

**Campaign Tactics and Social Movement Outcomes:
A Case Study of the United Students Against Sweatshops**

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This thesis challenged me academically, while aiding my passion in social justice. The experience has undoubtedly been one of the best in my time at the University of Michigan. Such an experience would not have been possible without the guidance of my advisor, Professor Michael Heaney.

From our first meeting in fall 2010, Michael could not have been more helpful in my academic and professional development. In his lab, he engaged my research group both in and outside the classroom, teaching us essential research skills as well as taking a group trip to Chicago to survey anti-war activists. As the current undergraduate teaching assistant for his course, I witness the same dedication Michael has given me mirrored to all of his students each week in the classroom. Michael inspired me to write this thesis, and has worked with me every step of the way. His countless dedicated hours to my academic development have made an immeasurable effect on my accomplishments.

I admire Michael as a teacher, a mentor, and person; I have endless gratitude for his time spent with me over the past three years.

I. INTRODUCTION

When I first arrived as a freshman at the University of Michigan, I had a strong desire to get involved in the campus community and work toward social good. Almost immediately, I immersed myself in a variety of student organizations, social justice conferences, and progressive communities. I quickly became aware of the high saturation of social movement organizations Ann Arbor had to offer; whether your passion was for gender equality, reform of the prison industrial complex, or advancing the anti-war movement, there was something out there to get involved in.

Although the plethora of organizations and networks engaged in a struggle for change each had their own – commonly unrelated, and even sometimes conflicting – goals, they all worked to achieve such goals through strategic campaigns centered on a specific objective. LGBTQ organizations, for example, led a campaign to offer gender-neutral housing at the University, while immigration reform organizations spearheaded a campaign that fought to provide in-state tuition for undocumented immigrants.

Lacking a narrow focus within the realm of social justice, I became involved in a wide variety of social movement organizations and thus, a variety of respective campaigns. For two years, I chaired the Central Student Government's Peace and Justice Commission, where I oversaw a variety of social movement organizations working towards positive change. In some pleasant cases, I witnessed an organization's hard work rewarded by success; at other times, however, I saw organizations left empty-handed.

As an Organizational Studies major, my academics have shaped the lens through which I perceive the world; in any given context, I analyze both the macro- and micro-level

organizational theories at play. Given such mindset, my involvement in Ann Arbor's leftist community naturally provoked an interest in the structure and workings of social movement organizations. I began to notice that no campaign was identical. Some of them targeted our University President, while some demanded change from the student body; some campaigns spread their message via peaceful vigils, while others held large, contentious public demonstrations; some attracted national media attention, while others were hardly known at even a local level. The difference was rooted in choice of tactics, or short-term actions which together form a strategic campaign. The target, frame, events – all were tactical decisions, varying from campaign to campaign. I also noticed a continuous cycle of student turnover and the influence it had on campaigns; as activists increased their experience, gaining a better sense of what does and does not work, they also became closer to their graduation which was oftentimes synonymous with personal withdrawal from the campaign. Through my organizational lens, I began to develop a sense that each organization was rich with inexperience, using their best guess as to which tactics comprise a successful campaign in hopes that their estimate would yield the result they were looking for.

In addition to gaining an organizational awareness of student activism, I also gained a personal investment in the activist community. My involvement provided me with the privilege of hearing the previously unvoiced stories of individuals who suffered from inequality due to a characteristic of themselves which they could not control. Such an increase in awareness cultivated a profound passion inside of me, fueled by a desire to actively change the world for the better. I was – and continue to be – an integral role in numerous campus campaigns, influencing tactical decisions such as whom or what the campaign should target, or which event would be the most effective for the advancement of a campaign. The combination of my personal

investment in activism with my organizational framework mentality led me to question, why were some social movement organization's campaigns successful, while others were not? Which tactics are work, and which do not?

This thesis examines the relationship of campaign tactics and social movement outcomes via a case study of the social movement organization, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), a leading national organization in the anti-sweatshop movement. USAS is one of several organizations I have worked with at the University of Michigan. As a result of this research, I expect to contribute to the understanding of which types of tactics lead to the greatest success on behalf of USAS, taking into account other variables, such as media attention, sympathetic administrators, and public support.

The paper begins with an examination of relevant existing sociological and organizational theories and studies in order to paint the academic framework from which I approached my thesis, and also includes my expected findings of my study. The second section of the paper details the thesis specific case study subject – USAS – including the history, mission, and approach of the organization, and the rationale of my selection. The third section on research design discusses the methods of conducting surveys to various USAS chapters across the United States. The fourth section provides the survey results, including demographic attributes of the survey participants, participant's distribution of involvement in specific USAS campaigns, and a mixed-process model of USAS media coverage and success. The fifth section discusses the results with supporting social movement theories; finally, the final section considers the implication of the study for USAS, student activists, and grassroots participation as a whole.

Coming from the angle of a student activist, such findings can aid us immensely in meeting our desire to change some aspect of the social world during our brief time at an academic institution. But beyond simply helping USAS, these findings are likely to inform all people who struggle to change the social and political world through grassroots participation.

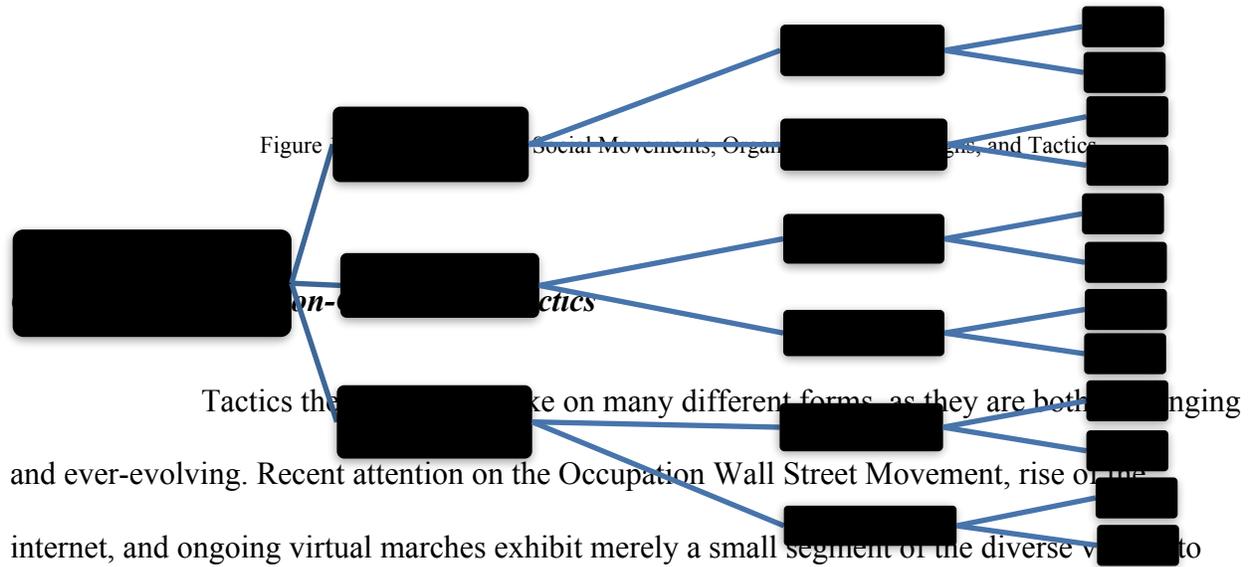
II. THEORY

Structural Composition of Social Movements

Activists structure themselves into groups, or social movement organizations, which collectively comprise a social movement. According to sociologist James Jasper, social movements are “conscious, concerted, and relatively sustained efforts by organized groups... to change some aspect of their society” (Jasper 1997, p.5). Each social movement organization, therefore, aligns its goals with the broader social movement in which it is integrated (Zald & McCarthy 1987).

In effort to implement the goals of its respective social movement, organizations run strategic campaigns. Such campaigns are comprised of a stream of deliberate decisions and actions, known as tactics, which the organization deems to be “effective means to attain independent ends” (Jasper 1997, p.235). To further illustrate the relationship between social movements, organizations, campaigns, and tactics, I will provide an example pertinent to my case study (you may also refer to Figure 1 for a relational map). The anti-sweatshop *movement* is rooted in the goal to better labor conditions across the globe. Among others, the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) is a key *organization* in the anti-sweatshop movement. In line with movement’s goals, USAS focuses on a *campaign* to cut multiple university contracts with

Adidas unless Adidas improves the working conditions of its Indonesian garment workers. This “Badidas” campaign is carried out through a string of tactics, such as petitions, teach-ins, or a march to the university president’s office.



Tactics that take on many different forms, as they are both changing and ever-evolving. Recent attention on the Occupation Wall Street Movement, rise of the internet, and ongoing virtual marches exhibit merely a small segment of the diverse variety of tactics we see emerging today. As I began to work with more social movement organizations, I became interested in the level of contention that different tactics employed. For purposes of my research, I am classifying tactics as being either non-contentious (similar to ‘conventional’ or ‘institutionalized’), or contentious (similar to ‘confrontational’ or ‘radicalized’).

Organizations can either choose to play by pre-existing rules and maintain the moral high ground, or push the limits and play by their own rules. Social movement theorist Sidney Tarrow differentiated the two extremes as ‘conventional’ versus ‘confrontational’ forms of protest (Tarrow 1993). ‘Conventional’ tactics work to make change through existing institutional channels and rules of political participation; examples of such non-contentious tactics include creating petitions, writing letters to governmental officials, using the courts to pursue legal action, and holding public meetings (Tarrow 1993).

For many social movement organizations, the prevailing structure of ‘the system’ does not provide proper channels for which they can demand change through. In a study of movements against nuclear energy, sociologist Herbert Kitschelt found that “when political systems are closed and have considerable capacities to ward off threats to the implementation of policies, movements are likely to adopt *confrontational*, disruptive strategies orchestrated outside established policy channels” (Kitschelt 1986, p.66). Doug McAdam also studied contentious tactics and the institutionalized powerlessness of many social movement, similarly concluding that “ordinarily, insurgents must bypass routine decision-making channels and seek, through use of non-institutionalized tactics, to force their opponents to deal with them outside the established arenas within which the latter derive so much of their power” (McAdam 1983, p.340).

In his essay, “Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency,” McAdam illustrates the use of contentious tactics with the institutional powerlessness of black insurgents during the Civil Rights Movement. The percentage of white individuals registered to vote in the mid-twentieth century nearly tripled that of the voting age blacks, resulting in an irrefutable block of access to political avenues upon the black insurgent population (McAdam 1983, p.342). Given such closed ‘proper channels’ of influence, blacks turned to the only alternative avenue open to them, contentious, or non-institutionalized tactics. Similar to Tarrow’s ‘confrontational’ tactics, blacks favored disruptive, unexpected tactics such as “occupations, obstructions, forced entries, and radical strikes” (Tarrow 1993, p.332).

The choice of tactics beckons the question, which style of tactic should social movement organizations adopt? Are non-contentious tactics better than contentious tactics? Or does the opposite hold true? In the case of the Civil Rights Movement, pressure was generated

and sustained through the implementation of contentious tactics. Black insurgents faced an undeniable lack of institutionalized power, yet were able to mount a successful campaign; McAdam argues, “it was the potential for disruption inherent in their use of non-institutionalized forms of political action that was to prove decisive” (McAdam 1983, p.342). Social movement theorist William Gamson furthers support for the efficacy of negative inducements or disruption inherent of contentious tactics. In his article, “The Success of the Unruly,” Gamson concludes that “unruly groups, those that use violence, strikes, and other constraints,” have the highest rate of success (Gamson 1999, p.363).

Conversely, contentious tactics can be perceived as the irrational actions of crazy, radicalized activists, unleashing their desire for rebellion via noisy chants and disruptive frenzies. Crowd theorists hold such a belief, and thus dismiss all non-institutionalized tactics to be “misguided and irrational, the product of immature minds” (Jasper 1997, p.234). When speaking of ‘confrontational’ tactics, Tarrow describes them as “unfamiliar, unexpected,” and even “rejected as illegitimate by elites and the mass public alike” (Tarrow 1993, p.332). In order for a campaign to succeed, many theorists argue that social movement organizations must maintain a moral high ground and be perceived as legitimate, rational, and professional – all of which are accomplished when choosing non-contentious tactics.

Social movement research has long questioned tactical decisions and its relationship with effectiveness. History has witnessed a plethora of both successes and failures of social movements. Why did some tactics succeed where all others had failed? How does a social movement organization decide which tactic would be the *most* “effective means to attain independent ends” (Jasper 1997, p.235)? Jasper sheds light on the lack of current knowledge

on social movements, stating that “most scholars... have inadequately understood the causes, unfolding, and effects of modern protest” (Jasper 1997, p.3). The current influx of tactical innovation and its history of social movement impacts make the question of tactical effectiveness an important one in today’s society.

Although research and knowledge regarding social movements, specifically the relationship between tactical choice and success, is growing, there is still much progress to be made. In their book, *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*, Mayer Zald and John McCarthy argue that “in accounting for a movement’s successes and failures, one finds an explicit recognition of the crucial importance of involvement on the part of individuals and organizations from outside the collectivity a social movement represents” (Zald & McCarthy 1987, p.19). Tactical decisions may not always directly lead to the success of a campaign; however, a tactic may indirectly affect success by influencing a mediating factor of success, oftentimes in a position outside of the movement, such as public support, media attention, or coalitional networks.

The Role of Media in Success

The media, McAdam and Snow argue, are “frequently the central conduit” through which social movement organizations “seek to influence public opinion and policy in their efforts to promote or resist change in society” (McAdam & Snow 2010, p.365-366). Given today’s increasing use and innovation of technology, media is becoming a key player in the success or failure of a social movement. Interactions between social movement organizations and their targeted decision-making authorities are no longer centered on a tactic’s “direct, physical confrontation... in concrete locations;” instead, “it is in the news media that the most

relevant part of mutual observation and interaction between protester and authorizes takes place” (Koopman 2004, p.367-368). One of the first tips I learned as an activist was that if you have no documentation – be it pictures, press releases, videos – of an event, it did not happen, or as sociologists Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld put it, “a demonstration with no media coverage at all is a nonevent, unlikely to have any positive influence either on mobilizing followers or influencing the target” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.116).

In their essay on the interactions between movement and media, Gamson and Wolfsfeld argue for the indispensability of media discourse for social movements. The media, they explain, is important for increasing the movement’s reach, as “most of the people that [social movement organizations] wish to reach are part of the mass media gallery, while many are missed by movement-oriented outlets” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.116). Additionally, the media spotlight offers an opportunity for the organizations to “improve its relative power compared to that of its antagonist,” as it validates and legitimizes the organization as an important player in the eyes of the “targets of influence” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.116). With so much empirical support for the influential role the media can play in the success of a social movement, how does a social movement organization harness the attention of the media?

Relationship between Media and Tactical Choice

Social movement research has concluded that a fundamental asymmetry in relations remains between media and movements; social movements depend on the media much more than the media depends on them. The strong disproportion between the available spaces in media coverage and the number of social movement organizations that desire such coverage creates “high competition among groups who aim to get their messages across in the public discourse”

(Koopman 2004, p.372). Such competition allows media outlets to be highly selective, ultimately developing journalistic standards for what makes for ‘good’ media and what does not.

Just as social movements compete against one another for the limited spaces available in the media, media outlets also compete against one another, as “news is a vehicle for procuring an audience to tell to advertisers” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.125). Media outlets fear they will lose an audience to alternative media providers with “higher flames and more action on their news” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.125). Social movement organizations in quest of media attention, therefore, must adopt strategies and tactics that possess these ‘high flame’ and action-centered entertainment characteristics. Research on the media has shown that the larger, lengthier, and more disruptive or visual a tactic is, the more likely it will be covered; similarly, there is entertainment, and thus news value in drama, conflict, and controversy (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.125). Media outlets seek to outshine their competing providers in entertainment value; the more contentious or even violent the tactical decision of the social movement organization, the more the event possesses media-valued elements, and thus, the more likely their demonstration will be under media’s spotlight. As Gamson and Wolfsfeld put it, “fire in the belly is fine, but fire on the ground photographs better. Burning buildings and burning tires make better television than peaceful vigils and orderly marches” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998, p.125).

Hypotheses

Given the existing research mentioned above, I expected to find the following four relationships in my regression analysis.

Hypothesis 1: The level of tactical contention is a direct, positive determinant of the success level of a USAS campaign.

Social movement organizations such as USAS commonly face closed political channels. Thus, such organizations must seek alternative, confrontational tactics in order to reach their goals. The efficacy of negative inducements or disruption inherent of continuous tactics has been supported by well-respected social movement theorists (McAdam 1983; Gamson 1999; Kitschelt 1986).

Hypothesis 2: The level of tactical contention is a direct, positive determinant of the level of media coverage of a USAS campaign.

Media outlets are businesses driven by competition, and thus seek to outshine competing providers in entertainment value. The more contentious a tactic is, the more the tactic possesses high levels of entertainment value, and thus, the more frequently it will be covered by media outlets (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998; Koopman 2004).

Hypothesis 3: The level of media coverage is a direct, positive determinant of the success level of a USAS campaign.

Media has become the “most relevant part of mutual observation and interaction between protester and authorizes” (Koopman 2004, p.367-368). Presence in the media validates and legitimizes the social movement organization as an important player in the eyes of the decision-make. Thus, media coverage has become indispensable to the success of a campaign (McAdam & Snow 2010; Koopman 2004; Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1998).

Hypothesis 4: Contentious tactics have an indirect effect on the success of a USAS campaign by increasing media coverage.

Existing academic knowledge on social movements conclude that there is a relationship between the contention level of tactics and the level of media coverage, as well as the level of media coverage and the level of success of a social movement. Thus, I expect to find that contentious tactics are a means toward media coverage, and such media coverage is a direct determinant of success. In other words, there is a chain relationship between tactical contentiousness, media coverage, and success.

III. CASE STUDY: UNITED STUDENTS AGAINST SWEATSHOPS

In order to pursue my interest in the relationship of campaign tactics and social movement outcomes, I conducted a case study of the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS). As the nation's largest grassroots, youth-led, student labor campaign organization, USAS has long been reputed as a leading progressive student organization, winning precedent-setting campaigns since its establishment 1997 (usas.org). USAS chapters in over one-hundred-fifty campuses run both strategic local and nationally-coordinated campaigns for economic justice with the goal of building sustainable power for working people.

Mission and Organizing Philosophy

USAS defines 'sweatshops' broadly to include all struggles against the daily abuses of the global economic system. Through running strategic campaigns, they hold corporations

accountable for their exploitation of university campus workers, local community workers, and garment workers abroad who make collegiate apparel. In accordance with their official webpage, USAS holds the following vision:

We envision a world in which society and human relationships are organized cooperatively, not competitively. We struggle towards a world in which all people live in freedom from oppression, in which people are valued as whole human beings rather than exploited in a quest for productivity and profits.

USAS' organizing philosophy is centered on five key principles: solidarity, collective liberation, grassroots democracy, diversity of tactics, and pluralism. The first, solidarity, is crucial in avoiding isolation and build collective power; unlike charity, solidarity challenges existing power relations by uniting grassroots movements. The second principle, collective liberation, is the unification of those fighting oppression, regardless of what end they are on. Collective liberation holds the mentality that one must not fight *for* another individual, but rather, *with*, or alongside them. Grassroots democracy holds implication of how USAS is structured, as well as what USAS supports. They regard "participatory political education and horizontal communication as necessary for an effective democratic organization," and thus USAS chapters are structured as such (usas.org). Additionally, USAS supports the self-organization of working individuals such as unions, workers centers, and collectives. The fourth principle in USAS' organizing philosophy, and perhaps the most pertinent to my research, is their diversity of tactics. They believe that through action, we have the power to fundamentally challenge our world's oppressive power structures. Direct action such as sit-ins and large demonstrations have played a central role in every USAS victory. The final principle of pluralism holds that a multi-

perspective approach to ideological positions and practices strengthens a movement, and is thus welcomed.

Past Campaigns

USAS runs both local and national-level campaigns. Local campaigns, often referred as ‘campus worker justice campaigns’, are focused on winning just working conditions and union representation for community or university employees. In 1999, across the University of Tennessee system, students and workers in Progressive Student Alliances across the state launched Living Wage campaigns from Memphis to Knoxville, leading to the founding of the United Campus Workers union. From 1999 to 2002, the Harvard Living Wage campaign rocked Cambridge, Massachusetts for over four years as students campaigned alongside dining hall workers, janitors, and security guards to win union representation and unprecedented wage increases. USAS was on the front lines at the University of Miami when janitors employed by UNICCO went on strike for union representation in 2006 and later threatened another strike for a fair contract in 2010. Most recently, the USAS affiliate, the Progressive Student Alliance at Northeastern University, mobilized over 40 campus organizations and over 500 students and faculty to support Chartwell’s food service workers as they became the largest university shop of UNITE HERE Local 26.

Local campaigns were not the only USAS initiatives to end in success; global, ‘international solidarity campaigns’ have resulted in several monumental victories for the labor movement, as well. In 2009 and 2010, USAS secured historic anti-sweatshop victories in the collegiate apparel industry after successfully pressuring corporate giants Russell Athletic and Nike to remediate several labor violations in Honduras, referred to as the Just Pay It and Rope

in Russell campaigns, respectively. In an article from the *New York Times*, USAS was credited for such success, as “its pressure tactics persuaded one of the nation’s leading sportswear companies, Russell Athletic, to agree to rehire 1,200 workers in Honduras who lost their jobs when Russell closed their factory soon after the workers had unionized” (Greenhouse 2009). Currently, USAS has turned the spotlight on Adidas after the collegiate apparel company failed to pay Indonesian workers \$1.8 million in legally owed severance.

Living wage, Just Pay It, Rope in Russell, and Badidas name only few of the campaigns USAS has or is currently working on. Others range from anti-Wal-Mart, Worker Rights Consortium affiliation, immigration justice, to kick wall street off campus campaigns. As mentioned, any injustice within the global economic system is an injustice USAS seeks to address, resulting in a plethora of campaigns across the nation.

Legitimacy

USAS is one of the most recognized student organizations in the country; history has shown that they know how to win campaigns. On multiple occasions, USAS has been featured in the world’s top media outlets, including the *New York Times*, *Time Magazine*, *Democracy Now*, *Wall Street Journal* – to name a few. A recent article from the *Huffington Post* marked USAS as the part of the fifteen “best progressive victories in 2012” (Dreier 2013). Just this February, USAS was featured in over twenty-two online articles regarding their recent tactical surprise – after they disrupted Adidas’ fashion show debuting their new youth line during fashion week in New York. Such publicity generates a sense of legitimacy for the organization.

Among many other factors, the primary reason why I chose to pursue USAS as my case study is their unique ability to use a very diverse repertoire of direct action in a smart, strategic manner. I argue that USAS' media spotlight is the result of their diverse, bold tactics, which therefore increases the chance of success.

IV. RESEARCH DESIGN

Procedure

This study collected data through a survey that contained a total of fifty-one questions, all in multiple-choice or fill-in-the-blank format.¹ The aim of the survey was to understand different campaigns USAS members had been a part of, and which factors influenced whether or not the campaign was successful based on participant perceptions. Specifically, the survey measured which campaigns the student has worked on, and the level of involvement they had in each. The top-four campaigns which the student had the highest level of involvement in were then measured individually through an identical set of ten questions. Such questions on each of the four individual campaigns included the student's length of involvement, amount of total individuals involved, specific tactics used, level of media coverage, level of cooperation from university administration, level of communication with other USAS chapters, the level of student body support, and the level of success. Nine survey questions measured demographic attributes.

The survey was distributed in two forms: paper and online. The paper and online survey were identical to one another. First, thirty-four paper surveys were distributed and collected on August 12, 2012 at the USAS 2012 Summer Retreat, located in Washington, DC. All responses

¹ A copy of the survey is provided in the Appendix.

were collected within four hours of its distribution. Second, online surveys were distributed by e-mail to USAS leaders. All responses were collected within two months of its distribution. No risks or discomfort were anticipated from completing the survey. Participation was completely voluntary; thus, there were no direct benefits from participating in the research, and there was no consequence for non-response or withdrawal from participation. The survey was completely anonymous.

Participants

Participants in this study are all members of USAS. The paper survey was distributed to attendees of the USAS 2012 Summer Retreat. The online survey was sent to all members of USAS' five divisions of national leadership: regional organizers (ten individuals), the coordinating committee (six individuals), caucus co-chairs (six individuals), staff (three individuals), and Worker Rights Consortium board representatives (three individuals).

Although the online survey was sent only to national leaders in USAS, the e-mail invitation to participate encouraged them to pass along the survey to their respective USAS chapter members. In order to maintain confidentiality of responses, there was no follow up from the invitations to participate. Thus, since there is no definitive measure of the dissemination of the survey, there can be no defined measure of response rate. For the purpose of this study, confidentiality of response was viewed as more important than defined response rate.

Measures

The survey questions were sectioned into three different groups. First, the survey measured all campaigns the student had ever worked on. Second, the survey measured the top

four campaigns which the student had the highest level of involvement in individually. Third, the survey measured demographic attributes.

i. Total Campaigns

A list of twenty-one campaigns were measured on a four-point scale on level of involvement, from not active, somewhat active, moderately active, to highly active.

ii. Individual Campaigns

The top four campaigns which the student had the highest level of involvement in were individually measured with an identical set of nine questions.

- a. Length of involvement: Length of involvement was measured by a seven-point scale, ranging from under one month to over three years. A blank space was available at each extreme, allowing the participant to write their length of involvement more specifically.
- b. Number of individuals involved: Number of individuals involved was measured on a five-point scale, ranging from five or less individuals to more than fifty individuals. A blank space was available after the ‘more than fifty individuals’ option, allowing the participant to write the specific amount of individuals involved in the campaign. The number of individuals was then broken down further to specify the distribution of involvement levels among the campaign; three blank spaces were provided for the student to indicate how many individuals were somewhat active, how many individuals were moderately active, and how many individuals were highly active in the campaign.

- c. Success: Success was measured on a five-point scale, from too early to tell, not successful, somewhat successful, moderately successful, to highly successful.
- d. Tactical choices: A list of ten different tactics were measured on a four-point scale of employment, from not used at all, used occasionally, used often, to used all the time. Unknown to the survey participant, the tactics were classified as either contentious or non-contentious. There were four contentious tactics listed: letter delivery to administration, picket line, rally/protest/demonstration, and sit-in. There were six non-contentious tactics listed: action at a board of regents' meeting, petition, phone bank administration, teach-ins for student body, twitter trends, and Facebook group or advertisement.
- e. Media coverage: Media coverage was measured on a four-point scale, from no coverage, minimal coverage, moderate coverage, to high coverage.
- f. Administration cooperativeness: Cooperation from university administration was measured on a four-point scale, from not cooperative, somewhat cooperative, moderately cooperative, to highly cooperative.
- g. Communication with other USAS chapters: Level of communication with USAS chapters outside of the student's campus was measured on a four-point scale, from no communication, minimal communication, moderate communication, to high communication.
- h. Study body support: Level of support from the student body was measured on a four-point scale, from not supportive, somewhat supportive, moderately supportive, to highly supportive.

- i. Campaign supporters: Organizations that supported the campaign were divided by genre of organization, then measured for level of involvement. The five genres included student groups, religious institutions, governmental bodies, unions, and other organizations. Four blank spaces were available for student groups, and two blank spaces were available for the remaining genres. Each listed organization was then measured on a three-point scale of involvement, from somewhat active, moderately active, to highly active.

iii. *Demographic Data*

- j. Sex/gender: Sex and/or gender of the participant was measured by a blank space to avoid restricting participants' responses
- k. Race/ethnicity: Race and/or ethnicity of the participant was measured as a multiple choice question, with six different categories, one being 'other' accompanied by a blank space, allowing the participant to write their identity more specifically.
- l. Academic standing: Academic standing of the participant was measured on a six-point scale, from rising freshman, rising sophomore, rising junior, rising senior, rising fifth or more year, and graduate student.
- m. College/University: The college or university in which the participant attends was measured by a blank space to avoid restricting the participants' responses.
- n. Concentration: The participant's academic concentration was measured by a blank space to avoid restricting the participants' responses.

- o. Non-USAS organization involvement: Student organizations other than USAS in which the participant is involved in was measured by a blank space to avoid restricting the participants' responses.
- p. Size of USAS chapter: Number of individuals in the participant's respective USAS chapter was measured on a five-point scale, ranging from five or less individuals to more than fifty individuals. A blank space was available after the 'more than fifty individuals' option, allowing the participant to write the specific amount of members in their USAS chapter. The size of the USAS chapter was then broken down further to specify the distribution of involvement levels among members; three blank spaces were provided for the student to indicate how many individuals were somewhat active, how many individuals were moderately active, and how many individuals were highly active in the campaign.
- q. Length of involvement in USAS: Length of the participant's personal involvement in USAS was measured on a six-point scale, ranging from less than one month to over two years. A blank space was available after the 'over two years' option, allowing the participant to write the specific amount of time they have personally been involved in USAS.
- r. Involvement in USAS: Level of the participant's personal involvement was measured on a four-point scale, from not active, somewhat active, moderately active, to highly active.

V. RESULTS

The survey was taken by a total of seventy-seven participants; thirty-four of whom participated in the paper survey, and forty-three of whom participated in the online survey. Not all survey responses were complete. Thus, response rate varied between each question. Survey results of demographic attributes, involvement distribution of campaigns, and a mixed-process model of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) media coverage and success are detailed below.

Demographic Attributes

Of the six measurements of demographic attributes reported in Table 1, there was a 75 percent average response rate, ranging from 71.43 percent to 76.62 percent.

60 percent of survey participants identified as female and 40 percent of participants identified as male. Just over half of participants identified as white, and 39.15 percent of participants identified as non-white. In class rank, 37.93 percent of participants had not yet reached their senior year of undergraduate college, half of the participants were seniors, a mere 1.72 percent were in their fifth or higher year of undergraduate college, and 10.37 percent were graduate students. Survey participants enrolled in public institutions outweighed the participants in private institutions by 32.15 percent. 67.86 percent of participants had been involved in USAS for six or more months. 75 percent of participants considered themselves highly active members of their USAS chapter, while the remaining 25 percent of participants considered themselves moderately to non-active members.

Table 1: Demographic Data of Survey Participants

<i>Sex</i>	60.00%	Males
	40.00%	Females
<i>Race</i>	50.85%	White
	6.78%	Black
	15.25%	Latino
	13.56%	Asian
	13.56%	Other
<i>Class Standing</i>	1.72%	Freshman
	15.52%	Sophomore
	20.69%	Junior
	50.00%	Senior
	1.72%	Fifth+ Year
	10.37%	Graduate
<i>University/College Classification</i>	64.29%	Public
	35.71%	Private
<i>Length of Personal Involvement</i>	32.14%	> 6 Months
	67.86%	≤ 6 Months
<i>Level of Personal Involvement</i>	75.00%	Highly Active
	14.29%	Moderately Active
	7.14%	Somewhat Active
	3.57%	Not Active

Note: When demographic information was missing for the surveys, missing values were estimated using complete case imputation.

Campaign Distribution

The survey contained eighteen former or on-going USAS campaigns, derived from usas.org. For each campaign, the survey participant indicated their level of involvement, ranging from no involvement (1) to high involvement (4), as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Student Involvement in USAS Campaigns

Campaign Title	Percentage of Students Involved in Campaign
	Percentage (Standard Deviation)
<i>Badidas</i>	62.34% (48.77%)
<i>Alta Gracia</i>	53.25% (50.22%)
<i>Buck the Cowboys</i>	9.09% (28.94%)
<i>Campus Worker Justice</i>	62.34% (48.77%)
<i>Designated Suppliers Program Adoption</i>	46.75% (50.22%)
<i>Education is a Right</i>	18.18% (38.82%)
<i>HEI Hotels & Resorts Divestment</i>	24.68% (43.39%)
<i>Immigration Justice</i>	29.87% (46.07%)
<i>Kick Out Sodexo</i>	18.18% (38.82%)
<i>Kick Wall Street Off Campus</i>	10.39% (30.71%)
<i>Nike – Just Pay It</i>	23.38% (42.60%)
<i>Solidarity with Hermosa Workers in El Salvador</i>	27.27% (44.82%)
<i>Take Back Our Economy</i>	19.48% (39.86%)
<i>Tobacco Farmworkers</i>	7.79% (26.98%)
<i>Verizon</i>	12.99% (33.84%)
<i>Wal-Mart</i>	27.27% (44.83%)
<i>Worker Rights Consortium Affiliation</i>	31.17% (46.62%)

Note: When demographic information was missing for the surveys, missing values were estimated using complete case imputation.

Of the eighteen campaigns, the highest percentage of students were involved in the Badidas and Campus Worker Justice campaigns. In order from highest to lowest level of involvement, participants indicated involvement in the following campaigns: Alta Gracia, Designated Suppliers Program Adoption, Worker Rights Consortium Affiliation, Immigration Justice, Solidarity with Hermosa Workers in El Salvador, Wal-Mart, HEI Hotels & Resorts Divestment, Nike – Just Pay It, Take Back Our Economy, Kick Out Sodexo, Education is a Right, Verizon, Kick Wall Street Off Campus, Buck the Cowboys, and Tobacco Farmworkers.

Mixed-Process Model of USAS Media Coverage and Success

A mixed-process model was estimated of both the level of media coverage and the level of success of each campaign. Media coverage ranged from no coverage (1), minimal coverage (2), moderate coverage (3), and high coverage (4). Of the seven independent variables reported in Table 3, solely *Contentious Tactics* was found to be a significant determinant of media coverage.

Level of success ranged from too early to tell (1), not successful (2), somewhat successful (3), moderately successful (4), and highly successful (5). For purposes of this study, the mixed-process model was estimated on the condition that the participant determined the level of success, or in other words, success level was greater than 1. Of the ten independent variables reported in Table 3, three were found to be significant determinants of success. Media coverage was the strongest determinant of success. Cooperative administration was the second strongest determinant of success. A university classified as public was the third determinant of success.

Table 3: Mixed-Process Model of USAS Media Coverage and Success

Note: * $p \leq 0.050$, ** $p \leq 0.010$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Estimates are adjusted using sample weights. Standard errors in parentheses.

VI. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

It is important to note that all of the results measured in my survey are based on participant perceptions, and thus are subject to individual biases. However, for the purposes of this research, I hold the responses of each participant to be objectively and honestly determined to the best of their ability. Thus, such findings remain relevant in aiding social movement organizations, such as USAS, in changing their social and political world through grassroots participation.

Determinants of Success

The results of my survey conclude that that media coverage directly affects the success of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) campaigns. The positive correlation between level of media coverage and the level of success indicates media as a key player in the success or failure of progressive initiatives, verifying my third hypothesis that *the level of media coverage is a direct, positive determinant of the success level of a USAS campaign.*

Today's increasing societal dependence on technology as a method of collecting information yields large implications on social movement organizations such as USAS. In order to mobilize supporters and influence targeted decision-makers, USAS has utilized media outlets such as *The New York Times* and *Democracy Now*. Quantitative empirical results of my research confirm the influential role that such media presence can play in the success of a campaign.

The results of my survey also indicated that cooperation from administration and the public status of a university affect the success of USAS campaigns. USAS focuses on their power and leverage as students to hold corporations that have relationships with their universities accountable for their exploitation of workers; in order to do so, USAS pressures their administration to cut university relations unless the corporation remedies its situation. Thus, administrators serve as the key targets of influence for USAS. As the results of my survey quantitatively conclude, the more cooperative administration is with USAS, the more successful the campaign will be. Additionally, the results of my survey found that the classification of the university as either public or private influenced the success of a USAS campaign, in the favor of public universities. Implications of cooperation from administration and the public status of universities would require further research and statistical analysis. For that reason, I focused my conclusion on media coverage, the strongest determinant of success of my survey results.

Determinants of Media Coverage

The results of my survey conclude that in USAS campaigns, the contentiousness of tactics directly affects the level of media coverage. USAS' diverse repertoire of tactics includes those of both high and low levels of contention. Contentious tactics yield high entertainment value, as they are often large, action-centered, disruptive and controversial. With limited space for coverage, media outlets seek drama-saturated stories such as the high flame elements inherent in contentious tactics. The positive correlation between a tactics level of contention and a campaigns level of media coverage verify my second hypothesis that *the level of tactical contention is a direct, positive determinant of the level of media coverage of a USAS campaign.*

Preview Solution

The results of my study conclude that although contentious tactics do not directly affect the success of a campaign, they do affect media coverage which causes success, thus disproving my first hypothesis that *the level of tactical contention is a direct, positive determinant of the success level of a USAS campaign*, and verifying my fourth hypothesis that *contentious tactics have an indirect effect on the success of a USAS campaign by increasing media coverage*.

VII. CONCLUSION

The conclusions drawn from my research have large potential implications for the national USAS network. Like many other student organizations, USAS members desire to make a difference on their campus. Organizations set goals and make tactical decisions that they believe will achieve such goals. However, uncertainty of the effectiveness of different tactics in conjunction with the everlasting issue of student turnover leave student activists constantly questioning what their correct move should be.

Student activists have a plethora of questions when deciding which tactic to choose. Should we be friendly to our target decision-maker, or position them as our enemy, frightening them into following our agenda? Admittedly, this thesis provides only a mere sliver of insight to the question of tactical decisions. There is no blanket answer to the wide variety of campaigns being pursued by student organizations. Such insight, however, has the potential to influence the success or failure of organizations in achieving their goals. Organizations must identify their target decision-maker, and evaluate the leverage they have with them, with a focus on the specific campus environment. Has your organization, or others similar to it worked with the decision-maker in the past? If so, what did the organization do, and what was the resulting

outcome? My thesis concluded that USAS chapters that worked with cooperative administration and/or were at public universities were more likely to have successful campaigns. Such findings suggest the importance of understanding the history and current position of your decision-maker (that is, administration in the case of USAS) in regards to your issue.

Arguably, the most insightful finding of my research was on the importance of media attention. In order to accomplish a goal, an organization must foster the public eye via media's spotlight. Regardless of which tactic an organization chooses, the media must cover the event in order for others to learn about it. A noisy rally outside the administration office doesn't reach the eyes' of students in class, at work, or off campus. An article in the newspaper, on the other hand, does. In my experience, not one of the dozen letter delegations to my university president's office occurred where my organization was able to meet face-to-face with our president. Without the articles published in various media outlets covering our delegation, such an event would likely never be known to occur by key decision-makers. Additionally, a frequent appearance in the media gives an organization a sense of legitimacy; name recognition and media preference portray an organization as an important player in the eye of the public sphere. The finding of my thesis concluded media to be the most influential factor of success for USAS.

In knowing that media coverage directly effects success, the next logical question for organizations is how to foster the media's attention. As mentioned, contentious tactics may not always be the best decision when the organization's target decision-maker is generally supportive of the campaign. However, as my thesis concluded, the more contentious a tactic is, the more likely it will be covered by the media. In other words, the higher the flame – whether it is the amount of individuals involved or the level of disruption and conflict – the more the

organization's event will reach the public eye via media discourse.

The overarching take away of my thesis, therefore, is to foster media coverage through implementing contentious tactics in order to execute a successful campaign. My findings have implications beyond those specific to USAS. Coming from the angle of a student activist, such findings can aid all student activists immensely in meeting our desire to change some aspect of the social world during our brief time at an academic institution. Through an even broader scope, these findings inform all people who struggle to change the social and political world through grassroots participation of the importance of tactical choice and media attention and the role they each play in the success of a campaign.

X. APPENDIX

United Students Against Sweatshops Survey

Informed Consent

Principal Investigator: Monica Shattuck, Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program's Social Science and Humanities Fellow, University of Michigan

You are invited to be part of a study that seeks to understand how and why United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) chapters on differing campuses have differing campaign outcomes. Some university or college administrations respond cooperatively to USAS campaigns, while other administrations respond negatively. Some USAS chapters have successful campaigns, while other chapters have unsuccessful campaigns. I wish to understand these differences and how they are similar and different from campus to campus.

If you agree to be part of the research study, you will be asked to fill out an **anonymous** survey. It should take approximately **15 minutes** to complete. In this survey, I will ask questions about your personal history of involvement in your respective USAS chapter. I will ask you which campaigns you have worked on and how successful you believe the results of the campaigns to have been. I will ask you about campus coverage and reactions, and for information about your personal background, such as your age and political affiliations.

I am interested in your responses regardless of whether you have a long history of involvement in USAS or a short one. I am interested in your responses if today is your first day of involvement in USAS or if you have been involved in USAS for several years.

I am very sensitive to the use of paper and environmental burdens, though this survey is single sided due to research that shows the questions on the back of surveys often get missed by respondents.

Participating in this study is **voluntary** and you may withdraw from participation at any time. You may skip any question that you do not wish to answer for any reason. While you may not receive a direct benefit from participating in this research, some people find sharing their views to be a valuable experience. I hope that this study will contribute to understanding what tactics and outside factors produce a successful USAS campaign on a college or university campus.

The research is not funded by any private foundations, corporations, or governmental entities. I expect to publish the results of the research through the Organizational Studies Honors Program.

If you have questions about this research, you can contact Monica L. Shattuck, University of Michigan Undergraduate, 1042 Michigan Ave., Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (616)834-2067, mlshatt@umich.edu.

The University of Michigan Institutional Review Board Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences has determined that this study is exempt from IRB oversight.

1. For each campaign, please **check** the column that corresponds with your **level of involvement**:

Campaign	Not Active	Somewhat Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Adidas Contract				
Alta Gracia				
Buck the Cowboys				
Campus Worker Justice				
Designated Suppliers Program Adoption				
Education is a Right				
HEI Hotels				
Immigration Justice				
Kick out Sodexo				
Kick Wall Street off Campus				
Nike Contract				
Solidarity with PT Kizone Workers in Indonesia				
Solidarity with Hermosa Workers in El Salvador				
Take Back Our Economy				
Tobacco Farmworkers				
Verizon				
Wal-Mart				
Worker Rights Consortium Affiliation				

2. From the list above, please name up to four campaigns you had the **most active** involvement in:
 (If you have been involved in fewer than four campaigns, you need not fill in all the lines.)

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____

3. Please write the name of the campaign that you provided for question 2a: _____

4. How long were you involved in this particular campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Less than 1 month. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____
- 1-2 months
- 2-6 months
- 6-12 months
- 1-1.5 years
- 1.5-3 years
- More than 3 years. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____

5. a) Approximately how many individuals worked on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)
(If you don't know for sure, please take your **best guess**.)

- 1-5 individuals
- 6-10 individuals
- 11-20 individuals
- 21-50 individuals
- More than 50 individuals. Please indicate approximate number of individuals: _____

b) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **somewhat** active: _____

c) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **moderately** active: _____

d) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **highly** active: _____

6. How **successful** was the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Too early to tell
- Not successful
- Somewhat successful
- Moderately successful
- Highly successful

7. Please check the box to indicate how frequently the campaign used each of the following tactics:

Tactic	Not Used At All	Used Occasionally	Used Often	Used All the Time
Letter Delivery to Administration				
Picket Line				
Rally/Protest/Demonstration				
Sit-In				

Action at Board of Regents' Meeting				
Petition (Online or Paper)				
Phone Bank Administration				
Teach-Ins for Student Body				
Twitter Trends				
Facebook Group or Ad				

8. What was the level of **media coverage** on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- No coverage
- Minimal coverage
- Moderate coverage
- High coverage

9. How **cooperative** was your college/university administration with the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not cooperative
- Somewhat cooperative
- Moderately cooperative
- Highly cooperative

10. What level of **communication** did you engage in with fellow USAS chapters from other colleges/universities? (CHECK ONE)

- No communication
- Minimal communication
- Moderate communication
- High communication

11. How **supportive** was your student body of the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not supportive
- Somewhat supportive
- Moderately supportive
- Highly supportive

12. Please list the campaign's supporters and **check** how **actively** they were involved:

ORGANIZATION	Somewhat Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Student Groups			
Religious Institutions			
Governmental Bodies			

Unions			
Other Organizations			

13. Please write the name of the campaign that you provided for question 2b: _____

14. How long were you involved in this particular campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Less than 1 month. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____
- 1-2 months
- 2-6 months
- 6-12 months
- 1-1.5 years
- 1.5-3 years
- More than 3 years. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____

15. a) Approximately how many individuals worked on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)
(If you don't know for sure, please take your **best guess**.)

- 1-5 individuals
- 6-10 individuals
- 11-20 individuals
- 21-50 individuals
- More than 50 individuals. Please indicate approximate number of individuals: _____

b) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **somewhat** active: _____

c) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **moderately** active: _____

d) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **highly** active: _____

16. How **successful** was the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Too early to tell
- Not successful
- Somewhat successful
- Moderately successful
- Highly successful

17. Please check the box to indicate how frequently the campaign used each of the following tactics:

Tactic	Not Used At All	Used Occasionally	Used Often	Used All the Time
Letter Delivery to Administration				
Picket Line				
Rally/Protest/Demonstration				

Sit-In				
Action at Board of Regents' Meeting				
Petition (Online or Paper)				
Phone Bank Administration				
Teach-Ins for Student Body				
Twitter Trends				
Facebook Group or Ad				

18. What was the level of **media coverage** on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- No coverage
- Minimal coverage
- Moderate coverage
- High coverage

19. How **cooperative** was your college/university administration with the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not cooperative
- Somewhat cooperative
- Moderately cooperative
- Highly cooperative

20. What level of **communication** did you engage in with fellow USAS chapters from other colleges/universities? (CHECK ONE)

- No communication
- Minimal communication
- Moderate communication
- High communication

21. How **supportive** was your student body of the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not supportive
- Somewhat supportive
- Moderately supportive
- Highly supportive

22. Please list the campaign's supporters and **check** how **actively** they were involved:

ORGANIZATION	Somewhat Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Student Groups			
Religious Institutions			
Governmental Bodies			

Unions			
Other Organizations			

23. Please write the name of the campaign that you provided for question 2c: _____

24. How long were you involved in this particular campaign? (CHECK ONE)

Less than 1 month. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____

1-2 months

2-6 months

6-12 months

1-1.5 years

1.5-3 years

More than 3 years. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____

25. a) Approximately how many individuals worked on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)
(If you don't know for sure, please take your **best guess**.)

1-5 individuals

6-10 individuals

11-20 individuals

21-50 individuals

More than 50 individuals. Please indicate approximate number of individuals: _____

b) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **somewhat** active: _____

c) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **moderately** active: _____

d) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **highly** active: _____

26. How **successful** was the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

Too early to tell

Not successful

Somewhat successful

Moderately successful

Highly successful

27. Please check the box to indicate how frequently the campaign used each of the following tactics:

Tactic	Not Used At All	Used Occasionally	Used Often	Used All the Time
Letter Delivery to Administration				
Picket Line				

Rally/Protest/Demonstration				
Sit-In				
Action at Board of Regents' Meeting				
Petition (Online or Paper)				
Phone Bank Administration				
Teach-Ins for Student Body				
Twitter Trends				
Facebook Group or Ad				

28. What was the level of **media coverage** on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- No coverage
- Minimal coverage
- Moderate coverage
- High coverage

29. How **cooperative** was your college/university administration with the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not cooperative
- Somewhat cooperative
- Moderately cooperative
- Highly cooperative

30. What level of **communication** did you engage in with fellow USAS chapters from other colleges/universities? (CHECK ONE)

- No communication
- Minimal communication
- Moderate communication
- High communication

31. How **supportive** was your student body of the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not supportive
- Somewhat supportive
- Moderately supportive
- Highly supportive

32. Please list the campaign's supporters and **check** how **actively** they were involved:

ORGANIZATION	Somewhat Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Student Groups			
Religious Institutions			
Governmental Bodies			

Unions			
Other Organizations			

33. Please write the name of the campaign that you provided for question 2d: _____

34. How long were you involved in this particular campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Less than 1 month. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____
- 1-2 months
- 2-6 months
- 6-12 months
- 1-1.5 years
- 1.5-3 years
- More than 3 years. Please indicate duration of involvement: _____

35. a) Approximately how many individuals worked on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)
(If you don't know for sure, please take your best guess.)

- 1-5 individuals
- 6-10 individuals
- 11-20 individuals
- 21-50 individuals
- More than 50 individuals. Please indicate approximate number of individuals: _____

b) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **somewhat** active: _____

c) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **moderately** active: _____

d) Approximately how many people in this campaign were **highly** active: _____

36. How **successful** was the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Too early to tell
- Not successful
- Somewhat successful
- Moderately successful
- Highly successful

37. Please check the box to indicate how frequently the campaign used each of the following tactics:

Tactic	Not Used At All	Used Occasionally	Used Often	Used All the Time
Letter Delivery to Administration				

Picket Line				
Rally/Protest/Demonstration				
Sit-In				
Action at Board of Regents' Meeting				
Petition (Online or Paper)				
Phone Bank Administration				
Teach-Ins for Student Body				
Twitter Trends				
Facebook Group or Ad				

38. What was the level of **media coverage** on the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- No coverage
- Minimal coverage
- Moderate coverage
- High coverage

39. How **cooperative** was your college/university administration with the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not cooperative
- Somewhat cooperative
- Moderately cooperative
- Highly cooperative

40. What level of **communication** did you engage in with fellow USAS chapters from other colleges/universities? (CHECK ONE)

- No communication
- Minimal communication
- Moderate communication
- High communication

41. How **supportive** was your student body of the campaign? (CHECK ONE)

- Not supportive
- Somewhat supportive
- Moderately supportive
- Highly supportive

42. Please list the campaign's supporters and **check** how **actively** they were involved:

ORGANIZATION	Somewhat Active	Moderately Active	Highly Active
Student Groups			
Religious Institutions			

Governmental Bodies			
Unions			
Other Organizations			

43. What is your sex/gender? _____

44. What is your race/ethnicity? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- White/Caucasian
- Black/African-American
- Latino/Hispanic/Mexican
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Native American/Indigenous
- Other: _____

45. What is your academic standing?

- Rising Freshman
- Rising Sophomore
- Rising Junior
- Rising Senior
- Rising fifth or more year
- Graduate Student

46. What college or university do you attend? _____

47. What is your concentration? (PLEASE LIST MAJORS AND MINORS)

48. Please list any student organizations besides USAS which you are a member of:

49. a) Approximately how many members are in your USAS chapter?
(If you don't know for sure, please take your **best guess**.)

- 1-5 individuals
- 6-10 individuals
- 11-20 individuals
- 21-50 individuals
- More than 50 individuals. Please indicate approximate number of individuals: _____

- b) Approximately how many people in your chapter are **somewhat** active: _____
- c) Approximately how many people in your chapter are **moderately** active: _____
- d) Approximately how many people in your campaign are **highly** active: _____

50. Approximately **how long** have you been involved in USAS? _____

- Less than 1 month
- 1-3 months
- 3-6 months
- 6-12 months
- 1-2 years
- Over 2 years

51. **How active** have you been involved in your USAS chapter?

- Not active
- Somewhat active
- Moderately active
- Highly active

Thank you so much for taking my survey. I really appreciate your time and assistance. ☺

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