RISK ACCEPTANCE AND CONTENTIOUS POLITICS: AN UNDERSTANDING OF PROTEST ACTIVITY IN LATIN AMERICA

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ABSTRACT

What are the individual characteristics which motivate individuals to participate in contentious politics? This dissertation claims that risk acceptance as a psychological concept allows us to understand the individual predispositions that impact participation in protest activity. This dissertation project is significant to the field of political science in that it theorizes about the characteristics that make individuals risk acceptant and utilizes risk acceptance [1] in the study of contentious politics, which has not been done before. I import claims from social psychology to highlight how lack of completion of several life cycle markers-which I name risk weights, such as marriage, parental status, and educational attainment amongst others-make individuals more risk acceptant. Once these risk weights are mapped onto risk, it allows one to determine and explain when protest activity is likely to occur. My dissertation uses a mixed-method approach to examine the relationship between risk acceptance and contentious politics. It is divided into the following components: one measure for risk acceptance, two online experiments, and field interviews in Chile.

There are two main claims that this project posts: The first is that high levels of risk acceptance correspond with higher likelihood of participation in different forms of contentious political events, with case study work focusing on protest activity in Latin America. The second claim is that risk acceptance is a function of risk weights. The more risk weights that an individual has, the less likely they are to participate in contentious politics. Conversely, the fewer risk weights that an individual has, the more likely they

[1] Other researchers have used different models for risk acceptance in other areas of scholarly work, primarily in studies of voting behavior.

are to participate in contentious political action. One of the important contributions of my work is that it treats risk acceptance as a purely psychological factor, one that is stable and only changes in accordance with risk weights, but that is not impacted by the context in which individuals are embedded. This means that the decision to participate or not participate in contentious political action is a function of the interaction between risk acceptance and some other contextual factors which are beyond the scope of my present research. This dissertation aims to identify the likelihood of participation for any individual.

Social psychology has been underutilized in the study of contentious politics and can provide insights into why individuals self-select into these movements. In the context of worldwide mass mobilization, this allows us to understand the underlying individual phycological predispositions that lead to mass mobilizations and waves of mobilizations. Examining how these psychological mechanisms manifest themselves into various forms of contentious politics has important potential applications for the study of contentious politics.

DEDICATION

Para Chris, Neruda lo escribió mil veces mejor:

“soy porque tú eres… eres, soy y somos”

and to the boys: Bryan, Nico, Tony, and Manny,

you are the reason that I do anything in life

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2010, 26-year-old Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in front of a Tunisian government building. What followed this event that same day were protests in the city. A few days after, protests started popping up all around the country and later this spread to other countries in the Middle East(Staff, 2011a). One of the aspects that journalists and academics alike focused on was that the composition of these protests was mainly considered youth. That is, these protestors were young. But this is not the first protest event or contentious political action[2] event composed of young people. In the United States the Occupy Wall Street was primarily composed of individuals under the age of 35. With only about 40 percent of individuals protesting being over the age of 45(Staff, 2011b). Beyond protests, for example, around 20 to 30 percent of The FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) are individuals under the age of 18 (Organizations, n.d.).

This age component is simply viewed as the driver for participation in these kinds of activities. It is because youth are for easily radicalized or more likely to make demands on states and when these demands are not, they rebel or cause instability due to their large numbers. Other scholars have utilized the concept of youth bulges to explain participation in contentious political events. The work on youth bulges in political science has been growing, particularly after the Arab Spring(LaGraffe, 2012; Gaan,

[2] 1Contentious Politics is best understood as "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects"(Tarrow, 2013). The government of a country must be involved in the claim-making process either as receivers of these claims or the group making the claims themselves. If these claims are manifested they must impact either the group or groups making the claim or the group or groups receiving the claim

2015). Several relationships have been found between youth bulges and different forms of contentious politics. Youth bulges are claimed to be a necessary condition for civil wars (Daniel W. Hill Jr., 2014), while others find a clear relationship between youth bulges and political instability (Cincotta et al., 2003)[3] . The main assumption that undergirds these findings about youth bulges and contentious politics in its varying manifestations is that youth are inherently unstable for a variety of reasons, and that they therefore are more likely to engage in violence. There are several large-scale contextual factors that may lead to violence such as the pressures that such a large population places on states for resources. At the same time there are some discussions about the collective decisions that youth as a group create upon a state with few resources to accommodate their basic needs such as employment.

What does knowing that these individuals share a certain age characteristic tell us about the individuals themselves? Nothing. It allows us to make assumptions about the work that this age characteristic may be doing, but it tells us very little in terms of the types of individuals that make up this group. At the same time, utilizing age, or in the case of political demographers that utilize youth bulges, it imposes a cultural component of what youth is and is not in different places around the world and across time. in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, Thomas Hardy describes Gabriel Oak as, ”He had just reached the time of life at which ’young’ is ceasing to be the prefix of ’man’ in speaking of one. In short, he was twenty-eight, and a bachelor”. This was in 1874, by today’s standards and by the measures of youth bulges, this is the description of someone that is still considered a youth. The usefulness of youth bulges as an analytical category in

[3] Though utilizing a different measure of youth bulges find there is no relationship between political stability and youth bulges(Goldstone & Force, 2005).

political science, is that it provides a foundation for the structural conditions that exist for individuals to then engage in acts of contention.

There are two main issues with focusing on demographic characteristics in explaining any kind of political phenome. The first is that age does not provide any information as to the individual processes and evaluations for engaging in any type of behavior. The second and even more problematic is that by if individuals of a certain age or demographic are unstable, or merely prone to engage in violent behaviors— it makes policy hard to make since these individuals are viewed as being of a category of people that simply cannot be reasoned with. It seems like almost too deterministic of a metric to use. Also in social psychology, there is nothing that is inherently violent or un- stable about individuals that fit this age range. Yes, there are physiological, emotional, and cognitive developments that individuals of these age ranges experiences. During this time, there are physical changes; individuals are developing in terms of actual physical growth. These physical changes are also accompanied by developments in the brain that impact how individuals make sense of the world around them. During this period, individuals are learning about their place in the world, and how to behave in that world. But, the actions that these individuals engage in or can engage in due to these changes is a function of the social structures in which they are embedded. The second issue is that the narrow focus on age range neglects to explain the whole range of individuals that participate in these activities. It makes it seem that contentious political action is a thing only young people engage in. What is evident from protest activity is that individuals of all ages participate (Naples, 1992).

So, what is the main characteristic of interest that individuals that these individuals share? Their proclivity to accept risk. Risk acceptance is the acceptance of a possible loss or detriment in the realms of physical, health, social, financial, or career(Trimpop, 1994; Simonet & Wilde, 1997). There are two main claims that are advanced in this dissertation: The first is that risk acceptance is a function of risk weights. The second is that individuals that are more risk acceptant are more likely to participate in instances of contentious politics, particularly in protest activities. Risk weights are akin to life characteristics, real structural characteristics which impact the ways in which individuals make final decisions on risk. In this project risk weights are things that are primarily economic in nature. These weights are things such as marital status, parental status, educational attainment levels, and other factors. These are risk weights because each of these structural characteristics because they impact the overall calculus of how individuals make decisions[4].

Risk Acceptance

The literature on risk acceptance in political science has mainly focused on decision-making in terms of risk either through rational choice theory, prospect theory, or using social psychology literature on risk that identifies individual level risk preferences. Standard rational choice models of risk- taking behavior have primarily utilized expected utility models as the basis for decision-making. Most the works that will be discussed in this brief literature survey is that these works utilize risk acceptance to explain some other outcome in political behavior. These works do not claim that some political

[4] An important distinction here is that risk weights also denote that there is no absolute set point that individuals have for risk.

behavior influences risk acceptance. Throughout these accounts risk preferences are stable, and not influenced by politics, it is risk that influences behaviors.

Most the literature on risk in political science has used insight from eco- nomics, behavioral economics, and social psychology. This literature seems to have arisen out of the study of elections. This would seem like the natural choice since uncertainty exists in elections, because there is a choice between an incumbent, either a party or individual, and a challenger. There is a degree of risk or uncertainty about the outcome of an election in either supporting the incumbent or by supporting the opposition group. The uncertainty is not about just about the outcome of the election but about the effects that any outcome has on the individual and society generally. However, now, the spheres in which risk has been studied are diverse: from leadership behavior, state behavior, to receptiveness to policy. Risk has now been utilized as an explanatory variable in many arenas.

My project ties in with the political science literature which utilizes risk acceptance as an explanatory variable. I propose the use of this explanatory variable in the study of contentious politics. The departure that my project takes from these accounts is that I theorize that what causes a particular preference for risk[5] is a set of structural or life cycle characteristics. Some scholars do acknowledge the relationship between these life cycle characteristics and risk propensity, but they do not theorize about the causes of risk acceptance.

[5] Either to be risk acceptant or risk averse.

Rational Choice and Prospect Theory

Rational choice theory in the study of risk mainly focuses on utility maximization[6]. Under this theory, individuals maximize their expected utility. They do this by weighing the utility of all possible outcomes for all the possible options available to them. Individuals then select the option that has the highest expected utility. Individuals behave in ways to maximize their expected utility with little concern for the domain in which they find themselves in. This model assumes that individuals are risk averse by nature because a person is going to prefer a certain outcome over an uncertain outcome given that these outcomes have similar expected values. People are risk averse not because of the situation that they may find themselves in but because of the payoffs of any given situation[7]. Subjective expected utility introduces a normative component that everyone has their own utility function but that individuals, regardless of shape of the utility function seek to maximize it. It is not that this is how rational individuals ought to behave in this way, but that this is how they should behave(von Neumann & Morgenstern, 2007). These choices are made at the individual level, rather than at the collective level. The assumption, then, is that individuals make decisions, and collective outcomes are then explained in accordance with these individual maximization calculations(Green & Shapiro, 1994). Even where groups are the primary focus of analysis, these groups are treated as unitary rational actors(Fearon, 1995).

One of the benefits of rational choice theory in risk is that it is parsimonious, since the choice to engage in risk is a utility function. The decision then is to maximize

[6] Rational choice will be discussed generally here, because the main assumptions of the theory are applicable across domains. Therefore, even in the domain or frame of risk, individuals are expected to behave in the same ways.

[7] This is mainly a description of traditional Bernoulli model of utility function.

that utility function to reduce the costs associated with risks. Another main benefit of rational choice theory is that it accounts for individual decision-making processes. But at the same time, this treatment of individuals does not necessarily speak to the differences between individuals[8]. A major assumption is that the behavior of individuals is homogenous across actors. A main drawback of conceptualizing risk with expected utility is that it fails to consider the ways in which individuals actually behave. A critique raised by Tversky and Kahneman states, "The theory was conceived as a normative model of an idealized decision maker, not as a description of the behavior of real people" (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986, 251). This behavioral component is where prospect theory claims to be an improvement over standard rational choice accounts.

Prospect theory challenges standard rational choice approaches, primarily the subjective utility models, by claiming that individuals are more sensitive to increasing gains and losses. Individuals have a reference point, and based using these reference points they make decisions (Levy,2002). An individual is more likely to value a higher gain if they have not had any gain at all rather than a smaller gain relative to their overall gains. At the same time, prospect theory introduces psychological factors into decision-making, in particular, differentiation between the frames or domains of risk and gains. Individual habits, norms, expectations, and the way in which a choice is presented all make up the framing of a decision(Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) Individuals place less weight on outcomes that are uncertain and more weight on certain outcomes(Berejikian, 2004). Prospect theory denotes that individuals are more likely to take risks when they

[8] Even though rational choice theory does recognize that there are differences in propensity for risk at the individual level, the models that are created are simple abstractions not intended to capture every single human behavior. They merely allow us to gain some insight into general patterns of behavior.

are faced with the domain of losses but are risk averse in the domain of gains (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). This means that rather than a single expected utility function, individuals have two utility functions: one for losses and one for gains. Individuals are more likely to be risk averse in the frame of gains and more likely to be risk acceptant when in the frame of losses. The commonality between prospect theory and standard rational choice approaches is that the utility function for individuals is not a straight line, it is a curve function and that the utility function varies from person to person.

Levy compares research conducted using prospect theory and notes that many of the findings for international relations can be captured by utility maximization theory (Levy, 1997). He claims that both theories do well in explaining their specific domains. He notes that prospect theory, unlike standard rational choice approaches, is not intended to explain collective decision- making. Prospect theory is only expected to explain individual rationality and, at the time of his critique, was not tested at the collective level, though there has been work that has empirically tested this since. Some of these applications of prospect theory at the collective level have focused on welfare reforms (Vis, 2009, 2010), American foreign policy (McDermott, 2001), and even neoliberal reform policies in Latin America (Weyland, 1998).

Psychological Approaches

More recent work on risk challenges the main assumption of prospect theory in terms of uniformity of risk. This new work claims that risk is an individual level characteristic that impacts decision-making in different respects, which is more in line with traditional rational choice approaches. At the same time, these psychological approaches place importance on the situational or frame- specific contexts in which individuals make decisions concerning risk, much like prospect theory. But, rather than

claiming that it is either individual or frame-specific, these approaches emphasize that both factors work together to influence decision-making in contexts where risk is involved. Kowert and Hermann do this when examining leadership decisions in international relations. They directly challenge prospect theory and note that a leaders' personality type is much more likely to influence whether they take risks rather than the domain in which the leader is deciding in. Much like other work (Kam & Simas, 2010), they assess individual propensities for risk, as well as the issues that individuals face. The interplay between risk propensity and situation or frame influences the kinds of actions that leaders take.

Kam and Simas(2010) also have developed a risk acceptance measure that is based upon a seven-item questionnaire. They use this to assess how risk acceptance impacts an individual responses to different policy frames. They chose a smallpox policy frame as well as a mortality policy frame. They find that individuals with higher risk acceptance are more likely to prefer probabilistic outcomes, whereas individuals that are more risk averse are more likely to prefer more certain outcomes. They use certain demographic and structural characteristics as a validity check for their measure of risk acceptance. As is expected, they find that gender behaves in accordance with the literature: females are more risk averse than men, as are individuals that are older. They also find in their data that income and education are positively associated with risk acceptance. As individuals have higher incomes and higher levels of education, they become more risk acceptant. But these are only validity checks and are not included in their measure of risk acceptance. They note that these relationships exist, but their main purpose is using their measure of risk acceptance to determine the effects of certain

policy frames at the individual level9. They find that individuals that are risk averse are more likely to favor certain outcomes and are also more likely to not engage in certain political activities.

Grose notes tests that risk mediates how house members will vote given their level of investment on increasing the debt limit (Grose, 2013). They claim that risk is a function of how diversified the portfolio is of a member of the house: the more diversified the portfolio is the more risk averse that member is, conversely the less diversified the more risk acceptant that they are. They attempt to establish a connection between the individual investments of a House member mediated by their risk profile leading to a given behavior in. They do indeed find that members that are more risk averse are more likely to support measures that would lessen later stock market crashes. This is step towards evaluating individual proclivities for risk but limited to a singular domain- in this case financial risk or loss.

In comparative politics literature, Morgenstern and Zechmeister use risk acceptance as a mechanism in explaining vote choice in a 1997 Mexican midterm election. They create their own measure of risk based upon two common Spanish language proverbs[9]. They find that individuals that they characterize as chronic risk takers, are more likely to vote for the opposition party. They note that chronic risk takers can vote with past economic performance in mind, whereas those that are not chronic risk takers do not judge parties based upon past economic performance. Chronic risk takers

[9] The main difference between the Kam and Simas measure and what I plan on developing is that I think that these individual level characteristics, which they use as validity checks, are actually predictors of risk acceptance. At the same time, they also use a general risk assessment. They note that they are not concerned with a variant of risk but rather risk acceptance generally. I am more concerned about risk acceptance as it pertains to a general predisposition towards risk, something that is not specific to politics or any singular domain of risk.

are more likely to vote for the opposition party, while people that are risk averse are more likely to vote for the incumbent party. Similar work has found that when voting individuals that are more risk averse use evaluations of possible gains from the voting outcome, whereas risk averse people are more likely to use the weights of possible worst case outcome when voting (Nadeua et al., 1999).

Similar to this work on candidate evaluation Glasgow and Alvarez (2007) note that uncertainty and uncertainty about a particular candidate's trait in- fluences how that person evaluates the candidate. Other work on candidates and risk notes that individuals that are more risk averse are more likely to vote for the incumbent. Whereas people that are more risk acceptant have a higher likelihood of voting for an opposition candidate (Eckles et al., 2014). These works measure risk acceptance in their own ways. They all use social psychology literature to frame their discussion of risk. At the same time, these scholars all utilize different methods to create their measures. Some use questions that have already been implemented in other studies before them, while others simply utilize their own conceptions of risk to develop new measures and new questions. One of the major benefits of this approach to the study of risk is that it does not rely on just the individual level risk nor does it rely on the domain of application, but it incorporates both to address the ways in which individuals make decisions.

One of the main components of the works that create their own measure of risk as it relates to my broader project is the agreement that certain demographic characteristics influence overall levels of risk acceptance at the individual level. Kam and discuss this as a validity check for their measure of risk acceptance. In other cases, other types of structural characteristics are utilized as interaction effects. This is the case with Ehrlich

and Maestas, in that they use employment level in conjunction with risk acceptance to assess how likely an individual is to be in favor of certain foreign policies.

The work on risk in political science has a long history. The common thread from these studies is that they adopt insights from other fields (economics, behavioral economics, and psychology approaches) to explain different political behaviors. The most recent branch of work that attempts to explain individual level variation seems to focus more on the psychological components of risk as a concept. My project aims to build on this branch of the literature, by theorizing on the individual level characteristics that make an individual risk acceptance or risk averse. This project explicitly relates these characteristics with varying levels of risk acceptance. This project also seeks to expand the domain of application of risk acceptance. Much of this literature has focused on voting behavior, policy preferences, and leadership style. My dissertation project pushes the domain of application by expanding to contentious politics.

Contentious Politics

The literature on contentious politics falls under several umbrellas. The arguments that are most relevant to this work are the grievance arguments, which look at some of the individual level factors that prompt the joining or initiation of contentious political action. Like these are the rational choice approaches that address the individual, in that they assume that individuals are self-interested and therefore only willing to participate in contentious politics if it benefits them in any way. The new social movement literature ex- amines social movements and notes that what ties these individuals together is not necessarily materialistic or instrumental characteristics, but rather the identities of the

movement[10]. The last approach in the study of contentious politics, as it relates to this project, is political process. The political process literature is perhaps the most well-known and has three main components: the group that is making claims, the strength of the group, and the political opportunities that are available to make the claims.

Grievance

The study of the role of individual-level factors in contentious politics can be traced to Ted Gurr(1970) and his theory of relative deprivation discussed in *Why Men Rebel?* . In this account, the discrepancy between what may be achieved, what Gurr calls value expectations, and what is achieved, value capabilities, is known as relative deprivation. These expectations are relative, because they are a comparison with other members of society. When the difference between the two is very large and individuals are aggravated, there is greater potential for violence. The potential for violence occurs because individual frustrations with expectations are converted into aggressive behaviors.

Recent work has tried to dispel grievance as the primary motivator for social conflict. Much of this work focuses on overall levels of inequality within countries measured in different ways. Many of these works have focused on civil war. Collier and Hoeffler(2004) claim that there are different factors that lead individuals to join or take part in civil wars. They note that greed is the most salient condition that makes conflict more likely. The greed component of the greed and grievance argument is that individuals acting in their own self-interest choose to join or initiate conflicts, because it allows them to enrich themselves. They are not the only scholars to try and dispel the

[10] The term identities here is used very loosely to mean any belief system that the individuals within a movement may hold.

grievance claim. Fearon and Laitin note that ethnically diverse countries do not demonstrate higher levels of civil violence than do places that are more ethnically or religiously homogenous. They find that it is countries with high rates of poverty, a landscape that is difficult to navigate, and large populations that have a higher likelihood of civil conflict.

Gurr's claims about grievance are about the individual and the individual's feelings about their position within society. Yet, much of the data that he used to test the different deprivation mechanisms was based upon country level data. Recent work on the dynamics of grievance in the study of collective action have used many of these country level indicators as well. Weede finds that there is no relationship between indicators of deprivation[11] and levels of violence across countries. This, though, is part of a broader group of work that examines grievance through inequality and its effects on violence or instability within a country (Muller & Seligson, 1987; Muller & Weede, 1990).

Rational Choice an Contentious Politics

Beginning with Mancur Olson's work, in which he notes that individuals behave in ways that are rational, the rational choice approach to the study of social movements explains collective action through the individual behaviors of participants in these movements. This means that individuals behave to enhance their material interests. The only reason that an individual will con- tribute to or join a social movement or engage in collective action is because it has the potential to benefit them. Therefore, the only reason that individuals join collective action movements is because they have interests that they could not otherwise manifest on their own(Buchanan & Tulluck, 1999). He calls these

[11] Measured in terms of inequality.

common interests: Interests that are shared by members of the collective. They need the collective component for their common interests to be furthered.

Elinor Ostrom (1998) continues with the rational approach in the study of collective action by introducing a behavioral component[12]. Ostrom intro- duces the concept of bounded rationality to the study of collective action by claiming that individuals are not fully rational. People do behave in ways that are self-interested, but they do so within a framework of establishing meaning and relationships with the world around them. This framework would suggest that individuals do not always behave in a purely self-interested way. People are not perfectly rational; they are boundedly rational. In order to deal with these problems that change incentive structures to act purely rationally, individuals establish collective action(Ostrom, 2000)[13].

Kuran (1995) continues with the rationalist explanations by claiming that even when individuals are purely instrumental and only calculate their costs and benefits, collective action can still take place. This is because individuals each possess private and public preferences. Public preferences are those that are dependent upon the social and political structures in which people are embedded. Private preferences are those that individuals hold that are impossible to know. They can be socially constructed but are not dependent on these social or political structures to exist. Public preferences are important, because they create what Kuran notes as a revolutionary threshold. These thresholds are a value at which an individual will abandon support for the incumbent government and join in support for the opposition party or group. These thresholds are unobservable, and they vary from one society to another(Kuran, 1995). Scholars may never uncover private

[12] Much like in the rational approaches with risk, this work grew out of behavioral economics.
[13] Which branches off to rational choice institutionalism.

preferences but risk allows us to get one step closer to uncovering these revolutionary thresholds or at least how they are distributed within a society. If we know these individual level risk weights we can have a better idea as to the likelihood that individuals will actually join in support of the opposition group. One of the main departures from the Olsonian account is in the need for individuals that are not purely utility-maximizers. Society must include a set of people that are considered the first-movers. These individuals are usually activists, and unlike with Olson's account, they are not driven by material costs and benefits. They are deeply devoted to a particular cause due to ideology[14].

New Social Movements

The new social movement theorists grew out of the study of Leftist movements in the 1960's and 1970's. At the same time, the new social movement theory grew as a response to resource mobilization theories[15]. The common thread that these scholars share is that they believe that what motivates social movements are things that can be classified as post-materialist values. This was traced back to a changing society, at least in industrialized societies, that places less emphasis on material well-being and more emphasis on things that made them more concerned with participation in politics and the ways in which they lived their lives(Inglehart, 1977). These post material values seem to be, in large part, a function of generational shifts. There are cohorts of individuals deemed to possess these postmaterialist values, and these values therefore make these

[14] This first mover also seems to respond to some of the early critiques of the rational approach to collective action from the new social movements. One of the main critiques was that, based on the rational choice approach, the engagement in contentious political action by a new group is unlikely, as it is far too costly for these groups to engage in the first place(Crouch & Pizzorno, 1978)

[15] These theorists grew out of the Olsonian tradition and place an emphasis on the resources available that lead to large scale collective action.

people more likely to support leftist movements. These individuals are not only receptive to new ideas; they are also constantly in favor of change(Inglehart, 1988) Claus Offe addresses these new social movements in Western Europe. He notes that civil society was trying to politicize itself "in ways that are not constrained by the channels of representative bureaucratic political institutions and thereby to reconstitute a civil society that is no longer dependent and intervention"(Offe, 1985). In this sense, then, these new social movements have arisen away from an identity that is dependent on traditional forms of politics of control. But it is not that these social movements are completely radicalized and attempting to undo all the institutions. When discussing their internal composition, Offe notes that these movements are organized in an informal way, with rudimentary organization schemes, where individuals flow in and out of the groups without necessarily established roles(Cohen, 1985). These groups have an external mode of action, whereby they make themselves known though events such as protests and make their large numbers obvious. In this sense, these protests demonstrate that the groups are informally composed and often are issue-specific, which makes negotiations difficult. Due to the lack of formal internal composition, these groups have nothing to offer to receive concessions from formal institutions. The main problem with the new social movement literature is that it was based upon industrialized countries. This was not necessarily generalizable to those countries that were in the process of becoming more industrialized. At the same time, it seemed to be selective in the kinds of movements that it examined. Not all social movements of the time were as radical or in favor of change as many of the new social movements scholars claimed them to be. Another critique that was raised is that older social movements exhibited some of the same ideological

components as the new social movements. In this sense, there was nothing that was particularly new about these social movements(Buechler, 2013).

Political Processes

The political process/contentious politics literature focuses almost exclusively on the collective component of the contentious politics. This is perhaps the most dominant branch of the social conflict literature. This approach focuses on the factors that are common to all episodes of contention, rather than a single episode of contention, and can be traced back to Tilly's 1978 work. In this work, he notes that there are three main factors that influence the mobilization of a group. These factors are: interests, organization, and opportunity(Tilly, 1978)The political processes theories attribute variations in social conflict to political opportunities and the organization of resources that groups possess (McAdam et al. , 2001; Tilly, 1978). Social process scholars acknowledge that grievances exist, but they claim that grievances are always present and are therefore not as informative as the political processes that allow individuals to join.

There are three main properties in the political process approach. The first of these properties is the political opportunity structure. These are regime specific qualities. These qualities influence the outcome of claims that are made. The second property that is present in these episodes is collective actors. Individuals create collective identities through various networks, and they re-draw the boundaries of those within and outside of that collective identity(Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). The last property involves performances and repertoires. These are the ways in which actors make claims. They note that there are not infinite ways in which actors can make claims, but these episodes of claim-making are determined by the opportunity structure that regimes provide groups. One of the greatest strengths of the political process approach is that it focuses on the mechanisms

that these episodes have in common. Focusing on the mechanisms rather than the specifics of any episode allows for generalizations across cases. This allows for an easier identification of episodes of contention given these causal mechanisms. At the same time, this is perhaps one of the weaknesses of this approach. In narrowing in on common causal mechanisms, the historical contexts in which these episodes occur can be lost(Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

Situating the Project

Though not exhaustive, this literature survey addresses some of the main contributing theories from the past and present to the field in political science. Grievance theories focus on the individual and their reasoning for participating in a movement. Rationalist approaches address the calculations that individuals make to join collective action. The new social movements approach examines social movements not as instances of material self-interest, but rather as the manifestation of post materialist values. Finally, the political process approach to contentious politics finds the common causal mechanism for episodes of contentious action.

Much of the more recent focus in the literature is on the collective component of these social movements and not on what gets people to join, start, and sustain movements. My project aims to focus on those individual or rationalist accounts for why people join in collective action. In 2011 Ted Gurr wrote, "I continue to think that people, with all their diverse identities, desires, and beliefs, should be central to our analyses of conflict. This means that individuals should be the prism through which to examine the effects of social structures, beliefs and the possibilities for mobilization and political actions(Gurr, 2011)."

My project examines the individual by focusing on the specific life cycle characteristics that impact an individual's risk preference. This can then be used as a tool to explain when these instances of claim-making occur. Political opportunities, collective actors and repertoires of contention are central to a fully comprehensive view of collective action. But the collective must first be understood at the individual level. This project is simply more than examining the individual as just one that is reacting to negative economic conditions.

More recent work, such as Alexandra Scacco's examines the individual level factors that influence participation in riots specifically looking at the interplay between economic factors, or grievances and the social contexts in which individuals are embedded. It is the interplay of these factors that actually makes participation in violence during riots more likely, not just one of these factors over another. This work places more emphasis on the individual and the interplay of what the rational choice scholars believed was most important with social context Hollyer et al (2015) look at the contextual factors, meaning information about the government itself in terms of their economic performance, which they call transparency .They note that transparency in poor economically performing regimes makes them vulnerable to mass mobilization because it provides information to protest participants about the likelihood of others participating. This work tries to understand the thresholds for popular mobilization. This work is more clearly focused with the contexts that allow contentious politics to occur, so it is more firmly within the political processes approach but on how the context influences individual calculations for joining contentious movements. McDoom(2013) notes that participation in intergroup violence is a function of the social sphere that the individual is embedded.

They find that as individuals live closer together these communities, individuals within these communities are more likely to engage in violence. In this case, the individual matters in terms of their relation to others around them. Context in this case is what informs or pushes perpetrating violence. It is not some psychological factor that makes individuals likely to engage in a violent act, but it is the effects of the community upon the individual.

Risk Acceptance as a Function of Risk Weights

Risk is best understood as the possibility of physical, social or financial harm, detriment or loss (Trimpop, 1994; Simonet & Wilde, 1997; Renn & Rohrmann, 2000; Rohrmann, 2002). Risk involves some level of uncertainty about the outcome of a decision. Risk acceptance is then how acceptable the decisions that individuals make. This acceptance can be at the societal level, but for the purposes of this project, these decisions will be based at the individual level. Decisions are therefore about how much a person deems any of their actions acceptable or not. Meaning, how much an individual is willing to accept some sort of detriment or loss. An individual's assessment of risk changes throughout their life course but not necessarily in ways that are as predictable as age. This assessment, and more specifically, the acceptance of risk allows for uncovering the true starting point for individuals in terms of their likelihood to engage in protests, riots, and revolutions- in other words, contentious politics. Some of the risk weights that are chosen in this project are educational status, parental status, employment status, household status, marital status, gender, and head of household status.

This conceptualization of risk acceptance falls closely in line with a psychological concept known as sensation seeking. Sensation seeking is. "the need for varied, novel,

and complex sensations and experience and the willing- ness to take physical and social risks for the sake of such experience."(Zuckerman, 1979, 10). This sensation seeking implies individuals are willing to take risks across all domains of risk. Several studies have found that individuals who score highly on sensation seeking scores are often more likely to engage in financial risks as well, but it is not always the case because there are many other factors that influence other domains of risk acceptance(Prinstein et al. , 2001). Many of these studies have analyzed this relationship as it relates to gambling(Anderson and Brown,1984). The focus here is on sensation seeking as the broadest category of risk acceptance because risk acceptance correlates highly with all the different forms of risk taking. These domains of risk taking are social, financial, work, physical, and by some accounts health risk. These different domains often do not correlate with one another but, using sensation seeking as the broadest umbrella allows this project to not be limited to a domain of risk.

Risk proclivities vary throughout an individual's life course (Chaulk et al., 2003). This means that as individuals go through different periods of their life their level of risk acceptance will also vary. However, this is not a function of age, but a function of the risk weights. I use the term risk weights to denote a structural characteristic that moves an individual from a condition of relative dependence to relative independence. In social psychology this term is most closely associated with a life marker. I have chosen to stay away from the language of life markers, because it denotes a specific criteria that individuals ought to have met to be considered at varying stages of their development. This project does not many any normative claims about completion of these stages. It may be the case that individuals risk proclivity may affect their risk weights but this is

generally not the case, because these risk weights are indeed socially constructed. The rate at which individuals weight these risks deals very much with the social community around them. There are various correlations between risk proclivities and age, particularly noting that men in varying contexts are more risk acceptant than women(Aluja, 2004)

These weights have been selected because they are traditionally noted as being part of the developmental process, these are things other than just age that aid in explaining how people are likely to engage in risk. It is important to note that these weights are socially and culturally constructed, which is why this project is focused on Latin America. Ideally, this measure would serve as a first step towards more culturally specific conceptualizations of risk weights. This cultural context is also important because these weights are not equally weighted. In different cultural constructs, some of these risk weights would have more weight over others[16].

Josef et al(2016) is a more recent article that finds that risk taking varies in predictable ways throughout a life course. The authors contend that risk taking is actually a personality trait, like many others[17]. Even if other research does prove that this is a stable personality trait, this would mean that the personality trait would be a precursor to individuals meeting any of the risk weights. Risk acceptance would then occur prior to the risk weights, which is not necessarily an issue for this project, because these risk weights would allow scholars to uncover the supposed personality trait and how that

[16] This could theoretically also be at the individual level.

[17] This is not particularly concerning for this project since it has only been found in one particular circumstance.

relates to the behavior that is being studied. Prior to this work there has been some contestation about the psychological processes that leads to risk taking at various ages.

Risk as a Predictor of Protest Activity

In trying to understand protest activity specifically, particularly in Latin America, much of the focus is on economic indicators. These are factors that lead individuals to protest, but not much focus has been placed upon the psychological indicators that influence participation in protest activity. Protests, and any contentious political event, involves risk. In some instances, this risk is obvious; protesters may be arrested or in more severe cases, they may be disappeared. In less blatant forms, there are risks involved in protesting in that participants have the potential of disappointing their kin or being shunned by other members of their social circle. But in this dissertation, these factors are costs for participation. These costs vary from person to person and moment to moment.

Risk as conceptualized in this project is one that is individual in nature and does not necessarily have to do with concrete levels of risk or costs that may or may not be involved in participation in contentious politics. This is an important factor, because there are indeed real costs and risks involved in participation in such events. Costs are those things that negatively influence an individual participant. These are things such as money, time, and physical harm. A risk is something that is subjective; it is something that the individual participant in a protest movement internally calculates. Wiltfang and McAdam note that when individuals make risk calculations they often internalize in those the idea of cost.

This theory does not deal with the contexts in which these individuals are making these decisions. These weights are merely the things, often structural that impact the way individuals place varying weights on risk. For example: A person has a child and it is not the valuation that they place on a specific thing as risky but it is that having a child makes the weight of participation in contentious political action as much heavier. This is important it is not a discussion about thresholds but about the weight that an individual places on a certain "risky" behavior.

Plan of the Dissertation

The dissertation project is divided into 3 preceding chapters. Each chapter helps build upon a different theoretical element for the overall development of risk acceptance in the study of contentious politics. Beginning with a development of risk acceptance as a function of risk weights and then testing this measurement with group level measurements, mainly youth bulges. Continuing with tests of validation, for the measure of risk acceptance but also for the overall relationship between risk, as measured through sensation seeking, and protest participation. Ending with a discussion of context in real protest participation. Context here is defined in the strict psychological sense, of any stimuli that is outside of the individual. These are environmental, social, cultural, and familial to name a few.

The first chapter conceptualizes a measure of risk which includes all the different risk weights as predicting variables for risk acceptance. This measure incorporates individual assessment of risk acceptance and then also aggregates these to create a state level assessment of risk. The country level measure is then compared to other previously utilized methods in explaining contentious political action, with an emphasis on protest

activity in Latin America. The second chapter of this dissertation project utilizes experiments to test two distinct conceptual components of the dissertation. These experiments serve as tests of validation and application of my established measure and conceptualization of risk acceptance. The first experiment is used to correlate the risk variables utilized in the measure with behavioral measures for risk proclivities. The behavioral risk measure is the Balloon Analogue Risk Task(BART) which has been used in psychology research to assess individual risk acceptance given their response time on the task(Lejuez et al., 2002). The second section of this chapter tests how varying levels of risk proclivities impact an individual's likelihood to participate in contentious political action. The focus of this experiment is online protest activity, also known as soft protest. The last chapter of this dissertation examines the relationship between risk and protest activity empirically, in Chile. This is a qualitative case study that assesses how cost impacts the decisions of individuals to join in public protest activity. The focus of this chapter is on the Chilean student protests, which provides an opportunity to examine how these risk weights impact participation in protest activity, since not all students participate in these protests at the same rate. This chapter is composed of interviews with student participants and non-participants to evaluate the individual level factors that led to participation or non-participation in the protest movement.

CHAPTER 2

RISK ACCEPTANCE MEASUREMENT

This chapter explores the relationship between risk acceptance and contentious politics. Its foundational contention is that higher levels of risk acceptance correspond with higher levels of contentious politics, excluding the societal context in which individuals are embedded. Risk acceptance is a useful metric for the study of contentious political action because it is a psychological construct. As such, it holds the potential to reveal the starting point for individuals and societies embarking upon the path of contentious politics, or as Timur Kuran calls them ”thresholds for revolution”(Kuran, 1995). For Kuran these thresholds are a value at which an individual will abandon support for an incumbent government in favor of supporting an op- position party or group. Because these thresholds are internal and therefore difficult to assess, they have received little scholarly attention.

This chapter offers an expanded explanation of contentious politics, with Latin America at the center of its analysis. It begins with an explanation of risk acceptance as theorized in social psychology research and utilized in this dissertation. Next, it presents a new theoretical and practical conceptualization of risk acceptance utilizing insights from social psychology research. The chapter then moves on to introduce the development of the measure of risk acceptance in Latin America. It continues with an application of the measure in research that employs youth bulges to explain contentious politics, noting that together these two concepts (youth bulges and risk acceptance) can provide a more robust explanation for contentious politics.

Risk Acceptance

This chapter theorizes that risk proclivity, meaning how willing an individual is to engage in contention without examining the political climate or context in which they are embedded, is a function of risk weights. Risk weights are individual level structural characteristics that social psychology denotes as life markers. Life markers are events that have a formative effect on a person's life (Grob et al.,2001). These are points in an individual's life that shape who they are currently and who they will be- come in the future. These are dictated by society and are deemed as turning points towards another stage in an individual's life. Risk weights selected for the development of the measure in this project are educational status, parental status, employment status, household status, marital status, gender, and head of household status. These particular risk weights are selected to be culturally specific (Rumbaut,2005). Often times, these risk weights have traditionally been seen as a completion of a benchmark which moves a person throughout different stages of their life Tanner & Arnett (2016). In the United States for example, homeownership has often been an important life marker (Silva, 2012), though this is changing. The way that I contextualize risk weights in this project is that these are factors that move an individual from a condition of relative dependence to relative independence [18](Grant & Furstenberg,2007).

This conceptualization of risk acceptance falls closely in line with a psychological concept known as sensation seeking. Sensation seeking is "the need for varied, novel, and complex sensations and experience and the willingness to take physical and social risks for the sake of such experience" (Zuckerman, 1979). Sensation seeking implies

[18] I use the term relative because most individuals within any society are not wholly dependent nor independent.

individuals are willing to take risks across all domains of risk. Several studies have found that individuals who score highly on sensation seeking scores are often more likely to engage in financial risks as well, though it is not always the case because there are many other factors that influence other domains of risk acceptance (Prinstein et al.,2001). Many of these studies have analyzed this relationship as it relates to gambling (Anderson and Brown, 1984). The focus here is on sensation seeking as the broadest category of risk acceptance because risk acceptance correlates highly with all the different forms of risk taking. These domains of risk taking are social, financial, work, physical, and by some accounts health risk (Weinstein and Klein,1996). These different domains often do not correlate with one another. Utilizing sensation seeking as the broadest umbrella allows my project to encompass multiple domains of risk.

One possible critique of utilizing sensation seeking in this project is that it seems like a phenomenon more commonly witnessed among younger people. Even in social psychology sensation seeking was originally a concept that was solely a function of age. But sensation seeking is now viewed as an adaptive behavior that has allowed for successful human adaptation and reproduction (Schneirla, 1959). In this sense, sensation seeking is a psychological mechanism that operates throughout an individual's life course and is not constrained to a precise phase in human development. Sensation seeking therefore is more akin to what scholars have used when utilizing the concept of youth bulges in political science research[19]. So rather than assuming that age is doing the work in determining participation in contentious politics, my project specifically theorizes that

[19] Briefly, a youth bulge is when the population of young individuals in a society is larger than older individuals measured in differing forms. A more precise definition will be provided later.

risk acceptance as a psychological construct directly impacts participation in contentious political action.

Risk proclivities vary throughout an individual's life course (Chaulk et al.,2003). This means that as individuals go through different periods of their life their level of risk acceptance will also vary. It may be the case that individual's risk proclivity impacts their risk weights, but this is generally not the case because these risk weights are socially constructed. The rate at which individuals weigh these risks deals very much with the social community around them. There are various correlations between risk proclivities and age, particularly noting that men in varying contexts are more risk acceptant than women (Halek & Eisenhauer,2001). But these correlations are not always consistent or predictable.

The risk weights utilized in this paper have been selected because they are traditionally noted as part of the developmental process. These are things other than age alone that aid in explaining how people are likely to engage in risk. More broadly understood these risk weights are factors that move individuals from relative lack of autonomy to relative autonomy. It is important to note that these weights are socially and culturally constructed, which is why this project is focused on Latin America. Ideally this measure would serve as a first step towards more culturally specific conceptualizations of risk weights. This cultural context is also important because these weights are not equally significant. In different cultural contexts some of these risk weights are of greater importance than others[20].

[20] This could theoretically also be the case at the individual level.

Josef et al. (2016) more recently found that risk taking varies in predictable ways throughout a life course. The authors contend that risk taking is actually a personality trait, like many others[21] Even if other research proves this is an identifiable personality trait, this personality trait would be a precursor to individuals meeting any of the risk weights. Risk acceptance would then occur prior to the risk weights, which is not y an issue for my project because these risk weights would allow scholars to uncover the supposed personality trait and how that relates to the behavior that is being studied. Prior to this work there has been some disagreement about the psychological processes that lead to risk taking at various ages(Figner et al.,2009), noting that risk taking seems to be a stable personality trait. At the same time if this stability does exist, it is even more problematic for scholars that utilize age, or the concept of youth bulges to explain contentious outcomes, because they are not capturing the entire scope of participants in different episodes of contention. The measurement and theorizing of risk presented in this chapter thus allows for a full exploration of all the participants in episodes of contention. That is that youth bulges explain a systemic, large-scale movement, while risk acceptance explores the individual level characteristics that drive participation. Risk acceptance, in this case, allows for an explanation of why it is that that this particular group of individuals choose to mobilize that is not dependent solely on societal context. These societal contexts exist and they interact with risk acceptance to either push or dampen participation in contentious politics.

Risk as conceptualized in this project is one that is individual in nature and does not necessarily have to do with concrete levels of risk or costs that may or may not be

[21] At one end this is not concerning for this project since this relationship has only been found in this one particular context.

involved in participation in contentious politics. It is a psychological precursor to when an individual interacts with or considers the effects of any action. In other words, individuals all have a level of risk acceptance which they possess, this is an important factor, because there are indeed real costs and risks associated with participation in such events. Costs are those things that negatively impact an individual participant. These are things such as money, time, and physical harm. A risk is something that is subjective; it is something that the individual participant in a protest movement internally calculates. Wiltfang and McAdam note that when individuals make risk calculations they often internalize in those the idea of cost(Wiltfang and McAdam, 1991).

This theory does not deal with the contexts in which these individuals are making these decisions. These weights are merely the things (often structural) that impact the way individuals place varying weights on risk. For example, parents weighing whether or not to participate in contentious political action measure their choice based not on the value of the child, but on their status as parents. Whether that individual follows through with participation is a function of their initial risk proclivity in addition to the context in which they are embedded which is not addressed in this paper nor in the actual measurement itself. This is therefore a discussion about the weight that individuals place on engaging in certain "risky/costly" behavior, not a discussion about the calculation that the individual makes when choosing to engage in this behavior.

Description of Measure

Risk acceptance is measured as a function of several risk weights. This is done through a Multilevel Regression with Poststratification (MRP) model. The benefit of using this model is that it allows for the aggregation of individual responses where sample sizes are

small. Previously this would have been done using disaggregation, which does not always produce the expected results Buttice & Highton (2013) This model is also appropriately suited for the creation of this measure since the data have a geographic hierarchy(David K. Park,2004), meaning that individuals are organized by country within Latin America. The model is composed of two levels. The first is the individual level, which is comprised of responses from various individuals using the World Values Survey. This is where this model is particularly useful, allowing for the creation of estimates where the individual level responses may be insufficient, or the pool of participants is not large enough. The second level is the country/state level. The country level component of the model generates a level of risk acceptance for each individual country in Latin America. Aggregation at the country level is done because, theoretically, countries with higher levels of risk acceptance should see higher levels of contentious political action

The individual model utilizes data collected from the World Values Survey. This is a survey of over 100 countries worldwide. The survey has six waves. The first wave was conducted in 1981 and the latest wave is 2014. The ideal model for this measure would have random effects by year as well to better understand the variation by country and by year since this was a period of tremendous change in Latin America. The main impediment is one of data accessibility; Census data for Latin America is inconsistent in terms of data collection dates was collected as well as inconsistency in the questions that are ascertained. But as an exercise in understanding the latest levels of risk for Latin America, this measure incorporates the last available census where available. Both the dependent and independent variables come from this survey. The dependent variable is a factored variable of two responses in the World Values Survey. The factored variable was

created by a factor analysis of two different variables found in the surveys. The two questions utilized in the development of the independent variable are[22]:

- It is important to always behave properly?
- Seeking adventure and taking risks are important to me?[23]

To reiterate, these responses capture risk acceptance as it relates to sensation seeking which captures all different forms of risk taking behavior. As previously stated, this kind of risk acceptance is not a general notion of how much risk an individual is willing to accept, but a kind of risk that motivates individuals to act- to engage in a physical action that may lead to harm or loss. Both variables are categorical variables, comprised of six categories and scaled so that a 1 denotes that the individual does not feel that this is like them, and a 6 denotes that the individual believes this very much like them.

The individual level model is presented below:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{1xij}^{marital\ status} + \beta_{2xij}^{parental\ status} + \beta_{3xij}^{Occupation} + \beta_{4xij}^{Age} + \beta_{6xij}^{Educational\ Attainment} + \alpha_{i2}^{Gender} + \alpha_{i2}^{Country}$$

Where Y_{ij} is the probability of being possessing a varying level of risk acceptance. Gender, occupational status, and country have random effects based upon how the model is constructed. This means that for each of those categories, there is a different slope. Country and gender are the only random effects in the model and this is because sensation seeking has been shown to vary according to

[22]These questions were selected because they are most closely aligned with traditional questions utilized in social psychology to assess sensation seeking levels.

[23] There is no specification in the question nor in the wording about the type of risk. Individuals

gender. Females are more likely to exhibit lower levels of risk acceptance than men irrespective of age (Arnett,1994). Country random effects are also needed to understand the specific country level contribution to risk. Ideally there would be random effects for socioeconomic status, since risk weights in Latin America are bound with socioeconomic status (De Vries & Watt 1996), but data availability does not permit for this currently.

The country level data was collected using census data from 20 Latin American and Caribbean countries(Organization) & Nations (1997). The data is from the last available census in each country. The data was collected and percentages of individuals that fall within each category were obtained. If the variables were fixed effects (Age, marital status, parental status, and occupational status) then the percentages reflect the total population without taking into account any random effects. The random effects percentages are calculated by taking into account the random effects (gender, educational attainment, and country[24].

Table 2.1 Random Effects Categories

Gender	Risk Acceptance
Female	-0.014
Male	0.014
Educational Attainment	
Incomplete Primary	0.018
Complete Primary	0.035
Incomplete Secondary or Technical	-0.010
Complete Secondary or Technical	0.014
Incomplete Post-Secondary	-0.034
Complete Post-Secondary	-0.021

[24] For example: Argentina has the same percentages of individuals that are married, there's an average of age, percentage of individuals that are parents, and occupational status for the entire country. While there are different percentages for the male and female populations, and percentages of individuals varying by gender in different educational categories.

Table 2.2 Latin America Random Effects

Country	Risk Acceptance
Argentina	0.021
Brazil	0.017
Chile	0.019
Colombia	0.0196
Ecuador	0.020
Nicaragua	0.0172
Peru	0.0175
Venezuela	0.019

Country Rankings Latin America

The country rankings are organized from least risk acceptant country to most risk acceptant. Ecuador is the most risk averse country having the lowest score, while Venezuela is the most risk acceptant. Because the model aggregates across all years, these rankings provide a risk acceptance estimate for the entire period, not just a specific year. This creates no theoretical implications, since these life markers are a function of socio-cultural changes within society. Society is unlikely to change at a rapid pace that it would alter risk acceptance in any significant manner.

An important note about these rankings is that they are standardized from 0 to 1. Even though the values may appear close to one another, they are not necessarily as close as the re-scaling may indicate. The rankings of these in this form only demonstrates the relationship between these countries in terms of risk acceptance, not in terms of their actual value relationship to one another. Theoretically, higher levels of risk acceptance ought to correspond with higher levels of contentious political action but since context matters for contention to occur this is not always the case.

These rankings show the average levels of risk within that country and likelihood of engagement in contentious politics for the society as whole.

Table 2.3 Latin America Country Scores

Ecuador	0
Chile	0.244
Mexico	0.488
Brazil	0.498
Colombia	0.500
Panama	0.502
Guatemala	0.505
Nicaragua	0.517
Dominican Republic	0.519
Belize	0.520
Bolivia	0.527
Jamaica	0.527
Honduras	0.530
Paraguay	0.545
Uruguay	0.546
El Salvador	0.554
Costa Rica	0.612
Peru	0.711
Argentina	0.744
Venezuela	1

Risk Acceptance and Youth Bulges

This section of the paper utilizes the previously created measure for risk acceptance in Latin America to a model that tests the relationship between youth bulges, measured in a myriad of ways, and the relationship that these have with political violence. The youth bulge is a fruitful area to test this relationship because it denotes that political instability of sorts, is causes by a particular demographic characteristic. But adding the risk acceptance measure to youth bulges should lead to a more robust explanation of contentious politics in its differing forms. Scholars utilize age ranges as

proxies for age, but this is also not done in any systematic way, this is the main issue that Urdal addresses in his paper.

This section takes data from Henrik Urdal's 2006 International Studies Quarterly article. Urdal tests the relationship between youth bulges, measured in several ways, and different forms of political violence. He tests six hypotheses, which are presented below. Urdal (2006):

- Countries with youth bulges are more likely to experience violence over countries that do not have youth bulges.
- Higher dependency burdens correspond with a stronger effect of youth bulges on political violence.
- Lower economic growth, increases the impact of youth bugles on political violence.
- Increased higher education expansion corresponds with stronger effects of youth bulges on political violence.
- Increased autocratic regimes correspond with stronger effects of youth bulges on political violence.
- Increased urbanization rates correspond with stronger effects of youth bulges on political violence.

In this paper Urdal contends with other measures of youth bulges because of the theoretical implications of utilizing them, primarily the fact that measures that do not account for the difference between the older and younger generations miss many of the institutional issues that a youth bulge creates. Here, youth bulges are measured as individuals aged 15-24 relative to the total adult population, meaning those individuals that are over the age of 15. He also measures youth bulges compared to the total population of a country (which in the models below is labeled as Collier YB) and includes measures for dependency ratios as well (which is

labelled Centered Dependency Ratio below).

The benefit of the use of this specific paper for replication with risk acceptance is that Urdal attempts to identify some of the factors that influence political violence in the presence of a youth bulge by including several control variables. These variables are: development levels, regime type, overall population size, and a time dependency variable for conflict that measures the time that peace has existed in a country. He attempts to control for these factors but does not directly theorize about why these may directly impact age, much less that these factors can exacerbate political violence through a plethora of mechanisms. This is precisely the problem with utilizing youth bulges as a predictor of contentious political action: youth bulges provide relatively little information about the types of individuals that are a part of these demographic cohorts and the possible motivations that they may have for being a part of political violence or why authorities may use violence against them.

Adolescent psychology research notes that youth is an interstitial time frame in an individual's life wherein many developmental processes occur. These developments are physiological such as physical and hormonal developments, whereby individuals reach a certain level of physical maturation. Some of these developments are also cognitive. These cognitive developments eventually lead to maturation in which individuals are better able to read social cues, respond and react in emotionally developed ways, and learn to make sense of the world around them. Cognitive developments are thought to end at some period during mid-twenties. This interstitial period ends in adulthood. Recently there has been much debate

about when adulthood ends, with a new concept of delayed transition being developed (Côte & Bynner, 2008; Flanagan & Kim, 2012).This is when markers of life are attained at much later ages in life than they had previously been. But one of the things that this literature on development does not claim is that there is an inherent instability of youth that leads to greater violence. Therefore, though the use of youth bulges aids in identifying a possible set of individuals that should share some social and cultural factors, it provides little information about the actual reasoning why these individuals are associated with higher levels of contentious political action.

Urdal's paper is also useful for replication of the new measure of risk acceptance because the author correlates youth bulges with different economic indicators claiming that it is the interaction between these factors that leads to these different forms of political violence. He uses these other variables to understand the contextual factors that are driving these group behaviors. Urdal attempts to take a step away from simply utilizing youth bulges as an explanatory variable correlating these contextual factors such as regime type and economic factors to explain the three specific forms of political contention. The period that is used in the Urdal models begins in 1950 and ends in 2000. Though this is not the exact same period that is included in my measurement of risk, there is some overlap. At the same time, risk can be thought of as a stable characteristic for this time period12

Before discussing the results of the models, it is important to note that the models presented here use the same data that was first published. The main difference is that this only includes Latin American countries. Some of the results

in the models as they are presented in this paper differ from those in the original paper because of this specific subsample. There may be inconsistencies in the original results to the ones presented in this paper. However, the purpose of this paper is to show how these two variables- risk acceptance and youth bulges aid and in explaining contentious political outcomes.

The figure below shows a comparison of the three different measures of youth bugles: the 15-24 age group relative to the adult population, individuals aged 15-24 relative to the rest of the population, and a centered dependency ratio. These three models are shown as they relate to general armed conflict. The original results supported the hypothesis that youth bulges increase the risk for armed conflict. Once these models are constrained to Latin America, the relationship between youth bulges and the outcomes of interest do not seem to hold.

In the first model, model fit it is improved by the replacement of the youth bulge measures with the risk acceptance variable (which is denoted as risk). Risk is statistically significant in all models for risk of armed conflict, but neither the youth bulge measure, nor the Collier measure for youth bulges, nor the dependency ratio is statistically significant in any of the models. This is a departure from the original findings and may indicate that within Latin America these factors do not matter as much for the outcomes of risk of armed conflict, terrorism, and rioting and violent demonstrations.

For risk of armed conflict, Urdal has 11 models, but they include a reduced sample and the full set of countries. For this replication exercise only the models that have different variables have been selected because the Latin American

subsample is the only one that is utilized. The models selected for this replication exercise did not make use of the interactions that Urdal employs. This means that I did not interact any of the risk acceptance variables with the economic indicators that Urdal did in his original models. In the original models, findings only support the hypothesis that increasingly autocratic regimes correspond with stronger effects of youth bulges on political violence. He finds no support for any of the other interaction hypotheses and therefore these interactions were not tested in this application. This exercise was merely to examine the performance of these models by adding risk to the models. Of important note is that while risk acceptance has a positive effect on the risk of armed conflict, youth bulges, Collier's measure of youth bulges, and dependency ratio have negative effects on the risk of armed conflict.

Table 2.4 Model fit for Risk of Armed Conflict

Measures of fit for Risk of Armed Conflict			
Models	Original	Youth Bulges	Difference
N	826	826	0
Log-Lik Intercept Only:	-90.451	-90.451	0.000
Log-Lik Full Model:	-85.651	-82.663	-2.988
D:	171.302(819)	165.326(818)	5.976(1)
LR	9.599(6)	15.575(7)	5.976(-1)
Prob>LR	0.143	0.029	0.113
McFadden's R^2	0.053	0.086	-0.033
McFadden's Adjusted R^2	-0.024	-0.002	-0.022
Maximum Likelihood R^2	0.012	0.019	-0.007
Cragg & Uhler's R^2	0.059	0.095	-0.036
McElvey & Zavonia's R^2	0.228	0.297	-0.069
Efron's R^2	0.009	0.011	-0.002
Variance of y^*	4.263	4.682	-0.419
Variance of Error	3.290	3.290	0
Count R^2	0.977	0.977	0
AIC	0.224	0.220	.005

AIC*n	185.302	181.326	3.976
BIC	-5329.589	-5328.848	-0.740
BIC’	30.700	31.411	-0.740

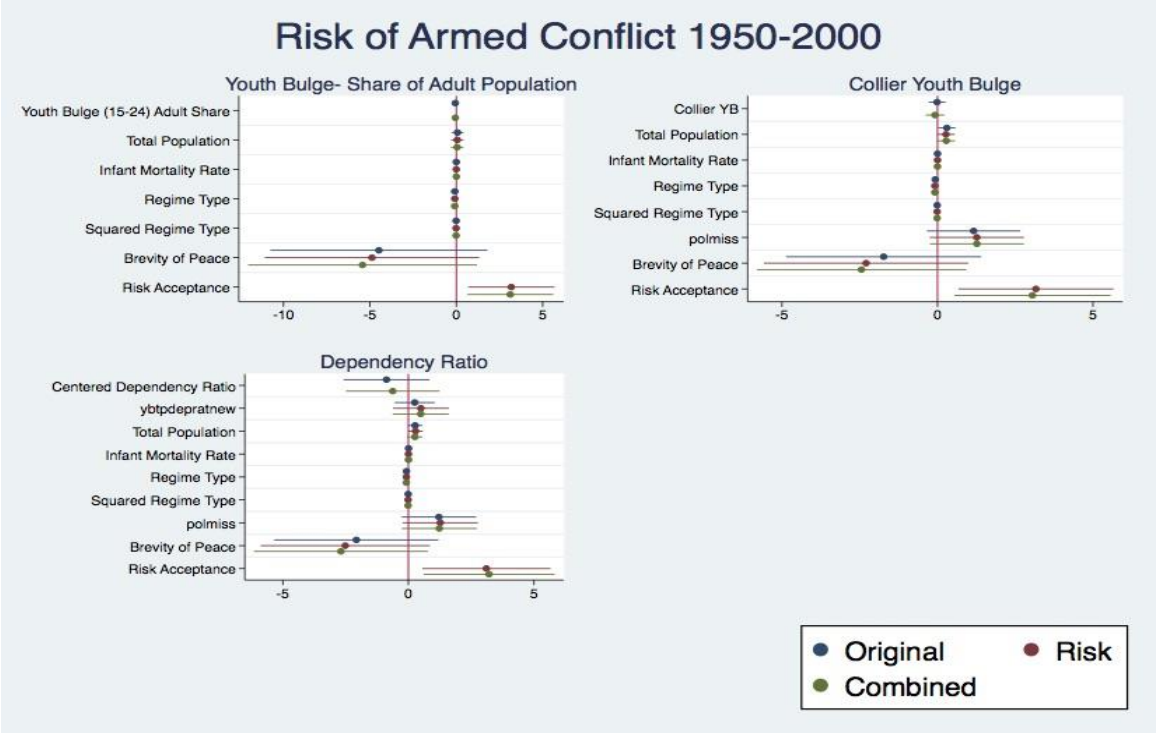

Figure 2.1 Risk of Armed Conflict Coefficient Plot

The figure below is a comparison of one measure of youth bulges, which is the centered term for youth bulges. This model examines the annual count of terrorism events for a country. The inclusion of both the centered youth bulge term and the risk measure has inconsistent results throughout the different iterations of the model. In these model sets, as well as the last set of replication models that look at rioting and demonstrations, Urdal chooses to use many interaction terms believing that this would help explain some of the structural relationships between youth bulges and other economic conditions.

As seen in this figure and in the Appendix A, none of these interaction terms are significant in any of the models. Neither risk acceptance nor the youth bulge

measure is statistically significant in any of the models, but risk has a positive effect. This is not the case in his original models. In the original dataset youth bulges failed to achieve statistical significance in the first model but were statistically significant in all other models. There seems to be some particular effect of youth bulges in Latin America specifically. Risk improves model fit in the second model for terrorism as well as in the last model.

Table 2.5 Model fit for Terrorism

Measures of fit for Terrorism			
	Original	Youth Bulges	Difference
N	208	208	0
Log-Likelihood	-623.481	-622.530	-0.49
AIC	1268.962	2068.088	799.126
BIC	1305.675	2101.464	795.789

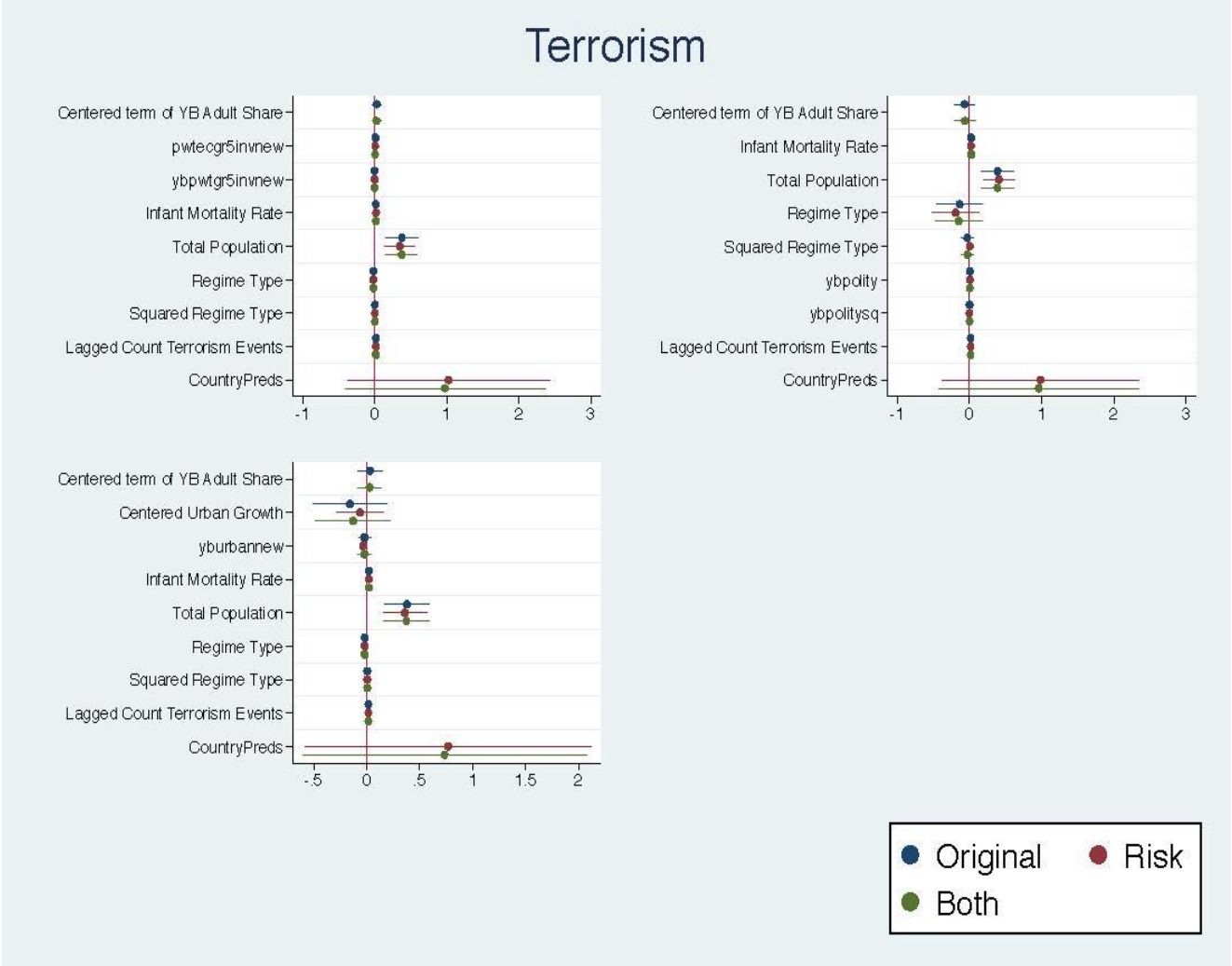

Figure 2.2 Terrorism Coefficient Plot

The figure below is a coefficient plot for rioting and violent demonstrations respectively. As in the previous models in assessing terrorism the interaction terms in these models are also not statistically significant. Across models the only variable that is statistically significant is regime type, meaning that in this region this is the factor that most influences rioting and violent demonstrations. Risk acceptance does have a positive effect, even if not statistically significant in both rioting and violent demonstrations. Youth bulges,

on the other hand, only have a positive effect on rioting not on violent demonstrations. One note about the data is that for Latin America, 78 percent of the data indicates that there were no riots for this period, which means that this is rare events data and a different model would have been more appropriate to further understand this relationship.

Table 2.6 Model Fit for Rioting and Violent Demonstrations

Measures of fit for Rioting and Violent Demonstrations			
	Original	Youth Bulges	Difference
N	112	112	0
Log-Likelihood	-118.843	-118.430	0.413
AIC	259.656	260.860	1.204
BIC	289.589	293.482	3.893

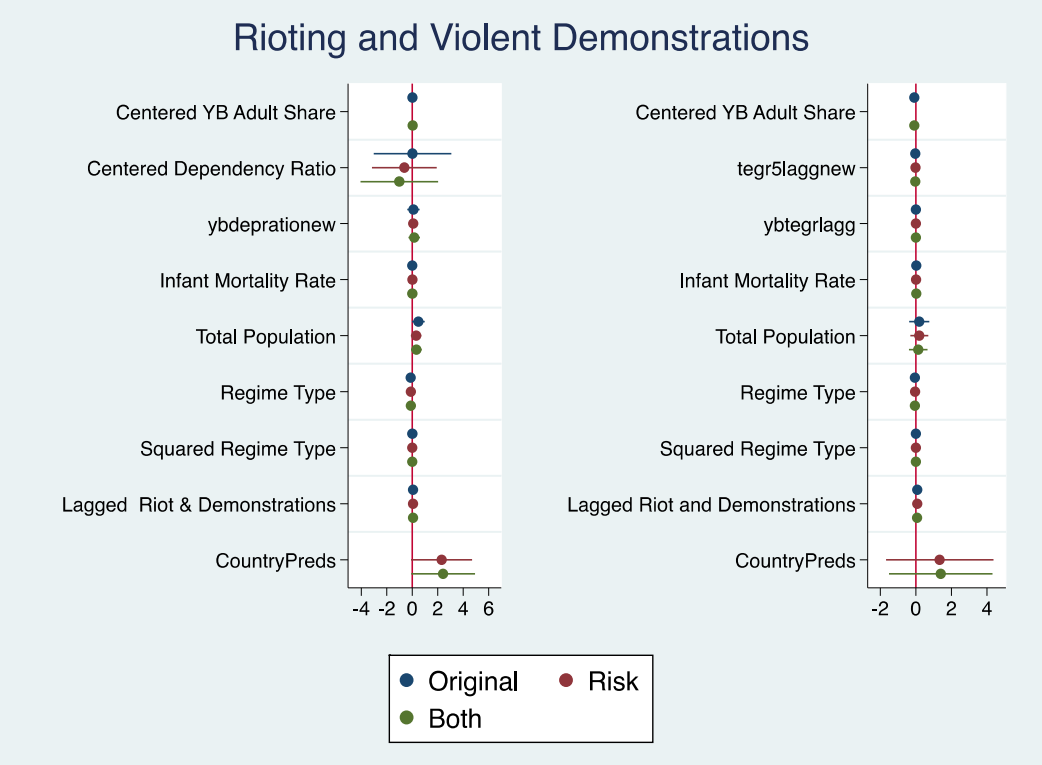

Figure 2.3 Rioting and Violent Demonstrations Coefficient Plot

Two conclusions can be drawn from this particular replication exercise is two-fold: The first, is that youth bulges measured in different ways have inconsistent effects on the various political outcomes used in Urdal's models. The

second is that the inclusion of risk in these models improves model fit and is statistically significant for risk of armed conflict only. This is also the only model for which youth bulges are statistically significant. While these findings are not as expected, they are not quite as discouraging because where youth bulges matter in terms of contentious politics in Latin America, risk acceptance also matters. This does not mean that there is a clear relationship between the two, but as a first-step exercise in ascertaining whether risk is the characteristic of interest when scholars invoke the use of youth in theoretical models, these results point in the correct direction.

Conclusion

Risk acceptance as a concept has been used in the field of political science to explain various outcomes but has yet to be directly applied to contentious politics. This paper is an attempt to simultaneously theorize about where risk acceptance comes from, meaning the individual level factors that lead to higher or lower levels of risk proclivities, and further the domain of ap- plication of risk to various forms of contentious politics. The concept of risk acceptance as presented in my work notes that a specific trait aids in explaining different forms of contention.

In this application including risk acceptance in models that predicted risk of armed conflict improved the mode fit, which indicates that these are per- haps two different concepts. While scholars utilize youth bulges to account for some of the instability that is purported to be captured by age risk acceptance helps understand the individual level psychological predispositions to participation. In terms of risk aiding in explaining violent demonstrations the results were null. But this is not discouraging. Examining the results from these models, risk acceptance has a positive effect which

means that changing the model to rare events data, or perhaps conceptualizing violent demonstrations and riots in a different way, may increase the explanatory power of risk in the region. Some of these results are not the same as those in Urdal's original, indicating that there may be some regional effects to the study of youth bulges. These results are encouraging in that at least in the armed conflict outcome, the models were improved by the addition of both the youth bulge and risk variables.

A benefit of utilizing the concept for risk acceptance with other concepts used in explaining contentious politics, particularly youth bulges, is that this concept allows scholars to uncover a starting point, or a likelihood for participation in different forms of contention. It also provides an individual level explanation for contention. Risk acceptance, as presented here, does not account for political context and therefore allows scholars to have a commencing point where individuals may fall according to their risk weights. This can then be taken and examined within the political and societal contexts in which individuals are embedded and a more robust understanding of drivers for episodes of contention is obtained. In accordance with the risk acceptance literature in political science, analyzing the contexts in which individuals manifest their risk proclivities is an important aspect of understanding political behavior generally, but also contentious politics. The advantage of this measure over youth bulges is that it describes in very specific terms the kinds of individuals that are willing to join a contentious political movement, without making assumptions about other factors that may be involved (in this case of youth bulges, that is age).

This application is only one of many that should be conducted to examine the relationship between risk acceptance and contentious politics. Further applications should

focus on previously found strong relationships between youth bulges and contention in its myriad of ways in Latin America specifically.

CHAPTER 3

TESTS OF VALIDITY

Introduction

This portion of the dissertation project utilizes experimental manipulations to assess the validity of the risk acceptance measure, as conceptualize din the previous chapter. This chapter then continues by assessing the validity of the relationship between risk acceptance and protest activity. The first experiment merely demonstrates the correlation between risk acceptance and a behavioral measure of risk acceptance knows as the Balloon Analogue Risk Task (BART).

The previous chapter developed a measure for risk acceptance. Up until now, the questions that were used to create this measure were taken as useful proxies for risk acceptance, but this relationship should be confirmed. The first portion of this chapter serves as a stepping stone to explore the relationship with risk acceptance, as it is measured by the three risk acceptance questions and a behavioral assessment of risk acceptance. This is a first step to confirm whether these three questions are capturing risk acceptance as it is measured or understood in social psychology.

The second portion of this chapter aims at exploring the direct relationship between risk acceptance and protest participation. While actually measuring this in the real world is very difficult, online protests provide a useful avenue to begin to explore and understand that relationship.

Experiment One

This first experiment was designed to assess the validity of the measure created in the previous chapter. Scholars have used the Balloon Analogue Risk Task(BART) as a

behavioral assessment for risk-taking. The BART has been shown to correlate not only with behavioral risk taking (Lejuez 2002, Lejuez 2003), but also with psychological characteristics for risk taking (Hunt 2005, White 2008}. In order to test whether the measurement of risk acceptance developed in the previous chapter of this dissertation is indeed capturing risk, BART scores are correlated with the three questions used to create a factor for risk acceptance. The reason that only the three questions were utilized as a correlation is that, based on the literature on the creation of the BART and sensation seeking/risk acceptance literature, the overall battery for risk acceptance does indeed correlate with the BART. This particular exercise is to confirm that risk acceptance, as captured by the three questions in the World Values Survey questionnaire.

Subject Rcruitment

Subjects were recruited using Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) Internet panel. Individuals voluntarily sign up to be "workers" on AMT and choose which tasks to complete. Participants were recruited from AMT Community and were contacted through the AMT Marketplace. Individuals are compensated $0.50 for their participation in the experiment, and they are told that they can earn 10 percent of the total that is collected in the Balloon Analogue Risk Task (BART).

Experimental Design

Once subjects decided to accept the Human Intelligence Task(HIT)[25] on MTurk. Once participants accepted the hit, they were redirected to Qualtrics, where they were asked basic demographic questions as well as sensation seeking questions. Once they completed these questions, they were sent to an additional site, Millisecond/Inquisit,

[25] A HIT is the task that subjects agree to complete.

which is where they completed the BART. At this site, participants were given instructions for completion of the BART. Participants are told that they will be presented with several balloons and that they have the ability to inflate the balloon as much as they want until the balloon bursts. Each inflation of the balloon will earn them .01 cents, and at any point while they are inflating the balloon, they have the opportunity to collect the money that they have earned by pressing a button that says "COLLECT".

Participants are told that they get to keep their earnings as long as choose to collect their money before the balloon explodes, which can occur at any time. Once the balloon explodes, the earnings for that particular balloon are 0. They are not told how many balloons they will be presented with throughout the exercise, but every participant was presented with 15 balloons. A higher number of balloon explosions equates with lower total payout, corresponding with higher levels of risk acceptance. While a lower number of balloon explosions corresponds with higher payout amounts, which would then mean that these individuals are less risk acceptant (more risk averse).

Data Analysis

There was a higher number of respondents to the first portion of the experiment than there were individuals that completed the BART. So, rather than losing all of the data, matching was used to maximize this data. Qualtrics and Inquisit provided ending times and starting times respectively, which allowed for matching of individuals within a few minutes. The total sample size with participants who dropped out after the survey questions is 594. Out of those 594, 202 were matched, so the total sample size for the correlation is 202.

The score used from the BART is the adjusted number of pumps, which provides a value for the adjusted number of balloon pumps that were not exploded. Average

number of pumps (M= 22.76, SD= 12.43, Min= 0, Max=57.27) has been commonly used in other experimental settings correlating the BART with other measures (Lopez et al.,). The average adjusted pump value is a more useful comparison measure, since it constrains the values to those where the balloon remained intact for all participants.

Participants were asked the same questions used in the World Values Survey, that composed the factored variable of risk acceptance in the previous chapter. The three questions are:

1. Adventure and taking risks are important to me (Novel Experiences)
2. Always behaving properly is important to me (Decorum)

The first question captures a general attitude towards novel experiences, the second captures physical risk acceptance, and the las question captures a sense of decorum. The factor analysis for the BART sample is presented below.

Table 3.1 Factor Scores

Factor	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor 1	.306	.490	2.543	2.543

Table 3.2 Factor Loadings

Variable	Factor	Uniqueness
Adventure	-.390	.848
Behavior	.390	.848

The correlation results for the factor score of risk and the balloon counts is .1006(p=.1852). The sample size significantly decreases to an N=134. In this case, with the factor score there is no statistically significant relationship with the BART and the factored risk acceptance variable. While, this is concerning there are several reasons why

this may be the case. The first reason is the small sample size. The second reason is that because these are only three questions that are used in the factor the BART may not have be able to capture the full gamut of risk acceptance[26]. What this seems to demonstrate, is that the three questions and therefore the factored variable of risk is an insufficient predictor for behavioral risk acceptance.

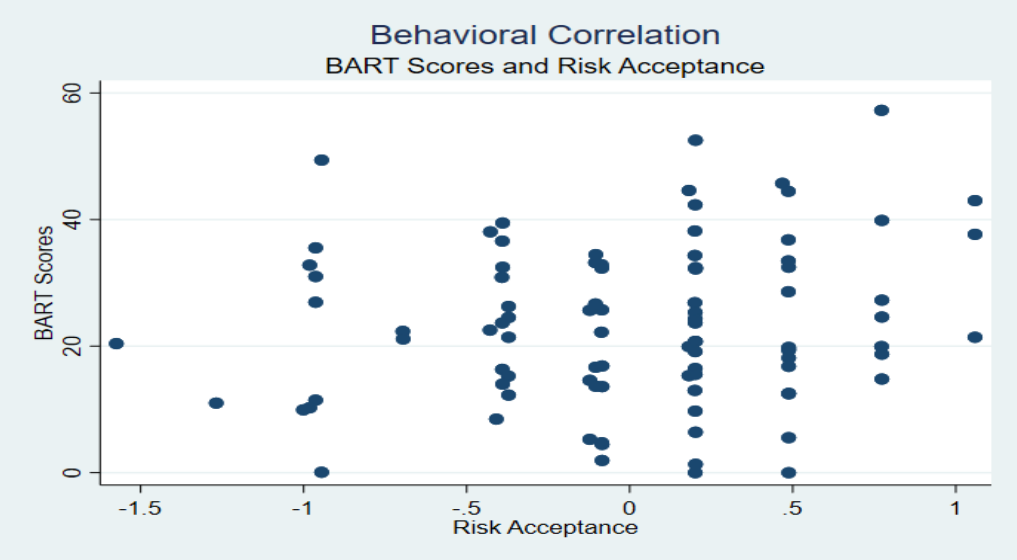

Figure 3.1 BART Correlation

I wanted to explore the relationship between the BART scores and the questions that were included in the factored variable. I ran correlations with each individual question and the BART scores. The first question, is the only one that has a statistically significant outcome with the BART scores (r=-.185, p=.018). One of the main reasons that this validation exercise was unsuccessful is that the BART was only used with two questions in the World Values Survey, which from the factor loadings score demonstrate that the dimensions of risk that they are capturing are too dissimilar. The main conclusion

[26] The sensation-seeking questionnaire is a summated scale rather than factored, so I also summated the risk acceptance questions with the factor scores. Results were not improved (r=-.0495, p=.4842).

that can be drawn from these results, is that while these questions get us one step closer to measuring risk acceptance they are insufficient to developing a full theory of risk acceptance entirely. Adding the full battery of the sensation seeking questionnaire would allow for a better exploration of whether this construct is actually measured. But the main issue would then be, that it is not measurable at the country level since there are no country level reports for the sensation seeking questionnaire.

Experiment Two

This experiment seeks to assess how risk acceptance, measured through the sensation seeking questionnaire, influences willingness to participate in soft protest. Soft protest is an online form of contention, mainly known as petition signing. This quasi-experiment was designed to test how risk acceptance, as measured through sensation seeking, impacts an observed behavior of participating in protest activity. In this case, it is a soft protest. Soft protests are government directed claims that are short, legal, legitimate, and carry little to no possibility of violence (Dubrow, 2008). Soft protest has nothing to do with the content of the protest itself, but is rather about the actions involved within protesting. These are actions such as online petition signing, legal marches, and contacting elected officials. There are a few reasons why soft protest was the focus of this experiment; the first being that it is the most prevalent form of contention around the world.

Participants

Participants were 833 individuals between the ages of 18-77 (M age = 30.85, SD=10.61). The sample was composed of 277 women (33.25%) and 556 men (66.75%). Less than 2% of participants had only completed primary school, less than 3% had not completed primary school, 17% had completed secondary education, 33% of participants

had not finished secondary school or technical school, and 47% of participants completed their university education or their technical school education[27]. Thirty one percent of participants noted that they had some interest in the topic of violence against women and children, 65 % noted high levels of interest, 1.5% claimed a high level of disinterest, and 2% noted some disinterest. The entirety of this experiment was conducted online. Participants were broken up into three categories: one control group and two additional treatment groups. The control group merely assessed support for the petition and was composed of 281 participants (Female=100, Male=181). The first treatment group was composed of 272 participants (Female=86, Male=189). The second treatment group was composed of 280 individuals (Female=86, Male=186).

Recruitment occurred through Qualtrics using a population representative sample in Colombia [28]. The experiment was composed of a control condition and two treatment conditions. Each treatment condition increased the cost of participation. All participants filled out basic demographic questions and the sensation seeking questionnaire in Spanish[29]. The sensation seeking scale (Zuckerman et al.,1978; Santos-Iglesias et al., 2018) was used as a measure of risk acceptance. The scale provides an overall rating related to seeking novel and complex experiences and the willingness to take risks along physical, financial, and social dimensions. Participants were then presented with facts

[27] Data for income was not used for this analysis due to inconsistency in self-reporting.
[28] The original intent was to conduct this experiment in three different institutional contexts. One in which there was little to no possible repercussions for participating in the soft protest, one with mild possible levels of repercussions, and one with high costs of participation. The cases would have been Costa Rica, for the low cost institutional context, Colombia, for the mid-level participation cost, and Venezuela would have been the high cost institutional context. The Venezuelan case was not approved by the university IRB, so the decision was made to conduct the experiment in only one political intuitional context.
[29] The full sensation seeking questionnaire in Spanish is attached in the appendix.

about violence against women and children and asked several feeling questions to gauge interest in the subject matter. Participants were then sent to a second screen. In the control group, the screen explained that they were to be presented with a petition that they could choose to support or not support. This control condition was included in the treatment conditions as well. In the lower cost treatment condition, individuals were told that they would be presented with a petition and they could provide some personal information, and in the highest cost treatment group, participants were told that they had the option to provide their cedula information and that this would then be verified by the agency receiving the petition. Subjects in this treatment group (the higher cost treatment group) were also told that providing this identifiable information would be helpful in making the petition seem more legitimate and that it would demonstrate to the government agency, which in this case was the Welfare Department(Departamento de Bienestar), commitment of participants to the cause. At the end of the experiment, all participants were presented with a debrief form that gave them more information on the deception used in the experiment.

Deception in the experiment was employed in several ways. First, participants were told that this was a study to seek opinions about attitudes towards violence against women and children[30]. Secondly, all participants were presented with facts describing violence against women and children in Colombia, but these facts were actually only partially from Colombia, with others from other countries in Latin America or from Latin America as a whole. Thirdly, individuals were told that that they had been given the opportunity to support a petition that will go to the Welfare Department . The last

[30] More information on the selection of violence against women and children as the topic for the petition will be discussed later.

deception occurred for the individuals in the second treatment group. These participants were told that they had the opportunity to provide as much information as possible and that the receiving institution was going to verify the accuracy of the information they provided. The deception was important, because it allowed me to capture participants' true willingness to provide identifiable information, meaning that this information would link them to an action of soft protest. I wanted individuals to believe that this was occurring in the present moment. Once again, individuals were debriefed at the end of the petition, and if they chose not to support the petition, they were debriefed immediately after the selection of ``no''.

It is important to note the language used here is of treatment cost. Risk in this dissertation project is subjective to the individual and is a psychological context. In some of the literature on risk, the outcome would also be considered risk, but here, I am focusing on how much it is actually costing the individual to participate rather than obfuscating the many definitions or interpretations of risk.

The topic of violence against women and children is an issue that is not necessarily related to political ideologies and is not a moral issue either. In Colombia, for example, conservative parties have chosen to support laws that protect the rights of women, so this is perhaps a sign that it has less to do with women per se and more to do with human rights violations. In 2006, Law 1098 was passed to protect children and adolescents, and more recently, Law 1719 was passed to guarantee access to protection for victims of sexual violence[31](Velásquez, 2013; García, 2015). This experiment was

[31] It is important to note that this law was focused primarily on victims of sexual assault in relation to the armed conflict, but it is a law that has the intention of granting access to all victims regardless of age or gender.

clear about articulating that it was violence against women and children and avoided language that was framed against men. Currently across Latin America, there are waves of mobilization with the cause of "Ni Una Menos", which translates to Not One Less, which is viewed as a feminist cause (Cecchi, 2017). The current mobilization waves are tied to political ideologies of the left across Latin America, so in this experiment, language was very clear to ensure that it did not tie the experimental protest with the current wave of mobilizations.

In order to mimic a real petition rather than completely developing a new petition, I used the general format and language of the We Move EU online petition. This has been included in the appendix. The main picture was changed, and the content was also changed to reflect the receiving organization and laws in Colombia and to also reflect the inclusion of children in the petition.

Experiment Two Results

As previously noted, there was a high level of interest across all control and treatment conditions in the experiment. The overall sensation seeking score was used as the measure for risk acceptance (M=60.30, SD=6.76) . Individuals closer to the highest possible score for sensation seeking therefore are more risk acceptant and those closer to the lowest possible score are more risk averse. Below is a box plot of the distribution of risk scores by Control, Treatment 1, and Treatment 2 conditions. As shown below, individuals have a similar range in terms of their risk acceptance levels within each of the groups, so there is no concern that any of these conditions holds more individuals with higher or lower risk acceptance levels compared to the other two. Individuals were

randomly sorted into these three categories to ensure that there was no bias in the groupings.

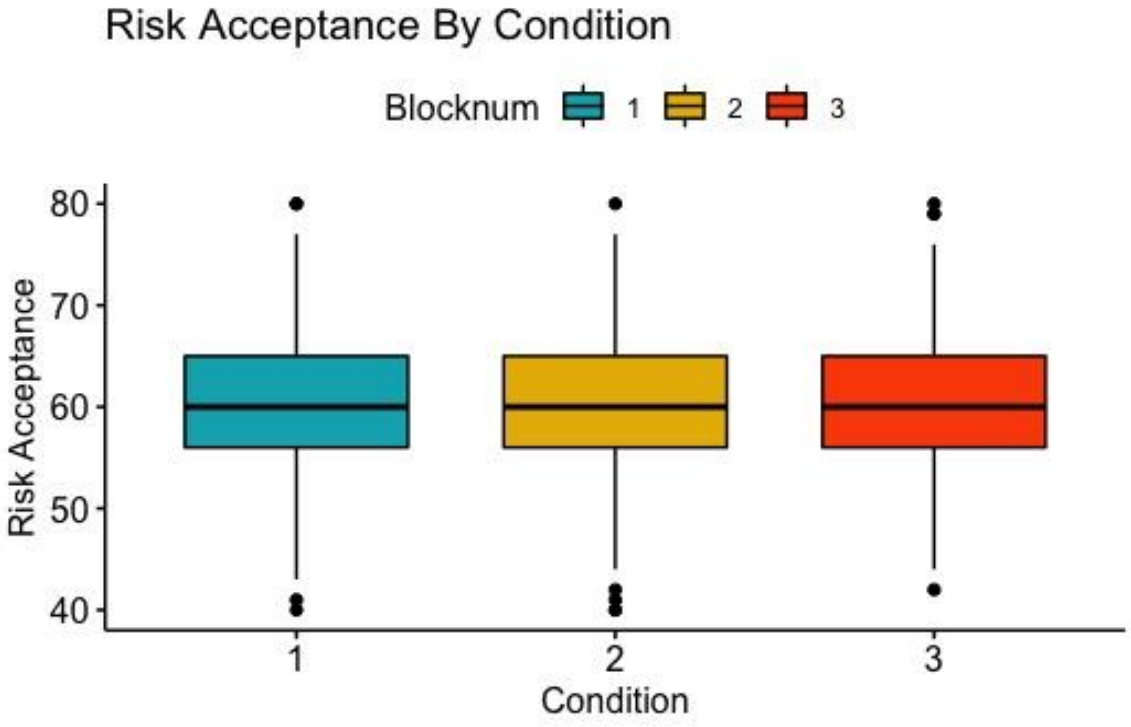

Figure 3.2: Risk Acceptance by Treatment Condition

Much of the literature on risk acceptance notes that men are more risk acceptant than women and would therefore score higher on the sensation seeking questionnaire. Below is a box plot for risk acceptance by gender, which does indeed coincide with the aforementioned research. Since the sample is more heavily weighted towards men, we would expect to see higher levels of risk by men. The literature on risk acceptance shows that men are indeed higher sensation seekers than women (Cross et al, 2013), but the overall difference between risk acceptance for men and women is 2.91 (Female, M=58.58, SD=6.35; Male, M=61.15, SD=6.81). There does not seem to be as much of a difference in this sample. Most of studies on sensation and risk acceptance sample United States populations and therefore tap into behavior or expectations that are cultural..

Variation by control and treatment group is as follows: Control condition: Female, M=58.48, SD=5.74; Male, M=61.06, SD=7.05. Treatment 1: Female, M= 57.86 SD=7.13; Male, M= 61.71, SD= 6.66. Treatment 2: Female, M= 59.45, SD=6.12 ; Male, M= 60.67 , SD= 6.71 .

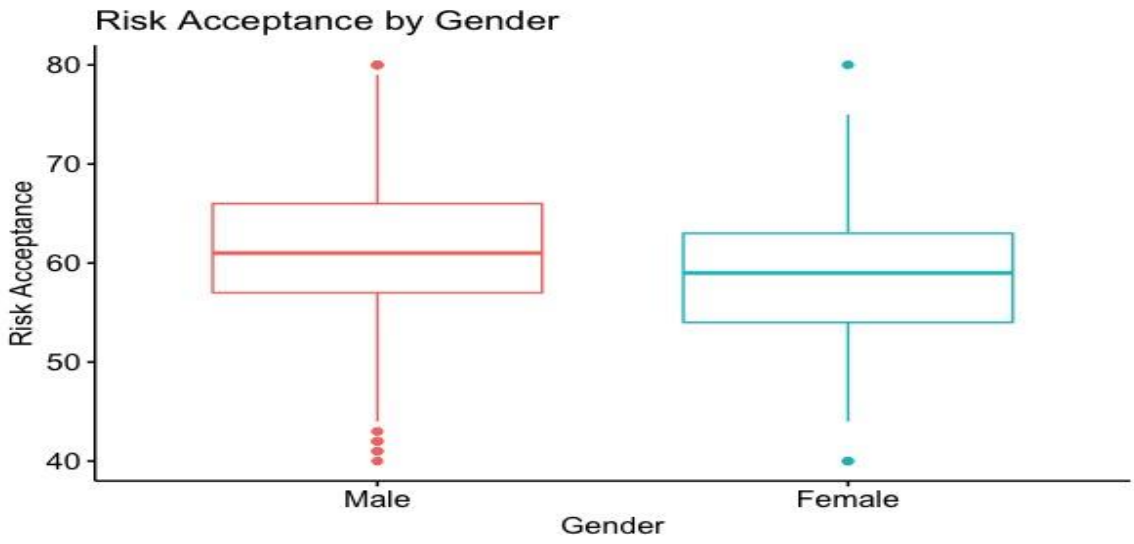

Figure 3.3: Risk Acceptance by Gender

Result grouping occurred by available option across control and treatment conditions[32]. The first possible outcome is support for the petition across all groups. A predicted probability chart is presented below. As seen in the figure below, risk acceptance overall is correlated with higher probability of support for petition. Within treatment conditions this result does not hold. In the figure directly below, predicted probability chapter by treatment conditions are presented. In this experimental condition, participants simply chose to click yes or no based on their support for the petition. These results can be explained as merely a reflection of participants' interest in the petition and not necessarily of their predisposition to take any risk. There is essentially no cost

[32] All tables with associated results are included in the appendix.

involved in this action, therefore there are other factors that would better explain support for the petition.

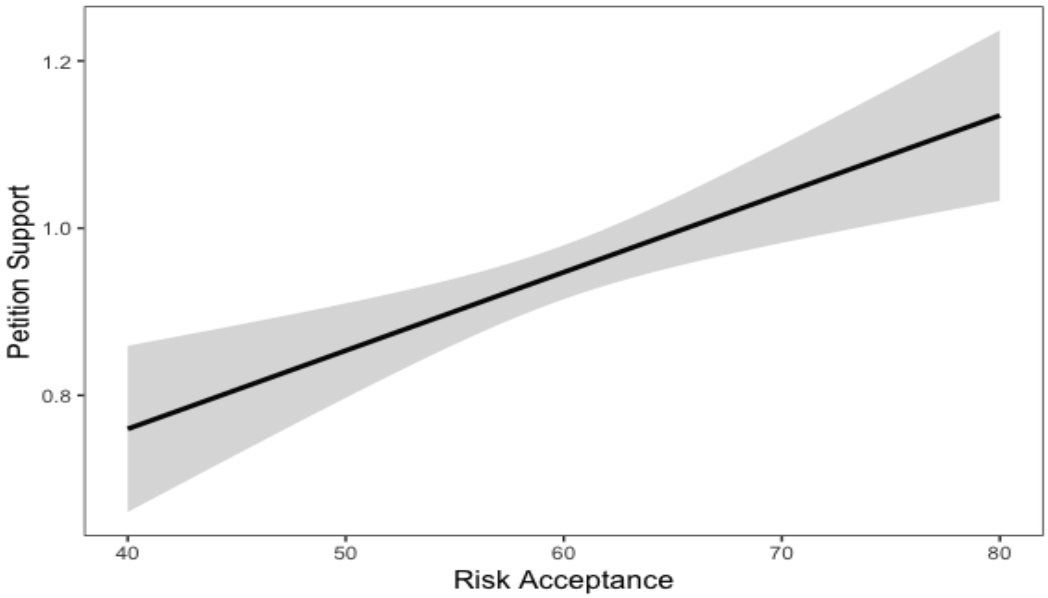

Figure 3.4: Petition Support by Overall Risk Acceptance

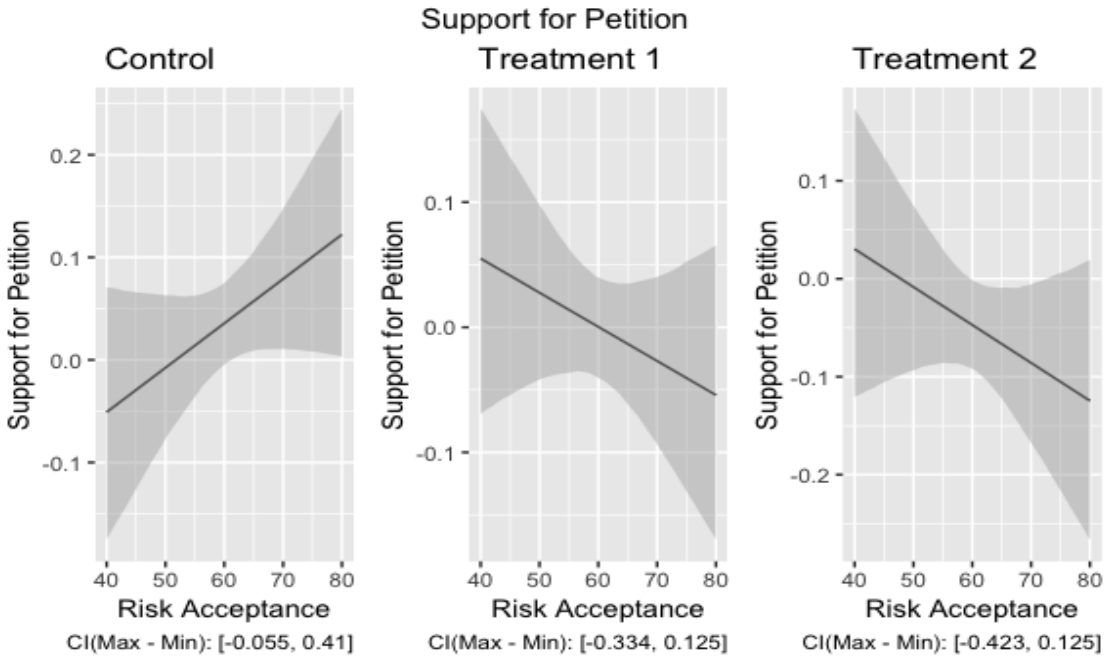

Figure 3.5: Petition Support Effect Plot

The second outcome option is provision of email address. Individuals were asked to provide a valid email address. The email option was only available in the treatment conditions. Risk acceptance did correspond with higher probability of email provision in treatment 2, but this was not statistically significant. There was no effect for treatment 1, but overall risk acceptance did correspond with higher probability for email provision across both treatment groups.

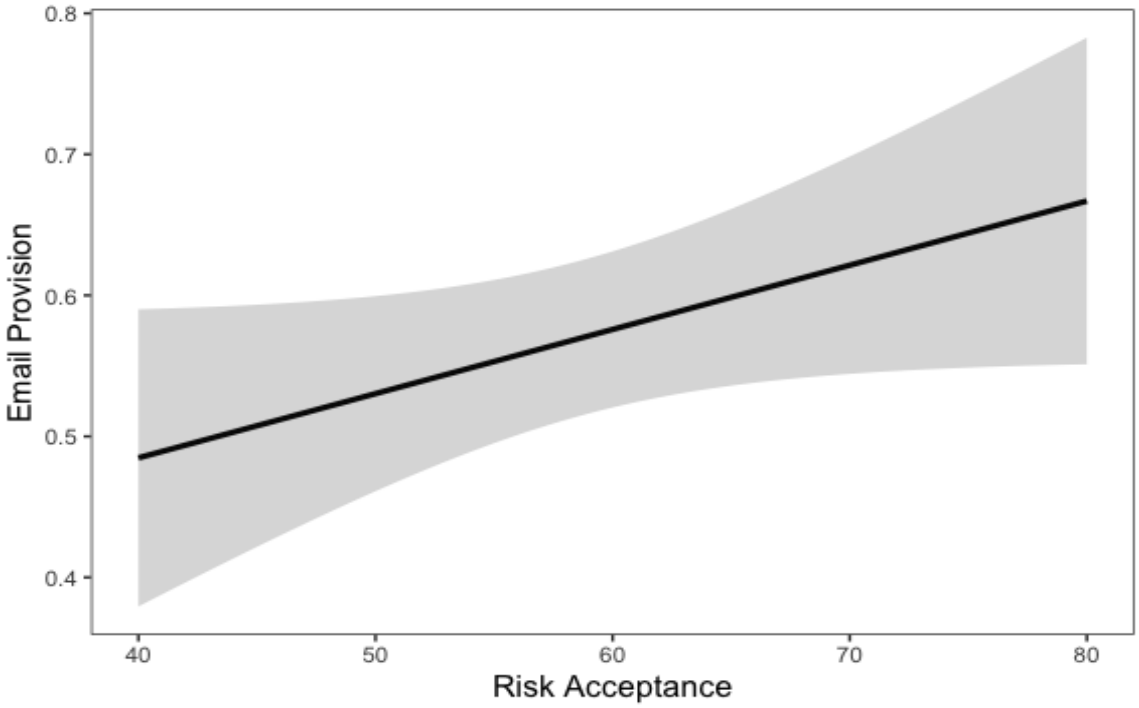

Figure 3.6: Email Provision by Overall Risk Acceptance

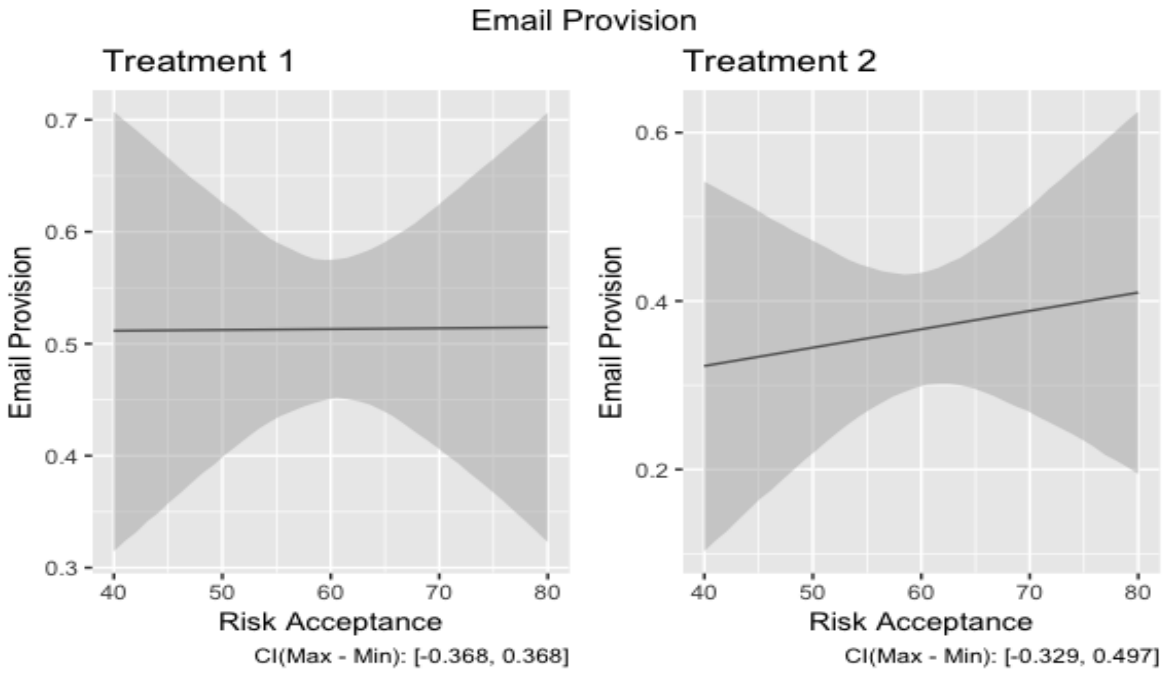

Figure 3.7 Email Effect Plot

For the last set of results across treatment conditions, participants were provided the opportunity to provide their first and last name. Provision of name was only coded for those individuals that provided their first and last name; incomplete entries were not accepted in this case. The predicted probability for provision of name increases as risk acceptance also increases.

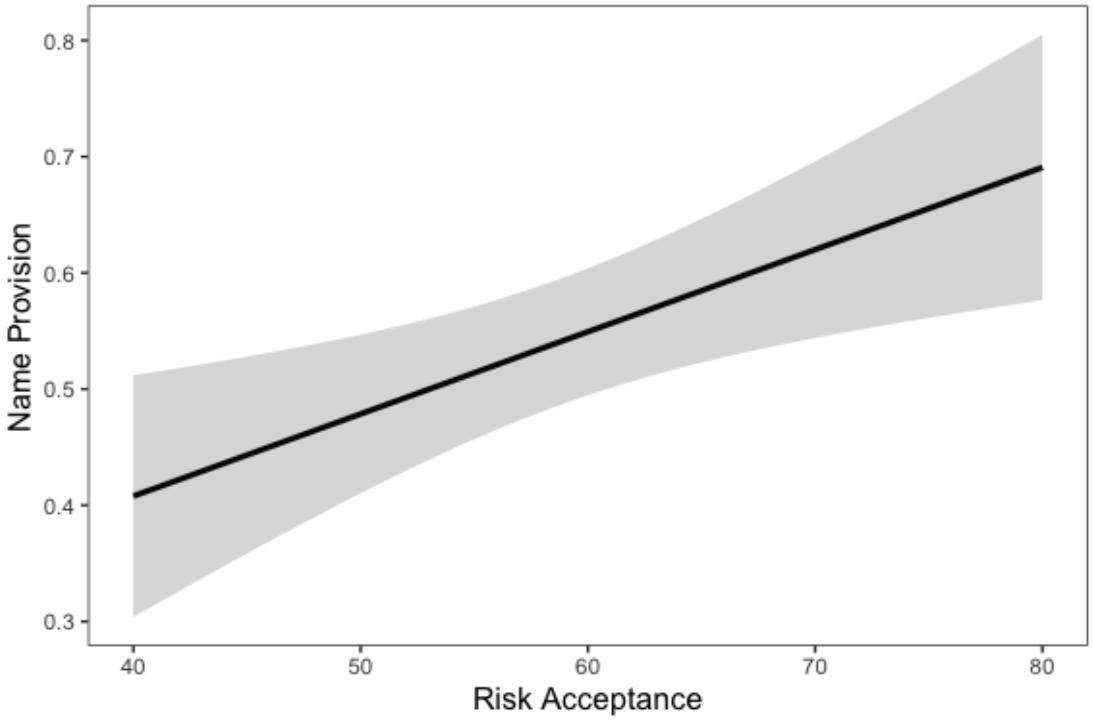

Figure 3.8: Name Provision by Overall Risk Acceptance

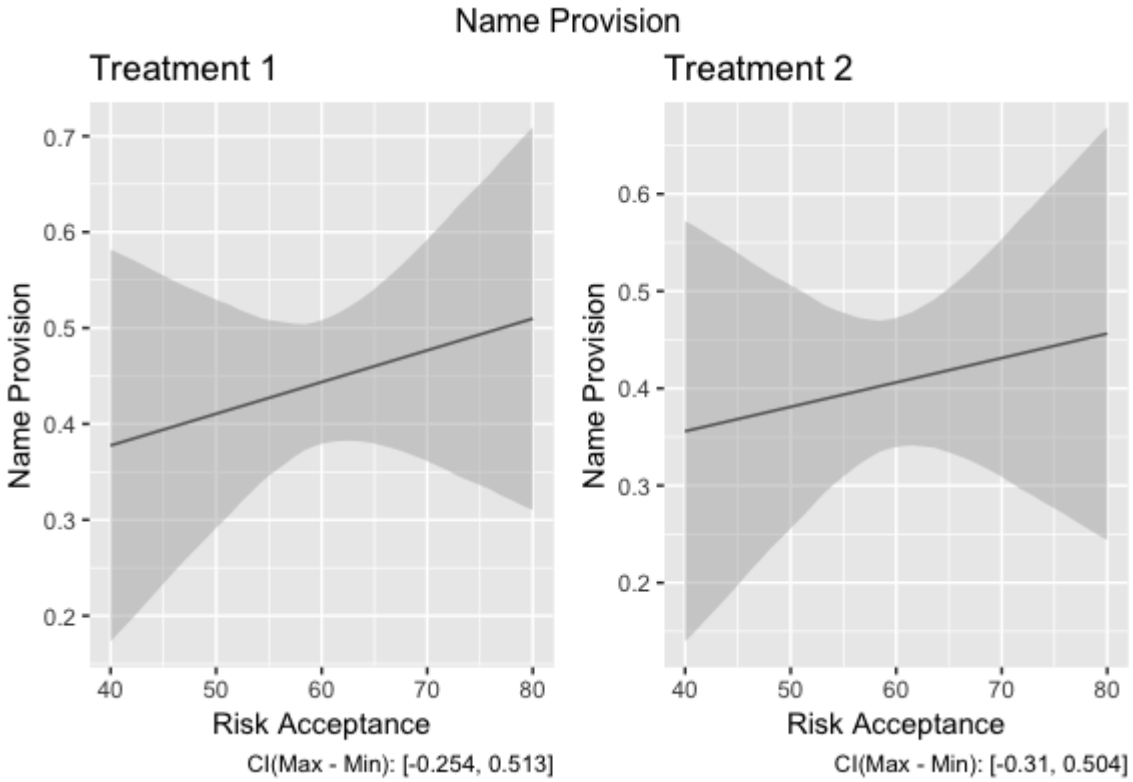

Figure 3.9: Name Provision Effect Plot

Conclusion

This chapter served two purposes: to validate the previously created measure for risk acceptance and to assess how risk acceptance directly influences participation in contentious politics. The first experiment correlated the Balloon Analogue Risk Task (BART) scores with a factored risk variable. No statistically significant relationship were observed. While this is discouraging, it also demonstrates the need for a full battery of risk acceptance questions. It may also imply that the BART and the three specified questions are capturing different dimensions of risk. The factored variables themselves vary significantly from one another. The literature also demonstrates that different domains of risk do not necessarily coincide with one another and therefore these three questions alone are an insufficient assessment of risk as an underlying psychological trait.

The second experiment employed the full sensation seeking questionnaire as a measure for risk acceptance with an observational outcome of online protest participation. This experiment was a first step in fully exploring the relationship between risk acceptance and protest participation directly. The experiment accounted for context by holding the country context the same. Theoretically this meant that the overall level of cost of participation in this online protest was the same for all participants.[33] The results of this experiment though not successful by treatment condition do point to some relationship between higher levels of risk acceptance and participation in protest activity. An important note about online protest is that it differs with what we traditionally view as protesting because it is usually less identifiable and does not require a tremendous

[33] In future iterations of this experiment overall level of cost or danger of participating in an online protest will be asked for participants. This would determine the overall country level of cost as well as exploring the individual level cost that is perceived for participation.

amount of time sacrificed to participate. But online petition is still a tactic in the repertoire of the full gamut of contentious political action.

Chapter 4

CHILEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT

So far, this dissertation has examined risk as a mainly psychological concept. Risk exists prior to the individual interacting with the world around them and the political, economic, and social contexts of which they exist in and are a part of. This chapter examines the ways in which individuals talk about the costs of participation in protest and how these contexts influence their participation. Individuals examine the real costs of participating or not in mobilizations.

The purpose of this chapter is then to show how real life costs influence participation in contentious politics. Thus far, this dissertation has focused on understanding either how sensation seeking arises, or the direct link between risk acceptance and participation in protests. However, in the real world, there are real costs to participating in all forms of contention. Even in instances where contention is widely supported, participants can incur losses, be they physical, financial, or emotional. This is actually the definition of risk itself, but since in this particular project I have defined risk acceptance as an input, meaning the dependent variable, which helps explain the outcome of contention. It is the interaction of the psychological predisposition with the context in which an individual is embedded which jointly contributes to the outcome of participation in contentious politics.

This dissertation and by extension this chapter conceptualizes risk acceptance as sensation seeking. Sensation seeking captures all domains of risk acceptance, so it is therefore not specific to an arena in which an individual is willing to accept harm or loss. There are several domains of risk acceptance and these often do not correspond with one

another, but sensation seeking correlates highly with all domains of risk acceptance. An individual that is a high sensation seeker is likely to have higher levels of risk acceptance across the different domains of risk.

Why Chile? The Chilean case, in particular the student protest case is one of the protest cycle that, where political opportunity structures open. In Chile, the loss of the power of the parties of the Concertación allowed for the opening of political space for other groups to mobilize and for civil society to reemerge. The students coalesced and made demands. Then they reached across sectors of the population to gain widespread support. This then allowed other sectors to learn about the process of protest formation/creation. From the initial success of the student groups, other civil society actors became successful in making their own demands and learning from the students. The encapuchados(protesters that wear hoods) often times resort to violence. There is some minor disagreement about whether the encapuchados wear hoods because they are consciously trying to initiate violence or they wear hoods because they know that protests are going to turn violent and are attempting to block their faces and eyes from tear gas and water tanks. However, radical in this sense in changing the ways in which they think of the demands that they are making. In the last election cycle many leaders of the student movement actually abstained from voting because they believed that the political system was completely unresponsive (de la Fuente, 2011).Abstention from voting was seen to many the most prominent example of how this group had become radicalized[34]. Those who abstained no longer want to make demands on the political system itself they almost want to transform the political system entirely, which is a departure from what

[34] Through informal conversations with Chilean citizens, many believed that abstention made little to no sense to achieve any political ends.

they had done previously. Radicalization is something that critiqued even from groups that grew out of the student movement. Revolución Democratica (Democratic Revolutionary), which is a party that grew directly out of the student movement sees that the student movement and the various leaders of the student groups have become far too radicalized. The students see RD almost as a traitor to the cause and seemingly, assimilating and giving in to traditional forms of politics and not looking out for the interests that they claim to represent.

The previous chapters of this dissertation focus on developing the conceptual framework for risk acceptance and tying it to contentious politics generally, and protest activity specifically. These chapters develop a state level measure for risk acceptance across Latin America, and then examine how this measure relates to observable risk behavior, as well as how it directly maps on to protest activity in specific Latin American contexts[35].

The sample is composed of thirty-nine individuals. The sample was composed of seventeen females and eighteen males. I had twenty-five protest participants and ten non-participants. The distinction between protest participants and non-participants is important to this discussion. The majority of this sample is composed of individuals currently enrolled in post-secondary education, though not the entirety of the sample. Protest participants are those individuals that participated in a protest related to the student movement within the past academic year [36]. Student movement marches are

[35] These contexts are ones where there is low risk and high risk. Low risk contexts are in those countries where participating in protest activity carries very little to no government retribution. High-risk contexts are those where participation carries a very high likelihood of government retribution.

[36] The Chilean academic calendar runs from March through December so the academic calendar corresponds with a yearly calendar.

marches that address issues of education. These issues are either at the secondary or at the post-secondary level. Protest non-participants are those that have not participated in student movement within the past academic year, and often times are individuals that have not participated in any marches within that period.

The division of participants and non-participants by their involvement in student movement protests is due to the fact that these particular protests are some of the most objectively violent demonstrations in the nation(Fuentes,2006) These seem to carry a wider level of confrontations with security forces (Barrionuevo, 2011).

I focus on the Chilean student movement, and specifically on protest participation within that movement. It is important to note within the movement there are many repertoires of contention. Nicolas Soma (2017) notes that contention is;`` Any action between two or more people in a public setting that seeks to affect the social world, either by changing or preserving some aspect of it, through `non-institutional' tactics that may range from signing a petition to marching in the street, blocking roads, or occupying private or public buildings." This was confirmed by Max a 25 year old newly elected president of the student center at his university and a leader within his political organization. He noted, "The student movement is not just about going out and protesting. We use many tactics. The marches themselves are perhaps the largest and most centralized, but there is a lot of other work…. We work within our universities to organize the ideas behind the marches, we hold plantones[37] , we also do sit-ins at our respective university campuses. All of these things make up the movement."

[37] The literal translation of this word means seedlings. These are outdoor public town hall types of meetings, where groups formalize the demands that they are making. They publicly state the changes that they want and there is usually discussion between the leaders and the other attendees. Here participants

Chilean Student Movement Description

From May to December of 2006, high school students took to the streets of Chile. The students were protesting the education system. Roughly 100,000 to 600,000 secondary school students, as well as some university students, protested around the country. The students wanted more government intervention in the handling of the educational system and less privatization. The privatization of the education system in Chile had led to a system of inequality, where some students had much better access than others to quality instruction. This is what the students believed. They wanted a more equitable and affordable access to the educational system and believed that the Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza(LOCE), which standardized a basic set of requirements that had to be completed at varying levels of education(Ley Organica), was primarily to blame for the inequality. The law also created a system that led to increased privatization of the educational system. This was enacted as President Augusto Pinonchet was leaving office after 17 years in power(Reel and Smith, 2006). President Michelle Bachelet provided minor concessions when it came to the selection of students into schools(Setterfield, 2007). This would theoretically allow for students of all socioeconomic backgrounds to have access to similar type schools.

But these protests were merely the beginning of a longer process of protests across the country. In 2011, student protests continued. From about 100,000 to 500,000 individuals took to the streets in Santiago to protest (Chovanec et al, 2008;, Freedom House, 2015). These protests were now composed of individuals that were not

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are able to actively discuss in a group the general needs that they believe need to be addressed, and the next steps of action.

necessarily considered students or associated with them (such as teachers). These protesters were members of the broader Chilean society. These new protests extended beyond making demands for equitable access to education to broader societal demands. This protest time period became known as the Chilean Winter (Barrionuevo,2011) and lasted officially from 2011 until 2013, though the protest movements have continued across the country. As late as May of 2016, students continued to protest. The most interesting aspect of the second wave of protests that followed the 'Penguin Revolution' were composed of different groups of individuals. Miners joined the students in their protests. The second wave of protests were also less narrowly focused on access to education but focused on questioning the political and economic system of Chile, the same one that had created the unequal educational system (Freedom House, 2015).

This case was partially selected because it is the least likely to occur, given the measure of risk acceptance. The Chilean case is a crucial case to test this measure of risk acceptance. John Gerring notes that a case can be considered crucial "when it is most or least likely to fulfill a theoretical prediction"(Gerring, 2007). Chile is the second lowest risk acceptant country included, yet has experienced a longstanding wave of protests across the country. If the measure were to accurately predict risk acceptance at the state level, protests should not have been observed in Chile during this time period. At the state level, Chile seems like an outlier in terms of the risk acceptance measure. What is important about this measure is that it accounts for the individual risk acceptance and then aggregates at the country level. While the measure may not have captured nationwide political unrest, it is very likely that the individuals that participated in these protests are indeed more risk acceptant than the rest of the populace. In this regard, Chile

provides an avenue to examine the role of risk acceptance in contentious political action, specifically in the case of protests. But rather than examining the overall risk acceptance of the nation, I would examine those that actually chose to participate and those that have chosen not to participate in these protest movements and assess the varying levels of risk acceptance of the individuals that I am able to interview. One of the most interesting aspects of these protests is that when they began, less than half of the population was in favor of the educational reforms that students were seeking. But now, over 90 percent of the Chilean population supports the demands that have been made by the student group(Freedom House, 2015). This same trend is also observed in other aspects in terms of socioeconomic equality. More people now support these issues, yet the estimate of individuals that joined the protests is around the same in the latter protests as they were for the 2006 student protests. Even though the second wave of protests are more broad-based and some even incorporate other causes[38]the number of individuals willing to go out and participate remains relatively low. In 2006 the Chilean population was around 16.5 million and the protests made up a small percentage of the total population. Though this is a significant number of individuals, it is still only a fraction of the overall Chilean population at the time, which was around 16.5 million (World Bank Group) so anywhere from less than 1 percent of the total population to a little over 3 percent of the population.

[38] Such as Chilean miners(Emol, 2011)

CASE SELECTION AND PARTICIPANTS

Chile is also a useful case study in that the majority of current participants in the student mobilization and student protests are individuals that are in post-secondary education. In this cultural context, it means that most of these individual risk weights are mostly static. Context is the variable that changes, theoretically, risk weights are held mostly constant.

Recruitment of participants occurred in the following ways:

1. Facebook contact
2. In-class announcements
3. in-Person Protest Contact
4. Referrals

Facebook contact did not target specific individuals per se. Mobilizations in Chile are all advertised and announced on Facebook, as this is the main way that individuals have to get information to one another about upcoming mobilizations. Individuals that said they were going to attend, were not going to attend, and they were unsure of their attendance were contacted through Facebook messenger. The comments section of these events are often places where many people can voice their opinions, so individuals that had posted comments, positive and negative in terms of support for the event, were also sent messages. This occurred throughout the entire fall of 2018. Some interviews occurred via Google Hangout and Skype throughout the spring and summer of 2019.

My affiliation with the Pontifica Universidad Catolica in Santiago, afforded me the opportunity to make announcements in classes of several Political Science professors. I was also able to make an announcement in a class at the Universidad Mayor in Santiago.

In-Person contact occurred at several marches that occurred during the fall of 2018. These marches dealt with women's rights, ecological concerns, and children's rights. The interviewer approached prospective interview subjects and gave them business cards with the information of the interviewer. Prospective subjects were told that the interview would be about their participation in protest activity generally and that it would be conducted at the time of their choosing.

Referrals occurred from previous participants in the interviews. At the conclusion of each interview, the subject was given a business card with the interviewer's information, for future reference. They were also given extra business cards to hand to friends or family members that would want to participate in the interviews. The interview subject was told to have their referral contact the interviewer.

An important note about the recruitment of individuals is that other than Facebook messenger individuals were not contacted directly. Interview subjects voluntarily participated in the interviews. Interviews were conducted in a public space; this was either a park or coffee shop. Subjects were not paid for their participation beyond a cup of coffee if the interview was done in a coffee shop. So, participating in these interviews was completely voluntary and the participant selected the public location of the interview. Allowing participants to select the location allowed them to feel more

comfortable and at ease when discussing their involvement, if any, in the student mobilization.

Relying on these four methods of recruitment allows this sample to be relatively unbiased to any particular sub-set of individuals. Many of these individuals did not inhabit the same social circles, so there is no bias in terms of selecting individuals on membership to a particular group. One of the biases in this sample is that most of the participants are either currently in post-secondary education or about to commence their post-secondary education. This would mean that the sample would see a larger number of participants, but this is not necessarily the case since there are some non-participants within the sample.

Interviews were semi-structured, and they lasted anywhere from 30 minutes to an hour. The first part of the interview was structured in a way to assess basic demographic information for all participants, as well as asking them three questions to gauge their level of risk acceptance. Then general questions regarding their history of participation or non-participation in protests took place. Often times, these conversations delved into general discussions about political participation and familial histories dealing with political participation.

The appendix contains the interview questions for participants and non-participants. The first set of questions dealing with the demographic characteristics of the interview subject are all the same, as are the three questions targeted at capturing risk

acceptance[39].The remainder of the questions vary from participants to non-participants in that they are attempting to assess the reasons why interview subjects chose to engage or not in the student mobilizations.

Open-ended questions conclude the survey and these vary from participants to non-participants, but they also vary some by interview subject. This variation is due to the nature of the conversation that transpired with each interview subject. Each participant had a different route by which they chose to participate or not to participate in mobilizations, and these histories are integral in understanding how they think about risk. Often times these individual histories mention risk throughout different periods in their lives.

Findings/Interviews

The purpose of the interviews with protesters and non-protesters serve to better understand the contexts in which individuals choose to make the decision to participate or not. These contexts are economic, political, and social. At the same time, these contexts more often than not are the ways in which individuals think about the costs of participation. Costs in this portion of the dissertation is similar to the act of risk taking, which is the willingness to accept loss, this loss can be physical, financial, or social. I

[39] Only three questions are asked because these are the questions that are factored from the World Values Survey to create the measure of risk acceptance. Now with the experience in interviews I would have deployed full Zuckerman sensation seeking questionnaire to better gauge how their participation more accurately maps onto protest activity for the interview subjects. Nevertheless, since the focus of this chapter is in examining how individuals actually think of risk and their own subjective evaluations of risk acceptance, this does influence any of the findings.}.

have termed it as cost and not risk so as to not obfuscate cost as it has been measured and discussed in the rest of the dissertation.

Thus far, this project has not theorized about these costs or the context in which individuals make decisions, but these contexts directly influence the ways in which risk acceptance emboldens or dampens participation in protest activity. It is not simply risk acceptance nor is it solely context that influences participation in contention, but it is the interaction of these two factors that leads to participation in contention. All of the alternative explanations that aim to explain why individuals protest, be they efficacy (cite), identity (cite), or other factors, interact with a person's psychological predisposition to influence participation. These interviews, then provide a richer view into the contexts of the individual lives of people that factors into participation in protests in Chile.

There are four main ways in which cost or context impact participation. These are: Activation, Continuation, Cessation, and Physical location within the protest. These categories arose from the interviews. Saturation occurred naturally through the interviews. "In interviews when the researched begins to hear the same comments again and again, data saturation is being reached"(Grady, 2008;Saunders,2018). The only category that was prompted in the interviews was on when individuals choice to participate, if they had in their first protest.

Activation is how individuals decide to engage in or not engage in protest activity. Continuation and cessation are very straightforward. They denote how individuals are likely to continue or not in protest activity. The last aspect in which risk weights play a

role in protest activity is in the physical location within a protest. Student marches, are generally set up in the same way. At the start of the protest are usually the leaders of the student federations holding banners. The middle of the protest is composed of organized student groups, these groups are either organized by university major, party militancy, or friend groups. This area is the most condensed area of the protest, where the majority of people participate. Then there is a break in the protest, and this allows the people in the middle of the protest to disperse and leave relatively quickly. At the end of the protest is where the encapuhcados are. The literal translation of this is hooded people, and this is because this is the portion of the protest that is the most violent. Individuals wear black hoods usually and cover their faces because they know that there will be some sort of confrontation with police forces. This may be that they have to run from the police or that they will be fired on by water tanks.

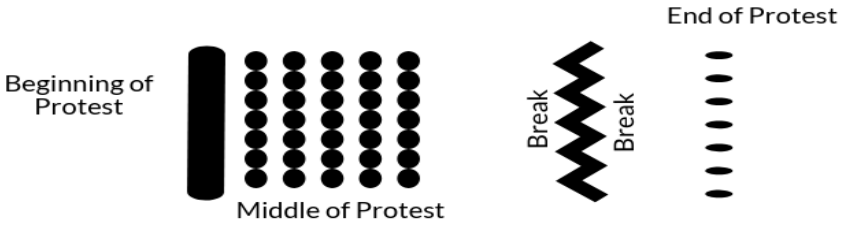

Figure 4.1 Protest Structure

The following sections detail the ways in which individuals mention the costs or contexts of their lives in decisions to activate into participation, continue participation, cease participating, or the selection of location of participation. Direct quotes from subjects were pulled from the interviews to better understand how these individuals frame their decision-making process. Demographic information for participants is also provided to offer as well-rounded of an understanding of the subjects as can be done through these vignettes. An important note about these interviews and about context, is that individuals seldom make decisions or think about their participation at a singular moment in time. Personal and family histories play a central role in the decisions that people make. In these vignettes, subjects often refer to their family backgrounds, upbringing, and family histories as grounding contexts to explain their participation or lack of participation in protests.

Vignettes were selected for their representativeness of these four different categories. That is to say, that these interview samples capture a general sentiment about how context influences these four particular aspects of protest participation. At the same time, these direct quotes are selected for being the most straightforward, with little to no added interpretation by the interviewer. This allows the subjects to be able to portray their stories or narratives of participation directly without any imputation from the researcher. There is little to no re-interpretation by the researcher and allows the reader to get the best understanding of the direct language that subjects used in the interviews.

Pure Sensation Seeking

The first vignette included is an outlier for the subjects. This individual was the oldest individual in the subject pool. He had made a career out of photographing protests, though how much of that was truly a career versus a hobby was a bit unclear. This interview is included because at once it demonstrates what an individual who might be purely sensation seeking would talk about participation. At the other end, it continues to complicate the relationship between age and participation in contention. In traditional measures of youth bulges, these types of individuals are completely misses, but they are often central figures in participation in varying forms of contention.

Pacho is 45 year old photographer in Santiago, and he received an undergraduate education in something unrelated to photography. He is a father, and also has a long-term partner. He wanted to make sure that I knew his partner supported the family, which allowed him to be a photographer and be creative. He told me the story about how he had grown up in La Victoria[40] This community was a revolutionary community in Santiago and his grandmother had been very active politically. He noted that politics was something that was actively discussed in his home. As he grew older many of his friends from this community fell into drugs and other forms of crime, but he had a political motivation to start off with. He remembered his grandmother taking him to protests "during the dictatorship"\footnote{I include quotation marks because this is a direct quote from Pacho, and the subject of the dictatorship is very much contested by many Chileans, and in particular, by some of my interview subjects.}. In this respect, Pacho has a history

[40] This was a squatter settlement, which originated in the 1970's in Santiago(Cortes, 2014).

or at least a socialization into political protests, but he also has the means to participate. Pacho abstained from providing explicit economic information, but he noted that his partner[41] was the primary earner in the home and that because of this he was able to continue working as a photographer. He acknowledged that for him the costs of participation were low because he was not the one responsible for paying for the cost of living for him or his family. He also noted that his partner made enough money that if he were to happen to him like get arrested or hurt, it wasn't much of an issue. His partner could bail him out. Pacho is an interesting case, because he is the oldest participant that I interviewed and has this to say about protests, "To be honest, I like when there's confrontation I don't like peaceful protests, those are the most boring to me." He enjoys the confrontation in protest and goes to them all, regardless of whether he agrees with the subject matter or not. He does provide some information about his political preferences by saying that he does agree with the student mobilization but starts t back off this line of thought and says, "it is dangerous to have a political opinion. My framework is to be a photographer". He noted, ``I feel like I am capturing a moment in time. This is important for people to see that this happened. By taking these pictures I am contributing to Chilean history."

He acknowledged the costs or possible dangers of participating in protests by noting that he knew "at some point I will be arrested." This is something that occurred often to other of his photographer friends and he was prepared for it.

[41] Pacho had children whom he lived with and also a long-term partner. His partner was the mother of his children, but they were never going to be married.

Activation

Activation refers to the initiation of individuals into protest activity. The definition that is employed here is one that most closely resembles online protest models of activation\cite{ gonzalez2011dynamics; gonzalez2013broadcasters} In these studies activation tends to occur when an individual decides to participate online for the first time. The first participation may be a tweet, a Facebook post, or an online petition. In this present study, activation is physical participation in protest.

Maria was a 23 year old college student who had not participated. She had previously been a militant for a political party UDI(Independent Democratic Party), which is a Chilean Center-right party. She had left the party because she did not want to be associated with any side of the political spectrum, she eschewed the categories of Left or Right. She had never participated in any of the protests because, "Before I didn't think that it was the proper form of expression and now that I have wanted to participate the opportunity has not arisen, because I am so focused on other activities. I am being a bit of a 'free-rider'." The lack of participation comes from the fear of the violence that she witnessed from these protests and the mobilization in general that was seen through the media. "We(her parents and herself) were left with what was shown on television, and even though we didn't think it was bad to participate, in that moment that act of expression(protesting and marching) turned into a very violent and dangerous act for any person. So, I wasn't really interested in participating." As she watched these protests on television with her parents they warned her about how dangerous they were and told her that if she were to participate in these protests and something happened they had no money to either help her get out of jail or pay for her medical bills, should something

happen. Before going to university then the cost of participation and her social class, which she identified as lower class framed her decision to participate in protests.

Becoming a student though, changed her opinion on protests and marches as an act of expression. She continued in school and noticed that some of her close friends were unable to continue attending because they were unable to pay their fees and she began to identify more with this. She also noted that when she was younger and part of the political party on the right her friends negatively judger the student protests and marchers, as she did as well, so there was no desire to join or understand the movement. There is an interesting juxtaposition here for Maria, she identifies as someone from a lower socioeconomic status, yet supports the student protests. She noted that one of her biggest interests right now was the *Ni Una Menos* marches. This is a movement in Chile and also Argentina (has other names in other countries across Latin America) that is primarily aimed at combating femicide or feminicide within the countries. Maria stated that she and her friends had tried to go to several marches throughout the year but they had all had exams during those time periods, and those take precedent for her. She said, " It isn't only about 'I'm going to the university and I have a scholarship,' you also need to have resources and those resources are not in my social class."

Isabella was a twenty year old technical school student, where she was being trained for a particular job. She was the only child to a single mother, and worked in a winery to help contribute to her household. Isabella, echoed a similar sentiment to delayed participation in protests, to Maria. Isabella's mom was very fearful of her participation in any protests, but eventually ended up fully supporting her participation,

"It was very difficult (to get her mother to allow her to participate in protests). I had to explain to her that it was very important for my generation to do (protest), to be there and be present so that my own children don't suffer. I had to make my mother aware of my own experiences when I went to a single march and that the police forces were the ones that started the violence…more than anything my mom was scared because of the period in which she grew up which was the dictatorship." Isabella's mom eventually came around to supporting. She noted that he mother fully supports her participation now, and would attend marches if she could, but because of her job she was unable to.

Isabella seemed to be very active in her continued participation in protests and she noted that it was her identity. "I just feel helpless (desamparada). For example, I now study thanks to the government of Bachelet (Chilean president serving her second term at the time of the interview) who imposed trainings for jobs. I'm not at a university, it's an institute for training for a particular job. I won't finish with a degree of something, I will simply be ready to work. After this I don't have anything that's certain. I feel very disadvantaged compared to others who have gone to university". This helplessness, or sense of being disadvantaged is why she continues to participate in protests because of this particular identification. She feels that participating then allows her to push for some policy changes that could impact her or her family in the future, or simply others like her in the same position.

Continuation

Individual context shapes the ability of to participate or not in contention. Jobs, family, or social standing can impact the ability of an individual to be able to go out and

protest and to continue to engage. Intensity of participation can also vary. The two examples presented here demonstrate how changing life circumstances impact continued participation. In the case of Matias, he participates but only to serve as an example for his political party, so in part he continues to participate as a part of his duty. Vicente's continued participation is facilitated by his employer. For Vicente, employment status allows him to continue to engage in contention because he receives the support of his employer. This is unusual in that we would normally expect employment status to lead either to a significant decrease in participation to cessation altogether.

Matias was a 23 year old civil engineering student. He was a militant of the Nueva Accion Universitaria (NAU) party, and had just been elected to student government representative at his university. He started attending marches when he was 18 years old. Within the past year, he had distinctly remembered participating in marches regarding education and science education in Chile. He was very instrumental in his participation, and saw his role within his political party as a major factor in leading him to continue participating in marches. "This year I have gone to some mobilizations, some on education, and others for science. *A Day for Science*, if I'm not mistaken. But all other kinds as well. The reasons that I've participated are, well for one is that I'm committed to the cause. Because I think that some people think that one person doesn't matter, but if you are committed to the cause that you can think to yourself that the collective action problem has to be overcome. At another end, because of my position as a delegate and example for people, I am conscious of that role and as such I like to provide an example that you need to make yourself a part of those changes and that people have to be

motivated to talk about these topics and to work at it. I have also seen, historically, that mobilizations make sense and are able to accomplish their goals."

Vicente was a 24 year old law student. At the time of the interview he was finishing up his last exams in order to be able to graduate. He was a member of a political organization, which was aimed at youth needs and youth political participation. He noted that he attended his first march in 2011, and had continued to participate since then. Unlike many of the other subjects, Vicente had previously held a job at a law firm. He noted that it was because of his employer, to some extent, that he was able to continue participating in marches, "During the time that I was working, fortunately, the person that I was working with, and was my boss…When he was younger he also mobilized a lot, during the period of the dictatorship primarily. Based on this primarily I have three things very clearly: answering to my family, being responsible to my job, and being answering to my political organization." For Vicente, rather than a serious office job hindering his participation, it allowed him to see how participation in mobilizations was an integral role in his political participation. For him though, these three things that he had clear, family, work, and political organization, came in that particular order.

Cessation

The two examples here demonstrate the varied factors that influence individuals to stop participating in protests. In the first example, Marina started college and became involved with friends that were not mobilizing, so a change in her immediate social structure impacted her continuation of protests. Carolina, was involved in the student mobilization and had been in student government the year prior. She noted that her year

of participation impacted her having to stop that current year. Carolina became more focused on schoolwork and saw this as her number one priority. In both of these examples, a shift in priorities is the driving factor to ceasing participation in mobilization.

Martina was a 22 year old art history student. She had not participated in any student marches in the past year, but had participated in the past year in 1 *Ni Una Menos* march. She had started participating in high school, where she attended her first march with her older sister. Her parents had been worried about her participation, but because she was attending with her sister and they supported the topic, they had allowed her to go. In the past year she notes that her focus has shifted and this has changed her participation in protests. "When I started university I always attended marches, but afterwards I stopped attending, I'm not sure. In reality, I think that I needed to study too much and had things to do. When I was in high school there was paro reflexive\footnote{From my own understanding this is a school strike where students and faculty sit together and discuss the demands that they wish to articulate to the school or university. The entire institution or department comes together to be clear about what it is that they want to obtain from a long-term strike if this is necessary.}or we went to marches and there wasn't that much stuff to do. Now, here, it was different because nothing stopped. It is much harder. I also think that my friends here mobilize less. In high school I knew everything so I wasn't mobilizing by myself. Here, sometimes friends mobilize but it's not always… I started doing other things, getting better grades. "

Carolina was a 23 year old political science student. She had been elected to the secretariat of student government at her university the year prior, and had been very

active with her political organization Izquierda Autonoma(IA). Within the past year she had stopped participating entirely and this was mostly due to a time issue. Carolina notes, "This year I had to recover all the time lost. I had to leave the movement due to an issue of lack of time. I had to write my graduation seminar paper this semester, and it was therefore impossible (to continue participating). This year, the academic side has kept me super busy. Also, the year before was very tiring with the student center (student government) in relation to all the other movements and mobilizations. Being in university politics all the time, is relatively not that big, but you stop seeing your family and friends. This year, my priorities were academics, my family, and my friends. This is in order to balance our last year, and the year before that."

Physical Location

Participation in a type of protest, whether violent or non-violent, and the physical location of protest participation, at the start or back of the protest, is the one concept that almost all participants mentioned at some point throughout our conversations. It seems that physical location stands as a short-hand for violence or non-violence, or at least the objective level of danger that participants may experience. The three examples elucidate how participants view their physical participation and the ways in which they see the use of violence within protests.

This first vignette of a protest participant denotes the difference in how individuals view participation in different kinds of protest activities. In this case Felipe, participates in seizures of public buildings but is very critical of the use of violence to achieve political means. At the same time, he notes the instrumentality in this particular

tactic. It is not a seizure for the sake of seizing a public building, but much rather an instrumental choice to be seen, to be heard, but also doing so in a legitimate manner.

Felipe was a 23-year-old law student. He had just been elected to the presidency of his university, and his political organization was in the process of turning over student government from one group to another. He not only was a member of this political organization, but helped with its establishment. This organization was geared towards youth exclusively. Felipe lived with a family member, but not his parents. He also had a part-time job where he worked in a law office. He was an active participant in the past year in many protests, and was a member of a group that took over La Moneda, which is the office of the Chilean President as well as other government ministers. When discussing protests he said, "We(his political organization) believe that social mobilizations are the mechanisms of pressure that allow us to reinforce and reform those edges of public and social life, which we consider, perpetuate in one form or another, the injustice of our country... we are never going to take an action that relates negatively to the political context. We are very critical, for example, of the anarchists, who plant bombs. We are very critical of the young people that use Molotov cocktails, because we believe firstly that they yield no results, these aren't the type of tools that we would use. At the end of the day, we want to generate an impact on public opinion. But this impact has to allow us to position an idea, not just sway public opinion in a way that would generate a stigma or marginalize us even more."

Joaquin was a 20 year old student. He was a militant for the Communist Party and had participated in marches since he was fourteen years old. He talked about the dangers

that were always present in the decision to participate in any protest. “There is always a danger. We always go out there running some sort of danger.” He continued by noting the precautions that he and his political party take when organizing, “What we always do is to note everyone’s personal information of the group of friends, classmates: their RUT(equivalent of the social security number), their whole name, cellphone, just in case someone disappears.” He continues on to talk about the location of marches and the constant danger of violence erupting. “When you first start going to marches, perhaps you like to get into where all the disorder is, because it’s not a lie that in marches there is always a minority group of encapuchados (the literal translation of this means hooded people) that destroy things. Think that I don’t agree with, but there’s always that minority group. There will be a march of 100,000 people and there will always be at least 50 and that’s what they show on the news and what the news will focus on.” Joaquin continues by noting that participation in violence at the end of protest is something that shifts participation continues for a long period of time in marches. “One, when you have spent three years in marches, when you start maybe you like being in the disorder, but you see that it’s a problem to participate in that part. So you stay away from the problem (the part of the march towards the end where the encapuchados are), you are more mature and more reasonable, so you distance yourself. This is particularly so when you have already been arrested by the police.” He had been arrested once before when he was younger, from the context of the conversation it seemed that it was because he was participating in the back of the protest, but he was not explicit about this, so any speculation on this is merely that. He was particularly critical of the encapuchados, not for their use of violence per se, he supported the use of violence against the dictatorship, but just believed that it

did not help to gain any popular support. For Joaquin, much like for Felipe, the use of specific tactics was instrumental and the ultimate goal was, "we will always need popular support. No change in society, historically, has occurred without popular support, and the majority of the people don't like those things (violent conflict)."

Daniel was a 20 year old engineering student, who was also a militant for Izquierda Autonoma(IA), a political party that was a direct outgrowth of the earlier waves of student mobilization. "In reality, during marches which are always(he notes the start and end streets of the location.)Where there is always more danger is at the end, where everything is ill-fated. There the police forces force you to leave the location. There, I always try to leave as quickly as possible so that I am not arrested."

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to understand the ways in which context or the cost of participation weight the decision of individuals to participate in protest activity in Chile. Prior chapters were devoid of context, meaning everything that is outside of the individual that is not psychological. This chapter sought to elucidate the ways in which context impacts participation.

There are two important contexts that interact in this chapter to demonstrate how people internalize them. At one level there is a state or country level political and economic context that places demands, expectations, or provides opportunities for individuals to coalesce and engage in contention. At the second level there is individual context, which is specific to every single member of society. Their individual context is social, political, economic, and even familial. The individual context is what most of

these interview spend time detailing. How their family and immediate contexts have shaped the ways in which they go about participating in protest, if they participate at all.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Individual level factors influence people to act in different ways, throughout this dissertation has focused on how risk acceptance as a psychological factor motivates participation in contentious politics. There are a myriad of structural conditions which allow for contention to occur, and there are many group level factors that ultimately lead to group level episodes of contention. This dissertation though, sought to contribute to this line of inquiry by focusing on individual level predispositions.

The first chapter of the dissertation discussed risk acceptance as a psychological predisposition. Rather than focusing on risk as the willingness to take risks, it addresses the predisposition or the psychological priors that individuals possess in that make them more or less likely to take risk. This chapter also addressed contentious politics literature and the systemic level conditions which allow contention occur. Particularly, the work on youth bulges was pointed out as an avenue that attempted to address some of these group level characteristics that lead individuals to engage in contention. Together, youth bulges and risk acceptance are useful in understanding the group level factors that lead to contention as well as the individual level psychological factors which impact participation in protest activity.

The second chapter of this dissertation developed a measurement for risk acceptance in Latin America and attempted a replication of different forms of contention with youth bulge measurements. Though risk acceptance is conceptualized as an individual level characteristic, the measurement at the country level, permits gauging overall levels of risk predisposition over a period of time. This measure would then

interact with structural state level conditions to explain contention within a state at a given time. The measure was then used in a replication of Henrik Urdal's paper on youth bulge measurements. The replication was limited to Latin America, to three particular forms of contention: risk of armed conflict, terrorism, and rioting and violent demonstrations. Though the replication was unsuccessful when constrained to the Latin American sample, model fit was improved when youth bulge measures and risk acceptance measures were both included in these models. This leads to the possible

The third chapter of the dissertation aims to address validation concerns. The first validation concern is for the questions that are used to develop the measurement in chapter two. A behavioral tool, known as the BART was correlated to the questions employed in the World Values Survey to measure risk acceptance. The results of this validation exercise were not statistically significant, and while this was discouraging, it was not surprising. Self-reported measures often vary from behavioral measures and since there are only two questions employed in the self-report it makes the relationship even harder to find. The second portion of the chapter focused on validating the relationship between risk acceptance and protest activity directly. An online petition was deployed in Colombia that addressed violence against women and children. Treatment conditions increased the cost of participation. Participants in the highest treatment group were told that the government agency that received the petition would verify their information, while the first treatment group was simply told that provision of identifiable information would only serve to demonstrate the legitimacy of the petition. Though findings were not statistically significant by treatment condition, overall levels of risk did

correlate with higher probability of participation across the different participation options (support for the petition, email provision, and provision of first and last name).

The final chapter of the dissertation incorporates context to better understand how the costs of participation influence real participation in protest activity in Chile. All prior chapters have been devoid of most context[42], this chapter explored how context, specifically the cost of participation influenced joining protests of the Chilean student movement. Context here was used to mean everything that was outside of the individual themselves; this was economic, social, political, and familial factors that drove participation or not in the student mobilization.

In the immediate future a new measure needs to be developed that better captures all dimensions of risk acceptance with the World Values Survey, or other regional measures. This would then be used in replication studies within Latin America. Particularly, adding risk acceptance to youth bulge measurements to test how the inclusion of both of these measures impact contentious political outcomes. Validation exercises to assess whether these questions are capturing risk acceptance would be greatly benefitted by either behavioral assessments within Latin America or through the measurement of biomarkers to gauge physiological response.

This dissertation has attempted to contribute to the literature in contentious politics by including the concept of risk acceptance at the individual level to aid in explaining or at least understanding the individual level and more importantly psychological predispositions to engage in acts of contention. Together, the individual level and the systematic, collective level factors, can provide a more robust explanation

[42] Though the validation chapter tried to hold institutional context constant, within the second experiment, by taking place within a single country.

of contention. It is not simply that one of these things explains contention entirely, but that with one another they allow scholars to understand why contention occurs, how it occurs, and who is likely to take part in these acts.

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APPENDIX A

EXPERIMENT MATERIALS

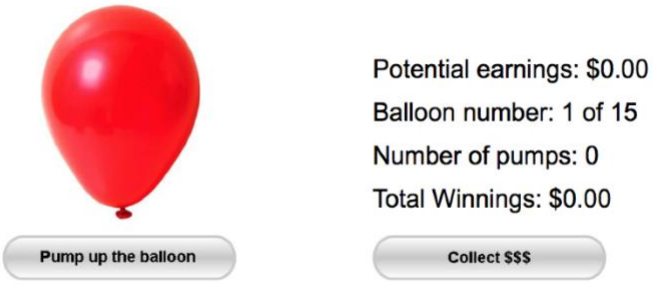

Figure A.1: BART Sample

9.1. Escala de Búsqueda de Sensaciones (forma V) (Sensation-Seeking Scale, SSS)

	Sí	*No*
1. A menudo desearía ser un escalador de montañas	☐	☐
2. Me gustan algunos olores corporales	☐	☐
3. Me gustan las fiestas desenfrenadas y desinhibidas	☐	☐
4. No puedo permanecer en el cine cuando he visto la película	☐	☐
5. Algunas veces me gusta hacer cosas que impliquen pequeños sobresaltos	☐	☐
6. Me gusta explorar una ciudad o barrio desconocido aunque pueda perderme	☐	☐
7. Me gusta la compañía de personas liberadas que practican el «cambio de parejas»	☐	☐
8. Me aburro de ver las mismas caras de siempre	☐	☐
9. Me gustaría practicar el esquí acuático	☐	☐
10. He probado marihuana u otras hierbas, o me gustaría hacerlo	☐	☐
11. A menudo me gusta ir colocado (bebiendo alcohol o fumando hierba)	☐	☐
12. Cuando puedes predecir casi todo lo que va a decir o hacer una persona, puedes considerarla como una persona aburrida	☐	☐
13. Me gustaría practicar el *wind-surfing*	☐	☐
14. He probado o me gustaría probar alguna droga que produce alucinaciones	☐	☐
15. Me gusta tener experiencias y sensaciones nuevas y excitantes, aunque sean poco convencionales o incluso ilegales	☐	☐
16. Generalmente no me divierten las películas o juegos en los que puedo predecir de antemano lo que va a suceder	☐	☐
17. Me gustaría aprender a volar en avioneta	☐	☐
18. Me gusta probar comidas nuevas que no he probado antes	☐	☐
19. Me gusta salir con personas del sexo opuesto que sean físicamente excitantes	☐	☐
20. Ver películas o diapositivas de viajes en casa de alguien me aburre tremendamente	☐	☐
21. Me gustaría practicar el submarinismo	☐	☐
22. Me gustaría hacer un viaje sin definir previamente el tiempo de duración ni su itinerario	☐	☐
23. Tener muchas bebidas es la clave de una buena fiesta	☐	☐
24. Prefiero los amigos que son impredecibles	☐	☐
25. Me gustaría probar a lanzarme en paracaídas	☐	☐
26. Me gustaría hacer amigos procedentes de grupos marginales	☐	☐
27. Una persona debería tener considerable experiencia sexual antes del matrimonio	☐	☐
28. Me siento intranquilo si no me puedo mover alrededor de mi casa durante un largo período de tiempo	☐	☐
29. Me gusta saltar desde trampolines altos en piscinas	☐	☐
30. Me gustaría conocer personas que son homosexuales (hombres o mujeres)	☐	☐
31. Me imagino buscando placeres alrededor del mundo con la *jet-set*	☐	☐
32. El peor pecado social es ser un aburrido	☐	☐
33. Me gustaría recorrer una gran distancia en un pequeño velero	☐	☐
34. Frecuentemente encuentro preciosos los colores chocantes y las formas irregulares de la pintura moderna	☐	☐
35. Me gusta ver las escenas sexy de las películas	☐	☐
36. Me gusta la gente aguda e ingeniosa aunque a veces ofenda a otros	☐	☐
37. Me gustaría la sensación de bajar esquiando muy rápido por la pendiente de una gran montaña	☐	☐
38. La gente puede vestirse como quiera aunque sea de una forma extravagante	☐	☐
39. Me siento muy bien después de tomarme unas copas de alcohol	☐	☐
40. No tengo paciencia con las personas grises o aburridas	☐	☐

Figure A.2: Sensation Seeking Form

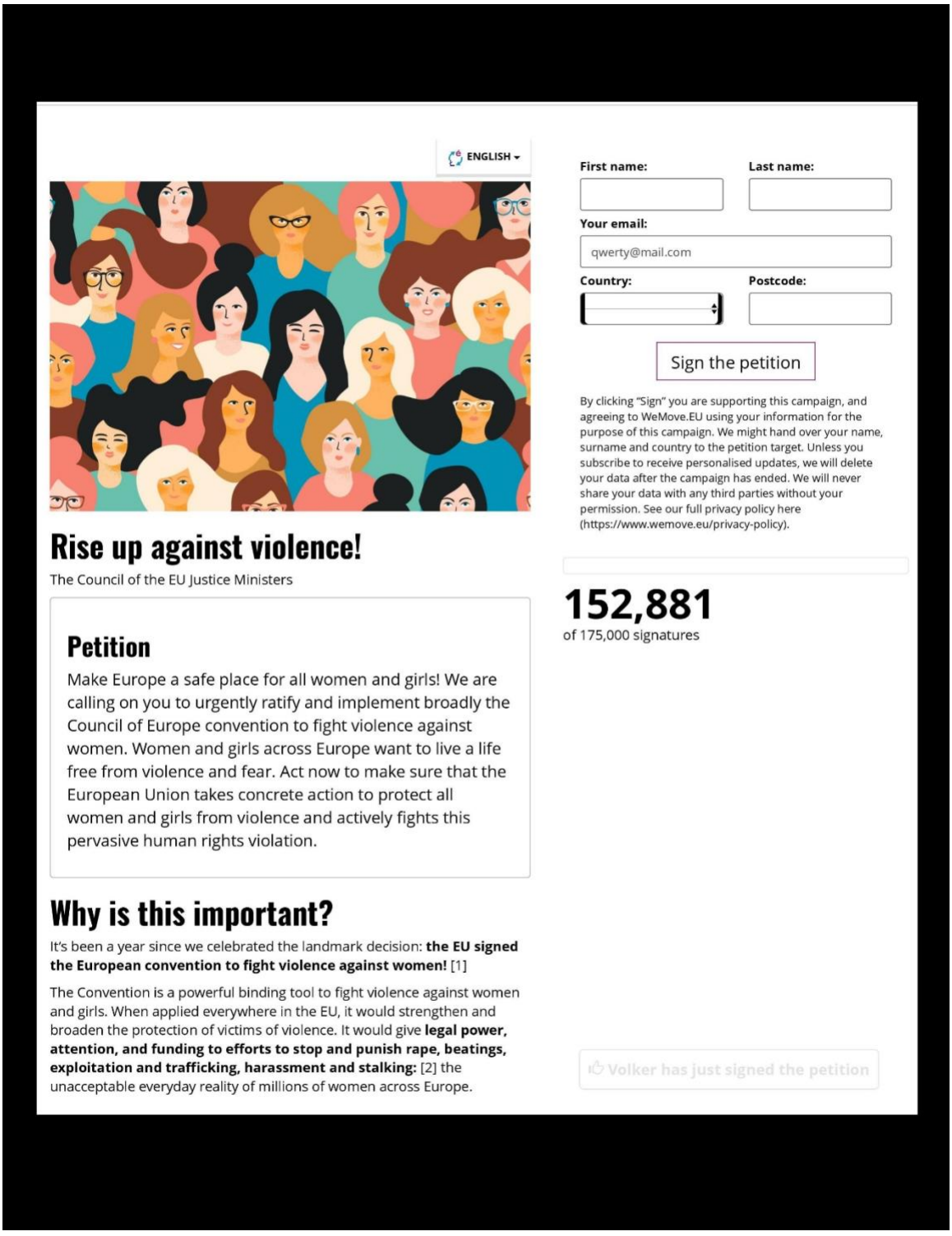

Figure A.3: We Move Petition

Figure A.4 Online Petition

Table A.1 Petition Support Results

	Dependent variable:
	Petition Sign
Treatment 2(T2)	0.257 (0.202)
Treatment3(T3)	0.187 (0.211)
Overall Risk	0.009*** (0.002)
Risk by Treatment 2(RT2)	-0.005 (0.003)
Risk by Treatment3(RT3)	-0.004 (0.003)
Age	0.001 (0.001)
Gender	-0.048** (0.020)
Constant	0.365** (0.152)
Observations	833
Log Likelihood	-88.324
Akaike Inf. Crit.	192.647
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.2: Email Provision Results

	Dependent variable:
	Email Provision
Treatment3(T3)	0.233 (0.314)
Overall Risk	0.004 (0.003)
Risk by Treatment3(RT3)	0.002 (0.002)
Age	0.0004 (0.035)
Gender	0.002 (0.005)
Constant	0.176 (0.187)
Observations	833
R^2	0.125
Adjusted R^2	0.120
Residual Std. Error	0.464 (df = 827)
F Statistic	23.611*** (df = 5; 827)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A.3: Name Provision Results

	Dependent variable:
	Name Provision
Treatment3(T3)	0.252 (0.310)
Overall Risk	0.006** (0.003)
Risk by Treatment3(RT3)	0.003* (0.002)
Age	0.010 (0.034)
Gender	0.003 (0.005)
Constant	-0.042 (0.184)
Observations	833
R^2	0.158
Adjusted R^2	0.152
Residual Std. Error	0.457 (df = 827)
F Statistic	30.924*** (df = 5; 827)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT AND NON-PARTICIPANT QUESTIONS

1. Cual es su edad?
2. ¿Con que genero se identifica?
3. ¿Cuál es el nivel más alto de educación que ha completado?
4. Cual es su estado civil?
5. ¿Tiene hijos? ¿Si tiene hijos, cuantos hijos tiene?
6. Vive con sus padres?
7. ¿Recibe algún apoyo financiero de algún miembro de su familia?
8. ¿El sueldo suyo es el sueldo principal en su casa?
9. ¿Cuál es su estado de empleo ahora?
10. ¿Con que clase económica se identifica?
11. ¿Cuál es su ingreso anual y el de su familia? ¿Si no sabe anual, mensual?
    En las próximas preguntas le voy a dar una escala de muy parecido a mi o no parecido para nada me puede responder utilizando esa escala de respuestas
12. ¿La Aventura y riesgos son muy importantes para mi?
    a. Muy parecido a mi
    b. Como yo
    c. Algo como yo
    d. Un poco como yo
    e. No como yo
    f. Nada parecido a mi
13. Vivir en un ambiente seguro es importante para mi
    a. Muy parecido a mi
    b. Como yo
    c. Algo como yo
    d. Un poco como yo
    e. No como yo
    f. Nada parecido a mi
14. Siempre comportarse correctamente es importante para mi
    a. Muy parecido a mi
    b. Como yo
    c. Algo como yo
    d. Un poco como yo
    e. No como yo
    f. Nada parecido a mi
15. Es miembro de algun partido politico?
    a. Si es miembro de que partido?
    b. Se considerer partidario fuerte de su partido politico? Explique un poco.
16. Cual(es) son las razon(es) por las que participo hoy o ha participado en una manifestacion/protesta?

17. ¿Sus amigos influyeron en su decisión de participar o pensar en no participar? ¿De qué manera influyeron en su decisión?
18. ¿Sus padres o familiares apoyan su participación?
19. ¿Su nivel de apoyo influyó en su decisión de participar?
    a. Si no lo hizo, ¿cuál fue el factor que le impulsó a participar?
    b. Si influyó, ¿aumentó / disminuyó su deseo de participar porque sintió apoyo / falta de apoyo?
20. ¿Cuáles fueron algunas de las consideraciones que te motivaron a salir físicamente y protestar?
21. ¿Consideró la seguridad física de sí mismo al decidir participar?
22. ¿Ha participado en protestas o manifestaciones antes? Si no ha participado, porque?
    a. Cuantas?
    b. Desde que edad?
    c. ¿Todas han sido sobre el mismo tema?
    d. Qué tipo de protestas o manifestaciones?
    e. Si usted no ha participado en las protestas antes, ¿por qué eligió esta protesta?

23. ¿Las protestas son una experiencia placentera para usted?
    a. ¿Cuáles son los factores que hacen que una protesta particularmente agradable (personas, tema, ubicación)?
    b. Cuáles son los aspectos de las protestas / protestas que te resultan menos agradables?
24. ¿Con quiénes acudiste a esta protesta?
25. ¿Cómo se enteró de esta protesta?
26. ¿En qué tipo de protesta ha participado?
27. ¿Te consideras muy activo políticamente? ¿Por favor explique?
28. ¿Es usted miembro de una organización que organiza demostraciones?
    a. ¿Si es así, por favor, cuénteme sobre la organización?

1. Cual es su edad?
2. En que año nació?
3. ¿Con que genero se identifica?
4. ¿Cuál es el nivel más alto de educación que ha completado?
5. ¿Cuál es su estado civil?
6. ¿Tiene hijos? ¿Si tiene hijos, cuantos hijos tiene?
7. Vive con sus padres?
8. ¿Recibe algún apoyo financiero de algún miembro de su familia?
9. ¿El sueldo suyo es el sueldo principal en su casa?
10. ¿Cuál es su estado de empleo ahora?
11. ¿Con que clase económica se identifica?
12. ¿Cuál es su ingreso anual y el de su familia? ¿Si no sabe anual, mensual?
    a. En las próximas preguntas le voy a dar una escala de muy parecido a mi o no parecido para nada me puede responder utilizando esa escala de respuestas
13. ¿La Aventura y riesgos son muy importantes para mi?
    a. Muy parecido a mi

b. Como yo
c. Algo como yo
d. Un poco como yo
e. No como yo
f. Nada parecido a mi

14. Vivir en un ambiente seguro es importante para mi
    a. Muy parecido a mi
    b. Como yo
    c. Algo como yo
    d. Un poco como yo
    e. No como yo
    f. Nada parecido a mi
15. Siempre comportarse correctamente es importante para mi
    a. Muy parecido a mi
    b. Como yo
    c. Algo como yo
    d. Un poco como yo
    e. No como yo
    f. Nada parecido a mi
16. ¿Es miembro de algún partido político?
    a. ¿Si es miembro de que partido?
    b. ¿Se considera partidario fuerte de su partido político? Explique un poco.
17. ¿Cuáles son las razones principales por no participar en protestas?
18. ¿Que influencia tuvieron sus amistades en no participar en protestas hoy y en el pasado?
19. ¿Cuales son las opiniones de sus padres o familia en general en que usted no se involucre en protestas?
20. ¿Cree que el nivel de apoyo influyo su decisión de no participar?
21. Preocupación por su seguridad física influyo su decisión de no participar?
    a. Si se preocupo, cual fue el aspecto que más lo/la preocupo?
22. ¿Tiene amistades cercanas que participan en protestas?
    a. En qué tipo de protestas/manifestaciones participan?
    b. ¿Cuál es su opinión sobre la participación de ellos?
    c. ¿Apoya la decisión de ellos en participar?
    d. ¿Se preocupa por la seguridad de ellos en participar?
23. (Para los que no están participando en cierta manifestación) Ha participado en protestas anteriormente?
    a. ¿Cuantas?
    b. ¿Desde que edad?
    c. Sobre que temas?
    d. ¿Que tipo de movilización?
24. (Si ha participado anteriormente) Las movilizaciones han sido una experiencia placentera?
    a. Cuales son los factores que las han hecho más placenteras?
    b. ¿Cuales han sido los factores que menos le ha gustado de las protestas?
25. Alguien lo/la invitado(a) participar en movilizaciones en el ultimo ano?
    a. Si responde si, cuál es su relacion con esta persona?
26. Se considera una persona active políticamente?
27. Es miembro de alguna organización que organiza movilizaciones, o la ha sido anteriormente?

a. Si response si, cuénteme sobre la organización?

Figure C.2: interview Questions Non- Participants