María Inclán and Paul Almeida, Ritual Demonstrations versus Reactive Protests: Participation Across Mobilizing Contexts in Mexico City. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 59, no. 4 (Winter 2017)

**Appendix**

**Brief Description of Surveyed Ritual Demonstrations**

The commemoration of the 1968 Students’ Movement and massacre takes place every year on October 2. On that date in 1968, over 400 students were killed or disappeared by the armed forces during a rally in the Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City. The leaders of the movement were imprisoned. These tragic events transformed a student movement seeking more transparency and participation within university life and politics into a national movement for democracy and human rights. However, the disappearance and death of so many students brought the demands for an independent investigation and justice against brutal state repression to the forefront of the movement’s agenda.[[1]](#footnote-1) Since then, every year surviving leaders and students of the 1968 movement together with their sympathizers and supporters hold a rally in the Tlatelolco Plaza and a march to Mexico City’s central square, *zócalo*, to commemorate the movement’s demands and martyrs.

Since 1925, Mexico’s unionized workers have joined other movements around the world on the annual commemoration of the International Workers’ Day on May 1st of every year. May Day in Mexico is known as *Día del* Trabajo or Labor Day. Since its official recognition, the state corporatist apparatus has used May Day as a ritual to commemorate the struggles and relative gains of the labor movement within Mexico’s Revolution. This yearly commemorative rally has also helped the corporatist labor movement in Mexico to show and celebrate its strength co-opting the representation of workers interests to clientelistic relations between leaders and unionists. However, with the emergence of independent unions after the liberalization of the Mexican economy in the 1990s, the event has also included the participation of unionists outside the official corporatist labor movement. The inclusion of these unions, however, has not broken the traditional festive character of the rally.

In 2012, when May Day was surveyed, both sets of union federations and confederations took their turn to hold orderly rallies in the *zócalo*. Official unions affiliated with the PRI rallied first, and left the square an hour before independent unionists arrived through a parallel street. Both rallies were surveyed, and included in the data. Both events were highly planned, and festive. They included live music and leaders’ discourses. Both, official and independent unionists arrived in ordered contingents caring union banners and flags and wearing their corresponding uniforms.

Finally, the LGBT Pride Parade in Mexico City has been celebrated since 1979. Since then, the LGBT community in Mexico has used the event to raise awareness about sexual minorities, sexually transmitted diseases, denounce homophobia and demand the legalization of same-sex marriages, adoption, and social security. Nevertheless, it can still be considered a celebratory ritual demonstration, given its festive character. In 2012 in particular, organizers of the June 2 pride parade wanted to make a clear statement about the apolitical character of the event.[[2]](#footnote-2) LGBT organizations, entertainment places, and bars mostly organize the event. They provide or sponsor the parade music, carts, buses, and trucks. Participants are dressed in character. After the parade is over, bars open their doors to continue the celebration even after hours. The celebratory nature of the event attracts not only members of the LGBT community in Mexico but also from around the world. Heterosexual sympathizers and supporters, family, relatives, and friends also take part—motivated in part by solidarity and partly by their desire to attend the festival and parties around the event. In comparison to more recent LGBT parades, the 2012 one was more festive, not only because it was the last time alcohol consumption was tolerated, but also because ever since the parade has not only been a celebratory demonstration but has become more political.

**Brief Description of Surveyed Reactive Protests**

The pre-electoral march was organized by the students’ online movement *#YoSoy132*. The movement was launched after then PRI presidential candidate, delivered an invited talk at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City on May 19, 2012. During his talk students questioned and protested against Peña Nieto’s repression against a movement opposing the construction of an alternative airport for Mexico City in San Salvador Atenco in 2002 during his term as governor of the State of Mexico. Protests escalated as Peña Nieto answered students’ question and as he left the university campus.

The PRI tried to portray those protests as an orchestrated event from opposition groups. In addition, Televisa, the most important TV network in the country, also depicted the protests as events orchestrated by opposing radical groups. However, students responded with a video in which 131 students who participated in the event identified themselves. Soon thereafter students from all other public and private universities showed their support and sympathy with Universidad Iberoamericana’s students and the *#YoSoy132* movement began mobilizing against the PRI candidate and in favor of freedom of independent sources of information.

Although this was the second time López Obrador ran for the presidency, and his protest events after losing the race can be now expected, we can still consider this post-electoral rally as a reactive demonstration. Given that the losing margin was not questionable, it was assumed that he was not going to stage a post-electoral rally. After electoral booths were closed, he announced that he would wait for the electoral tribunal to make the electoral results official, to decide about his contesting actions. Elections took place on July 1, 2012. The electoral tribunal made the results official two months after. López Obrador held his post-electoral rally on September 9, 2012. In previous occasions, he held his post-electoral protests almost immediately after elections took place. During the rally he not only contested the results, but he also took the opportunity to launch the agenda of the nascent Movimiento de Renovación Nacional (Movement of National Renovation, MORENA) that later became a new political party. The rally and the creation of the new party were reactive responses to the electoral results and the decision to make them official.

**Additional Models**

**Logistically Modeled Results on Protest Participation for LGBT Pride Parade**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Protest Participation Predictors** | **Coefficients**  **(robust standard errors)** |
| **Political Involvement:**  Interest in politics  Organizational membership  Political experience  Sense of efficacy  **Mobilizing Identities:**  Identification with participants  **Recruitment:**  Personal invitation  Traditional media  New social media  **Sociodemographics:**  Education  Self-identified social class  Age  Gender | -0.21 (0.19)  0.51 (0.36)  0.50 (0.38)  0.09 (0.17)  0.67 (0.14) \*\*\*  0.65 (0.55)  -0.06 (0.51)  0.86 (0.45) \*  -0.44 (0.26) \*  -0.14 (0.16)  -0.07 (0.02) \*\*\*  1.44 (0.41) \*\*\* |

\*\*\* *ρ* < 0.01; \* *ρ* < 0.10

**Logistically Modeled Results on Protest Participation for Students’ Movement March**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Protest Participation Predictors** | **Coefficients**  **(robust standard errors)** |
| **Political Involvement:**  Interest in politics  Organizational membership  Political experience  Sense of efficacy  **Mobilizing Identities:**  Identification with participants  **Recruitment:**  Personal invitation  Traditional media  New social media  **Sociodemographics:**  Education  Self-identified social class  Age  Gender | 0.08 (0.30)  1.02 (0.54) \*  1.13 (0.68)  -0.14 (0.22)  0.83 (0.26) \*\*\*  0.24 (0.70)  0.33 (0.62)  0.34 (0.88)  0.21 (0.36)  0.89 (0.38)  -0.04 (0.02)  0.31 (0.61) |

\*\*\* *ρ* < 0.01; \* *ρ* < 0.10

**Logistically Modeled Results on Protest Participation for May Day Rally**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Protest Participation Predictors** | **Coefficients**  **(robust standard errors)** |
| **Political Involvement:**  Interest in politics  Organizational membership  Political experience  Sense of efficacy  **Mobilizing Identities:**  Identification with participants  **Recruitment:**  Personal invitation  Traditional media  New social media  **Sociodemographics:**  Education  Self-identified social class  Age  Gender | 0.51 (0.31) \*  2.17 (0.52) \*\*\*  -0.61 (0.54)  -0.005 (0.19)  0.88 (0.23) \*\*\*  3.08 (0.66) \*\*\*  0.66 (0.58)  -0.99 (1.17)  -0.57 (0.21) \*\*\*  1.23 (0.23) \*\*\*  -0.009 (0.01)  1.40 (0.51) \*\*\* |

\*\*\* *ρ* < 0.01; \* *ρ* < 0.10

**Logistically Modeled Results on Protest Participation for Pre-electoral March**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Protest Participation Predictors** | **Coefficients**  **(robust standard errors)** |
| **Political Involvement:**  Interest in politics  Organizational membership  Political experience  Sense of efficacy  **Mobilizing Identities:**  Identification with participants  **Recruitment:**  Personal invitation  Traditional media  New social media  **Sociodemographics:**  Education  Self-identified social class  Age  Gender | 0.69 (0.33) \*\*  0.94 (0.47) \*\*  1.24 (0.51) \*\*  0.07 (0.28)  0.84 (0.21) \*\*\*  0.26 (0.88)  0.42 (0.59)  1.41 (0.51) \*\*\*  -0.15 (0.23)  0.37 (0.21) \*  -0.03 (0.01) \*  -0.12 (0.47) |

\*\*\* *ρ* < 0.01; \* *ρ* < 0.10

**Logistically Modeled Results on Protest Participation for LGBT Post-electoral Rally**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Protest Participation Predictors** | **Coefficients**  **(robust standard errors)** |
| **Political Involvement:**  Interest in politics  Organizational membership  Political experience  Sense of efficacy  **Mobilizing Identities:**  Identification with participants  **Recruitment:**  Personal invitation  Traditional media  New social media  **Sociodemographics:**  Education  Self-identified social class  Age  Gender | 1.10 (0.49) \*  0.94 (0.75)  3.64 (1.50) \*  0.34 (0.32)  1.24 (0.36) \*\*\*  5.84 (1.98) \*\*\*  0.41 (0.89)  -1.10 (1.02)  -0.50 (0.45)  0.97 (0.51) \*  0.04 (0.02) \*  0.95 (1.13) |

\*\*\* *ρ* < 0.01; \* *ρ* < 0.10

**Adjusted Wald Tests for Each Predictor**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Protest Participation Predictors** | **F-Values, Prob > F** |
| **Political Involvement:**  Interest in politics  Organizational membership  Political experience  Sense of efficacy  **Mobilizing Identities:**  Identification with participants  **Recruitment:**  Personal invitation  Traditional media  New social media  **Sociodemographics:**  Education  Self-identified social class  Age  Gender | F (4, 219) = 2.49, Prob > F = 0.04 \*\*  F (4, 219) = 1.78, Prob > F = 0.13  F (4, 219) = 2.73, Prob > F = 0.03 \*\*  F (4, 219) = 0.35, Prob > F = 0.85  F (4, 219) = 0.73, Prob > F = 0.57  F (4, 219) = 4.86, Prob > F = 0.0009 \*\*\*  F (4, 219) = 0.25, Prob > F = 0.91  F (4, 219) = 1.96, Prob > F = 0.10  F (4, 219) = 1.37, Prob > F = 0.24  F (4, 219) = 7.93, Prob > F = 0.0000 \*\*\*  F (4, 219) = 3.62, Prob > F = 0.007 \*\*\*  F (4, 219) = 2.21, Prob > F = 0.07 \* |

\*\*\* *ρ* < 0.01; \*\* *ρ* < 0.05; \* *ρ* < 0.10

1. Interview with a member of the students’ movement during an organizing meeting before the surveyed demonstration in Auditorio Justo Sierra or Che Guevara at UNAM on September 30, 2011. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. <http://www.sinembargo.mx/02-06-2012/249084>, https://www.facebook.com/Marcha-del-Orgullo-LGBTTTI-de-la-Ciudad-de-M%C3%A9xico-229004817136012/ (accessed on January 17, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)