

**VIOLENCE IN ACTIVISM: INSTIGATING FACTORS AND
THRESHOLDS BREACHED**

by

Omi Hodwitz

Bachelor of Arts, Simon Fraser University, 2006

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF CRIMINOLOGY

In the
School of Criminology

© Omi Hodwitz 2009

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring 2009

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

Approval

Name: Omi Hodwitz
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Violence in activism: Instigating factors and thresholds breached.

Examining Committee:

Chair: Dr. Bryan Kinney
Assistant Professor, Criminology

Dr. Ehor Boyanowsky
Senior Supervisor
Associate Professor, Criminology

Dr. Martin Andresen
Supervisor
Assistant Professor, Criminology

Dr. Stephen Easton
External Examiner
Professor, Economics
Simon Fraser University

Date Defended/Approved:

March 23, 2009



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Declaration of Partial Copyright Licence

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, BC, Canada

Abstract

This study investigates the influence of demographic characteristics, psychological variables, and the external instigating factor of threat on the decision to protest ranging from letter writing to engaging in increasingly illegal and violent forms of civil disobedience. Threat consists of three dimensions: social unit affected by threat, timing of threat, and saliency of threat.

Results indicate that demographic characteristics are not a significant predictor of illegal or violent disobedience. Psychological variables do influence the decision to engage in civil dissent, but the relationship is complex and dependent on whether behavioural options are illegal or violent in nature. Dimensions of threat do not appear to be significant predictors of civil disobedience.

Results indicate that previous research on demographic significance is outdated, and previous research addressing psychological variables is simplistic. External instigating factors, such as threat, require more investigation.

Keywords: civil disobedience; protest; activism; threat; violence; illegal behaviour

Subject Terms: protest; violence; threat

Dedication

To all of the civil disobeyers who fight for those who cannot fight for themselves.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my senior supervisor and good friend, Dr. Ehor Boyanowsky, for the past four years of continuous support, advice, and inspiration. My achievement is his achievement.

I would also like to thank Dr. Martin Andresen for providing me with direction, leading me through murky statistical waters, and keeping my spirits up and level of panic down.

My many thanks to Dr. Steve Easton for his willingness to bail me out at the last minute and to do it with good humour and charm.

Finally, I would like to thank everyone who participated in my study. I am grateful for the time and energy that they committed to this research and I hope they found my questions as interesting as I found their responses.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Abstract	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures	viii
List of Tables.....	ix
1: The meaning and history of civil disobedience.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Important figures.....	2
1.3 Mass movement campaigns: Past and present	6
1.3.1 The predecessors to globalization	6
1.3.2 Globalization: A broad stroke	9
1.3.3 Globalization: The past placed on the international stage.....	10
2: Theory and inquiry	12
2.1 Present and past research	13
2.1.1 The 60s and the 70s - Demographic characteristics (the ‘who’ question). <i>As summarized by Hodwitz (2006)</i>	13
2.1.2 The 70s, 80s, and now – Psychological and social processes, resources and recruitment (the ‘why’ question). <i>As summarized by Hodwitz (2006)</i>	15
2.2 External instigating factors	20
3: Threat as an external instigating factor	21
3.1 Multidimensional nature of threat: Research questions and hypotheses	24
3.1.1 Demographic and psychological characteristics.	25
3.1.2 Saliency of threat (proximity and intensity): Micro and macro	26
3.1.3 Timing of threat: Immediate and certain eventuality	32
3.1.4 Social unit: Individual, local community, country, global community.....	34
3.2 Interplay of dimensions.....	35
4: Methodology	37
4.1 Participants.....	37

4.2	Procedure.....	39
4.3	Questionnaire	42
4.4	Variables	43
4.4.1	Independent Variables.....	43
4.4.2	Dependent Variables	44
4.4.3	Control Variables	46
5:	A descriptive and correlation analysis of threat and civil disobedience	48
5.1	Current study.....	48
5.2	Demographics: Validity and relevance	51
5.2.1	The relevance of old research results	51
5.3	Psychological variables: The relevance of old research results	59
5.3.1	Results.....	61
6:	Predicting civil disobedience: Degrees of threat.....	66
6.1	Threat and behaviour.....	66
6.2	Results.....	67
6.2.1	Illegality.....	67
6.2.2	Violence.....	71
7:	Discussions and future research.....	78
7.1	Conclusions and discussion.....	78
7.2	Future directions.....	86
Appendices	89
	Appendix A – Questionnaire: Uniform description of threat	89
	Appendix B – Questionnaire: Scenario manipulation representing dimensions of threat	90
	Appendix C – Questionnaire: Measurements of psychological and behavioural response. Demographic data collection.....	95
	Appendix D – Consent form	98
Reference List	100

List of Figures

Figure 1 Boyanowsky (1993). Model of community response to environmental pollution.....	22
Figure 2 Cross-tabulation of gender and activist orientation.	54
Figure 3 Cross-tabulation of gender and chosen response.	54
Figure 4 Cross-tabulation of resident country and activist orientation.	56
Figure 5 Cross-tabulation of ethnicity and activist orientation.	57
Figure 6 Cross-tabulation of ethnicity and chosen response.	58
Figure 7 Cross-tabulation of feeling affected and activist orientation.	62
Figure 8 Cross-tabulation of the need to respond and activist orientation.	64

List of Tables

Table 1	Reported frequencies of psychological variables.	60
Table 2	Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of independent variables on illegal behaviour.	68
Table 3	Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of significant independent variables on illegal behaviour.....	70
Table 4	Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of independent variables on violent behaviour.	72
Table 5	Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of significant independent variables on violent behaviour.	73
Table 6	Summary of significant relationships between variables.	79

1: The meaning and history of civil disobedience

1.1 Introduction

The turn of the millennium was marked by various technological and political achievements; it was also marked by social dissent (Fisher et al., 2005). Mass movement protests occurred around the world, numbering from a few thousand people in The Hague, in 2000, during the United Nations Climate Change Convention, to nearly one hundred thousand people in Seattle, Washington, in 1999, protesting the World Trade Organization. Individuals all over the world are taking it upon themselves to react to perceived injustices and respond by engaging in various forms of civil disobedience using a range of tactics from the nonviolent to the violent.

The rise in civil disobedience is reminiscent of the U.S. anti-war and civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s, and earlier civil unrest dating back more than a century. Historic and current escalation in civil disobedient action has resulted in a kindling and rekindling of research interest (Fisher et al., 2005). During the 1960s, academic attention was focused on the external demographic characteristics of individual activists (McAdam, 1992; Sherkat and Blocker, 1993; Sulloway, 1996; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996; Petrie, 2004). That tradition progressed over the next two decades to include psychological and social factors, on both the individual and collective levels (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000; Passy and Giugni, 2001; Lubell, 2002). The current resurgence in empirical study has changed focus, centring instead on recruitment issues (McAdam and Paulsen, 1993), access to resources (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996), and

methods of communication (Fisher et al., 2005; Passy and Giugni, 2001). Despite the broadening of research interest, there is a noticeable lack of attention to external factors to which individuals respond. Civil disobedience is an elicited behaviour and, although research into the behaviour itself has significant value, research into the factors that elicit this behaviour are of greater import to the course of human events.

1.2 Important figures

The modern history of civil disobedience is traced back to one sectarian church and three key historic figures: the Dukhobortsy (also known as Spirit Wrestlers or Doukhobors), Henry David Thoreau, Mahatma Gandhi, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Lyons, 1998). Through their actions and their teachings, those notable individuals and groups helped shape and define the meaning and practice of nonviolent protest. Contemporary analysis of the act of civil dissent requires recognition of the contribution made by each of those people.

The Dukhobortsy were a sectarian church in Russia that first appeared in the mid-1700s (Ashworth, 1900). Their belief system required recognition of equality among all humans, as well as animals. According to the Doukhobors, all relationships based on love followed the will of God, while murder and violence were in opposition to His will. The Russian government and the Greek Orthodox Church found Dukhobortsy beliefs and practices to be threatening and engaged on a campaign of persecution. Doukhobors were lashed with whips, had their nostrils cut off, were imprisoned, sentenced to hard labour, and banished to Siberia for practicing their beliefs, such as the burning of arms as an act of opposition to violence (Elkinton, 1903). After several decades of oppressive measures, the Doukhobors were allowed to emigrate.

What separates that religious denomination from others is that, despite personal hardships, the Spirit Wrestlers continued to practice nonresistance and nonviolence; they provided a foundation of nonviolent nonresistance in the face of hardship and personal persecution. That base of nonviolence would be embraced and advocated by the leaders that followed in the development of civil disobedience.

In July of 1846, Henry David Thoreau refused to pay a \$1.50 Massachusetts poll tax (Carton, 1998). His refusal won him a night in Middlesex County Jail. His reasons for nonpayment were not related to finances; rather, Thoreau was making a political statement. As became clear later in his lecture at Concord Lyceum, titled *Resistance to Civil Government* (later to become known as *Civil Disobedience*), Thoreau's motivation was one of conscientious dissent. Specifically, Thoreau chose to refrain from providing monetary support to a government that continued to practice slavery within its borders and perpetuate oppression of other nation-states outside of its borders, such as the United States' military invasion of Mexico (Lyon, 1998). Although he did not view his personal role to be one of making the world a more just and safe place, he did believe his responsibilities included refusing to commit injustices or to support those that engage in morally wrong acts (Terkel, 1996). Thoreau also presented an argument that individuals of good conscience cannot allow a moral buffer to exist between themselves and those subject to oppression. Through the creation of such a moral buffer, individuals would then be *de facto* oppressors: "If I devote myself to other pursuits and contemplations, I must first see, at least, that I do not pursue them sitting upon another man's shoulders" (Thoreau, 1849/1996: 16). In addition, he viewed punishment of the dissenting individual as equally important as the chosen act of dissent when trying to change public

opinion (Herngren, 1993). It should come as no surprise that Thoreau's practices and writings provided inspiration for future dissenters (Carton, 1998).

Sarangi (1989) identified Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience* as the 'textbook' employed by Mohandas Gandhi in his quest for independence and equality. Gandhi studied law as a young adult and eventually developed a flourishing legal practice in South Africa (Terkel, 1996). Soon after arriving in South Africa, he became concerned with the injustices inherent within that environment and, starting in 1893, engaged in a lifelong struggle against racist practices and British colonial rule (Lyons, 1998). Gandhi utilized multiple new strategies of dissent including fasting, boycotts, the burning of registration cards, and marches (Terkel, 1996). One of his most famous acts of civil disobedience occurred in India in 1930 when he marched for 24 days and travelled 200 miles in order to reach the sea to harvest salt. That act was in protest of the British monopoly on salt production and it encouraged thousands of others to travel to the sea to harvest salt or to buy from others who had already made the journey.

In addition to tactical methods, Gandhi also made philosophical contributions to the meaning of civil disobedience. Expanding upon Thoreau's ideas of moral citizenship, Gandhi created the concept of *Satyagraha*, or Truth-force (Childress, 1972). That concept presented active moral resistance as a necessary requirement, rather than simply a choice, of the conscientious citizen. He demonstrated that mass protest by the people could result in the reclamation of power from the state (Herngren, 1993). In addition, Gandhi reintroduced the Doukhobor ideal of nonviolence and noncooperation or passive resistance into the discussion of effective civil disobedience (Beckwith, 2002).

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. carried on Gandhi's focus on nonviolence. King was committed to the abolition of Jim Crow, a system within the United States that was constructed on white supremacist practices and beliefs (Lyons, 1998). Jim Crow advocated segregationist practices: the installation of separate eating, washroom, and educational facilities for Caucasians and African Americans, as well as alternate transportation options for African Americans. As a spokesperson and a leader of the civil rights movement in the Deep South, King was renowned for his campaign works and strategies, culminating in the Nobel Peace Prize that he was awarded in 1964, and ending in eventual assassination in 1968 (Colaiaco, 1986). Of the numerous events attributed to King, two of the most notable are the Birmingham and Selma protests (Fairclough, 1986). Academics ascribe the 1964 Civil Rights Act to events in Birmingham and the following 1965 Voting Rights Act to the Selma protests (Colaiaco, 1986). In addition, King provided support to other civil rights activists that were engaged in their own forms of protest. Some of those protests included the year-long bus boycotts instigated by Rosa Park's refusal to give up her seat to a Caucasian woman (Terkel, 1996), and the lunch counter sit-ins inspired by four college students from Greensboro who continued to occupy a Woolworth's lunch counter after service was refused (Andrews and Biggs, 2006).

Beyond his physical activities, King is recognized for his beliefs and preaching (Allen, 2000). Specifically, King embraced the concept of nonviolence, urging his followers to refrain from retaliation in the face of brutality (Colaiaco, 1986). However, that philosophy of nonviolence differed greatly from Gandhian practices, partly because King strategically sought to incite aggression amongst his adversaries (Fairclough, 1986).

He believed that aggressive reactions on behalf of his opponents would only further his campaign. Using such inflammatory tactics as night marches in the heart of Ku Klux Klan territory, King succeeded in illustrating the physical and verbal violence to which African Americans were subjected at the hands of white supremacists.

Therefore, King, as well as the Doukhobors, Thoreau, and Gandhi, succeeded in providing the framework for contemporary protest. Collectively, they contributed the foundations and principles of nonviolent civil dissent. Although a universal definition of civil disobedience may not currently exist, Doukhobors's, Thoreau's, Gandhi's, and King's contributions to the meaning of civil disobedience are evident in Rawls' (1973) interpretation: "a public, nonviolent political act contrary to law, usually done with the aim of bringing about change in the law, or policies of the government" (p. 364). Within the confines of that definition, there have been numerous notable nonviolent battles waged in the name of good conscience. Beyond the history of Jim Crow, slavery, and colonial rule (Lyons, 1998), contemporary focus has shifted to the globalization campaign (the assimilation of populations and economies) and all the social and environmental maladies that its opponents have alleged.

1.3 Mass movement campaigns: Past and present

1.3.1 The predecessors to globalization

The antiglobalization movement has dominated academic and media attention for the past decade; however, it is fully influenced by, and reminiscent of, past mass mobilizations. Those past movements have included women's rights, labour rights, environmental issues and peace campaigns. Unlike the antiglobalization campaign, most, if not all, of those past movements have focused on the western world.

In 1911, the United States witnessed the first mass demonstration within its borders (Tracy, 2002). Organized by the suffragist Alice Paul, those demonstrations progressed into mass arrests by 1916 (218 women from 26 states were arrested outside of the White House). By 1920, the 19th Amendment that guaranteed women the right to vote was ratified.

By the 1930s, the labour movement began to take the stage, as the Industrial Workers of the World and the International Union of Workers formed in protest of poor working conditions, indecent wages, and lack of benefits or basic rights extended into the workplace (Tracy, 2002). Labour and union activists employed such creative tactics as the work slowdown, the shutdown of roads, and sit-down strikes. In addition, female workers focused on occupying workspaces and halting production. Those tactics and others led to forced contract negotiations with target companies. The success of those contract negotiations, paired with the end of World War II and the prosperity that followed, marked a brief lull in the mass movement agenda, as more than a decade passed before the next group of dissidents (Martin Luther King, Jr. and the civil rights movement) took the political floor.

At the time that the western world was faced with the civil rights movement, it was also subjected to the popular protest activities of another mass mobilization; the anti-Vietnam War protests of the 1960s (Beckwith, 2002). In 1964, the U.S. government passed the Tonkin Gulf resolution, allowing the U.S. to engage in military occupation in Southeast Asia (Tracy, 2002). From that point onward, marches began and grew in numbers and tactics of protest became more confrontational. Many college students refused to comply with their induction notices and fled to Canada. The burning of draft

cards was a common event. Demonstrations on campuses across the United States resulted in mass arrests numbering in the hundreds for single events and culminating in the death of students at the hands of Ohio National Guards. In 1971, there was a march on Washington, DC, that shut down the U.S. east coast for almost a day. When the war passed, however, so too did that particular mobilization community, although a small segment of violent anti-capitalist protesters remained active.

The final mass movement focusing on the Western world was the environmental movement of the 1970s and 1980s (Sowards and Renegar, 2006). Encompassing forestry, fisheries, and mining, as well as toxics issues, natural-resource-oriented activists were inspired by the deep ecology perspective (Stefanik, 2001). Deep ecologists share the opinion that humankind is responsible for global environmental degradation and proclaim that all species have intrinsic worth beyond their anthropocentric value to humanity. Although not all environmentalists share the radical perspective of the deep ecologist, they do take the position that humans need to curb their unsustainable resource extraction in order to maintain the integrity of the natural world. As such, environmentalists are well known for their tactics of occupation, whether it be on the water impeding fishing boats, on forest service roads halting logging activities or road building, or in government or industry offices, confronting the decision makers. They have also engaged in economic boycotts of resource-specific products, lobbying, and public education campaigns. Although that general campaign has slowed down within the last decade, it has not entirely disappeared (it has been adopted by communities, governments, and corporate bodies).

1.3.2 Globalization: A broad stroke

The mass movement struggles of the 20th century created a prototype for antiglobalization activists to follow. As such, the beginning of the 21st century was a time of mobilization reminiscent of previous decades, only the current movement intended to counter the disintegration of national boundaries and the solidification of globalization (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005). Globalization, although an elusive concept, involves the creation of an international corporate market, the blurring of national boundaries in relation to employment and ownership, and the reorganization of global development strategies and economic processes. Globalization has resulted in the recognition that nation-state boundaries are subject to change for economic purposes, and that multiple facets of society and the planet are not confined or defined by political boundaries, such as the environment, issues of equality, and basic human rights. Starting with the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in 1997 in Vancouver, Canada, thousands to tens of thousands of activists began converging in strategic locations at opportune moments to confront the leaders of the globalization trend (Falconer, 2001). The targets of those mass protests have been such institutions as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, transnational corporations, and other multilateral bodies (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005). The highest profile event, to date, was the World Trade Organization meetings that took place in Seattle, Washington in 1999. Tens of thousands of individuals from around the world flooded Seattle to protest the free trade policy practiced by the World Trade Organization (Wozniak, 2005). The majority of modern society watched as the political protest disintegrated into a battle between enforcement agencies and activists.

1.3.3 Globalization: The past placed on the international stage

Within the western world, many of the issues mentioned above have been resolved or minimized at the local level to the point that they are of low-to-no interest to the collective activist community. However, although those issues may be fading on the local level, they are front and centre on the globalization stage. Rahman (2004) notes that there are six elements to the ideological character of the antiglobalization protest movement. In addition to the desire to create a more accurate depiction of democracy on the global stage, Rahman identifies that the antiglobalization movement is oriented towards a more equitable distribution of wealth amongst all societies, rather than a concentration of income in the hands of a few. In addition, he notes that the international activist community is demanding fulfilling, not just gainful, employment. There is also concern that many of the employment opportunities usually filled by representatives of the western world are being redirected to less developed countries where labour costs are less expensive (although those concerns do not take note that there has been an increase in living standards for many less developed communities as a consequence of those global shifts). Those latter points are reminiscent of the labour movement demands made in the 1930s.

Rahman (2004) notes that, within the global collective, there is an active concern with environmental care; as corporate powers are given the freedom to extract resources from less developed nations, there is a potential loss of natural integrity. The presence of the deep ecologist's perspective is apparent in that concern. He also mentions that the expanding capitalist system is further supporting a division of gender responsibilities and powers, particularly in less developed nations, which mirrors the early concerns of the suffragettes. Finally, he posits that, since the majority of mass movement activists are

young, the representatives of tomorrow do not trust, nor do they respect society's elders, or the state. Although that concern may be valid, theoretical and empirical researchers have identified several psychosocial factors other than youth-specific trust and respect that contribute to participation in civil disobedience.

2: Theory and inquiry

Civil disobeyers suffer some of the most deplorable and, in some cases, fatal consequences for their actions. The Doukhobors, Thoreau, King, and Gandhi were incarcerated or banished (Lyons, 1998; Carton, 1998); student activists at Kent State University were shot protesting the Vietnam War (Tracy, 2002); nuclear disarmament activists were sentenced to eight years in federal prison for causing several hundreds of dollars of damage (Terkel, 1996); and environmental activists were subjected to financial legal consequences that resulted in personal bankruptcy (Stefanik, 2001). Moreover, activists are abused, mistreated, and/or maimed during the course of their work (Terkel, 1996).

In light of potential negative consequences, the question becomes who would engage in civil disobedience and why? One branch of research has focused on the individual characteristics of the civil disobeyer (McAdam, 1992; Petrie, 2004; Sherkat and Blocker, 1994; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996). Other research trends focused on individual or group-based decision-making or other psychological processes (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000; Lubell, 2002; Wright et al., 1990; Grant and Brown, 1995). A more recent trend has addressed the methods of recruitment and the impact of social influences (Fisher et al., 2005; Passy and Giugni, 2001; McAdam and Paulsen, 1993).

2.1 Present and past research

2.1.1 The 60s and the 70s - Demographic characteristics (the 'who' question). As summarized by Hodwitz (2006).

In the search for demographic characteristics shared by activists, researchers presented various definitive results. Activism was found to correlate with gender (McAdam, 1992), age (Sherkat and Blocker, 1993), parental influences (Sherkat and Blocker, 1994), class, birth order (Sulloway, 1996; Zweigenhaft and von Ammon, 2000), education (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996), and religion (Petrie, 2004). However, follow up studies produced mixed results and researchers have begun to question the reliability of those early variables.

Empirical analysis indicated that protest movements in the 1960s were disproportionately male (Sherkat and Blocker, 1993). Criticisms have been levied at those studies as researchers identified factors that may have influenced results (McAdam, 1992; Petrie, 2004). McAdam (1992) noted that 1960s protest movements were predominantly anti-war in nature and, as such, were less threatening to females who were not subject to the draft. In addition, most studies of those early protests were conducted on college campuses across the United States (Sherkat and Blocker, 1993 and 1994; Hirsch, 1990). Women had lower rates of attendance at those facilities and, therefore, less exposure to those movements (McAdam, 1992). Finally, due to unequal social status, women may have had less confidence in their ability to promote change (Acock and Clarke, 1990, as cited by Sherkat and Blocker, 1994: 826). Petrie (2004) has studied protesters from the 1980s and found that gender no longer played a significant role, likely a consequence of the feminist movement and increased representation in universities (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996).

Research addressing other variables has determined that activists tend to be young (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996). However, samples were often drawn from college campuses (as mentioned above) which tend to be populated by younger age groups. In addition, availability has been confounded with age, as youths are more likely to be unemployed, and unencumbered with children, spouses, or economic responsibilities (Petrie, 2004).

Parental influences have been identified as significant in protest activities, although the correlation is tenuous, being associated with political identification, socioeconomic class, religion, and education (Sherkat and Blocker, 1994; Petrie, 2004). Politically oriented parents will socialize their children to favour political participation (Sherkat and Blocker, 1994). However, parents who have a higher socioeconomic status will tend to be more politically oriented. In addition, higher socioeconomic status increases the likelihood of pursuing elective education, while political orientation is correlated with the chosen educational discipline (Petrie, 2004). Finally, political orientation, social class, and educational attainment are correlated with religious orthodoxy (Sherkat and Blocker, 1994). Therefore, analyzing those variables individually, as early research attempted to do (Sherkat and Blocker, 1993), is faulty and misleading.

A final variable that was addressed in the attempt to determine who engages in civil disobedience was identified by Sulloway (1996). In *Born to Rebel*, he presented the controversial claim that later-born individuals were more prone to rebellion than their older siblings were. According to Sulloway, there is a historical trend toward conformity amongst firstborns and a rejection of the status quo by later-borns. Multiple researchers

have applied that hypothesis to groups of activists. Although some support was found amongst college students arrested in labour disputes (Zweigenhaft and von Ammon, 2000), follow up research produced contradictory results (Zweigenhaft, 2002). Freese and colleagues (1999) have advanced tentative explanations for the discrepancy, including a decline in the privileged position of firstborns, flawed historical samples that were composed of the social and economic elite, and changes in social expectations toward firstborns.

Therefore, the question of who engages in civil disobedience is still open to debate. Although several characteristics have been identified, replication has proven to be difficult. Perhaps the error in the early research was the assumption that there is such a thing as a 'typical' activist. Thus, the better question may not be *who* engages in civil disobedience but, rather, *why* do people engage in civil disobedience. The answer to that question depends on the decade of study (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000; Wright et al., 1990; Cable et al., 1988).

2.1.2 The 70s, 80s, and now – Psychological and social processes, resources and recruitment (the 'why' question). *As summarized by Hodwitz (2006).*

Research in the 1970s began to move beyond a focus on demographic characteristics and settled instead on the study of attitudes, values, and decision-making processes (Cable et al., 1998). That research also grew from single-person units of analysis, to include group-based samples. The consequence of that change in interest was a plethora of both short-lived and enduring theories (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000).

Moving beyond such external characteristics as class, gender, and education, person-based theories in the 1970s and 1980s began to reflect psychological and

decision-making processes (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). Focusing first on internal locus of control, researchers then moved onto investigating how a sense of political efficacy may play a role in protest participation. As noted by Sherkat and Blocker (1994), without a sense of efficacy, collective action or protest participation would be irrational. Therefore, the examination of a sense of efficacy, whether personal or political, has pervaded the research ever since as an influential variable in the decision-making process (Passy and Giugni, 2001; Lubell, 2002).

Another person-based theory that enjoyed brief popularity was frustration-aggression theory (Dollard et al., 1939, as cited by Berkowitz, 1988). It posited that individuals seek equilibrium and, when dissatisfied or frustrated, will take action to reinstate balance (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). However, empirical research with trade unions has not succeeded in finding a correlation between frustration and action (Klandermans, 1992). In addition, the frustration-aggression theory was not applied to any additional social justice group (i.e.: women's rights, civil rights) other than labour groups (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000).

Although some of those individual-based theories are still popular today, it has been noted that they tend to ignore the importance of social context and will reduce the probability of participation to a simple cost-benefit analysis or an isolated decision-making process (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). Group-based theories attempted to address the issue by looking at collective dynamics and group identities. Those factors include relative deprivation theory (Grant and Brown, 1995), social identity theory (Wright et al., 1990), self categorization theory (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000), collective

interest models (Lubell, 2002), and resource mobilization theory (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996).

Relative deprivation theory has received a fair amount of attention from academics and researchers (Grant and Brown, 1995; De La Rey and Raju, 1996; Guimond and Dube-Simard, 1983; Crosby, 1976). The theory addresses an individual's perceptions of inequality between him or herself and others, which can result in dissatisfaction and frustration (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). An early distinction was made between egotistic and collective relative deprivation (originally egoistic and fraternal, respectively), the former referring to interpersonal comparison while the latter addressed intergroup comparison (De La Rey and Raju, 1996). It was determined that feelings of dissatisfaction resulting from perceptions of inequality were significantly related to actions and attitudes that supported social change (Cook et al., as cited by Grant and Brown, 1995: 196). Empirical results also indicated that collective relative deprivation had a stronger correlation with collective action than egoistic relative deprivation (Crosby, 1976). In terms of civil disobedience, the theory would be best applied to research focused on social justice issues such as gender, ethnic and economic equality. Political or social minority groups would likely be subject to feelings of collective relative deprivation, resulting in the civil rights movements, squatter's protests, and civil dissent relating to socialized medicine, financial assistance, and equal opportunity.

Two additional popular theories that are often paired with others included social identity theory and self-categorization theory (Grant and Brown, 1995; Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). Social identity theory is often combined with relative deprivation theory.

In the empirical context, personal identity refers to the characteristics and self-descriptions that the individual considers personally unique, while social identity is the sense of self acquired through identification with a group (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). Social identity theory assumes that individuals will attempt to maintain a sense of self-esteem related to group membership. Collective action results when members of a group perceive themselves to be the subjects of inequality or deprivation (Wright et al., 1990). Social identity theory, much like relative deprivation theory, would be better applied to minority issues and structural and institutional inequality. While relative deprivation depends on group comparison and the finding that one's own group does not share the same advantages as others, self-identity theory involves an assessment, rather than comparison, of the structural or institutional standing of the group that an individual identifies with. In that context, social and political minorities may feel that those they identified with as brethren are subject to discrimination.

As for self-categorization theory, it is often paired with social identity theory (Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). Self-categorization theory assumes that an individual becomes depersonalized when socially identifying with group members. The individual will then begin to see him or herself as similar to other group members and will act in concert with them. If group identity is threatened, responses can include collective action, depending on the degree of group identification. Research with trade unions has demonstrated that the levels of group identity correlate strongly with a disposition to engage in collective action.

The collective interest model is an addition to a cost-benefit analysis mode of decision-making. The theory posits that individuals will engage in collective actions

when they perceive or expect a positive outcome (Lubell, 2002). The expected value will be assessed through weighing the impact that personal participation will have on the outcome, the overall value to the well-being of the public, and the personal costs and benefits of participation. A study conducted on local communities in New York provided support for the theory, demonstrating that a sense of self-efficacy, an awareness of collective benefits, and an assessment of personal costs do appear to play a role in the decision to engage in civil disobedience.

A final group-based theory looked at exclusion and social response. According to resource mobilization theory, politically excluded groups will resort to collective action in order to gain influence and resources (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996). Once resources and political influence are realized, those groups will be supportive of political protest and other social movement action. In addition, they will now have a “generalized action potential” (willingness to engage in collective action) that can translate into various types of protest (p. 184).

The most recent trend in the research focuses on factors that relate to recruitment for movement participation (McAdam and Paulsen, 1993). Included here are organizational ties, pre-existing relations with the recruiter, and methods of communication (Fisher et al., 2005; Passy and Giugni, 2001). Academic opinion has been in favour of the importance of strong ties, pre-established associations, and technological advances in modern communication. However, the recruitment aspect of civil disobedience has not been expounded as thoroughly as the individual and group-based theories mentioned above.

Therefore, if the brief review has conveyed a message, it is that there is an abundance of theories that look at individual and group responses in the form of civil disobedience. Although some have disappeared from the roster of popular perspectives, others remain in the forefront of empirical research. However, an element has been missing in theoretical attempts to answer the question *why* people engage in civil disobedience. The missing element to date has been the analysis of external instigating factors that lead to the decision to engage in civil disobedience.

2.2 External instigating factors

The theories outlined above look at human response yet there is little to no mention to what people are responding. What conditions promote tolerance over opposition? When does the individual or the community decide that protest is necessary? What environmental factors contribute to the escalation of opposition? Civil disobedience is the consequence of several sets of variables: psychological, social, and demographic characteristics that are studied extensively; and an *external instigating factor* (an event or situation) that is perceived as threatening, unjust, or destructive. The present study focuses on the multidimensional nature and influence of one such factor on the decision to engage in civil disobedience; it will look at the influence of the increasing presence of dimensions of threat. The present study adopts Almeida's (2003) definition of threat: the potential for the revocation of existing benefits or the infliction of new harms on the individual or the collective.

3: Threat as an external instigating factor

As the research reviewed in the previous section illustrates, the role of threat is largely overlooked by academics attempting to isolate relationships among factors relating to the decision to partake in civil disobedience. There is not an absolute absence of consideration of threat, however; Boyanowsky (1993) created a predictive model that outlined factors that lead to tolerance or opposition in communities threatened by corporate or government interests (see Figure 1). He predicted that mutual interests between corporations and the government lead to practices and policies that may result in job loss and health risks for the general public (although that was not the intended consequence). As those risks and losses increase and become immediate, the public would move from tolerance of the situation to opposition. That could ultimately result in civil disobedience, which would become increasingly violent as the community crisis became more severe (as the intensity and proximity of the threat increased). Therefore, Boyanowsky broke away from the traditional focus on psychological and demographic variables when he predicted that threat was a causal factor of civil disobedience.

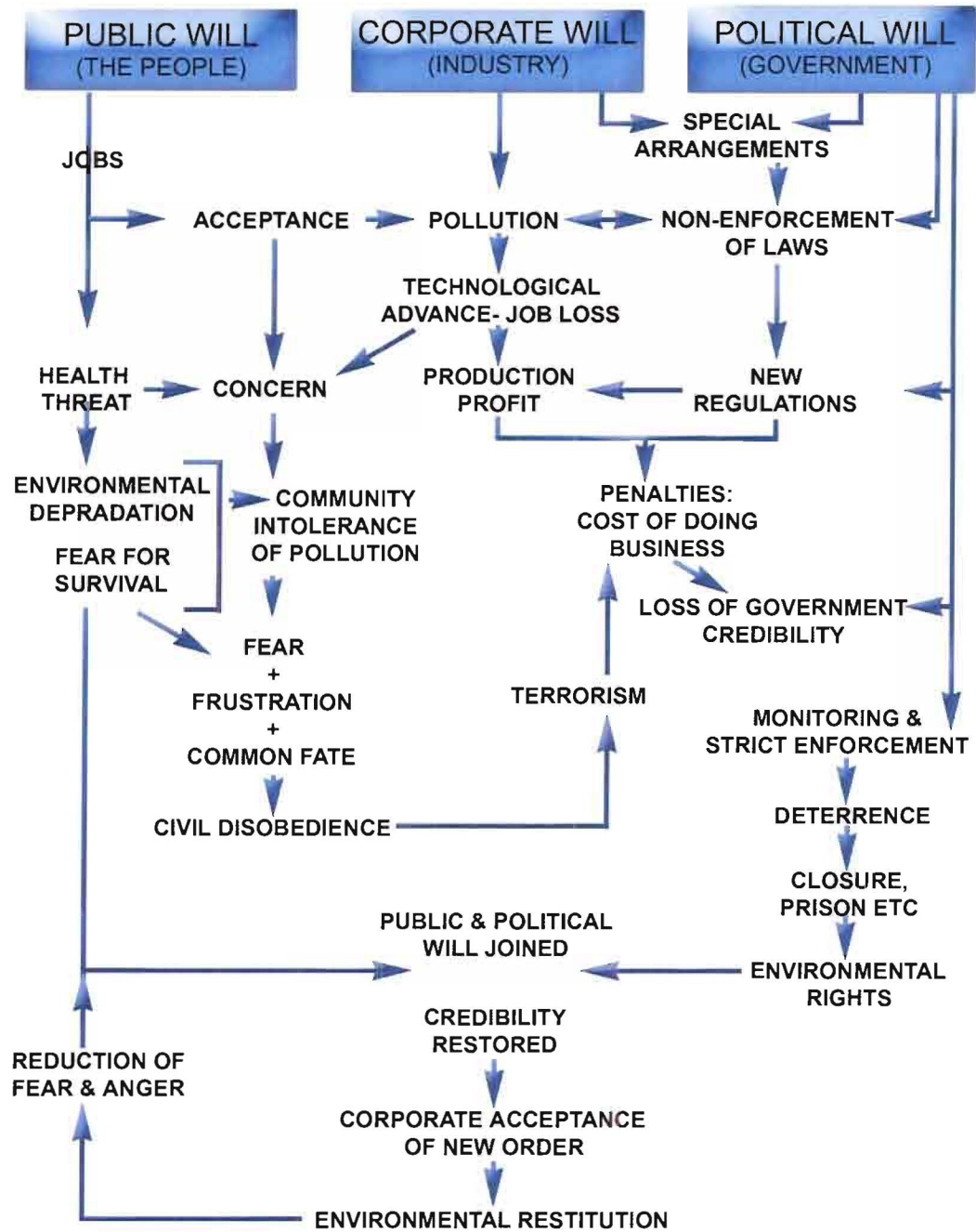


Figure 1 Boyanowsky (1993). Model of community response to environmental pollution.

Although the perceived threat of external motivating incidents is not included in the literature on civil disobedience, it is included in the context of other research that supports Boyanowsky's (1993) model. For example, Slovic (1993) notes that perceptions of risk will become amplified when confronted with events that have long reaching consequences, such as pollution, and Wandersman and Hallman (1993) argue that risk perception is a major influence on community response to environmental threats. This research indicates that health and economic concerns take community priority when confronted with hazardous waste. Evans and Cohen (1987, as cited by Brown, 1988: 121), while investigating stress associated with environmental concerns, find that the individual's perception of harm facilitates the coping response utilized. Lazarus and Cohen (1977, as cited by Brown, 1988: 121) present a model that outlines three potential coping responses, including information-seeking, palliative activity, and direct action or protest. Forsyth and colleagues (2004) present an awareness-appraisal model that demonstrates that responses to pollution and environmental degradation are determined by their awareness of threat and their appraisal of how intense the threat is and how it will affect them. To summarize all of those approaches: when faced by a negative external instigating factor, individuals and communities may identify the prospective risks that will promote a response that may take the form of direct action protest or civil dissent.

Although some researchers provide results that indicate the influential nature of threat, there is no in-depth analysis of the multidimensional nature of threat and the impact/influence those different dimensions may have on community and individual response. Addressing that dimensional nature requires consideration of numerous

different variables. One such variable is whether the salience of the threat manifests itself in a micro or macro form (i.e.: whether the threat is directed specifically towards the individual or is removed through a degree of relationship from the individual). Another variable is the timing of threat; is it an immediate issue or one that will manifest with certainty within a set period (i.e.: whether the threat is related to immediate health risks or certain impending health risks). In addition, the affected social unit needs to be addressed: whether the threat is directed at an individual, a smaller group with a shared identity, the larger community with shared geographical, social, or political interests, or the global community.

3.1 Multidimensional nature of threat: Research questions and hypotheses

The following study investigates factors relating to external incidents hypothesized to play a role in the decision to commit civil disobedience. Specifically, the current study addresses various dimensions of the variable of threat. Although threat may be correlated with the decision to engage in civil disobedience (Hodwitz, 2006, Wandersman and Hallman, 1993, Slovic, 1993, Boyanowsky, 1993), threat comprises various dimensions that may or may not have a significant role in that correlation. The goal of this research is to identify the dimensions of threat that have a significant relationship to decisions to commit increasingly violent acts of civil disobedience; specifically, a) is the timing of the threat significant? b) is the social unit affected by the threat significant? and c) is the saliency of the threat significant? If any or all of those potential relationships prove significant, the nature of that relationship (positive, negative, or curvilinear) is also of interest. Finally, do demographic and psychological

variables (such as gender or sense of concern) still play a key role in activist identification and behaviours?

3.1.1 Demographic and psychological characteristics

Hypothesis one: There is no significant relationship between demographic characteristics and sample group placement¹ or behavioural response.

Although previous research indicates significant differences in gender, age, and education when compared to activist identification or behaviours (Barnes and Kaase, 1979, McAdam, 1992; Petrie, 2004; Sherkat and Blocker, 1994; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996), it is hypothesized that those differences will disappear, given current changes in political, social, and educational opportunities for women, ethnic minorities, and low income individuals. Previous research was conducted during a time when equality was more of a distant aspiration, rather than an applied reality. That likely reflected who participated in legal and illegal protests.

Hypothesis two: Psychological variables do not have a significant relationship with sample group placement but do have a significant relationship with behavioural response.

The central theme to the hypothesis is that it is not psychological variables that differentiate activists from non-activists, but external instigating factors, such as threat, that fulfill the causal role. Psychological components are intervening variables only: the nature and saliency of the threat and the unit affected by the threat are the causal variables, while the recognition and comprehension of the threat (psychological

¹ Sample group placement refers to self-reported activist history. See chapter 4 for description.

variables) contribute to the response. To put it simply, the type and nature of the threat determines how the individual will assess it and choose to respond to it. Therefore, it is not the psychological characteristics of the individual that will determine whether he or she is an activist, it is the threat that the individual faces and the cognitive assessment that threat produces that will determine behaviour.

3.1.2 Saliency of threat (proximity and intensity): Micro and macro

Hypothesis three: As the threat moves from micro-level (intense and proximate) to macro-level (moderate and distant) in relation to immediate relevance to the individual's personal surroundings and day-to-day living, the willingness to engage in civil disobedience decreases. That trend will be demonstrated by projected behaviours moving from violent, to nonviolent, to passive (or conventionally political) in nature.

Although numerous studies have investigated the willingness of individuals and communities to respond to various campaigns (Cable et al., 1988; Stefanik, 2001; Kahn, 1989; Wilkes, 2006), there is a noticeable lack of attention paid to the nature of the issues addressed. Saliency is essentially the question of proximity and intensity. Does willingness to engage increase or decrease with the degree of saliency of the issue to the individual or group under study? Existing research supports the hypothesis that micro issues (or intense and proximate threat) will promote increased willingness to engage in forms of civil disobedience while macro threat (moderate and distant in impact) will decrease willingness. That same trend should be evident in the nature of the chosen behaviour; there should be a decrease in willingness to engage in violence as the issue moves from micro to macro. For the purposes of this study, violence is defined as the intentional use of force, resulting in harm to person or property.

Although existing research does not directly address the question of whether the saliency of the threat will promote willingness to respond, there are studies that provide some indication of that relationship. Williams (1996) discusses environmental victimization of such groups as the Ogani people in Nigeria and those affected by Bhopal and his findings suggest that micro environmental victimization (meaning that the threat is proximate and intense for the individual) and the resulting injury represents a form of violence. As such, he posits that victim responses will also be violent. He notes a pattern that occurs when faced with salient environmental threat; the victim will move from passivity to confrontation. Van Dyke (2003) investigates factors that facilitate protest amongst college students, including factors relating to threat. He concludes that threat is an important mobilizing variable, but that locally proximate (micro) threat, in particular, serves as an inspiration for coalition building within movements. Seguin and colleagues (1998:631) cite research results from several studies that provide support for their conclusion that the nature of the behaviour demonstrated depends on the saliency of the environmental threat. They take note of Baldassare and Katz (1992, as cited by Seguin et al., 1998: 632) who demonstrate that the individuals and communities that perceive the threat as an intense risk to their health are more likely to display a violent response. Miller and Krosnick (2004) studied the relationship between threat and political activism; they conclude that individuals directly faced with political threat are likely to become more prone to utilize responsive behaviours. McKenzie-Mohr and colleagues (1992) determined that the perception of threat is an important variable in the decision to engage in civil disobedience, as demonstrated by peace activists protesting nuclear disarmament. Baxter (1997) conducted interviews with activists within her community. In her search

to identify variables that differentiate activists from non-activists, Baxter determined that direct victimization (threat) based on ethnicity, sexual orientation, and able-bodiedness is a key instigator. One of the most persuasive studies comes from Brody and colleagues (2004). They conducted a study investigating whether proximity to environmental issues (polluted streams) affected the level of concern and awareness demonstrated by local residents. They obtained results indicating that proximity directly influences levels of concern, even when controlling for demographic and psychosocial variables.

None of the above-mentioned studies were conducted in such a way as to allow definitive conclusions that as threat moves from micro to macro in proximity and intensity, the resulting behaviour will become less violent and more passive; however, the research does provide a base upon which to build the hypothesis. In addition, the hypothesis is supported by analysis of historical responses to threat. A review of community response to issues that decrease in proximity and intensity will demonstrate that relationship. The Love Canal protest illustrates the micro threat and Clayoquot Sound protests illustrate the macro threat.

Micro-level threat. The Love Canal crisis illustrates how community perceptions of the nature of the issue, particularly the proximity of threat and its intensity, in relation to health and livelihood, can influence collective response to destructive or unjust incidents, producing increasingly violent forms of civil disobedience. The Love Canal crisis rose from a series of historical corporate and municipal actions (Stone and Levine, 1985). Between 1942 and 1952, Hooker Chemical Ltd. disposed of 22,000 tons of chemical compound residue in the Love Canal located in Niagara Falls, New York. It was

covered over, sold to the Niagara Falls School Board for one token dollar, and an elementary school was opened on the site in 1955 (Levine and Stone, 1986). A neighbourhood developed in the surrounding area and, by the mid-1970s, the residents began to notice that chemicals were leaching from the site. In 1978, the Department of Health began to take blood samples and review medical records. Toxic chemicals were found in some of the homes, residents showed chromosome damage, and miscarriage rates were determined to be abnormally high (Stone and Levine, 1985). Residents began to perceive threats to their health and their homes.

Before long, the governor of New York informed residents living closest to the disposal site that they could move out and be compensated for the loss of their houses (Stone and Levine, 1985). Although that response gave a momentary reprieve to collective stress, perceptions of threat re-emerged as citizens began to suspect that the government was not going to do anything further to address risk to health and home. It was within that context that the Love Canal Homeowners Association (LCHA) was formed. Beyond legal responses, such as making phone calls and writing letters, the activists also engaged in illegal actions that led to several arrests. In one particularly desperate move, activists held two Environmental Protection Agency representatives hostage for several hours in order to draw attention to the crisis (New York State Department of Health, 1981).

Interviews and surveys conducted with the LCHA activists illustrated that, compared to non-activists from the Love Canal community, they reported worse health, described feeling greater threat to the safety of their homes, and had less faith in corporate and political promises of clean-up (Stone and Levine, 1985). The progression

of events surrounding the Love Canal crisis and the perceptions of those that were willing to take direct action provide support for the claim that threat to health and livelihood associated with external motivating incidents facilitates civil disobedience. The Love Canal case study also suggests that the degree of threat (chromosome damage, miscarriage, loss of home) predicts the intensity of response (hostage taking).

Macro-level threat. The protests that happened in Clayoquot Sound, when compared to the Love Canal Crisis, represent a step back from both the saliency of the threat and the type of response displayed. Those protests represent a response to a macro issue, one that does not directly affect the individual or community, but still has consequences on all involved parties over time and through degrees of separation. As predicted, the subsequent response is one that illustrates dramatically reduced levels of violence when compared to the Love Canal protests.

In 1993, British Columbia's Premier, Mike Harcourt, approved logging plans for half of Clayoquot Sound's 262,000 hectares of temperate rainforest, located on the west coast of Vancouver Island (CBC Archives, 1993). Clayoquot Sound has some of the rarest stands of old growth temperate rainforest in the world and environmentalists saw Harcourt's political move as a threat to the biodiversity of the planet and to the species that depended on Clayoquot Sound for survival. Very few people lived in or near Clayoquot Sound and proposed logging activity would not immediately affect local or provincial residents, with the exceptions of those few residents and the affected loggers.

Activists responded by setting up active road blockades that halted logging operations (CBC Archives, 1993). The standoff between loggers and environmentalists

continued for several months and, by the end of the summer of 1993, over 850 activists had been arrested. It was estimated that more than 10,000 individuals attended the protest, although no violent incidents were reported.

Clayoquot Sound demonstrated that, even within a macro-level issue, threat is still tangible and promotes civil disobedience, but it does not provoke the same level of violence or law-breaking that the micro-level issue promotes. Many of individuals who responded to the Clayoquot threat were either Canadians or West Coast U.S. citizens. That is not a surprising development, as those are the communities that would interpret logging activities as most threatening. Those are the populations that would have greatest access to the Sound and would feel the greatest loss if it were destroyed. Ecotourism in that area depends on Clayoquot Sound retaining its natural beauty. If the biodiversity were to be compromised, it would undermine a large part of the local communities' economic base. In addition, logging practices on the West Coast have an impact on fish stocks that can also affect local livelihoods. Therefore, the threat was real, but it was removed in intensity and proximity from the individuals that actively sought to protest it.

The Love Canal and Clayoquot Sound provide a clear illustration that as the saliency of the issue, or the proximity and intensity of the threat, diminish as it moves from micro to macro, there is a consequent lessening in willingness to engage in violent forms of civil disobedience. While the Love Canal residents were willing to utilize such tactics as hostage taking, the protesters at Clayoquot Sound were not willing to use violence, although they were willing to put themselves through extended discomfort and potential arrest. Therefore, the present study will determine whether the relationship

between nature of issue and willingness to engage in increasingly violent forms of protest is significant and valid.

3.1.3 Timing of threat: Immediate and certain eventuality

Hypothesis four: As the timing of the consequences of the threat increases from immediate threat to certain yet impending threat, there is an opposing decrease in willingness to engage in civil disobedience. That trend will be demonstrated by projected behaviours moving from violent, to nonviolent, to passive or (conventionally political) in nature.

Timing of threat refers to the form that the threat takes in relation to the immediate physical reality of the individual. Immediate threat includes threats that are occurring in the present time. Eventual threats are those that do not have an immediate impact on the individual, but there is certainty that the threat will affect the individual (or future generations) at a future date.

Although isolated empirical assessments have highlighted the importance of selective incentives including those of a material, moral, and social nature (Passy and Giugni, 2001), there appears to be a dearth of studies regarding whether the timing of threat affects the response of individuals and community members. There are, however, some limited empirical results that provide a basis for a hypothesis.

While testing four potential mediating variables affecting activist behaviours, Seguin and colleagues determined that perceptions of health risks (immediate threat) influenced protest behaviours and was the variable that had the greatest significance. Renfro and others (2006) assessed the impact that two forms of threat, realistic (immediate) and symbolic (eventual) threat, had on affirmative action. Their results

indicated that realistic threat was a significant predictor of positive attitude towards affirmative action, whereas threat to beliefs that would manifest itself in future consequences (i.e.: eternal soul) was not significantly correlated with positive attitude.

Those limited research results do not address the impact of eventual threat on civil dissent. They do, however, indicate that threat to immediate well being (health, home, and livelihood) is significantly related to civil disobedience. That trend is also apparent on documented responses to varying timing of threat, as illustrated by the Oka Crisis and post-Oka Crisis².

Immediate threat. In 1990, near Oka, Quebec, Mohawk First Nation representatives from the Kanesatake Reserve learned that the township had made plans to expand an existing golf course onto land that the Mohawk claimed was theirs (Wilkes, 2006). Although they tried to halt the plans through negotiation, those tactics failed. Representatives escalated their methods and erected a blockade that resulted in a 15-minute long exchange of gunfire with provincial police, killing one officer. The protesters were willing to engage in fire play to protect their lands. The standoff lasted for 78 days, at which point the Canadian government called in the army to restore order (CBC Archives, 1990).

Certain eventual threat. The aftermath of the Oka crisis presents a protest environment where the threat is eventual (Oka set a legal precedence of crackdown on controversial land claims). Although Mohawk First Nations representatives joined in the Oka conflict

² It is important to note that the hypothesis is not predictive of the outcome of the conflict but, rather, the level and degree of participation with which dissenters will respond. Although a conflict may turn aggressively violent when the nature of the threat is eventual, it is hypothesized that outcome will be less likely to be instigated by protesters than if the threat is immediate.

in support of their local brethren, several communities in North America held protests following the conflict in recognition that the threat, although not directed at them specifically, was an issue that would come to eventually affect them in the future (Wilkes 2006). Follow up actions by other aboriginal communities across Canada included such tactics as ceremonies, public demonstrations, and nonviolent confrontations (Deleary, 1995). There were no incidents of aggression or violence linked to the immediate aftermath of the Oka crisis.

3.1.4 Social unit: Individual, local community, country, global community

Hypothesis five: As the most prominent reference group membership of the dissident moves from the individual, to the local community, the country, to the global community, there is a similar increase in willingness to engage in civil disobedience. That trend is demonstrated by projected behaviours moving from passive, to nonviolent, to violent in nature.

Social unit refers to the number of people who are affected by the threat and who are in a position to respond to it. Threat isolated to the individual and the collective can be similar in salience and in timing (such as threat to health), but can differ in the number of those affected by the threat. Response will alter based on the number of affected parties.

Previous research has shown that, when faced with threat, collectives of individuals tend to respond more strongly than independent individuals. Veenstra and Haslam (2000) determined that, in addition to the type of threat (i.e.: micro-level), group membership was a significant predictor of civil dissent. De La Rey and Raju (1996) argued that fraternal relative deprivation (viewing one's group as disadvantaged) had a

stronger correlation with protest orientation than egoistic relative deprivation (viewing oneself as disadvantaged). Passy and Guigni (2001) addressed social networks and the influence those have on protest participation. Their results demonstrated that tribal, or formal and informal ties (friendships and community memberships) increase the intensity of response from an individual. Hirsch (1990) introduced collective empowerment, or the bandwagon effect. According to that perspective, individuals who may partake in protest will become motivated to do so when they see others within their local or global collective responding to threat. That is, perhaps, a consequence of social facilitation; an effect that the presence of others may have on an individual's participation and performance, depending on the audience and the difficulty of the task (Yantz and McCaffrey, 2007). Flaherty (2003) discussed terrorist affiliations and posited that violent responses to threat escalate when that sense of threat is shared with an entire group, rather than independently. The community may transmit that sense of victimization and subsequent willingness to respond through following generations.

The research discussed above does not definitively indicate that a global collective is more willing to engage in increasingly violent forms of civil disobedience. However, it indicates that, due to such factors as collective empowerment, generational transmission, and collective identity, there is a significant likelihood that as group membership increases, so too does willingness to respond to threat in an increasingly violent manner.

3.2 Interplay of dimensions

If the results support those five hypotheses, further analysis may be undertaken to determine whether the relationship is partly or wholly determined by demographic

characteristics. If, however, the relationship continues to maintain significance when demographic variables are controlled for, it will reveal which other situational combination of variables is most predictive of violent civil disobedient response. Such results may facilitate developing a model of instigating factors that predict violent response to environmental or social issues.

4: Methodology

4.1 Participants

This study examines the relationship between external instigating incidents and engagement in civil disobedience. Data were gathered through the administration of a questionnaire survey to two groups: activists and non-activists. The study focused on civil disobeyers as well as representatives of the general population for two reasons. First, early theorists hypothesized that there were differences between the two groups that relate to demographic and personal characteristics (McAdam, 1992; Petrie, 2004; Sherkat and Blocker, 1994; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996). However, those results are suspect due to potential errors in the data (i.e.: unrepresentative samples, trends of the era that have changed over time). By including both groups, the present study provides information on whether there are demographic or personal differences between civil disobeyers and the general population. Second, in addition to personal and demographic characteristics, including both groups also allowed for a comparison of responses in willingness to engage in civil disobedience, the form that it takes, and whether activists differ in their response to particular dimensions of threat from non-activists.

Activists were further broken down into four categories: armchair activist, lobbyist, nonviolent activist, and violent activist. Armchair activists care about issues and keep informed, but do not commit to any proactive measures other than signing petitions and writing letters. Lobbyists sign petitions and write letters, but also attend meetings, retain membership with activist groups, and may take part in legal

demonstrations. A nonviolent activist attends meetings, retains membership with activist groups, takes part in legal demonstrations, but also takes part in illegal nonviolent demonstrations (such as sit-ins, blockades, banner hangs, line crossings). Violent activists take part in illegal nonviolent demonstrations, but also take part in illegal violent demonstrations (breaking windows, committing arson, graffiti). Separating activists into different categories allowed for a more sensitive analysis of responses. Previous research has also supported similar divisions between individuals based on behavioural patterns (Singh, 1990). Analysis has determined that personality and behavioural response patterns differ between individuals who take a more conventional and passive role (nonviolent) and those who take a more radical and active role (violent) [Miller, 2006]. Therefore, it would be misleading to amalgamate all self-identified activists into a single category.

Participants were asked to identify themselves as an activist or a non-activist. If they selected the former, they were asked to self identify as one of the four categories. In addition to self-selection, participants were also asked to report any acts of protest in which they may have been involved, including letter writing, petition signing, legal and illegal demonstrations, as well as group membership. Self-reports of protest activities were included in order to confirm that participant self-selection of activist/non-activist identity were congruent with reported behaviours. If a discrepancy between reported behaviours and self-identification was found, reported behaviours were used to determine placement into a proper sample group.

Participants were recruited through various methods, depending on whether they were activists or members of the general public. Ethical requirements excluded any

possible participation from within the researcher's sphere of acquaintances. Given that some questions on the survey required self-disclosure of previous illegal activities (i.e.: if participants self identified as nonviolent or violent activists), the researcher was vulnerable to potential subpoena. In light of that, there was a possibility that the researcher could identify personal acquaintances based on demographic data. As a consequence, activist participants were recruited through "snowball" sampling with one or more degrees of separation. That is, acquaintances of the researcher were asked to help recruit activists that were not previously known to the researcher.

For members of the general public (non-activists, for the most part), recruitment was through convenience sampling; individuals were approached and asked if they would like to participate in a survey questionnaire. Primary locations for recruitment included airports, bus stations, coffee shops, and public parks. In addition, participants from the general public were recruited from several university and college campuses in North America (Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, as well as Fordham University in the Bronx, New York, United States). Participants were also recruited from Western Europe, although recruitment was sparse at that time, as ethical guidelines were still being established when European data was scheduled to be gathered. Ethical requirements did not allow for recruitment from Asian countries where legal repercussions for self-reporting violent activities could be more severe.

4.2 Procedure

Participants were solicited between January and August of 2008. In an effort to provide a representative sample, the researcher travelled throughout North America and

Western Europe gathering data. Members of the general population were approached in various settings in order to gather data from a variety of individuals (various socioeconomic backgrounds, activity patterns, cultural groupings, and personal habits). Individuals were approached by the investigator in both airports and low-cost bus stations; in popular coffee shops and gas station eateries; in public parks and libraries, as well as universities. When approached, members of the general public were invited to take part in the questionnaire; if they agreed, they were then asked if they would like to relocate to some place less crowded or would prefer to stay where they were currently located. At that point, they were informed that their participation was voluntary, confidential, and that they were able to withdraw at any point. They were given a consent form to read that outlined the risks and, after reading through the form, were asked if they still wished to participate. If so, they were then administered the questionnaire which, once completed, was placed in a folder with a minimum of a dozen completed questionnaires so that their personal responses would not be known to the researcher.

Activists were approached somewhat differently than members of the general public. The researcher contacted known activists from within her own community and asked to have those acquaintances communicate to other activists that their participation in a questionnaire would be appreciated and would be a contribution to the scientific community. Respondents contacted the researcher directly and a meeting was coordinated during that first contact. Once at the meeting with the researcher, activist participants were then treated as members of the general public (they were given the option to relocate, given the consent form and asked to read it, and they were informed

that their participation was voluntary, confidential, and that they may withdraw at any point).

There were several downfalls to that selection process; the first is that the data were not gathered through random sampling. However, given the nature of the ideal participant base (four groups of activists and one group of non-activists), random sampling would not have provided the number of participants for each category needed in order to do a significant comparison. Random sampling could have been conducted within the activist community, but that would have dramatically increased the chances of including participants personally known to the researcher and, therefore, violating ethical requirements. Given the strict participant requirements placed on the researcher by the Research Ethics Board and given that activists belong to a small community and are difficult to access, snowball and convenience sampling were required.

A further downfall relating to recruitment procedures was the North American-centric participant base. The study was undertaken with the ideal of recruiting participants from North America, Europe, and Asia. As mentioned previously, Asia was excluded as an option by the Research Ethics Board. In addition, while European data were scheduled to be gathered, ethical requirements were still in the process of being established. Therefore, the study contains only limited European data and no Asian data. However, the participant base includes participants of Asian descent, many of whom were raised in Asian countries and only recently acquired citizenship within North America or Europe. In addition, some academics have noted the similarities between European and North American social movements, dispelling the long-standing tradition of separating the two groups, particularly in relation to activist movements (Guigni,

2002). Although that does not eradicate the issues involved with having minimal European data, it does minimize the need to get comparable numbers of participants from that region.

4.3 Questionnaire

The general format of each questionnaire was a division between two sections: a) a hypothetical scenario followed by a series of questions and b) demographic characteristics and personal history of protest activities. There were, however, 16 versions of the questionnaires in total, each serving to test a different level of a dimension of threat (saliency had two levels, timing had two levels, and social unit had four levels, to create a 2x2x4 design). Each questionnaire began with a uniform description of mercury production, mercury dissemination into the environment, and potential health consequences based on prolonged exposure (see Appendix A). The uniform description was followed by a hypothetical scenario that differed subtly based on the dimension targeted for manipulation (see Appendix B). Participants were then asked a series of questions addressing their interpretations of the level of hypothetical threat and their chosen response to that particular scenario. Each question was followed by a 7-point Likert scale (for interpretations of threat) or a range of chosen responsive behaviours varying from no response (to opt to do nothing in the face of threat) to violent response (see Appendix C).

The second section of the questionnaire was designed to gather demographic data (see Appendix C). That served several purposes. Primarily, statistical analysis of those characteristics would determine if results were partially or fully explained by participant demographics, rather than by the manipulation of the variable, and would

allow for the control of those demographic characteristics. In addition, that created the opportunity to reassess early results that indicated activists were young and educated males (McAdam, 1992; Sherkat and Blocker, 1993; Sulloway, 1996; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996; Petrie, 2004). Those early results were suspect due to potential errors in the data (i.e.: unrepresentative samples, trends of the era that have changed over time).

Each participant was required to read a consent form and orally agree to participate in the research (see Appendix D). Data gathering was halted for several months in order to establish and accommodate ethical requirements. One of those requirements was that, as a further measure of anonymity, participants were not required to sign a consent form but, rather, simply to acknowledge voluntary participation. In addition, the consent form needed to state that the data gathered were potentially subject to subpoena. The reasons for those precautions were two-fold. One question in the demographics section related to self-reported dissident activities, both nonviolent and violent. In addition, the range of possible behaviours that participants were able to select from when presented with hypothetical scenarios included violent responses. The consent form, as a result, was carefully crafted in order to contain all valid information relevant for the participant, given that the data included reports of potentially illegal activities, both hypothetical and actual. Those alterations to the consent form and revisions to the participant base (see above for details) led to ethical approval.

4.4 Variables

4.4.1 Independent Variables

Threat was the independent variable addressed in this study. The variable of threat was made up of three dimensions: saliency, timing, and social threat. Statistical analysis

was conducted on the variable, but it was also disaggregated in order to determine the significance of each individual dimension. Saliency comprised two levels (micro and macro), timing comprised two levels (immediate and eventual but certain threat), and social unit consisted of four levels (individual, local community, country and global community). The dimensions of threat were manipulated within the context of mercury poisoning. Saliency was tested through the degree of separation between the social unit and the mercury poisoning; the mercury could be in the staple supply of fish (one degree of separation from the participant or macro level) or already apparent in the individual's body (micro level). Timing was manipulated through the level of mercury concentration; mercury could be at near fatal levels (effects experienced with certainty in two years time) or already at fatal levels (effects experienced already). Social unit was manipulated through the indicated target of the threat; some participants were presented with scenarios that indicated they were experiencing mercury concentrations either in their own body or in their primary fish source, others received scenarios that indicated their local community, country, or global community were threatened either directly or through their food source.

4.4.2 Dependent Variables

The dependent variable in this study was self-reported chosen behaviour. Each participant was presented with nine possible behaviours that he or she could select as a response to exposure to various dimensions of threat. Behaviours increased in difficulty, illegality and violence, moving from choosing to do nothing, to researching the issue, raising awareness, organizing community groups, forming alliances, lobbying the government, legal protest, illegal nonviolent protest and, finally, illegal violent protest.

Although the behavioural breakdown may lack uniform consistency in progression from legal to illegal and nonviolent to violent, it was partially modelled upon an earlier scale created by Barnes and Kaase (1979) that reflected protest behaviours reminiscent of the 1960s and early 1970s. For the purposes of this study, their ten point behavioural scale was reduced to nine points. Several categories were revised or eliminated. The original scale consisted of the following behaviours: petitions, lawful demonstrations, boycotts, rent strikes, unofficial strikes, occupying buildings, blocking traffic, painting slogans, damaging property, and personal violence. The original scale had a heavy emphasis on union-related and other civil rights issues. The goal of the revised scale was greater inclusivity, providing for a wider range of response from a variety of activists and campaigns. The revised scale allowed participants to indicate that they would do nothing. It also included more conventional political behaviours, including researching the issue, raising awareness, joining community groups, forming alliances, and lobbying the government. Lawful demonstrations were renamed legal protest. Blocking traffic, occupying buildings, and unofficial strikes were renamed illegal nonviolent protest. Finally, personal violence was renamed illegal violent protest, which broadened the category to include painting slogans and damaging property. The revised scale was reordered (a new scale was built based on random selection of behaviours) and distributed to a third year university level criminology class. Students were asked to reorder the behaviours in perceived order of least to most difficult, violent, and illegal. Of the 23 respondents, 21 (91.3%) chose to reorder the scale as depicted by the questionnaire. The remaining two respondents indicated that they believed organizing

community groups required more commitment than forming alliances with other organizations. The final scale reflected the majority sequence.

4.4.3 Control Variables

There were several control variables incorporated into the study. Demographic characteristics were gathered, as were psychological responses. Demographic variables included age, gender, education, ethnicity, and country of residence. Age was an ordinal scale, starting at the age of 18 and broken into ten year intervals with the exception of age 58 and beyond which was amalgamated into one interval. Gender included three options: male, female, and a lack of gender identification (the latter category was included based on participant requests from previous survey research). However, that categorization was aggregated into a binary variable (male and female), given that no participants selected the third category. Education was split into six nominal categories, including some high school, completion of high school, some college or university, completion of college or university, postgraduate work, and trade school. Ethnicity was an open-ended question, but five nominal categories were created based on the responses: Caucasian, Asian, African, First Nations, and Hispanic/Latino. Country of residence was split into three regions, including Canada, the United States, and European Union.

Psychological control variables included reported sense of concern, reported sense of threat, the self-perceived necessity to respond to the scenario, and sense of being personally affected by the scenario. Information for each of the variables was gathered through the use of a 7-point Likert scale ranging from not at all (1) to very strongly (7).

The study consisted of two stages of data analysis. The first stage was the assessment of demographic and psychological characteristics and how they relate to

sample group placement (also referred to as activist orientation or activist identity). They were also assessed in relation to chosen behavioural response to threat. Cross-tabulations, measures of association, and chi square analyses were conducted on the variables. The measures were taken in order to test the hypothesis that demographic and psychological characteristics do not play a significant role in activist identity, and that demographic variables do not play a role in chosen response to threat.

The second stage of data analysis consisted of dichotomizing behaviour into discrete variables for the purposes of conducting logistical regression. All independent variables were analyzed in relation to two discrete measurements of behaviour in order to identify predictive relationships. Threat was recoded into the three main dimensions and analyzed alongside all previously mentioned control variables. The analyses were done in order to test the hypotheses that various dimensions of threat would have a significant relationship to extreme behaviours.

5: A descriptive and correlation analysis of threat and civil disobedience

5.1 Current study

The study consisted of 192 participants in total. 75 participants self-identified as male and 117 participants self-identified as female (39% and 61% respectively).

Although participants were given a third option of choosing not to self identify by gender, no one selected that option, so the gender variable was dichotomized.

The participants were clustered around the younger age groups. 72 participants (38%) indicated their age as being between 18 and 27 years old. That was likely due to the distribution of the measurement tool to three independent undergraduate classes. 34 participants (18%) were between 28 and 37 years old, while 35 participants (18%) were between 38 and 47 years old. 28 participants (15%) reported being between 48 and 57 years, while only 23 (12%) reported being 58 years of age or older.

There were only two missing responses and both of them related to ethnicity. Ethnicity was an open-ended question; responses led to five ethnic categories, including Caucasian, First Nations, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, and African ethnic heritage. The majority reported Caucasian ethnic heritage. In total, 124 respondents (65%) identified as Caucasian, eleven (6%) identified as First Nations, twelve (6%) were of a Hispanic/Latino background, 34 respondents (18%) were Asian, and the remaining nine participants (5%) were of African heritage. Given the low number of respondents for First Nations, Hispanic/Latino, and African heritage, ethnicity was dichotomized into

Caucasian (124 respondents or 65% of the sample) and non-Caucasian (66 respondents or 35% of the sample) categories. Although the dichotomy was unrepresentative of ethnic distribution in Western developed countries and was not as sensitive a measurement as originally planned, statistical analysis (chi square) required a set cell count and ethnic categories with low cell representation would have eliminated statistical validity.

Education was broken into six categories. The majority of the participants reported having some university or college education (97 participants or 51%) or having completed a university or college degree (49 participants or 26%). Only three participants (2%) had less than a high school diploma, while nine (5%) reported having only a high school diploma. 32 respondents (17%) had gone on to post-graduate work, while only two (1%) reported having finished trade school. Given the low number of trade school respondents and participants with less than high school education, those two categories were collapsed into other categories. Less than high school education and high school diploma were recoded into one category relabelled as high school education (12 respondents in total or 6% of the sample). Trade school and completion of college or university were recoded into one category labelled completion of post-secondary education (51 respondents or 27% of the sample).

Respondents were also asked to report on their country of residence. The majority of participants were from North America. 134 participants (70%) were, at the time of filling out the survey, residing legally in Canada. 43 respondents (22%) were legally residing in the United States. 15 respondents (8%) were from the European Union, including Germany, the United Kingdom, and France.

Respondents were asked to indicate their personal history relating to volunteer work, signing petitions, letter writing, legal and illegal nonviolent protest, as well as violent illegal response to threat. Respondents were separated into five groups based on those self-reported histories. 46 respondents (24%) qualified as non-activists, 34 (18%) qualified as armchair activists, while 67 (35%) reported behaviours that qualified them as lobbyists. 28 participants (15%) were nonviolent activists, while an additional 17 participants (9%) were violent activists.

The dependent variable (behavioural scale) comprised nine categories moving from levels of least to most difficulty, illegality, and violence. 14 respondents (7%) indicated that they would do nothing in the face of threat, 24 (13%) chose to research the issue, 24 (13%) chose to raise awareness, and seven respondents (4%) selected organizing community groups as their preferred response to threat. Five respondents (3 %) chose to form alliances with other community groups, while 16 participants (8%) indicated they would lobby the government. 51 participants (27%) would engage in legal protest, 44 respondents (23%) were willing to engage in illegal nonviolent action, while the remaining seven respondents (4%) were willing to engage in illegal violence when faced with threat. Given the low number of respondents for several of the categories, recoding for statistical analysis was necessary. The scale was collapsed into six categories: do nothing, educate yourself and others, organize with others to affect change locally and federally, legal protest, illegal nonviolent protest, and illegal violent protest. Do nothing consisted of the original 14 respondents (7%), while educating yourself and others was a recode of researching the issue and raising awareness (48 respondents or 25% of the sample). Organizing with others to affect change locally and federally was an

amalgamation of organizing community groups, forming alliances with other organizations, and lobbying the government (28 respondents or 15% of the sample). Legal protest, illegal nonviolent protest, and illegal violent protest remained the same; no recodes were conducted.

The variables described above can be utilized to determine if previous research that identified significant relationships between individual characteristics and activist behaviours is still relevant and valid.

5.2 Demographics: Validity and relevance

Early research was based on the assumption that there were inherent differences between activists and non-activists. The decade of study determined where those differences were thought to lie, whether in demographic characteristics in the 1960s and 1970s or in psychological traits in the 1970s and 1980s. The first question to be addressed in empirical study was ‘who is the activist’, or what demographic characteristics correlate with activism?

5.2.1 The relevance of old research results

Perhaps one of the most notable studies addressing the external characteristics question was the Political Action Survey conducted by Barnes and Kaase (1979). The study included five western developed nations (The Netherlands, Britain, the United States, Germany and Austria) and surveyed more than seven thousand participants. Demographic variables included age, gender, ethnicity, education, religion, and economic domain. The key dependent variable was political participation (dubbed political action for the purposes of their study), which was broken down into a ten point behavioural

scale of conventional and unconventional political activity. The key hypothesis underlying their research was that individual demographic differences existed between participants that were willing to engage in civil disobedience and those that were not.

Results from the Political Action Survey created a clear demographic profile. According to Barnes and Kaase (1979), activists were male. In addition, activists tended to be younger, although it is worth noting that data were gathered only a few years after forced enlistment was in effect for the Vietnam War which may have influenced willingness to take political action. Activists appeared to be well educated. Given their findings in relation to education, however, it is important to recognize that, in the 1970's, education was less accessible to lower income sectors, women, and ethnic minorities (McAdam, 1992; Petrie, 2004). Decreased enrolment in secondary and post secondary education was apparent in their study results; participants were split between primary only, high school, and university education (Barnes and Kaase, 1979). The scale does not reflect current educational assessments that recognize the increase in current educational accomplishments (Clotfelter et al., 1991). Finally, the researchers did not find any significant relationship between ethnicity and political activism.

Results from the Political Action Survey (Barnes and Kaase, 1979) point to the need to replicate research results, given the changes in political and social institutions since participants were surveyed. Although it may have been a unique and innovative study, its results are no longer applicable. Unfortunately, more recent studies have utilized the same data as the original study (Jenkins and Wallace, 1996); a practice that does nothing to reflect shifts in social and political values and activities.

Given the change in political and social values and practices, it is hypothesized that significant relationships between demographics, activist identity, and protest potential will disappear. A central theme to the current study is that the search for defining variables related to activist participation should not lie solely with demographic and psychosocial characteristics but should include, if not emphasize, external instigating factors, specifically threat.

Both activist orientation and chosen behavioural response are analyzed in relation to demographic characteristics (gender, age, education, country of residence, and ethnicity) to determine if there was a significant relationship. Each characteristic is cross-tabulated with activist orientation/identification (the five sample groups) and chosen behavioural response. Lambda and gamma tests of measures of association are conducted, and chi squares are computed.

Each demographic characteristic is analyzed as both an independent variable and as a control variable in relation to other demographic independent variables. Cell counts for chi square analysis require recoding of some demographic variables when applied as control variables. Therefore, as independent variables, education, age, and country of residence are analyzed as described previously, but are recoded when applied as a control. Education is dichotomized into high school and/or some college or university (57%) and completion of post-secondary and/or post-graduate work (43%) and age is dichotomized into 18-37 years of age (55%) and 38+ years of age (45%). Given the low number of European respondents, the country of residence is dichotomized into Canada and other countries. 134 respondents (70%) are from Canada while the remaining 58 respondents (30%) are amalgamated into one category.

5.2.1.1 Results

Cross-tabulation is conducted on gender and activist orientation, as well as behavioural response. Figures 2 and 3 display the results.

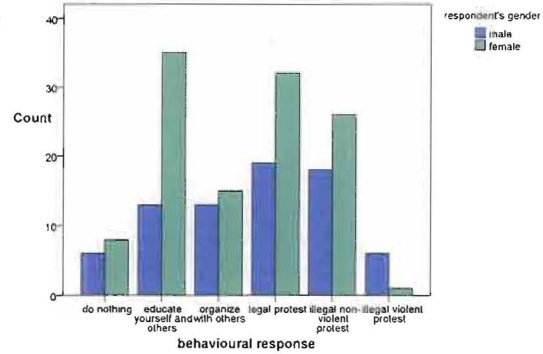
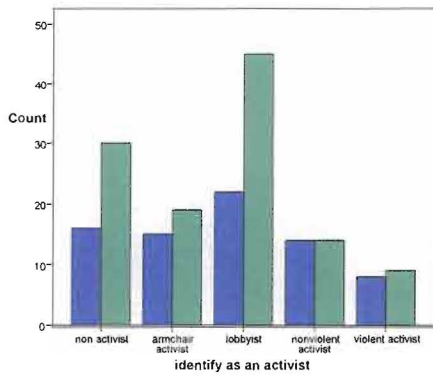


Figure 2 Cross-tabulation of gender and activist orientation.

Figure 3 Cross-tabulation of gender and chosen response.

Lambda values indicate no strength of association between gender and activist orientation, as well as gender and chosen behavioural response. Chi square values for gender and chosen behavioural response do not show a relationship³, $\chi^2(5, 192) = 10.150$, $p = .071$. Controlling for age, education, country of residence, and ethnicity do not influence the relationship. Comparable results are shown for gender and activist orientation; no significant relationship are demonstrated. Chi square values are as follows: $\chi^2(4, 192) = 3.674$, $p = .452$. Controlling for age, ethnicity, country or residence and education does not demonstrate a significant relationship. The results contradict earlier studies indicating a gender difference in protest potential (chosen behaviours) and activist identification.

³ For all results, the significance level is set at $p < .05$. Actual p values are reported but significance is determined based on that value.

Age is also analyzed in relation to chosen behavioural response and activist orientation. Analysis indicates that there is no significant relationship between age and identification as an activist and between age and behavioural response to threat. While age and identification as an activist has a positive gamma value of 0.076, chi square values indicate the relationship is not significant, $\chi^2(16, 192) = 22.189, p = .137$. Controlling for education, gender, country of residence and ethnicity does not demonstrate any spurious relationships among age, activist identification, and control variables. Gamma values of -0.027 indicate a negative relationship between age and behavioural response, but the relationship is not significant, $\chi^2(20, 192) = 22.266, p = .326$. Controlling for education, gender, country of residence, and ethnicity does not alter the relationship between age and behavioural response. These results contradict previous research that indicates a correlation between age and activist behaviours and identification.

Education is assessed in relation to chosen behavioural response, as well as activist orientation. Gamma values of 0.272 show a positive relationship between activist orientation and education. However, chi square results show that there is no significant relationship between the two variables, $\chi^2(12, 192) = 19.253, p = .083$. Controlling for age, country of residence, ethnicity and gender does not identify any spurious relationships. Chosen behavioural response and education have a positive gamma value of 0.139, but also lack significance, $\chi^2(15, 192) = 20.701, p = .147$. Controlling for gender, country of residence, and age does not produce any spurious relationships. However, non-Caucasian ethnic groupings do demonstrate significance as a control variable, although Caucasian respondents do not. As with the previous demographic characteristics, these results

contradict previous findings that indicate a significant relationship between protest potential and educational background.

Country of residence is analyzed in relation to activist grouping and chosen behavioural response. Figure 4 shows cross-tabulation results for country and activist grouping.

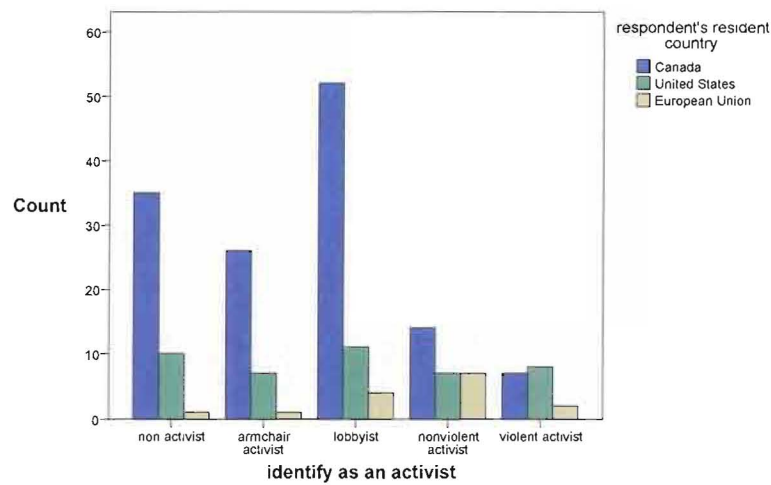


Figure 4 Cross-tabulation of resident country and activist orientation.

Results for country of residence show some significance; country of residence is significantly correlated with activist identification, but not with chosen behaviours. Lambda results for activist orientation and country of residence demonstrate strength of association of 0.022, while chi square results are as follows: $\chi^2(4, 192) = 15.332, p = .002$. The relationship maintains significance for males, but not for females. Controlling for age indicates that the relationship applies to the youngest age group (18-37 years of age), but not for the older age category. Caucasian respondents display significant results for

the country of resident and activist orientation, but non-Caucasian respondents do not. Education does not have a significant relationship. Therefore, although resident country is significantly related to activist identification, it only applies to young Caucasian males.

Unlike activist orientation, however, chosen response does not demonstrate a significant relationship with resident country. Lambda values are 0.045, while chi square values are as follows, $\chi^2(5, 192) = 7.306, p = .398$. Controlling for age, gender, ethnicity, and education does not alter the relationship.

Ethnicity is the final demographic characteristic analyzed in relation to activist orientation and chosen behavioural response. Figures 5 and 6 display cross-tabulation results.

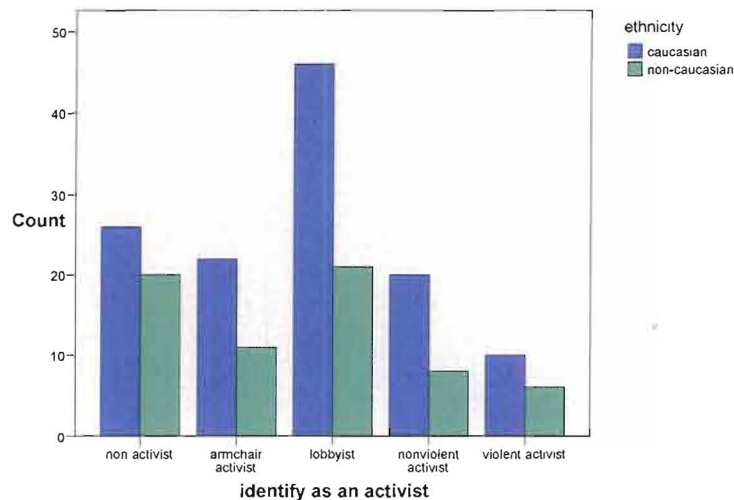


Figure 5 Cross-tabulation of ethnicity and activist orientation.

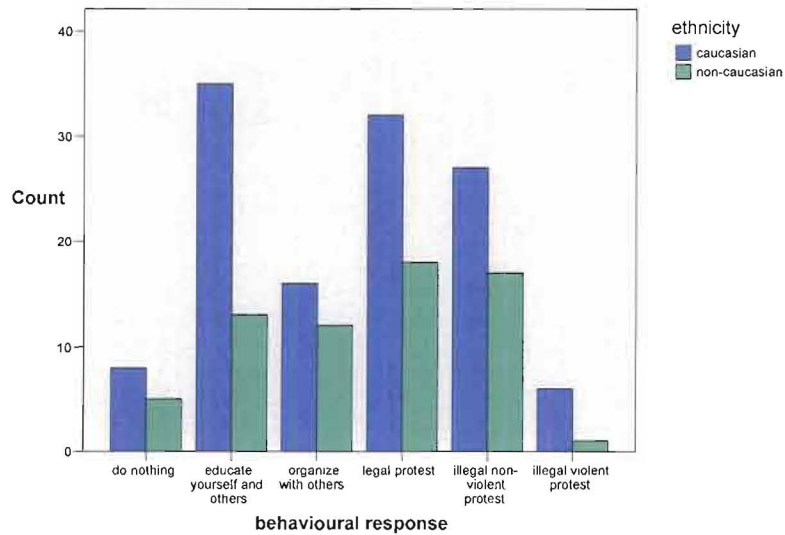


Figure 6 Cross-tabulation of ethnicity and chosen response.

In keeping with previous research results, ethnicity does not demonstrate a significant relationship with either activist orientation or with behavioural response. Activist orientation and ethnicity produces a lambda value of 0.000 and the following chi square results: $\chi^2(4, 190) = 2.443, p = .655$. Controlling for age, gender, country of residence, and education does not alter the relationship. The relationship between chosen behaviour and ethnicity also demonstrates nonsignificance, with a lambda value of 0.015 and a chi square value of $\chi^2(5, 190) = 3.756, p = .585$. Controlling for age, gender, education, and country of residence does not indicate a spurious relationship. Therefore, results relating to ethnicity and activist behaviours indicate that there is no significant relationship between ethnic background, activist identification and behavioural response.

Results from the current study indicate that previous research (Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996) emphasizing demographic differences between

activists and non-activists are outdated or the present results are specific to the sample tested and replication is required. Whether due to political and social advancements in gender and ethnic equality, or to greater access to higher education, or a mix of those and additional variables, education, ethnicity, gender, and age do not display significant relationships with activist identification and behaviours. In addition, although activist identification is significantly related to country of residence (for young, Caucasian, males only), chosen behavioural responses are not. Therefore, there is no typical profile of an activist; demographics do not play a significant role in protest behaviours. Half a century ago, the majority of activists may have been younger, educated, financially stable men; at least for the present sample, that is no longer true.

5.3 Psychological variables: The relevance of old research results

As mentioned previously, researchers also chose to focus on psychological characteristics as defining factors and causal variables of protest activities (Crosby, 1976; Grant and Brown, 1995; Veenstra and Haslam, 2000). Unfortunately, there are no overarching studies that address more than one psychological variable at a given time (unlike the Political Action Survey in relation to demographics, which addressed most demographic characteristics at once); providing a more in-depth summary of the various studies exceeds the scope of the current project (refer to Chapter 2 for a brief review). Despite that, they can be summarized by stating that, although the psychological variables ranged from relative deprivation, to ego-identity, to cost-benefit analysis, the underlying theme continued to be a search for an inherent psychologically based difference between activists and non-activists. However, it is hypothesized that psychological differences in response are as much an effect of the introduction and

diversity of the threat as they are an effect of individual differences. It is posited that psychological variables are intervening variables; they determine whether the threat is recognized in its entirety, whether the individual decides that he or she is capable of responding, and what that response should be, all of which are dependent on the nature of the threat. Psychological components are not sole determinants of whether someone becomes an activist, but contribute to individual perceptions of the scenario and perceptions of the ability of the self (Passy and Giugni, 2001). Therefore, it is hypothesized that psychological variables will not play a significant role in placement in sample group but will achieve significance in behavioural responses to threat.

The current study focuses on perceptions of the scenario and personal responsibility as key psychological variables. Each participant was asked to report on four variables after reading the scenario. Each of the following variables was graded on a 7-point Likert scale: sense of concern, the effect of the threat on the individual, the magnitude of the threat for the individual, and the need to respond to the threat.

Descriptive analysis on the four psychological measures demonstrates a negatively skewed distribution. Table 1 displays the distribution.

Table 1 Frequency of participant responses of psychological assessments of threat.

	Feeling affected	Feeling concerned	Feeling threatened	Needing to respond
not at all	1	1	5	1
a very small degree	6	0	6	5
a small degree	12	3	15	7
somewhat	31	10	26	22
more than somewhat	31	30	36	46
strongly	52	52	44	50
very strongly	59	96	60	61
Total	192	192	192	192

Statistical cell count distribution required the recoding of each of the psychological measures. Given the negatively skewed distribution, the first four points of each Likert scale are collapsed into one point to produce a 4-point Likert scale.

5.3.1 Results

Cross-tabulation is conducted on sense of concern, activist orientation, and chosen behavioural response. As hypothesized, sense of concern is not significantly related to activist orientation, but is related to chosen response. Activist orientation and sense of concern produce a positive gamma value of 0.270 but chi square results indicate the relationship is not significant: $\chi^2(12, 192) = 17.987, p = .116$. Behavioural response and sense of concern, on the other hand, demonstrate high significance. Gamma results provide a positive relationship with values of 0.497. Chi square results are as follows: $\chi^2(15, 192) = 73.051, p = .001$.

Cross-tabulations indicate a relationship between feeling affected by the threat, behavioural response and activist orientation. Feeling affected is significantly related to behavioural response, but is also significantly related to activist orientation. See Figure 7 for cross-tabulation results of feeling affected and activist orientation.

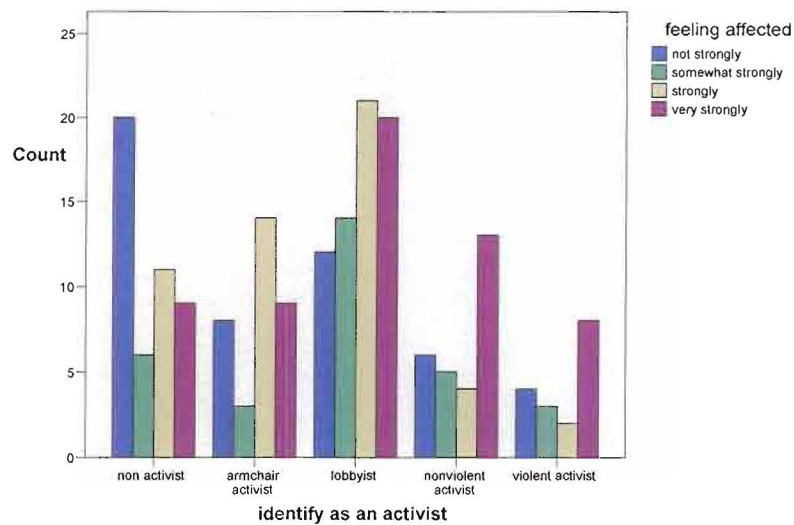


Figure 7 Cross-tabulation of feeling affected and activist orientation.

Activist orientation and sense of feeling affected produce positive gamma results of 0.209, and analysis determines that the relationship is significant, $\chi^2(12, 192) = 21.921$, $p = .038$. Sense of feeling affected and chosen behavioural response also produce positive gamma results of 0.382. Chi square analysis determines that the relationship is a significant one, $\chi^2(15, 192) = 39.989$, $p = .001$. These results demonstrate that an increasing sense of being affected by the threat is related to an increasingly illegal and violent response to the threat (that was hypothesized). However, it also indicates that the reported level of feeling affected by the threat determines which community or sample group the individual belongs to, indicating that a sustained activist orientation may be dependent or partially due to a sense of being personally affected.

Activist orientation and chosen behavioural response are also analyzed in relation to sense of threat. As with previous psychological measures of sense of concern, sense of threat is significantly related to chosen behavioural response, but not to activist identification. Activist orientation and sense of threat produce positive gamma results of 0.160. However, chi square analysis determine that the relationship is not significant, $\chi^2(12, 192) = 12.091, p = .438$. Sense of threat and chosen behavioural response also produce positive gamma results of 0.431. A chi square analysis determine that the relationship is a highly significant one, $\chi^2(15, 192) = 49.344, p = .001$.

The last psychological measure is a self-report on how strongly the participant felt that he or she should respond to the threat. Activist orientation and chosen behavioural response are analyzed in relation to the measure and results are similar as previously reported for sense of threat; reports of feeling the need to respond to the threat are significantly related to both chosen behavioural response and activist identification. Activist orientation and feeling the need to respond to the threat produce positive gamma results of 0.293. Chi square analysis determines that the relationship is significant, $\chi^2(12, 192) = 25.614, p = .012$. Sense of threat and chosen behavioural response also produce strong positive gamma results of 0.528. Chi square analysis determines that the relationship is highly significant, $\chi^2(15, 192) = 78.488, p = .001$. This indicates that feeling the need to respond is positively related to increasingly violent and illegal forms of response, but it also demonstrates that the sensitivity towards feeling the need to respond is possibly related to activist identification and a history of activist behaviours. See Figure 8 for cross-tabulation results of feeling the need to respond and activist orientation.

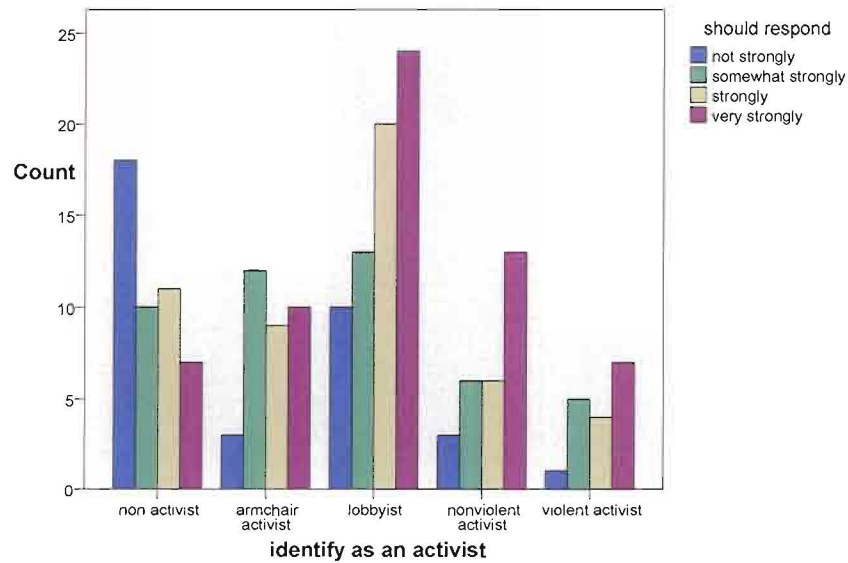


Figure 8 Cross-tabulation of the need to respond and activist orientation.

The above analyses support the hypothesis that some psychological measures do not determine whether or not an individual is an activist, including sense of concern and sense of threat. No statistical relationship is found between those psychological measures, non-activists and activists, both nonviolent and violent. These results indicate that the presence of these variables do not determine whether an individual identifies as an activist or engages in a sustained activist lifestyle. However, feeling affected by the threat or feeling a personal responsibility to respond to the threat is significantly related to activist orientation. These variables may indicate a psychological proclivity toward activist behaviours and lifestyles.

As hypothesized, significant relationships are demonstrated between chosen behaviours and psychological measures. This supports the hypothesis that threat

influences psychological processes and assessments which, in turn, influences behaviours. That points towards an intervening relationship and, perhaps, a causal one. Old research, therefore, would benefit from including the influence of external instigating factors in the analysis of psychological measures and its relationship to civil disobedience.

6: Predicting civil disobedience: Degrees of threat

The current chapter addresses the ‘what’ question or ‘what causes the activist to respond’? It focuses on inferential analyses of factors that may contribute to increasingly illegal and violent forms of civil disobedience. Those factors primarily include dimensions of threat and are assessed through logistical regression. Binary logit models include all previously mentioned variables in relation to the dichotomized extremes of behavioural response. Logistical regression is the appropriate statistical measure to estimate factors that influence behaviour, given that behaviour is dichotomized into discrete variables (see below).

6.1 Threat and behaviour

In order to meet binary requirements, behavioural responses are recoded into two separate dichotomized variables. The first represents a division between ‘legal’ (coded as 0) and ‘illegal’ chosen behaviours (coded as 1). Responses that indicate the participant would do nothing, engage in self-education or the education of others, organize with others, or engage in legal protest are collapsed to form a single ‘legal’ category. The remaining two responses of illegal nonviolent and illegal violent behaviour are collapsed to form a single ‘illegal’ category. 141 respondents (73%) chose ‘legal’ behaviours, while the remaining 51 respondents (27%) chose ‘illegal’ responses.

The second division of behavioural response creates a ‘nonviolent’ (coded as 0) and ‘violent’ (coded as 1) dichotomy. The ‘nonviolent’ category comprises all chosen

responses with the exception of violent illegal response. The violent illegal response retains its original format but is relabelled 'violent'. The 'nonviolent' category consists of 185 respondents (96%) and the 'violent' category contains seven respondents (4%).

Threat is recoded into its separate dimensions. The original threat variable consisted of 16 different dimensions based on two categories for saliency, two categories for timing, and four categories for social unit affected. Saliency is recoded into macro level (94 respondents or 49% of the sample) and micro level (98 respondents or 51% of the sample). Timing is recoded into immediate certainty (96 respondents or 50% of the sample) and eventual certainty (96 respondents or 50% of the sample). Social unit is recoded into individual (47 respondents or 24% of the sample), local community (47 respondents or 24% of the sample), country (50 respondents or 26% of the sample), and global community (50 respondents or 26% of the sample).

6.2 Results

6.2.1 Illegality

All recoded variables are entered as predictors into a binary logistic regression model for the illegal discrete variable. Dimensions of threat, activist orientation, psychological determinants of behaviour and, finally, demographic control variables are entered into the model. The variables produce a significant model for predicting illegal behaviour, $\chi^2(13, 192) = 71.793, p = .001$. Table 2 summarizes the contribution of the independent variables to the regression model.

Table 2 Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of independent variables on illegal behaviour.

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Saliency of threat	.116	.439	.069	.792	1.123
Social unit affected by threat	-.331	.201	2.717	.099	.718
Timing of threat	.030	.432	.005	.944	1.031
Education	.172	.468	.136	.712	1.188
Age	-1.271	.455	7.790	.005	.281
Sense of concern	.326	.425	.586	.444	1.385
Feeling affected	-.491	.364	1.820	.177	.612
Feeling threatened	.744	.343	4.703	.030	2.104
Feeling the need to respond	.406	.313	1.678	.195	1.501
Activist orientation	1.051	.221	22.541	.000	2.861
Ethnicity	.117	.454	.067	.796	1.125
Country	.051	.547	.009	.926	1.052
Gender	-.441	.428	1.061	.303	.643
Constant	-4.562	2.088	4.772	.029	.010

Although stepwise regression is the next logical stage in eliminating influential variables, there are several interesting immediate results. As evident from the regression table, the activist orientation (or sample group placement) emerges as a highly significant predictor. In addition, contrary to hypothesized relationships, neither the timing, saliency, nor social unit affected by threat appear immediately significant.

Demographics, with the exception of age, are also not significant. Age is negatively related to illegality, as expected based on previous research. The younger the individual, the more likely he or she is to engage in illegal response to threat. As for psychological determinants, only feeling threatened appears significant, which shares a positive relationship with illegality. An increase in feeling threatened is predictive of an increase in illegal behaviour.

There are some interesting findings relating to the direction of relationships. Although none of the following are significant, it is worth noting that social unit shares a negative relationship with illegality. This indicates that as the threat moves from the individual to the global community, there is a decrease in illegal behaviour. This is contrary to the hypothesized direction based on previous research assessing response to relative deprivation amongst individuals and communities. The results are explained by such perspectives as evolutionary theory (propagation depends on the survival of the individual), or concepts such as diffusion of responsibility. However, the results also undermine the idea of the bandwagon effect or collective empowerment; concepts that have steered the direction of previous research related to civil disobedience. In addition, the psychological variable of feeling affected by the threat also appears to be negatively related to illegal behaviour; as the individual experiences an increased sense of being affected, he or she is less likely to engage in illegal behaviour. A nonlinear relationship may be one possible explanation for the unexpected directional relationship with the psychological determinant (a low threshold point between a sense of self-efficacy and a sense of self-inability).

Highly nonsignificant variables are removed in a stepwise fashion. The majority of the demographic characteristics, including gender, ethnicity, and education, and country of residence, are removed from the model. All three dimensions of threat are also removed. Finally, sense of concern and sense of feeling personally affected are eliminated, leaving four remaining variables that are significant (see Table 3). The resulting model has significant predictive power, $\chi^2(4, 192) = 65.304, p = .001$.

Table 3 Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of significant independent variables on illegal behaviour.

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age	-1.176	.434	7.360	.007	.308
Feeling threatened	.476	.223	4.552	.033	1.610
Feeling the need to respond	.506	.258	3.839	.050	1.659
Activist orientation	1.036	.200	26.741	.000	2.818
Constant	-5.289	1.037	26.027	.000	.005

Age, activist orientation, and feeling threatened remain significant predictors of illegal behaviour. Feeling the need to respond is now predictive of illegal behaviour. An increase in feeling the need to respond is predictive of an increase in illegal over legal response to threat.

The marginal effects for the four remaining variables summarized in Table 3 are now analyzed⁴. Results indicate that the overall model using average values for all independent variables calculates the probability of illegal behaviour being 16.4 %. Age demonstrates a negative effect; decreasing age by one category, while holding all other variables at their means, increases the likelihood of illegal response by 16.1%. The marginal effect of feeling threatened is 6.2%. Feeling the need to respond increases the probability of illegality by 6.9%. Finally, activist orientation demonstrates a positive relationship; for each increase in self-reported history of activist behaviours, the probability of illegal behaviour increases by 14.2%.

Activist orientation consists of five categories: non-activist (value of 1), armchair activist (value of 2), lobbyist (value of 3), nonviolent activist (value of 4), and violent activist (value of 5). The mean value of the variable was 2.67; this value is manipulated

⁴ See Kennedy (2003) for the technical details of these calculations.

further to determine marginal effects. Changing the mean value from 2.67 to 1 (to represent a mean value of non-activism) for activist orientation in the model while holding the mean value of all other variables constant decreased the probability of illegality to 3.4% for the overall model and 3.4% for activist orientation. Adjusting the mean value to 5 (violent activist) increased the probability of illegal behaviour to 68.7% for the overall model and 22.3% for activist orientation specifically. Age increased to 25.3% probability of illegal response to threat, while feeling the need to respond and feeling threatened increased to 10.9% and 10.2%, respectively.

The results indicate that activist orientation is a significant predictor of illegal behaviour and that the level of activism apparent in an individual's history can dramatically increase the probability of illegal response to threat. In addition, age also affects the probability of illegality, as do psychological determinants, such as feeling threatened and feeling the need to respond to the threat.

6.2.2 Violence

The discrete violence variable is analyzed in a manner similar to the discrete illegal variable. Dimensions of threat, psychological determinants of behaviour, activist orientation, and demographic control variables are entered into a logistic regression model. The variables produce a significant model for predicting violent behaviour, $\chi^2(13, 192) = 39.124, p = .001$. Table 4 summarizes the contribution of the independent variables to the regression model.

Table 4 Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of independent variables on violent behaviour.

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Activist orientation	3.241	1.588	4.163	.041	25.553
Ethnicity	4.889	4.037	1.466	.226	132.816
Country	-.139	3.063	.002	.964	.871
Education	-8.776	5.120	2.938	.087	.000
Age	-3.790	2.669	2.016	.156	.023
Sense of concern	4.111	2.816	2.131	.144	61.001
Feeling affected	-4.774	2.979	2.567	.109	.008
Feeling threatened	5.427	3.243	2.801	.094	227.380
Feeling the need to respond	-5.056	3.103	2.655	.103	.006
Saliency of threat	-.661	1.818	.132	.716	.516
Social unit affected by threat	-2.342	1.470	2.540	.111	.096
Timing of threat	5.239	3.074	2.905	.088	188.474
Gender	-5.496	2.908	3.573	.059	.004
Constant	-4.215	7.075	.355	.551	.015

Results from logistical regression indicate that the relationship between violence and the independent variables is dissimilar from the relationship between illegality and the independent variables. Although activist orientation does significantly increase the probability of violent behaviour, it is not immediately apparent that any of the remaining variables appear to do so. There are also additional interesting directional relationships demonstrated.

Gender appears to be negatively related; being male increases the probability of engaging in violence, although not in illegality. In addition, feeling affected by the threat and feeling the need to respond to the threat is negatively related to the willingness to engage in violent behaviour. As mentioned previously, the unexpected negative relationship between psychological variables may be indicative of a nonlinear relationship with a low threshold point of loss of sense of self-efficacy.

Similar to analyses on the illegal discrete variable, highly nonsignificant variables are removed from the model for the violent variable. Ethnicity, age, and country of residence are removed as demographic characteristics. All dimensions of threat are also removed. No psychological determinants are eliminated, however, as all of them demonstrate significant, or close to significant, predictive power. The resulting model is summarized in Table 5, $\chi^2(7, 192) = 29.583, p = .001$.

Table 5 Summary of binary logistical regression analyses of influence of significant independent variables on violent behaviour.

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Activist orientation	1.215	.499	5.932	.015	3.369
Education	-3.856	1.717	5.043	.025	.021
Sense of concern	2.161	.979	4.868	.027	8.677
Feeling affected	-1.827	.751	5.914	.015	.161
Feeling threatened	1.672	.897	3.478	.062	5.324
Feeling the need to respond	-2.143	.943	5.161	.023	.117
Gender	-3.673	1.485	6.118	.013	.025
Constant	1.005	3.040	.109	.741	2.733

Activist orientation remains highly significant in the decision to engage in violence. All four psychological determinants also appear to be influential in the decision to engage in violent behaviour, although feeling threatened does not achieve a traditional level of significance. These relationships indicate that psychological determinants are important predictors of violent behaviour. In addition, education appears highly influential in the decision to engage in violence. Education demonstrates a negative relationship, which is consistent with previous literature indicating that the more highly educated are less likely to engage in violence. Finally, unlike the effects on actions of illegality, being male appears to be a significant predictor of violent behaviour.

Analyzing marginal effects, results indicate that the model using mean values for all independent variables calculates the probability of violent behaviour as 0.1%. Activist identification increases the likelihood of violence by 0.2%, while education and gender demonstrate negative effects and altered probability by 0.6% and 0.5%, respectively. Psychological determinants are less influential than demographic variables; the marginal effect of feeling concerned, feeling affected, and needing to respond to the threat each individually increases the probability of violence by 0.3%, while feeling threatened influences probability by 0.2%. Feeling affected and the need to respond both demonstrate negative effects on probability; as the psychological determinants increase, the likelihood of violent behaviour decreases. This relationship suggests more investigation, so the next step is the manipulation of the mean value of each of the two psychological variables to determine if there is a noticeable nonlinear relationship.

Feeling affected and feeling the need to respond each comprises four levels: not strongly (value of 1), somewhat strongly (value of 2), strongly (value of 3), and very strongly (value of 4). Altering the mean value of each of the variables and holding the means of all other variables constant does not lend support to the possibility of a nonlinear relationship; as each value in the marginal effects model increases, there is a subsequent decrease in the probability of engaging in violent behaviour. As an additional step, the original variables for feeling affected and feeling the need to respond are inserted into the marginal effects model (see chapter 5.3 for a description of recoding of the psychological scales). The first three levels of the original 7 point scale were previously collapsed into one category due to a negatively skewed relationship. It is possible that, if a nonlinear relationship exists, it would become apparent by separating

the first level of the four point scale back into its original three separate levels. However, results do not lend support for a nonlinear relationship. Therefore, it is likely that the psychological determinants of feeling affected and feeling the need to respond are not contributors to violence, but serve to de-escalate it.

Gender was a dichotomized variable: male (value of 1) and female (value of 2). The mean value of gender was 1.61, but the mean is manipulated further to determine marginal effects. Altering the mean to 1 (male) while holding the mean value of all other variables constant increases the likelihood of violent response by 1.3% for the overall model and 4.8% for gender. This also affects the other variables: activist identification increases to 1.6%, education increases to 5.1%, while concern and feeling the need to respond becomes 2.8%, feeling threatened shifted to 2.2%, and feeling affected increases the probability by 2.4%.

Altering the mean value of activist orientation also affects results. Changing the mean value to 5 (violent activist) increases the probability of violence by 2.4% for the overall model and 2.8% for activist orientation. The mean value changes have a dramatic effect on the influence of the other variables as well. Increases in probability range from 3.9% (feeling threatened) to 8.5% and 9.0% for gender and education, respectively. Interestingly, altering the mean value of both activist orientation (violent activist) and gender (male), increases the probability of violence by 18.7% for the overall model. In that model, activist orientation increases the probability of violence by 18.4%, while gender increases it by 55.7%.

The results indicate that gender and activist orientation are influential in occurrences of violent civil disobedience. While the overall model has a very marginal

effect on the probability of violent response, manipulating gender to reflect maleness and activist orientation to represent a violent activist increases the probability of violence considerably. In addition, although less influential, it appears that psychological determinants are also influential in the decision to engage in increasingly violent forms of civil disobedience, although some psychological variables increase the probability of violence (i.e.: sense of concern) while others decrease it (i.e.: feeling affected).

Comparing both predictive models illustrates several key points. First, the violence and illegality variables demonstrate very different relationships with the independent variables. Second, actual dimensions of threat, as constructed in the present test, are not significant predictors of violence or illegality, although feelings of threat are significant. This indicates that it is the external threat did not influence behaviour, but the assessment of the threat was a significant and important variable in the decision to engage in civil disobedience. Third, there is no consistent relationship between demographics and behaviour or psychological characteristics and behaviour. Fourth, activist orientation is significant for both illegal and violent behaviours. Finally, directional relationships are often in opposition to expectations. Significant demographic characteristics display expected relationships (younger participants were more likely to engage in illegal response, while male participants are more likely to engage in violent response). Meanwhile, threat-based and psychological variables often do not demonstrate the expected or hypothesized directional relationship (participants that felt personally affected and felt the need to respond were less likely to engage in violence and, contrary to the bandwagon effect or collective empowerment, individuals were more likely to engage in illegal behaviour if the threat was directed at the self, rather than

others). The comparison between the two models points clearly to the complexity of the relationship between threat, psychological assessment of threat, and response, and indicates that there are a multitude of relationships that could be analyzed further.

7: Discussions and future research

7.1 Conclusions and discussion

The purpose of the current study was to determine whether external instigating factors, such as various dimensions of threat, were significant contributors in the decision to engage in increasingly illegal and violent forms of protest. An additional purpose was to assess whether demographic and psychological characteristics were significantly related to activist group membership and behavioural response to threat. The hypotheses were contrary to current views on civil disobedience, views that tend to focus on creating an activist profile based on demographic and psychosocial variables (McAdam, 1992; Petrie, 2004; Sherkat and Blocker, 1994; Jenkins and Wallace, 1996; Veenstra and Haslam, 2000), while neglecting to pay heed to the possible influence of the external environment. The assumption that psychological and demographic variables create an identifiable activist profile and the failure to recognize any potential influence that external instigating factors may have has been an oversight on the part of contemporary researchers. Table 6 summarizes results from the current study.

Contrary to previous research results, statistical analysis determined that a number of demographic characteristics did not play a significant role in activist group membership (self-reported history of activist behaviours) or in the decision to engage in civil disobedience. Gender, age, ethnicity, and education did not have a significant relationship to activist group membership, nor did it demonstrate significance in relation

Table 6 Summary of significant relationships between variables.

Demographic Variables	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Education	Country
Activist history	no	no	no	no	yes
Behavioural response	no	no	no	no	no
Illegal behaviour	no	yes	no	no	no
Violent behaviour	yes	no	no	yes	no
Psychological Variables	Concerned	Affected	Threatened	Should respond	
Activist history	no	yes	no	yes	
Behavioural response	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Illegal behaviour	no	no	yes	yes	
Violent behaviour	yes	yes	no	yes	
Threat Variables	Saliency	Timing	Social unit		
Illegal behaviour	no	no	no		
Violent behaviour	no	no	no		

to behavioural responses to current forms of threat. Country of residence, on the other hand, was significantly related to self-reported history of activist behaviours, but not to current behavioural responses.

When behavioural responses were modified (reduced to legal-illegal or nonviolent- violent categories), some demographic characteristics gained significance. Younger individuals were more likely than older individuals to engage in illegal responses to threat. Men were more likely than women to engage in violent responses to threat. In addition, the highly educated were less likely than the less educated to engage in violence.

The discrepancy between early results and current results requires a moment of consideration. As mentioned previously, early results may have been a consequence of sampling error. Specifically, large studies were often conducted on college campuses, which cater to a group of financially, socially, politically, and intellectually privileged individuals, particularly given the period of data collection. However, to say results differ because previous samples largely comprised university students is simplistic. Education has become more inclusive. That trend is partially a reflection of equal

opportunity and civil liberties. The current study also sampled heavily from college campuses yet did not demonstrate the same demographic significance. What that indicates is that a significant predictor of activism may be privileged status, rather than demographic features. Perhaps individuals who have a financial safety net, intellectual strengths, political protections, and supportive social networks are more willing to engage in civil disobedience than those that do not have the same privileges. It is possible that early research results were not a reflection of a demographic profile but, rather, of status.

In addition to demographics (or possibly status), previous research has also focused on psychological correlates and determinants of civil disobedience. Analysis determined that some psychological characteristics were related to activist history or activist group membership, but all were related to chosen behavioural responses when faced with current threat. While a sense of concern and an awareness of being personally threatened were significant in relation to current threat, they were not indicative of a history of activist behaviours. That finding implies that activists are not particularly responsive to concern or sense of threat when compared with non-activists, but that those individuals that have a higher sensitivity to those emotional states are more likely to become more active in opposition to the source of those threats. Modification of the behavioural scale (legal-illegal and nonviolent-violent) further defined the relationship. Feeling threatened was significantly related to the decision to engage in illegal behaviours over legal ones, but not to the behavioural selection of violence over nonviolence. Concern, on the other hand, was related to violent behaviours over nonviolent behaviours, but not legal ones over illegal ones. That outcome indicates that individuals who are sensitive to feeling threatened are more likely to engage in illegal

behaviours while those that are more sensitive to feeling concerned are more likely to engage in violent behaviours.

Two additional psychological characteristics also demonstrated a complex relationship with civil disobedience. Awareness of how the threat would affect the individual and feeling the need to respond was predictive of both activist history and current behaviours. That result indicates that the awareness of being personally affected and feeling the need to respond to the threat might be key psychological characteristics differentiating activists from non-activists. When possible behavioural responses were modified (legal-illegal and nonviolent-violent), the relationship between those psychological characteristics became more complex. While feeling the need to respond was predictive of behavioural response chosen, sense of being personally affected was only predictive of certain responses. Specifically, feeling the need to respond was significant in the decision to engage in illegal behaviours over legal behaviours and violent behaviours over nonviolent behaviours. Therefore, it was a defining variable of activist identity as well as a defining variable in the type of behaviour chosen as a response. Sense of being personally affected by the threat, however, was significantly related to violent behaviours, but not illegal behaviours over legal ones. Of particular interest was that both relationships were negative; as feeling affected and feeling the need to respond increased, individuals were less likely to engage in violence. Although it is possible that the results reflect a nonlinear relationship (perhaps a low threshold point between a sense of self-efficacy and self-inability is in effect), manipulation of mean values in a marginal effects model indicated that was not likely. Instead, it appeared that those two variables actually de-escalated violence. Therefore, although those two

characteristics may be key psychological determinants of activist orientation, their relationship with activist behaviours is not as straightforward. Sense of personal affectedness and feeling the need to respond may contribute to the sustainability of activist behaviours as well as the de-escalation of violence.

The above stated findings relating to psychological assessments are important. They indicate that, although external dimensions of threat, as constructed for the present study, do not influence behavioural response, personal interpretations of the threat do result in increasingly illegal and violent behaviour. The majority of previous studies have neglected to include cognitive and affective assessments of external threat. That appears to be an oversight, given the significant nature of those variables. Boyanowsky (1993) is one of the few academics that hypothesized a significant relationship between external threat, psychological assessment of that threat, and resulting dissident response (see Chapter 3).

A further finding was that activist orientation demonstrated significance for both illegal and violent behaviour. That is a logical relationship: previous behaviours predict current or future behaviours. If the individual has a more expansive history of activist behaviours, there is a greater likelihood of illegal or violent response. That result was not a hypothesized relationship, but it was one that would have been expected. However, the relationships relating to threat produced unexpected results.

Beyond demographic and psychological characteristics, the main purpose of the study was to determine the relationship between dimensions of threat and decisions to engage in increasingly illegal and violent forms of civil disobedience. Of the three dimensions of threat, none of them appeared to be predictive of civil disobedience. The

timing of the threat, the saliency of the threat, and the social unit affected by the threat did not demonstrate a significant relationship with either illegal or violent forms of civil disobedience. However, as mentioned previously, the affective and cognitive assessments of the threat were significant for different behavioural responses.

When addressing external dimensions of threat, of particular interest was that the social unit affected by the threat demonstrated a negative relationship⁵. Although the majority of previous research addressing civil disobedience has indicated that individuals are more likely to respond when a greater number of people are affected, results demonstrated an individual was less likely to respond when more people were affected by the threat. The negative relationship applied to both illegal and violent behaviours. Perhaps that is a reflection of the evolutionary expectation of self-survival; the propagation of many individuals reduces the reproductive chances of the one individual. It is also possible the negative relationship is a reflection of diffusion of responsibility; if many people are affected, the assumption is that someone else will address the problem. There are likely numerous possible explanations for the negative relationship, but the results indicate that personal threat will take priority over threat directed at distant others and, although relative deprivation may produce a bandwagon effect, threat does not (Hirsch, 1990; De La Rey and Raju, 1996).

The lack of relationship between behaviour and the constructed dimensions of threat is an interesting outcome. There are several possible reasons why no relationship developed. The first and most parsimonious solution is simply that a relationship does not exist. A second explanation is that dividing the threat into so many parameters

⁵ Social unit came near to achieving significance for both violent and illegal behaviours and, therefore, warrants some discussion.

reduced its probability of being detected. The measurement tool may have not been sensitive enough. It is possible that the scenarios were either so extreme that the participants could not identify with them, or that the differences in the scenarios were too subtle to effectively elicit the specific response they would if the dimensions were more defined or exaggerated. In addition, hypothetical scenarios are not the ideal way to determine behavioural responses in real situations. This limitation will be revisited when discussing directions for future research.

In addition to the possible shortcomings mentioned above, the study had several other limitations that may have affected generalizability, validity, and reliability. To begin with, the sample was not random, nor was it representative. Sampling parameters were not identified and the easiest sampling methods were utilized (convenience and snowball sampling). That strategy was dictated by ethical requirements, but the result was an unrepresentative sample. The majority of the participants ranged from 18 to 27 years of age, many of whom were students, most were Caucasian, and North Americans were overrepresented. As such, great caution should be used when generalizing results.

A further limitation was the sample size. Many variables comprised large scales and, with the limited number of participants, there were not enough individuals represented for each value in the scales to meet statistical requirements. As a result, numerous variables needed to be collapsed and recoded, which further desensitized the study to subtle differences in participant responses. It would have been beneficial to utilize a much larger sample so that variables could maintain their original form.

A further limitation was the lack of a pre-existing and valid behavioural scale of civil disobedience. That reflects the shift that contemporary research has made when

addressing civil disobedience; academics have become primarily interested in mass mobilization and organizational techniques and structures. As such, a behavioural scale had to be constructed based on an outdated one. It is possible the resulting scale did not reflect a valid summary of current activist behaviours. In addition, it is also possible that the scale was not an accurate portrayal of the progression from least to most extreme behaviours.

Finally, the current study did not go into as much analytical depth as the data allowed. Specifically, there were several tests that could have been conducted, including ordinal logistical regression. Although current results may reflect possible nonlinear relationships between variables, ordinal regression would confirm whether those relationships exist by demonstrating whether certain values in a given variable scale (such as a Likert scale measuring sense of concern) are significant while others are not. Such a demonstration would clarify whether there is a threshold point of concern that determines participation in increasingly illegal or violent behaviours. A further step would involve creating dummy variables of each value in a given variable scale to determine if that value has a significant predictive relationship with behaviour, independent of every other value. Those steps would have been valuable analytical steps to take; however, they were beyond the scope of the current project and are ideal steps to engage in for future research.

Despite the shortcomings mentioned above, the results from the study indicate that civil disobedience is a complex phenomenon. Further research is required in order to begin to map out and understand the key variables involved in the decision to engage in

civil disobedience. In addition, future studies could focus on several directions of research.

7.2 Future directions

The current study inadvertently highlighted three areas of research that could be prioritized in the pursuit to understand civil disobedience. The first is psychological, the second is actual, and the third is historical. Each of those is exploratory in nature and, similar to the current study, will more likely produce questions that lead to expanded areas of research than offer answers. However, each of the three areas is potentially viable and significant for activist behaviours.

As summarized previously, psychological factors appear to have an elusive but significant role in the decision to engage in civil disobedience. While the current study only utilized four psychological measurements, each very similar to the other, it took the application of several analytical techniques to begin to tease out the relationship between each of those measurements and behavioural response. While some variables were predictive of current behaviours, but did not relate to previous behaviours, others were only predictive of violence or illegal behaviour, but not both. Future research could aim to analyze a larger collection of psychological measurements, both similar and dissimilar to each other, in relation to a variety of clearly defined and independent behavioural responses (such as violent response, illegal response, passive response, and no response). Several measurements that have not yet been utilized include morality scales, religiosity (as a psychological variable, not as a demographic characteristic), and sense of status/privilege. In addition, attention to potential nonlinear relationships may be

revealing (see section 7.1 for potential analytical steps in the identification of a nonlinear relationship).

One area of research that has been neglected within both the current study and previous studies is the importance of examining actual in vivo observation versus hypothetical scenarios, when assessing the role of threat. A logical step is to relocate out of the lab and into the field. Specifically, conducting research within impacted communities faced with various external threats would be a revealing endeavour. That research could take several different paths, including: observational analysis of individual and community response to threat, comparative analysis of reported responses to threat amongst various communities, comparative analysis of the variations of threat faced in and amongst various communities in relation to past or present behaviours, and historical analysis of the interplay between the threat and the response to the threat (how does the threat respond to the behaviour and how does that subsequently alter the relationship and presentation of the behaviour and the threat). Regardless of the chosen focus, there is a need to move analysis out of the hypothetical realm and into the actual realm.

A third and final area of follow-up research is historical analysis of all of the studies done up to and including the present day that address activism. Those studies need to be assessed within the context of the political and social environment at the time the research was conducted. That stems back to the question of whether demographic results in the 1970s were a reflection of a deeper issue based on equal opportunity and social status. It is possible that the missing factor to date in the exploration of activism is recognition that some people engage in civil disobedience because they have the protective measures in place that make it less personally perilous or risky. That is not to

imply that other variables do not play a significant role in the decision to engage in civil disobedience, but to suggest that there are variables that have not, as of yet, been identified.

Despite the shortcomings mentioned above, the directions for future research indicate that the current study fulfilled its exploratory role: it served to identify and produce more in-depth questions relating to the causes of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is a complex phenomenon that requires extended analysis. While, in general, demographic characteristics play a minor part, it is simplistic to argue that demographics ever were a major contributor, given that they may have been indicative of status and privilege instead. Beyond demographics, psychological variables have demonstrated an intricate predictive relationship, one that can result in different behavioural extremes, depending on the characteristic. Finally, while external instigating factors did not demonstrate significance in relation to behaviour, the dimension of threat that bordered on significance produced a directional relationship that ran counter to expectations. That does not serve to clarify the influence of threat (given the non-significant value), but it does foster continued research aimed to untangle the complex relationship between external instigating factors and civil disobedience.

Appendices

Appendix A – Questionnaire: Uniform description of threat

There have been numerous outbreaks of mercury poisoning in the past ten years and, due to these events, you have become informed about the sources of mercury and the symptoms of poisoning. This is what you have learned:

The manufacture or burning of coal can emit mercury. It can remain in the air for a year or more and travel across continents. It can, therefore, be deposited locally or globally. About one third of the emissions that are produced by developed countries are deposited locally, while the remaining two thirds becomes a global problem. When mercury returns to the earth, it may fall with rain or snow, or be deposited in solid form into the soil. Eventually, regardless of the method of delivery to the earth, the mercury may get washed into oceans and lakes, where it will accumulate and be converted to methylmercury. This is consumed by small aquatic organisms, which are consumed by small fish. The larger the fish, the higher the concentration of methylmercury, simply because of the amount of intake of smaller fish required for survival. Some of the largest edible fish can have a million-fold increase in concentrations of methylmercury when compared to surrounding water.

When pregnant women consume methylmercury by eating toxic fish, it can have serious repercussions to the foetus. It may result in mental retardation, impaired vision, hearing, and memory. Infants that are breastfeeding can also receive high concentrations of methylmercury from their mother. Adults can experience cardiovascular disease, heart attacks, neurological symptoms, loss of physical abilities, hearing impairments, and death.

This issue concerns you and the information that you have learned has taught you to be cautious. You are careful about where you get your fish from and you are also very sensitive towards local and global stories relating to potential mercury poisoning episodes.

Appendix B – Questionnaire: Scenario manipulation representing dimensions of threat

Micro, individual, immediate – MiII (code)

One day, you experience mild digestive complications and nausea. You decide to wait it out and see if it goes away. After several days, it has only gotten worse and you've developed trouble breathing. In addition, you begin to experience tremors in your limbs and late night severe cramping. After a series of tests, your doctor informs you that you are been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury and the neurotoxin has caused irreparable damage to your central nervous system. He tells you that you are slowly losing control of your movements and the process has already begun; soon you will not be able to drive or walk properly. You also will have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding yourself. Eventually, you will need full time care.

Micro, local community, immediate – MiLI (code)

One day, someone from your community informs you that a well-known community member has fallen quite ill, but the doctor has been unable to diagnose him. Several days later, you ask after the well-being of the sick man; you are informed that someone else has fallen ill and that a series of tests have been conducted on the two. Over the next week, you are informed that the test results have not yet been returned, but three more people in your community who have started to display the same symptoms. In total, five members of your community have complained of nausea and vomiting, as well as breathing complications. Several of them have also developed noticeable tremors and some have experienced late night cramping. When the test results finally arrive, you find out that several members have been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. As a result, the neurotoxin has caused irreparable damage to their central nervous systems. These five are already losing control of their movements; soon they will not be able to drive or walk properly. They will also have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding themselves. Eventually, they will need full time care.

Micro, country, immediate – MiCI (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that there has been an outbreak of symptoms across the country that are, as of yet, undiagnosed. That day alone, over one thousand people admitted themselves into emergency rooms all over the country, complaining of tremors, digestive complications, vomiting, severe cramping, and breathing complications. You watch the news later that night, hoping to hear an update. The anchorperson informs you that the outbreak has been diagnosed; the people who have admitted themselves into the hospital have been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. As a result, the neurotoxin has caused irreparable damage to their central nervous systems. These people are already losing control of their movements; soon they will not be able to drive or walk properly. They will also have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding themselves. Eventually, they will need full time care.

Micro, global community, immediate – MiGI (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that there has been a sudden outbreak of symptoms across the world that are, as of yet, undiagnosed. That day alone, over 15,000 people admitted themselves into emergency rooms all over the world, complaining of tremors, digestive complications, vomiting, severe cramping, and breathing complications. You watch the news later that night, hoping to hear an update. The anchorperson informs you that the outbreak has been diagnosed; the people who have admitted themselves into the hospital have been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. As a result, the neurotoxin has caused irreparable damage to their central nervous systems. These people are already losing control of their movements; soon they will not be able to drive or walk properly. They will also have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding themselves. Eventually, they will need full time care.

Micro, individual, soon – MiIS (code)

One day, you experience mild digestive complications and nausea. You decide to wait it out and see if it goes away. After several days, it has only gotten worse and you've developed trouble breathing. In addition, you begin to experience tremors in your limbs and late night severe cramping. After a series of tests, your doctor informs you that you are been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. The neurotoxin has not yet caused any damage to your central nervous system, but he informs you that it is only a matter of time. In roughly two years time, your central nervous system will have sustained enough damage to result in the gradual loss of control over basic movements. Eventually, you will not be able to drive or walk properly. You also will have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding yourself. After a considerable amount of time, you will need full time care.

Micro, local community, soon – MiLS (code)

One day, someone from your community informs you that a well-known community member has fallen quite ill, but the doctor has been unable to diagnose him. Several days later, you ask after the well-being of the sick man; you are informed that someone else has fallen ill and that a series of tests have been conducted on the two. Over the next week, you are informed that the test results have not yet been returned, but three more people in your community who have started to display the same symptoms. In total, five members of your community have complained of nausea and vomiting, as well as breathing complications. Several of them have also developed noticeable tremors and some have experienced late night cramping. When the test results finally arrive, you find out that several members have been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. The neurotoxin has not yet caused damage to their central nervous systems but it is only a matter of time. In roughly two years, their central nervous systems will have sustained enough damage to result in the gradual loss of control over basic movements. Eventually, they will not be able to drive or walk properly. They will also have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding themselves. After a considerable amount of time, they will need full time care.

Micro, country, soon – MiCS (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that there has been an outbreak of symptoms across the country that are, as of yet, undiagnosed. That day alone, over one thousand people admitted themselves into emergency rooms all over the country, complaining of tremors, digestive complications, vomiting, severe cramping, and breathing complications. You watch the news later that night, hoping to hear an update. The anchorperson informs you that the outbreak has been diagnosed; the people who have admitted themselves into the hospital have been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. The neurotoxin has not yet caused damage to their central nervous systems but it is only a matter of time. In roughly two years, their central nervous systems will have sustained enough damage to result in the gradual loss of control over basic movements. Eventually, they will not be able to drive or walk properly. They will also have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding themselves. After a considerable amount of time, they will need full time care.

Micro, global community, soon – MiGS (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that there has been a sudden outbreak of symptoms across the world that are, as of yet, undiagnosed. That day alone, over 15,000 people admitted themselves into emergency rooms all over the world, complaining of tremors, digestive complications, vomiting, severe cramping, and breathing complications. You watch the news later that night, hoping to hear an update. The anchorperson informs you that the outbreak has been diagnosed; the people who have admitted themselves into the hospital have been exposed to extremely high levels of methylmercury. The neurotoxin has not yet caused damage to their central nervous systems but it is only a matter of time. In roughly two years, their central nervous systems will have sustained enough damage to result in the gradual loss of control over basic movements. Eventually, they will not be able to drive or walk properly. They will also have problems with simple actions, such as writing and feeding themselves. After a considerable amount of time, they will need full time care.

Macro, individual, immediate – MaII (code)

One day, you decide to take cautious measures, and have the mercury levels tested in the fish that you consume. You always get your fish from the same location in the ocean, so if mercury levels are low on one fish, you know that you are safe. You bring in several samples, though, just to be certain. Once the test results are returned, you are informed that the mercury levels in all of the fish are extremely high. Fish are a primary food source for you and you rely on it for survival; you do not have another option for a food source. You will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, local community, immediate – MaLI (code)

One day, you are told that a group of community members have decided to take cautious measures and have the mercury levels tested in the fish that they consume. They always get their fish from the same location in the ocean, so if mercury levels are low on one fish, they know they are safe. They have brought in several samples, though, just to be certain. A few days later, you are informed that the test results were returned. Mercury levels in all of the tested fish are extremely high. Fish are a primary food source in your

community and community members rely on fish for survival; they do not have another option for a food source. They will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, country, immediate – MaCI (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that several elected officials in your country have decided to take cautious measures and have the mercury levels tested in the fish consumed by their constituents. The country has one primary fish source, so samples from the one source are adequate. A few days later, you read in the newspaper that the test results were returned. Mercury levels in all of the tested fish were extremely high. Fish are a primary food source for your country, and the population relies on fish for survival; they do not have another option for a food source. They will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, global community, immediate – MaGI (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that countries around the world have decided to take cautious measures. They are having the mercury levels tested in sample fish that come from the primary global fish stock locations. There are several key fish sources around the world and numerous samples will be taken from each. A few days later, you read in the newspaper that the test results were returned. Mercury levels in all of the tested fish were extremely high. Fish are a primary food source for many countries around the world and many national populations rely on it for survival; they do not have another option for a food source. They will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, individual, soon – MaIS (code)

One day, you decide to take cautious measures, and have the mercury levels tested in the fish that you consume. You always get your fish from the same location in the ocean, so if mercury levels are low on one fish, you know that you are safe. You bring in several samples, though, just to be certain. Once the test results are returned, you are informed that there are traces of mercury in the fish. Analysis on the fish scales show an increase of mercury intake over time; within two years, mercury levels in fish will be extremely high. Fish are a primary food source for you and you rely on it for survival; you do not have another option for a food source. You will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, local community, soon – MaLS (code)

One day, you are told that a group of community members have decided to take cautious measures and have the mercury levels tested in the fish that they consume. They always get their fish from the same location in the ocean, so if mercury levels are low on one fish, they know they are safe. They have brought in several samples, though, just to be certain. A few days later, you are informed that the test results were returned; there were traces of mercury in the fish. Analysis on the fish scales show an increase of mercury intake over time; within two years, mercury levels in fish will be extremely high. Fish are a primary food source in your community and community members rely on fish for survival; they do not have another option for a food source. They will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, country, soon – MaCS (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that several elected officials in your country have decided to take cautious measures and have the mercury levels tested in the fish consumed by their constituents. The country has one primary fish source, so samples from the one source are adequate. A few days later, you read in the newspaper that the test results were returned; there were traces of mercury in the fish. Analysis on the fish scales show an increase of mercury intake over time; within two years, mercury levels in fish will be extremely high. Fish are a primary food source for your country, and the population relies on fish for survival; they do not have another option for a food source. They will have to continue to consume the fish.

Macro, global community, soon – MaGS (code)

One day, you read in the newspaper that countries around the world have decided to take cautious measures. They are having the mercury levels tested in sample fish that come from the primary global fish stock locations. There are several key fish sources around the world and numerous samples will be taken from each. A few days later, you read in the newspaper that the test results were returned; there were traces of mercury in the fish. Analysis on the fish scales show an increase of mercury intake over time; within two years, mercury levels in fish will be extremely high. Fish are a primary food source for many countries around the world and many national populations rely on it for survival; they do not have another option for a food source. They will have to continue to consume the fish.

Appendix C – Questionnaire: Measurements of psychological and behavioural response. Demographic data collection

Questions:

Please answer the following questions as though you were the primary character in this scenario.

1) Does this development concern you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all somewhat very strongly

2) Do you feel that this development will affect you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all somewhat very strongly

3) Do you feel threatened by this development?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all somewhat very strongly

4) Do you feel that you should respond in some way to this development?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all somewhat very strongly

5) How do you think you would respond to the development? (*please circle all of the appropriate responses*)

- a. Do nothing and hope for the best.
- b. Research the health consequences of burning coal.
- c. Raise awareness in your community about the health consequences of burning coal.
- d. Organize community groups that remain active around the health consequences of burning coal.
- e. Form alliances with activist organizations that focus on the health consequences of burning coal.
- f. Lobby the government for help.
- g. Engage in legal protest of the health consequences of burning coal (demonstrations, petitions, letter-writing).
- h. Engage in illegal non-violent protest of the health consequences of burning coal (illegal blockades, sit-ins, hanging banners).
- i. Engage in illegal violent protest of the health consequences of burning coal (breaking windows, committing arson, kidnappings).

If yes, what was the illegal protest for? _____
 Have you ever been arrested for protesting something that you objected to? Yes No

If yes, what was the form of protest? _____

If yes, what was the protest for? _____

Have you ever engaged in violent protest of something that you objected to? (violence entails causing intentional harm or damage to person or property) Yes No

If yes, what was the form of protest? _____

If yes, what was the protest for? _____

Do you affiliate with a non-profit, non-governmental organization? (i.e.: Greenpeace, Amnesty International, etc) Yes No

If yes, please list the organizations: _____

Do you consider yourself to be an activist? Yes No

If yes, which category would you place yourself in? It need not be a perfect match, but which category best describes your activism?

Armchair activist you care about various issues and keep informed, but only commit to signing petitions or writing letters

Lobbyist you sign petitions and write letters, but you also attend meetings, retain membership with activist groups, and/or take part in legal demonstrations

Nonviolent activist you attend meetings, retain membership with activists groups, and/or take part in legal demonstrations, but you also take part in illegal nonviolent demonstrations (sit-ins, blockades, banner hangs)

Violent activist you take part in illegal nonviolent demonstrations, but you also take part in illegal violent demonstrations (breaking windows, committing arson, graffiti)

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your time and participation.

Appendix D – Consent form

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Form 2 - Informed Consent By Participants In a Research Study

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 778-782-6593.

Your verbal consent upon reading this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Title: Violence in activism: instigating factors and thresholds breached

Investigator Name: Omi Hodwitz

Investigator Department: Criminology

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Document describing the study. I understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the study as described below:

Purpose and goals of this study:

The purpose of this study is to examine factors that may contribute to the decision to engage in civil disobedience. Participants are presented with hypothetical scenarios that are based on variations of threat: the intensity of threat, the immediacy of threat, and the parties effected by threat. Participant responses will be analyzed and compared in order to determine what variations of threat are most likely to result in civil disobedience.

What the participants will be required to do:

Participants will be asked to fill out a survey.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:

There are no immediate psychological or physical risks to participants. However, some of the questions may indicate participant propensity towards violence and could be subject to subpoena. Demographic data will be collected and the summary of each participant's data may provide indications of participant identity. However, individual participant's data will be omitted from research results (results will summarize all participant data, rather than individual data) and individual participant's data will be destroyed one year after completion of this study.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:

Ideally, this study will help to identify the combination of variables most likely to facilitate incidents of violent civil disobedience.

Statement of confidentiality: The data of this study will maintain confidentiality of your name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

Confidentiality is only ensured to the extent of local laws. Some participant responses may indicate a propensity towards violence and could be subject to subpoena. Participants will remain anonymous and all individual information will be omitted from research results. However, individual demographic data gathered in this survey may make determination of identity possible. These surveys and the accompanying data will be destroyed one year after the completion of this study.

Interview of employees about their company or agency:

There will be no interviews of employees.

Inclusion of names of participants in reports of the study:

There will be no inclusion of names of participants.

Contact of participants at a future time or use of the data in other studies:

Participants will not be contacted again and the data will only be used for my MA thesis.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Dr. Hal Weinberg
Director, Office of Research Ethics
Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive
Multi-Tenant Facility
Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting:

Ehor Boyanowsky at Simon Fraser University, School of Criminology, boyanows@sfu.ca

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study. I have read the consent form and agree to participate.

Reference List

- Allen, B. (2000). Martin Luther King's civil disobedience and the American covenant tradition. *The Journal of Federalism*, 30(4), 71.
- Almeida, P.D. (2003). Opportunity organizations and threat-induced contentions: Protest waves in authoritarian settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(2), 345.
- Andrews, K.T., & Biggs, M. (2006). The dynamics of protest diffusion: Movement organizations, social networks, and news media in the 1960 sit-ins. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 752.
- Armbruster-Sandoval, R. (2005). Workers of the world unite? The contemporary anti-sweatshop movement and the struggle for social justice in the Americas. *Work and Occupations*, 32(4), 464.
- Ashworth, J. (1900). The Doukhobortsy and religious persecution in Russia. April, 1900. Retrieved August 1, 2008 from: <http://www.doukhobor.org/Ashworth.htm>
- Barnes, S.H., & Kaase, M. (1979). *Political action: Mass participation in five Western democracies*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Baxter, S. (1997). *Still raising hell: Poverty, activism and other true stories*. Vancouver, Canada: Gang Publishers.
- Beckwith, K. (2002). Women, gender, and nonviolence in political movements. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 35 (1), 71.
- Berkowitz, L. (1988). Frustrations, appraisals, and aversively stimulated aggression. *Special Issue: Current Theoretical Perspectives on Aggressive and Antisocial Behavior*, 14(1), 3.
- Boyanowsky, E.O. (1993). Water Wars: Public Perceptions of Threat. In J. Winsor (Ed.) *Water Export: Should British Columbia's Water Be for Sale?* Cambridge: CWRA.

- Brody, S.D., Highfield, W., & Alston, L. (2004). Does location matter: Measuring environmental perceptions of creeks in two San Antonio watersheds. *Environment and Behavior*, 36(2), 229.
- Brown, J. (1988). Environmental and nuclear threats. In S. Fisher & J. Reason (Eds.), *Handbook of life stress, cognition and health* (pp. 115-134). Oxford, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Cable, S., Walsh, E. J., & Warland, R. H. (1988). Differential paths to political activism: Comparisons of four mobilization processes after the Three Mile Island accident. *Social Forces*, 66(4), 951.
- Carton, E. (1998). The price of privilege: "Civil disobedience" at 150. *The American Scholar*, Fall, 105.
- CBC Archives (1990). Oka Crisis Ends. September, 26, 1990. Retrieved August 2, 2007, from: http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-71-99-582/conflict_war/oka/clip8.
- CBC Archives (1993). A little place called Clayquot Sound. April 13, 1993. Retrieved July 10, 2007 from: http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-75-679-3918/science_technology/clearcutting/clip6.
- Childress, J.F. (1972). Nonviolent resistance and direct action: A bibliographical essay. *The Journal of Religion*, 52(4), 376.
- Clotfelter, C.T., Ehrenberg, R.G., Getz, M., & Siegfried, J.J. (1991). *Economic challenges in higher education*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Colaico, J.A. (1986). Martin Luther King, Jr. and the paradox of nonviolent direct action. *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, XLVII(1), 16.
- Crosby, F. (1976). A model of egoistical relative deprivation. *Psychological Review*, 83(2), 85.
- De La Rey, C., & Raju, P. (1996). Group relative deprivation: Cognitive versus affective components and protest orientation among Indian South Africans. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 136(5), 579.

- DeLeary, P. (1995). Re: Saugeen First Nation Response to Ipperwash standoff. September 14, 1995. Retrieved August 1, 2008, from: <http://nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/9509/0105.html>.
- Elkinton, J.S. (1903). Persecution of Doukhobors in South Russia, 1797. 1903. Retrieved August 1, 2008, from: <http://www.doukhobor.org/South-Russia.htm>.
- Fairclough, A. (1986). Martin Luther King, Jr. and the quest for nonviolent social change. *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, XLVII(1), 1.
- Falconer, T. (2001). *Watchdogs and gadflies: Activism from marginal to mainstream*. Toronto, ON: Penguin Books.
- Fisher, D.R., Stanley, K., Berman, D., & Neff, G. (2005). How do organizations matter? Mobilization and support for participants at five globalization protests. *Social Problems*, 52(1), 102.
- Flaherty, L.T. (2003). Youth, ideology, and terrorism. *Adolescent Psychiatry*, 27(2), 29.
- Forsyth, D. R., Garcia, M., Zyzniewski, L. E., Story, P. A., & Kerr, N. A. (2004). Watershed pollution and preservation: The awareness-appraisal model of environmentally positive intentions and behaviors. *Analyses of Social Issues & Public Policy (ASAP)*, 4(1), 115.
- Freese, J., Powell, B., & Steelman, L. C. (1999). Rebel without a cause or effect: Birth order and social attitudes. *American Sociological Review*, 64(2), 207.
- Grant, P. R., & Brown, R. (1995). From ethnocentrism to collective protest: Responses to relative deprivation and threats to social identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 58(3), 195.
- Guigni, M.G. (2002). Explaining cross-national similarities among social movements. In J.G. Smith and H. Johnston (Ed.) *Globalization and resistance: Transnational dimensions of social movements* (pp. 13-30). Rowman and Littlefield.
- Guimond, S., & Dube-Simard, L. (1983). Relative deprivation theory and the Quebec nationalist movement: The cognition-emotion distinction and the personal-group deprivation issue. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 44(3), 526.

- Hirsch, E. L. (1990). Sacrifice for the cause: Group processes, recruitment, and commitment in a student social movement. *American Sociological Review*, 55(2), 243.
- Hodwitz, O. (2006). Civil disobedience: The influence of proximity and intensity of threat to livelihood and health on decisions of dissent (unpublished honors thesis). Vancouver, BC: Simon Fraser University.
- Jenkins, J. C., & Wallace, M. (1996). The generalized action potential of protest movements: The new class, social trends, and political exclusion explanations. *Sociological Forum*, 11(2), 183.
- Kahn, K. (1989). Challenging authority: Civil disobedience in the feminist anti-militarist movement. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 12(1), 75.
- Kennedy, P. (2003). *A Guide to Econometrics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Klandermans, B. (1992). Trade union participation. In J.F Hartley and G.M. Stephensen (Eds.) *Employment relations: The psychology of influence and control at work*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Limited.
- Levine, A. G., & Stone, R. A. (1986). Threats to people and what they value: Residents' perceptions of the hazards of love canal. In A. Lebovits, A. Baum, J. Singer, N.J. Hillsdale (Eds.), *Exposure to hazardous substances: Psychological parameters* (pp. 109-130). England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lubell, M. (2002). Environmental activism as collective action. *Environment & Behavior*, 34(4), 431.
- Lyons, D. (1998). Moral judgment, historical reality, and civil disobedience. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 27(1), 31.
- McAdam, D. (1992). Gender as a mediator of the activist experience: The case of Freedom Summer. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(5), 1211.
- McAdam, D., & Paulsen, R. (1993). Specifying the relationship between social ties and activism. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(3), 640.

- McKenzie-Mohr, D., McLoughlin, J.G., & Dyal, J.A. (1992). Perceived threat and control as moderators of peace activism: Implications for mobilizing the public in the pursuit of disarmament. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 2, 269.
- Miller, J.M., & Krosnick, J.A. (2004). Threat as a motivator of political activism: A field experiment. *Political Psychology*, 25(4), 507.
- Miller, L. (2006). The terrorist mind: II. Typologies, psychopathologies, and practical guidelines for investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 50, 255.
- New York State Department of Health, 1981. Love Canal. Retrieved March 13, 2006, from: http://www.health.state.ny.us/environmental/investigations/love_canal/.
- Passy, F., & Giugni, M. (2001). Social networks and individual perceptions: Explaining differential participation in social movements. *Sociological Forum*, 16(1), 123.
- Petrie, M. (2004). A research note on the determinants of protest participation: Examining socialization and biographical availability. *Sociological Spectrum*, 24(5), 553.
- Rahman, A. (2004). Globalization: The emerging ideology in the popular protests and grassroots action research. *Action Research*, 2(1), 9.
- Rawls John. (1971). A theory of justice. MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sarangi, P. (1989). Gandhi and Rawls on civil disobedience. *Indian Journal of American Studies*, 19(1-2), 73.
- Seguin, C., Pelletier, L.G., & Hunsley, J. (1998). Toward a model of environmental activism. *Environment and Behavior*, 30(5), 628.
- Sherkat, D. E., & Blocker, T. J. (1994). The political development of sixties' activists: Identifying the influence of class, gender, and socialization on protest participation. *Social Forces*, 72(3), 821.
- Sherkat, D. E., & Blocker, T. J. (1993). Environmental activism in the protest generation: Differentiating 1960s activists. *Youth & Society*, 25(1), 140.

- Singh, J. (1990). A typology of consumer dissatisfaction response styles. *Journal of Retailing*, 6(1), 57.
- Slovic, P. (1993). Perceptions of environmental hazards: Psychological perspectives. In T. Garling & R. Golledge (Eds.), *Behavior and environment: Psychological and geographical approaches* (pp. 223-248). Oxford, England: North-Holland.
- Sowards, S.K., & Renegar, V.R. (2006). Reconceptualizing rhetorical activism in contemporary feminist contexts. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 17, 57.
- Stefanik, L. (2001). Baby stumpy and the war in the woods: Competing frames of British Columbia forests. *BC Studies*, 130, 41.
- Stone, R. A., & Levine, A. G. (1985). Reactions to collective stress: Correlates of active citizen participation at love canal. *Prevention in Human Services*, 4(1), 153.
- Sulloway, F. J. (1996). *Born to rebel: Birth order, family dynamics, and creative lives*. New York, NY: Pantheon Publishing.
- Terkel, S. N. (1996). *People power: A look at nonviolent action and defense*. New York, NY: Lodestar Books.
- Thoreau, H. D. (1996). *Political writings: Cambridge texts in the history of political thought*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tracy, J. (2002). *The civil disobedience handbook: A brief history and practical advice for the politically disenchanted*. San Francisco, CA: Manic D Press.
- Veenstra, K., & Haslam, A. (2000). Willingness to participate in industrial protest: Exploring social identification in context. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(2), 153.
- Wandersman, A. H., & Hallman, W. K. (1993). Are people acting irrationally? Understanding public concerns about environmental threats. *American Psychologist*, 48(6), 681.
- Wilkes, R. (2006). The protest actions of indigenous peoples: A Canadian-U.S. comparison of social movement emergence. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(4), 510.

- Williams, C. (1996). Environmental victimization and violence. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 1*(3), 191.
- Wozniak, J. (2005). Winning the battle of Seattle: State response to perceived crisis. *Illness, Crisis and Loss, 13*(2), 129.
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 58*(6), 994.
- Yantz, C.L, & McCaffrey, R.J. (2007). Social facilitation effect of examiner attention or inattention to computer-administered neuropsychological tests: First sign that the examiner may affect results. *The Clinical Neuropsychologist, 21*, 663.
- Zweigenhaft, R. L. (2002). Birth order effects and rebelliousness: Political activism and involvement with marijuana. *Political Psychology, 23*(2), 219.
- Zweigenhaft, R. L., & Von Ammon, J. (2000). Birth order and civil disobedience: A test of Sulloway's "born to rebel" hypothesis. *Journal of Social Psychology, 140*(5), 624.