-flies, which may not correspond to the actual distance required to get to a given protest site using existing roads. Third, exact distance does not correspond directly with the cost of travel because of traffic patterns, accessibility of public transport, etc. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that someone who is less than a mile away from a protest site had an easier time getting there than someone from five miles away, who himself had an easier time getting to the protest site than someone from fifteen miles away. We therefore created an ordered categorical scale, as shown below. Distances are calculated as the shortest possible as-the-crow-flies distance between the respondent’s zip code and the zip code of the march during which she responded to our survey.

### Distance Categories

Category	Distance to march
1	Within one mile
2	Between one and 2.5 miles
3	Between 2.5 and five miles
4	Between five and 7.5 miles
5	Between 7.5 and ten miles
6	Between ten and 12.5 miles
7	Between 12.5 and 15 miles
8	Between 15 and 20 miles
9	More than 20 miles

We identify three groups of variables that might determine someone’s likelihood of attending. The first two are variables that might discourage someone from participating: these are physical costs and social costs. The third group is comprised of the variables that might push someone toward participating, their affinity with the cause. These variables are summarized in the table on the next page.

There are several variables in the dataset that can be used to assess respondents’ costs in joining the rally. The first is age. Those who are young are the least likely to have regular jobs and families and are therefore have the most time and energy to devote to things like political protest.<sup>8</sup> The survey also asked respondents what they would otherwise be doing if not for the rally: almost everyone responded with “work,” “home,” or “school”. We considered those who would otherwise be at home to have the fewest opportunity costs.<sup>9</sup> The final measure of cost is the distance between the respondent’s home and the march site, as discussed above. From the census, we also gathered information on income, as higher income provides people with the ability to pay transportation costs to the event and more freedom to miss time from work.

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<sup>8</sup> For more on “biographical availability”, see McAdam (1986).

<sup>9</sup> Though those who work at home may not have fewer obligations, they are likely to have more flexible schedules, and will not face consequences such as lost pay.

Political protest also entails a social cost; people may feel uncomfortable about challenging authority or appearing extreme, or worried about being trapped in an unpredictable crowd. Factors that increase people's comfort level with protest are likely to increase involvement. Having a personal relationship with other protesters is one way to decrease social cost, and has been shown many times to make participation more likely (McAdam 1986; Fernandez and McAdam 1988). People are also more likely to be comfortable with protests once they have been to one. Finally, education is consistently correlated with a greater sense of political efficacy (see for example Craig et al, 1990), and college experience brings with it exposure to protests and protesters; one would expect higher participation among the more highly educated. There are measures of each of these variables in the dataset. Respondents were asked about the size of the group that they came with and whether this is their first time at a rally such as this one. We gathered information on the probability that a respondent had at least some college from the census.

## Description of Variables

### I. Measures of cost

#### I. Survey Data

**Age** Ranges from 8 to 105, with a mean of 31.8

**Home** 0=respondent would have been someplace other than home if not at rally  
1=respondent would have been at home if not at rally  
Mean of 0.307

**Dist** approximate distance in miles from respondent's home to rally  
Range (truncated) from one to twenty miles, with a mean of 9.1

#### ii. Census Data

**Income99** average income in zip code at time of 1999 census  
Ranges from \$8,633 to \$116,658, with a mean of \$35,028

### II. Measures of social risk/comfort with protest

#### I. Survey Data

**Attendbefore** 0 = first time at event like this one  
1 = have attended event like this before  
Mean = 0.52

**Numberff** Number of friends and family at protest with respondent  
Ranges (truncated) from 0-9, with a mean of 5.7

#### ii. Census Data

**Perceduc** Percent of people in zip code with "some college" or higher education  
Ranges from 0.008 to 0.287, with a mean of 0.078

### III. Measures of affinity/identity

#### I. Survey Data

**Spanish** 0 = not a Spanish speaker  
1 = Spanish speaker, may also speak another language  
Mean = .81

**Spanonly** 0 = either does not speak Spanish or is bilingual  
1 = speaks only Spanish  
Mean = .499

#### ii. Census Data

**Perclatino** Percent of people in the zip code who identify as Latino  
Ranges from 0.007 to .9756, with a mean .541

**Percforeign** Percent of people in zip code who were born outside of the US  
Ranges from .01 to .70, with a mean of .44

**Percnoncit** Percent of immigrants in zip code who have not been naturalized  
Ranges from .001 to .61, with a mean of .30

Finally, ideological and personal affinity with a movement is important as well. Though not all who agree with a protest's message will march, agreement is a prerequisite to attendance. We assume that immigrants, particularly illegal ones, are likely to be in agreement with the protest's aims. Additionally, since the protest focused primarily on immigrants from Latin America, those of Latin American descent were also presumed to feel affinity for the cause. There were no questions on immigration status on the survey. However, the survey did ask about language use, which allowed us to infer ethnicity and immigrant status. Those who spoke Spanish in the home were assumed to be Latino. Those who spoke only Spanish were assumed to be immigrants. We pulled additional information on affinity from the census. The relevant information was percent Latino, percent foreign-born, and percent of foreign born who have not been naturalized in a given zip code.

The two dependent variables we use – number of respondents from a zip code and the distance between the respondent's home and the protest site – require different models because they use different units of analysis. Each model contains measures from each of the three categories of variables, though there is little overlap between the models in the measures used. In the first model, we regress the number of respondents from a zip code on the characteristics of that zip code. Cost measures include distance from the protest and the average income in the zip code; comfort level with protest is measured with average education; and affinity by the percent of Latinos, percent of immigrants and percent of non-citizens.

Model I:

$$Count = dist + income99 + perceduc + perclatino + percforeign + percnoncit$$

In the second model, the unit of analysis is the individual respondent and most of independent variables all come from the survey. Approximate distance traveled is the dependent variable. I measure cost using the variables "home" and "age", comfort using the first-time dummy and the size of the respondent's group, and affinity with two language dummies.

Model II:

$$Dist = home + age + attendbefore + numberff + Spanish + Spanonly$$

## ***Findings***

### *Turnout*

In the first test, WE regressed the turnout from each zip code on the characteristics of the zip code. Except for income and the percent of immigrants in the area, everything was statistically and substantively significant. (Table 3) For every ten-point increase in the non-citizen population of a zip code, two people from that zip code attended the protest. The difference between the zip code with the most and fewest immigrants is about twelve people. Turnout increases by the two people when the percent of Latinos in an area increases by fifteen percentage points. The difference in turnout between the most and least "Latino" zip code (the range is 0 to 97%) is also about twelve participants.

Education is significant, but its impact is smaller: the most educated zip code sends only six more people than the least. Finally, for every additional two miles between the zip code and the protest site, turnout decreases by one person<sup>10</sup>.

It is surprising that the percent of immigrants in the zone is insignificant, but this is most likely due to the incredibly high correlation between the percent of immigrants and the percent of non-citizen immigrants; the  $r$  is 0.94. Income is strongly correlated with all of the other variables, with  $lr$ 's between 0.5 and 0.8. In the regression table, therefore, we present additional models, excluding different correlated variables.

Table 3. Effect of zip code characteristics on turnout

	Model 1.1	Model 1.2	Model 1.3	Model 1.4	Model 1.5
Income99	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)			
Perceduc	.226* (.097)	.2229** (.095)	.287*** (.078)	.226** (.079)	.272*** (.082)
Perclatino	.1336*** (.024)	.1341*** (.024)	.142*** (.231)	.145*** (.023)	.141*** (.023)
Perforeign	.0135 (.057)			.1544*** (.025)	.021 (.056)
Pernoncit	.1985** (.070)	.2131*** (.034)	.193*** (.028)		.171** (.065)
Dist	-.5209*** (0.056)	-.5224*** (0.049)	-.4963*** (0.0428)	-.5123*** (0.0427)	-.4951*** (.0430)
Constant	2.185 (2.047)	-1.622 (2.034)	-8362 (1.894)	-1.314 (1.939)	-.9831 1.936

Note: Dependent variable is “count”, range: 0-34, mean: 10.5

N= 813

\*Significant at the 0.05 level

\*\* Significant at 0.01 level

\*\*\*Significant at the 0.001 level

Through the various models, the effects of education, distance, and the percent of Latinos and non-citizens are robust. In all cases where these variables are used, they are statistically significant, and the coefficients vary relatively little. The percent of immigrants is only significant when percent of non-citizens is excluded; if both are in the model, the percent of non-citizens has the greater explanatory power.

#### *Distance*

Because WE created the distance variable as a categorical rather than continuous variable, we used ordered logit to determine the predictors of how far a participant respondent would be willing to travel. None of the variables are statistically significant, and the magnitudes on each are small.

<sup>10</sup> The effect of distance is probably higher than estimated in the model. There is likely to be attenuation from the fact that we truncated the distance variable at 20 miles.

Table 4. Determinants of Respondents' Willingness to Travel

	Model Two
Home	0.1207 (.141)
Age	-0.004 (.006)
Attendbefore	-0.0226 (0.137)
Numberff	-0.002 (0.022)
Spanish	0.2836 (0.196)
Spanonly	-0.2001 (0.1577)

Dependent variable is dist. Range: 0-20. Mean: 9.10  
N=723

However, there was variation among the sites. Of the three marches, the main downtown march on City Hall during the day drew people from the farthest away. Most likely, this march was the only one that provided an incentive for protestors to come into Los Angeles. Smaller marches and rallies like the one in MacArthur Park were taking place all over California, and protestors from farther away could have chosen to go to those instead. People at the smaller rallies who had traveled from out of town were probably influenced less by their devotion to the cause than by the fact that they had kin or work in Los Angeles.

When the logit is run on just the respondents from the first march, a much different pattern appears. Whether a respondent speaks Spanish is suddenly significant. The average Spanish-speaker was willing to travel almost one mile more than the average English-speaker. The number of people that a respondent came with is also significant, but with the wrong sign; those who came with the fewest others are most likely to have come the farthest.

Table 5. Determinants of Respondents' Willingness to Travel to Downtown March

	Model Two
Home	0.132 (.280)
Age	-0.0117 (.008)
Attendbefore	-0.0577 (0.2307)
Numberff	-0.091* (0.039)
Spanish	0.8532** (0.341)
Spanonly	-0.4537 (0.263)

Dependent variable is dist. Range: 0-20. Mean: 9.10

N=285

\* Significant at the 0.05 level

\*\* Significant at the 0.01 level

### ***Discussion***

The tests above were designed to see which group of variables – cost, comfort, or affinity – was best able to predict turnout. Not all variables in these groups were tested together, because they varied in their unit of analysis. Nevertheless, the results of these two tests indicate that affinity was the strongest predictor of participation in the May 1 marches. Four of the five affinity variables were statistically and substantively significant in at least one model. The percent of Latinos and the percent of non-citizens in a zip code markedly increased participation from that zip code. Spanish language increased the distance that people were willing to travel. Among the “comfort” variables, on the other hand, only education and the size of the respondent’s group mattered; group size, however, had the wrong sign (probably because it is hard to convince a large group to travel). Distance was the only cost variable that had an impact.

The findings are in some way obvious: it seems straightforward that those who have reason to care about a protest are most likely to show up. And yet, other factors, particularly networks, are those most likely to be emphasized in the quantitative literature on social movements. In addition, it is relevant that most of the other variables were *not* well able to determine who came and who did not. Why was affinity more important than those other variables in determining participation? Perhaps because the categories tied to the march – Latinos and immigrants – were fairly straightforward, people felt confident in which side of the issue they were supposed to be on. Whether this drew out Latino immigrants or encouraged other people to stay home is another question: George (2006) finds that high-school students who attended the march identified their ethnicity and immigration history as motivating factors. Some non-participants highlighted their non-Latino ethnicity, but most favored the apolitical “student”. From this it appears that the march was indeed seen as an issue politicizing ethnicity and immigration status; only those who identified strongly with one of these two groups marched. Conventional wisdom suggests that the use of Spanish-language radio to mobilize participation may have heightened the relevance of affinity to the Spanish-speaking marchers. However, when we add whether the respondent heard about the march through the radio, it does not predict anything in either model (p-values above 0.5). Furthermore, Stone (2006) finds that Spanish-language radio was not any more important in mobilizing Spanish-speaking respondents than English-language radio was in mobilizing English-speakers. This presents the most serious question arising from the findings of this study: when does identity work as a mobilizing factor and how can those organizing a protest increase its saliency? This is a question for future research involving comparisons with other marches.

## THE STUDY'S LIMITATIONS

The survey was designed and executed in a very short period of time by a group of graduate students at UCLA who hoped to seize the data opportunity the marches presented. In order to maximize people's willingness to take the survey, it was brief, impersonal and apolitical. There were no questions about respondents' ethnicity, socioeconomic status, immigration status or political beliefs. To the extent that this information is relevant, it must be inferred. The survey does not contain any but the most cursory demographic information on respondents. This leaves many potentially important variables such as immigration status out of the analysis. We have attempted to get at some of these questions using the zip code data to make inferences. Though helpful, we understand that the use of zip code data to proxy immigration status or language data to proxy ethnicity is not terribly satisfying.

As mentioned previously, there is one additional major shortcoming of our dataset. As is always the case when information about a movement comes entirely from its participants, the dataset does not contain data on those who did not participate. It is therefore impossible to determine what exactly differentiates the type of people who choose to participate from those who don't.

Our analysis also considered a third possible shortcoming: interviewer bias in sample selection. The interviewers varied in race, gender, and linguistic abilities. Because we are making claims about the characteristics of the population that attended the march, there is a concern that the sample collected may have not been a true random sample at specific locations or across the entire sample because of the effect of the interviewer bias. There has been concern in past survey literature that the ethnicity of the interviewer may effect the responses of the interviewee. However, Weeks and Moore (1981) found no relationship between the ethnicity of the interviewer and answers given by Mexican-American interviewees in "non-sensitive" interview items. Their findings were consistent with those of Hatchett and Schuman (1975) that found large interviewer effects when comparing responses given to white and black interviewers on racially sensitive items, but not on those that were not considered sensitive. Our survey instrument does not seem to have items that could be considered racially sensitive, so the chance of interviewer effect is diminished. However, non-random interviewer bias could affect the accuracy of findings across locations.<sup>11</sup>

The data collected reveals a demographically different population participating in the protests at the different locations, which raises a concern that this difference may be the result of interviewer effects. Because we were not able to use the same interviewers across all locations and because our interviewers varied in characteristics that might be important to inducing somebody to complete a survey (such as ability to speak Spanish and ethnicity) there is a concern that differences revealed across locations could be a result of interviewer effects.

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<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the interviewer effects bias in surveys, see O'Muircheartaigh and Campanelli (1998).

There are two possible reasons that the sample may be non-random: one, that there is a bias introduced by our interviewers. There is no direct way to test or correct for this but it can be indirectly examined (more on this later). If all interviewers introduced a consistent bias in their interviews, then our sample is biased. A second possible bias would have been by individual interviewers that biased samples at certain locations or, to a lesser extent, the entire sample. This can be tested. There is evidence that the effects of interviewers did relatively little to bias the samples across locations.

With regard to a consistent bias across all interviewers that will bias the entire sample, it seems likely that this would be caused by characteristics of the interviewers changing the likelihood that potential respondents will be approached or that the respondents, once approached, will chose to complete the survey. These characteristics may include ethnicity, language, age, gender, and other quantifiable characteristics. Regression analysis does not reveal that any of these factors among interviewers are related to the characteristics of the respondents. To test the hypothesis that there was a relationship between interviewer characteristics and language spoken by the interviewee (Spanish or not), we created a measure combining the language spoken and ethnicity of the interviewer. Two logit models were created, one that regresses just the location of the interview on the language spoken by the interviewee and one that regresses location and characteristics of the interviewer. These models were:

Where *Interviewer* is a composite index of the ethnicity and language ability of the interviewer. A higher value on this variable represents a person that a Spanish speaking Latino respondent is assumed to find greater affinity with, that is another Spanish speaking Latino. Analysis of Deviance testing of the two models reveals that the residual deviance of model 1 is 1192, while model 2 is 1189. This difference of 3 fails to meet the conventionally accepted standard of statistical significance when a chi-squared test is performed, but it comes close ( $p=.1$ ). These findings are summarized in the table below.

	Residual Degrees of Freedom	Residual Deviance	Degrees of Freedom	Deviance	P(>  Chi )
Model 1	872	1192			
Model 2	871	1189	1	3	0.1

We are inclined to accept, despite the lack of conventional statistical significance, that interviewer characteristics may have had some effect on the respondents sampled. The regression of model 2 estimates that variable interviewer characteristics has a coefficient of 0.197 with a standard error of .12. This too fails to meet the conventional standard of statistical significance ( $p=.1004$ ). The estimates of this regression are listed in the table below.

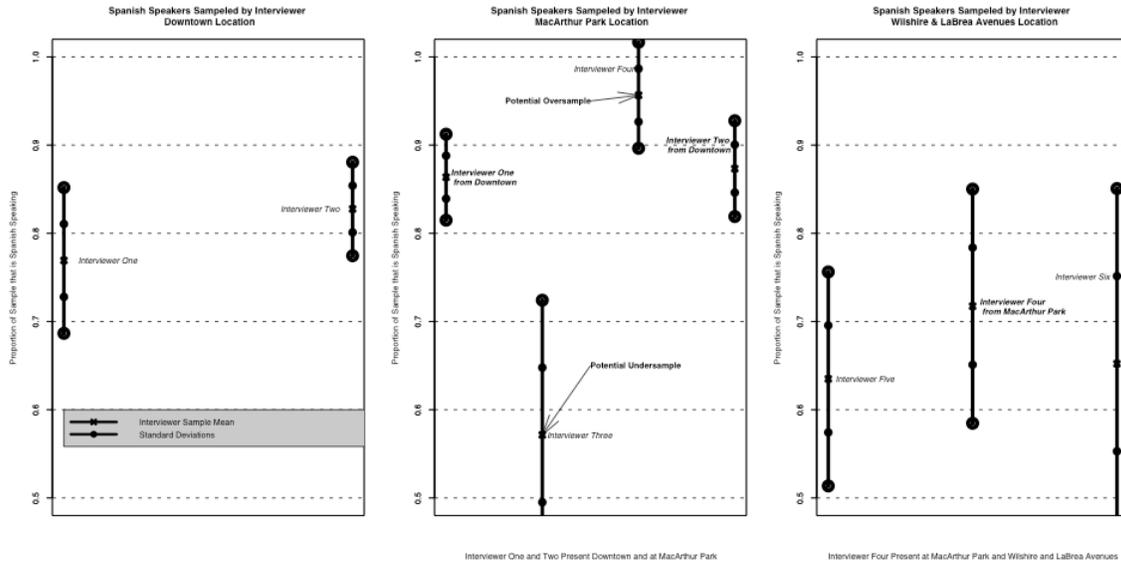
<b>Dependent Variable is Spanish Speaker (0 or 1)</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Z value</b>	<b>Pr(&gt; z )</b>
(Intercept)	-0.279	0.221	-1.26	0.2073
Interviewer	0.197	0.12	1.64	0.1004
MacArthur	0.284	0.157	1.81	0.07
Labrea	-0.608	0.228	-2.67	0.0076

If this coefficient is accepted as the true mean effect, then that means a Latino Spanish speaking interviewer may be approximately 9% more likely than a non-Latino, non-Spanish speaker to interview another Spanish speaker across all locations.

This is indirect evidence that there may be a relationship between interviewer characteristics and sample obtained. Admittedly, there could be characteristics of interviewers that will not be captured by those quantifiable for regression analysis. However, if it is assumed that most systematic error would be related to variables such as age, gender, and language ability, then it seems systematic error was probably captured by the test performed here.

This raises the possibility that the sample was non-random, but because the true population is not known, this is impossible to test directly. However, Spanish speaking and Latino interviewers interviewed the great majority of respondents, 719 of the 875 total respondents. It seems that the effect of the bias should only go one direction, e.g. that a bilingual interviewer is equally likely to interview a Spanish and non-Spanish speaking individual, given both, while a non-Spanish speaking interviewer is more likely to interview the non-Spanish speaker, all else equal. If the effect of the bias is in this one direction, then there might be an under-sampling of Spanish speakers among the 199 respondents interviewed by non-Spanish speaking interviewers. A 9% under-sampling of this sub-sample is about 18 individuals, or about 2% of the entire sample. This is a rather small effect and is based on regression analysis that falls just short of the conventional tests of statistical significance, but perhaps it should be considered when interpreting our findings.

We were able to test for inter-interviewer and, therefore, inter-location bias because at least one interviewer from each location was present at a subsequent survey location, e.g. an interviewer from the first location, downtown Los Angeles, was present at the second location, MacArthur Park, and an interviewer from the MacArthur Park was present at the third location, Wilshire and La Brea Avenues. Assuming that the interviewers traveling across locations did not change their approach at each location, then if the interviewers that joined them obtain a sample that falls within the conventionally accepted range of statistical error, we can assume that variation is random and would become minimal with a large enough sample size, rather than being a result of interviewer bias. The figure below displays inter-location tests of interviewer bias on the sampling of Spanish speakers.



Fairly consistent samples, with regard to sample gender and language ability, are found across interviewers and locations. Only in the case of two interviewers do the samples of a particular interviewer fall outside the standard deviations of the mean of the interviewer carried over from a previous location. In fact, except in those two cases, all interviewers are within one standard deviation of the mean results of the others within the same location.

The systematic inter-location bias that can be detected is estimated as a 1% under-sampling of Spanish-speaking participants at MacArthur Park. This is estimated by taking the respective means of the two interviewers that were two standard deviations greater or less than the means of the other interviewers. The estimated deviation was multiplied by the sample sizes. Similar analysis estimates that women may have been over-sampled by approximately 8% at the La Brea and Wilshire location.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the course of this paper, we have had the occasion to both question and confirm many of the assumptions and hypotheses about the May 1 marches in Los Angeles.

First, we want to recapitulate that the day's events focused on two key marches with different organizational support and mobilization strategies, yet this organizational distinction itself did not come into view in the data as expected. We should have seen the Downtown event as distinct from the samples take at MacArthur Park and La Brea. The Downtown event was meant to be more militant in nature as it was connected directly with the economic boycott, and it was held at a time when most individuals would have to take the day off of work in order to attend. But, instead, we found that the Downtown and MacArthur Park samples were quite similar in comparison to the La Brea sample. The organizers of the two marches pulled a quite similar group of people given the data we surveyed about. We propose a few reasons for why Downtown and MacArthur Park contrast to the La Brea sample. During collection of surveys at the La Brea site, there

was a steady stream of new protesters coming into the event from the Westside of Wilshire, the opposite direction the march was coming into the La Brea event space. It appears that the after-work and supposedly less militant crowd came into the event at La Brea rather than MacArthur Park as predicted by event organizers. The start time of the MacArthur Park event (2-4pm) was still too early for many people to get off of work and over to the protest. In addition, the two samples of groups who chose to actually march through the city in our Downtown and MacArthur Park sample were in the end quite similar despite organizational differences in each march. This may come down to the fact that the choice of attending a march versus a rally/celebration brings quite a different audience. Also, both MacArthur Park and City Hall (Downtown) are in Downtown Los Angeles while La Brea and Wilshire is considerably removed from Downtown. Thus, the first revision this paper offers is to think about the event not as two marches, but three event spaces. Taking into account the later time of the La Brea event (6pm) in comparison to MacArthur Park (2-4pm) and Downtown (12noon) along with the fact that La Brea included entertainment for families helps us to realize the very different ways in which people could have protested on May 1.

Second, our results do confirm that radio did play a huge role in spreading information about the protests. But the excessive focus on radio as the supreme mobilizing agent for the May 1 marches excludes a wide variety of other sources by which people heard about the event. For one, television proved to be just as strong of an information source as radio, despite the lack of attention it received in the press. Considering television was criticized by print media and radio for sleeping through the March 25<sup>th</sup> rally, more attention should be paid to the way in which television could have mobilized people for the May 1 marches.

The expectation of *The Washington Post* that Latino residents have different media consumption patterns (e.g., radio only) due to the nature of their living arrangements does not pan out in our data. Radio and TV are more frequently listed by Spanish-speaking respondents, but they are also the 1st and 2nd most cited response by English respondents as well. Furthermore, both English and Spanish respondents show a great deal of variation in the types of information sources listed. In fact, on the aggregate, friends and family were more often listed as information sources by English-speaking respondents than Spanish-speaking respondents. In any case, we have no information to suggest limited media capacity of Spanish respondents in general. Overall, much of the distinction among types of information is between protest sites rather than between languages. La Brea has a distinctive array of information sources compared to Downtown and La Brea. For Spanish respondents, all types of information become more frequent mentioned at La Brea including huge jumps in the frequencies of Internet, friends and family. For English respondents, all sources of information decline in frequency with the exception of Internet, phone, and radio. The internet, being more important for both English and Spanish respondents at La Brea, points to a shift in information diffusion for this particular event.

Third, the May 1 marches have been painted as a Latino-only movement rather than an immigrant movement or a liberal movement. We think that our sample begins to suggest

that there is a wider community participating in this event beyond the Latino community. We analyzed the samples collected by each surveyor and noted no significant difference in the proportion of Spanish-speaking respondents across the different races and language capabilities of the day's surveyors. Thus, since 40% of our respondents filled out the form in English, we have reason to believe that our sample includes a very large chunk of non-Latino respondents and so too does the population from which we sampled.

Fourth, the narrative of the May 1 marches in the media painted a picture of an entirely new community of protestors emerging for the very first time. Nonetheless, we find that just 51% of respondents in our sample are in fact first-time protestors. We do not want to underestimate the ability of the organizers to mobilize a quarter of a million new protestors, but we do want to emphasize that a quarter of a million people with protest experience were also on the streets on May 1. It is important to keep this latter fact in perspective so that we can place the May 1 marches in a larger developmental perspective for the movement.

Fifth, we see much in our reading to confirm that the findings of McAdam (1986) still apply in the present day scenario. McAdam was trying to predict involvement in the Freedom Summer after submitting an application. We are trying to estimate the probability of someone having prior protest experience. In both cases, organizational attachment is a very strong predictor. And we think this points to an important outcome. Despite the proliferation of new media such as the Internet, we should not discount the importance of organizational units in directing the movement activity. After all, the DJ involvement that became an icon of the movement was first put into place by the March 25 coalition and its strategy makers. Political, civic and religious organizations are still fundamental to mobilizing a movement. This should not be lost in conversations about emerging strategies.

Sixth, we see traditional news media outlets such as the newspaper and television are still prominent in mobilization, the former predictive of repeat protestors and the latter predictive of first-time protestors. Any mobilization aimed at getting its voice out to a maximum number of groups will still want to heavily rely on these media sources.

Finally, our model does speak to the truth there is in the assumption that the May 1 protests are an all-new, all-Latino movement. The most important predictor in explaining whether or someone is a first-time protester is the language the form is filled out in. There is no question that the issue of immigration and the organizers behind the May 1 protests successfully politically mobilized a huge contingent of Los Angeles far beyond those who showed up to the three event spaces studied in this paper. Just like Proposition 187 mobilized a new contingent of Latino voters, it is likely that H.R. 4437 and the ensuing debate in Washington will mobilize an entirely new contingent of Latino voters.

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