Online Appendix for *The Obligation Mosaic*

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Abstract

This document provides supplementary materials and results for the book: Anoll, Allison P. 2022. *The Obligation Mosaic: Race and Social Norms in US Political Participation.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Contents

1 Participatory Social Norms Survey Instrument **1**
1.1 English Questionnaire 1
1.2 Spanish Questionnaire 10
1.3 Supplementary Questions Collected by GFK 20

2 Chapter 3 Supplementary Material **27**
2.1 Qualitative Interview Protocol 27

3 Chapter 4 Supplementary Material **33**

4 Chapter 5 Supplementary Material **37**

5 Chapter 6 Supplementary Material **39**

6 Chapter 7 Supplementary Material **44**

1 Participatory Social Norms Survey Instrument

Appendix A of the published book, The Obligation Mosaic, provides a list of the survey questions from the PSNS used for analyses. The following is the complete questionnaire from the Participatory Social Norms Survey, including questions that were not used for analyses in that book. Questions are shown in the order they appeared to respondents. A professional translation company translated the PSNS questionnaire from English to Spanish.

1.1 English Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to take this study. In this research survey, we will ask you some questions about your opinions and experiences on a wide range of topics. Participation in this study is voluntary and you may decide to end your participation at any time, or choose to skip questions that you do not feel comfortable answering.

Let's begin with a few questions about the people who made it possible for you to be where you are today. This might include your parents, grandparents, leaders in your community, or historical figures. Tell us whether you agree or disagree with the next four statements. *Next four questions appear in random order.*

1. Honoring the struggles and traditions of my ancestors is a guiding principle in my life.

   (a) Strongly disagree
   (b) Somewhat disagree
   (c) Neither agree nor disagree
   (d) Somewhat agree
   (e) Strongly agree

2. I should respect the traditions and wishes of my family.

   (a) Strongly disagree
   (b) Somewhat disagree
   (c) Neither agree nor disagree
   (d) Somewhat agree
   (e) Strongly agree

3. Others made sacrifices so I could have the opportunities I do today.

   (a) Strongly disagree
   (b) Somewhat disagree
   (c) Neither agree nor disagree
   (d) Somewhat agree
   (e) Strongly agree

4. I feel a debt to those who paved the way for me.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

5. Think again about the people who made it possible for you to be where you are today. What do you think are the best ways to honor the legacy of these people? *Response options appear in random order, except for "Other" and "None," which are anchored at the end.*

   (a) Celebrate cultural or religious holidays

   (b) Continue traditional practices around food, clothing, music, or marriage

   (c) Speak a language other than English

   (d) Work hard to support my family

   (e) Pursue certain career opportunities

   (f) Pursue educational opportunities

   (g) Exercise my political rights

   (h) Vote in elections

   (i) Fight injustices when I see them

   (j) Attend political rallies and protests

   (k) Other [insert small text box] [anchor]

   (l) None of these [anchor]

6. How many of your closest friends and family believe the best way to honor the legacy and sacrifices of those in the past is through political involvement?

   (a) None

   (b) A few

   (c) Some

   (d) Most

   (e) All

Next, a few questions about those in need. This might include people who are struggling to get by or are experiencing hardship. Tell us whether you agree or disagree with the next four statements. *Next four questions appear in random order.*

7. Helping those in need is a guiding principle in my life.

   (a) Strongly disagree

   (b) Somewhat disagree

   (c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

8. I should pursue what is best for me and my family even if it comes at the expense of people in need.

   (a) Strongly disagree

   (b) Somewhat disagree

   (c) Neither agree nor disagree

   (d) Somewhat agree

   (e) Strongly agree

9. I should make sacrifices of my own – time, money, or other things – to help people in need.

   (a) Strongly disagree

   (b) Somewhat disagree

   (c) Neither agree nor disagree

   (d) Somewhat agree

   (e) Strongly agree

10. I feel a moral duty to help those who are struggling.

    (a) Strongly disagree

    (b) Somewhat disagree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat agree

    (e) Strongly agree

11. Think again about people who are in need. What do you think are the best ways take care of these people? *Response options appear in random order, except for "Other" and "None," which are anchored at the end.*

    (a) Give money to charitable causes

    (b) Participate in charitable organizations

    (c) Help strangers like the homeless and elderly when I run into them

    (d) Give money to political causes

    (e) Participate in political organizations

    (f) Vote or engage in politics to change policy

    (g) Pray for those in need

    (h) Help those in need find religious communities

    (i) Other [insert small text box] [anchor]

(j) None of these [anchor]

12. How many of your closest friends and family believe the best way to take care of people in need is through political involvement?

    (a) None
    (b) A few
    (c) Some
    (d) Most
    (e) All

13. Now some questions about people you know. From time to time, most people discuss important matters with others. Looking back over the last six months, who are the people with whom you discussed matters important to you? List just the first names or initials of up to five people below. Please keep in mind that we are only asking for name or initials to reference them later in the survey.

    (a) Person 1 [insert small text box]
    (b) Person 2 [insert small text box]
    (c) Person 3 [insert small text box]
    (d) Person 4 [insert small text box]
    (e) Person 5 [insert small text box]

14. What is the race/ethnicity of each person?

    Statements in row:

    (a) (insert name provided in *Person 1*)
    (b) (insert name provided in *Person 2*)
    (c) (insert name provided in *Person 3*)
    (d) (insert name provided in *Person 4*)
    (e) (insert name provided in *Person 5*)

    Answers in column:

    (a) White
    (b) Black or African American
    (c) Asian or Pacific Islander
    (d) Latino or Hispanic
    (e) Other
    (f) Don't know

15. As far as you know, have any of these individuals experienced discrimination because of their race?

    Statements in row:

(a) (insert name provided in *Person 1*)

(b) (insert name provided in *Person 2*)

(c) (insert name provided in *Person 3*)

(d) (insert name provided in *Person 4*)

(e) (insert name provided in *Person 5*)

Answers on column:

(a) No

(b) Yes

(c) I don't know

16. Now, something a bit different. Read the following message carefully. We will ask you some questions about it later.
Imagine a respected community leader said to you: [insert DOV_treat]

- (If DOV_treat=1, display:) 'We must exercise. We all should take care of our body and mind.'
- (If DOV_treat=2, display:) 'We must participate in politics. We all should seize the right to vote, attend political protests, even give money to political groups.'
- (If DOV_treat=3, display:) 'We must honor the legacy of our ancestors. We all should claim the rights and opportunities those in the past fought so hard—even died—for us to have.'
- (If DOV_treat=4, display:) 'We must participate in politics to honor the legacy of our ancestors. We all should seize the right to vote, attend political protests, even give money to political groups. These are rights and opportunities those in the past fought so hard—even died—for us to have.'

17. It is difficult for people to find time to do everything they want to do, and most people have to make choices about what activities are most important to them. Considering the message you just read, please tell us how important it is to make time for each of the following activities. *Next four questions appear in random order.*

18. Find time to vote.

(a) Not at all important

(b) Slightly important

(c) Moderately important

(d) Very important

(e) Extremely important

19. Find time to attend political protests for issues I care about.

(a) Not at all important

(b) Slightly important

(c) Moderately important

(d) Very important

(e) Extremely important

20. Find time to take care of myself by exercising, eating well and sleeping enough.

(a) Not at all important

(b) Slightly important

(c) Moderately important

(d) Very important

(e) Extremely important

21. Find time to practice cultural traditions from my heritage.

(a) Not at all important

(b) Slightly important

(c) Moderately important

(d) Very important

(e) Extremely important

22. In the last year, how many political acts like voting, giving money to a political group, or attending a protest did you complete?

(a) None

(b) One

(c) Two

(d) Three

(e) Four

(f) Five or more

23. Many local organizations are trying to get people more involved in politics. Would you like information at the end of this study about organizations in your area?

(a) Yes

(b) No

24. In the last two years, have you been contacted on behalf of any political candidates—whether it was by a letter in the mail, by telephone, or in person by a campaign worker?

(a) Yes, in person

(b) Yes, by telephone

(c) Yes, by mail

(d) Yes, some other way

(e) No

(f) I'm not sure

Now, we have some questions about policy. Please think about the next six statements and reply to each one using the response options provided. *Next six questions appear in random order.*

25. It is better for everyone if English is the only language used in public schools.

    (a) Strongly disagree

    (b) Somewhat disagree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat agree

    (e) Strongly agree

26. The federal government should spend more money on projects that aid the poor.

    (a) Strongly disagree

    (b) Somewhat disagree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat agree

    (e) Strongly agree

27. The police in my community use the right amount of force in each situation.

    (a) Strongly disagree

    (b) Somewhat disagree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat agree

    (e) Strongly agree

28. The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society.

    (a) Strongly disagree

    (b) Somewhat disagree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat agree

    (e) Strongly agree

29. The federal government should increase deportations of immigrants who are in the U.S. illegally.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

30. Global climate change is a major threat to the well-being of the United States.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

Finally, we'll end with some questions about groups you may identify with. These questions are about people who may be like you in their ideas, interests and feelings about things.

31. Sometimes it is easier and other times more difficult to understand what members of a given group are going through. How easy is it to put yourself in the shoes of people in the United States who are...

Statements in row (*appear in random order*):

(a) White

(b) Latino or Hispanic

(c) Asian

(d) Black

Answers on column:

(a) Very difficult

(b) Somewhat difficult

(c) Somewhat easy

(d) Very easy

32. Some groups of people you may feel close to, while others less so. How close do you feel to people in the United States who are...

Statements in row (*appear in random order*):

(a) White

(b) Latino or Hispanic

(c) Asian

(d) Black

Answers on column:

(a) Not at all

(b) Not very close

(c) Somewhat close

(d) Very close

33. Now, please tells us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements. Being (White/Black/Asian/Latino) is an important part of how I see myself.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

34. I often think about the fact that I am (White/Black/Asian/Latino).

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

35. What happens generally to (White/Black/Asian/Latino) people in this country will affect what happens to me.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

36. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

37. I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics.

(a) Strongly disagree

(b) Somewhat disagree

(c) Neither agree nor disagree

(d) Somewhat agree

(e) Strongly agree

38. Earlier, we asked you to think about the people who made it possible for you to be where you are today. Who or what comes to mind when you think about this? [insert small text box]

39. When you think about your ancestors, who or what comes to mind? [insert small text box]

40. Were both of your parents born in the U.S?

    (a) Both parents born in the U.S.

    (b) One parent born in the U.S.

    (c) Neither parent born in the U.S.

    (d) Don't know

41. How many of your grandparents were born outside the U.S.A?

    (a) None

    (b) One

    (c) Two

    (d) Three

    (e) All

    (f) Don't know

1.2 Spanish Questionnaire

Gracias por aceptar participar en este estudio. En esta encuesta de investigación, le haremos algunas preguntas sobre sus opiniones y experiencias en relación a un rango amplio de temas. La participación en este estudio es voluntaria y usted puede decidir finalizar su participación en cualquier momento u optar por saltarse preguntas que le hacen sentirse incómodo. Comencemos con algunas preguntas sobre las personas que hicieron posible que usted esté donde está hoy. Esto puede incluir a sus padres, abuelos, líderes en su comunidad o figuras históricas. Díganos si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las siguientes cuatro afirmaciones. *Randomize order presentation of next 4 questions.*

1. Honrar las luchas y las tradiciones de mis antepasados es un principio rector en mi vida.

    (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo

    (b) Algo en desacuerdo

    (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo

    (d) Algo de acuerdo

    (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

2. Yo debería respetar las tradiciones y los deseos de mi familia.

   (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
   (b) Algo en desacuerdo
   (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
   (d) Algo de acuerdo
   (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

3. Otros hicieron sacrificios para que yo pueda tener las oportunidades que tengo hoy.

   (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
   (b) Algo en desacuerdo
   (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
   (d) Algo de acuerdo
   (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

4. Me siento en deuda con aquellos que allanaron el camino para mí.

   (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
   (b) Algo en desacuerdo
   (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
   (d) Algo de acuerdo
   (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

5. Piense nuevamente en las personas que hicieron posible que usted esté donde está hoy. ¿Cuáles cree que son las mejores formas de honrar el legado de esas personas? Marque todas las que apliquen. Randomize response options; anchor none and other at the bottom.

   (a) Celebrar fiestas culturales o religiosas
   (b) Continuar las prácticas tradicionales en torno a la comida, la ropa, la música o el matrimonio
   (c) Hablar un idioma que no sea inglés
   (d) Trabajar duro para mantener a mi familia
   (e) Buscar ciertas oportunidades profesionales
   (f) Buscar oportunidades educativas
   (g) Ejercer mis derechos políticos
   (h) Votar en las elecciones
   (i) Combatir las injusticias cuando las veo
   (j) Acudir a un mitin político y protestas
   (k) Ninguna de estas
   (l) Otra [TEXT BOX]

6. ¿Cuántos de sus amigos más cercanos y familiares creen que la mejor forma de honrar el legado y sacrificios de aquellos en el pasado es a través de la participación política?

   (a) Ninguno
   (b) Pocos
   (c) Algunos
   (d) La mayoría
   (e) Todos

7. A continuación, algunas preguntas sobre los necesitados. Esto podría incluir personas que están luchando para salir adelante o que están pasando por dificultades. Díganos si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las siguientes cuatro afirmaciones. Randomize order presentation of next four questions.

8. Ayudar a los necesitados es un principio rector en mi vida.

   (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
   (b) Algo en desacuerdo
   (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
   (d) Algo de acuerdo
   (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

9. Yo debería buscar lo que es mejor para mí y mi familia, incluso si se alcanza a expensas de personas necesitadas.

   (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
   (b) Algo en desacuerdo
   (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
   (d) Algo de acuerdo
   (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

10. Yo debería hacer sacrificios personales -tiempo, dinero u otras cosas- para ayudar a las personas necesitadas.

    (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
    (b) Algo en desacuerdo
    (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    (d) Algo de acuerdo
    (e) Totalmente de acuerdo

11. Siento el deber moral de ayudar a aquellos que están teniendo dificultades.

    (a) Totalmente en desacuerdo
    (b) Algo en desacuerdo
    (c) Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo

(d) Algo de acuerdo

(e) Totalmente de acuerdo

12. Piense nuevamente en las personas necesitadas. ¿Cuáles crees que son las mejores formas de ocuparse de estas personas? Marque todas las que apliquen. Randomize order of response options; anchor none and other at the bottom.

    (a) Dar dinero a causas benéficas

    (b) Participar en organizaciones caritativas

    (c) Ayudar a extraños como los sin techo y los ancianos cuando me encuentro con ellos

    (d) Dar dinero a causas políticas

    (e) Participar en organizaciones políticas

    (f) Votar o involucrarse en política para cambiar las políticas públicas

    (g) Rezar por los necesitados

    (h) Ayudar a los necesitados a encontrar comunidades religiosas

    (i) Ninguna de las anteriores

    (j) Otra [TEXTBOX]

13. ¿Cuántos de sus amigos más cercanos y familiares creen que la mejor forma de ocuparse de las personas necesitadas es a través de la participación política?

    (a) Ninguno

    (b) Pocos

    (c) Algunos

    (d) La mayoría

    (e) Todos

14. Ahora, algunas preguntas sobre las personas que conoce. De vez en cuando, la mayoría de las personas discuten asuntos importantes con otros. Mirando hacia atrás en los últimos seis meses, ¿quiénes son las personas con las que discutió asuntos que son importantes para usted? Liste solo los primeros nombres o iniciales de hasta cinco personas en el espacio de abajo. Le haremos más preguntas sobre estas personas más adelante.

    (a) Persona 1 [Textbox]

    (b) Persona 2 [Textbox]

    (c) Persona 3 [Textbox]

    (d) Persona 4 [Textbox]

    (e) Persona 5 [Textbox]

15. ¿Cuál es la raza de cada persona? *Insert answers from question 16 / network into first column of grid. Only provide the number of rows to match the responses from question 16.*

- Columns
  (a) Blanca
  (b) Negra o Afroaméricana
  (c) Asiática o de las Islas del Pacífico
  (d) Latina o Hispana
  (e) Otra
  (f) No sabe
- Rows
  (a) Person 1
  (b) Person 2
  (c) Person 3
  (d) Person 4
  (e) Person 5

16. Por lo que usted sabe, ¿alguna de estas personas ha experimentado discriminación debido a su raza? *Insert answers from question 16 / network into first column of grid. Only provide the number of rows to match the responses from question 16.*

- Columns
  (a) No
  (b) Sí
  (c) No sabe
- Rows
  (a) Person 1
  (b) Person 2
  (c) Person 3
  (d) Person 4
  (e) Person 5

17. Ahora, algo un poco diferente. Lea el siguiente mensaje detenidamente. Le haremos algunas preguntas sobre él más tarde.

    Imagine que un líder respetado de la comunidad le dice a usted: [insert condition] *Randomize the presentation of four conditions*

    (a) Condition 1: "Debemos hacer ejercicio. Todos deberíamos cuidar nuestro cuerpo y mente"

    (b) Condition 2: "Debemos participar en política. Todos deberíamos aprovechar el derecho al voto, acudir a protestas políticas, incluso dar dinero a grupos políticos"

    (c) Condition 3: "Debemos honrar el legado de nuestros antepasados. Todos deberíamos reclamar los derechos y oportunidades por los que aquellos en el pasado han luchado tanto, incluso muerto, para que nosotros los tengamos"

(d) Condition 4: "Debemos participar en política para honrar el legado de nuestros antepasados. Todos deberíamos aprovechar el derecho al voto, acudir a protestas políticas, incluso dar dinero a grupos políticos. Estos son los derechos y oportunidades por los que aquellos en el pasado han luchado tanto, incluso muerto, para que nosotros los tengamos"

18. ¿Suena este mensaje como algo que ha escuchado antes? *In soft-launch / pretest only*

    - Sí, muchas veces
    - Sí, unas pocas veces
    - No, nunca

19. ¿Dónde ha escuchado este mensaje antes? Marque todos los que apliquen. *In soft-launch / pretest only*

    - De la familia
    - De amigos
    - En mi lugar de culto
    - En la escuela
    - De los líderes políticos
    - De los líderes de la comunidad
    - En películas, música o libros
    - En las redes sociales
    - Otro [TEXTBOX]
    - Nunca he escuchado este mensaje

20. Es difícil para la gente encontrar tiempo para hacer todo lo que quieren hacer y la mayoría de la gente tiene que tomar decisiones sobre qué actividades son más importantes para ellos. Considerando el mensaje que acaba de leer, por favor díganos qué tan importante es hacer tiempo para cada una de las siguientes actividades. *Randomize presentation of next four items.*

21. Encontrar tiempo para votar.

    - Nada importante
    - Ligeramente importante
    - Moderadamente importante
    - Muy importante
    - Extremadamente importante

22. Encontrar tiempo para asistir a protestas políticas por cuestiones que me importan.

    - Nada importante
    - Ligeramente importante
    - Moderadamente importante

- Muy importante
- Extremadamente importante

23. Encontrar tiempo para cuidarme a mí mismo haciendo ejercicio, comiendo bien y durmiendo lo suficiente.

    - Nada importante
    - Ligeramente importante
    - Moderadamente importante
    - Muy importante
    - Extremadamente importante

24. Encontrar tiempo para practicar tradiciones culturales de mi herencia.

    - Nada importante
    - Ligeramente importante
    - Moderadamente importante
    - Muy importante
    - Extremadamente importante

25. En el último año, ¿cuántos actos políticos como votar, dar dinero a un grupo político o asistir a una protesta realizó?

    - Ninguno
    - Uno
    - Dos
    - Tres
    - Cuatro
    - Cinco o más

26. Muchas organizaciones locales están intentando que la gente se involucre más en política. ¿Le gustaría información al final de este estudio sobre organizaciones en su área?

    - Sí
    - No

27. En los últimos dos años, ¿ha sido usted contactado en nombre de algún candidato político, ya sea por carta por correo, por teléfono o en persona, por un trabajador de campaña? Marque todas las que apliquen.

    - Sí, en persona
    - Sí, por teléfono
    - Sí, por correo
    - Sí, de alguna otra manera
    - No

- No estoy seguro

28. Ahora, tenemos algunas preguntas sobre políticas públicas. Por favor, piense en las siguientes seis afirmaciones y responda cada una usando las opciones de respuesta que se proporcionan.*Randomize order presentation of next six questions.*

29. Es mejor para todos si el inglés es el único idioma utilizado en las escuelas públicas.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

30. El gobierno federal debería gastar más dinero en proyectos que ayudan a los pobres.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

31. La policía de mi comunidad usa la cantidad adecuada de fuerza en cada situación.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

32. El creciente número de recién llegados de otros países fortalece a la sociedad estadounidense.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

33. El gobierno federal debería aumentar las deportaciones de inmigrantes que están en los Estados Unidos ilegalmente.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo

- Totalmente de acuerdo

34. El cambio climático global es una gran amenaza para el bienestar de los Estados Unidos.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

35. Finalmente, terminaremos con algunas preguntas sobre los grupos con los que usted se puede identificar. Estas preguntas son sobre personas que pueden ser como usted en relación a sus ideas, intereses y sentimientos sobre las cosas.

36. Algunas veces es más fácil y otras veces es más difícil de entender por lo que están pasando los miembros de un grupo determinado. ¿Qué tan fácil le es ponerse en el lugar de las personas en los Estados Unidos que son... *Randomize row labels.*

    - Columns
        (a) Muy difícil
        (b) Algo difícil
        (c) Algo fácil
        (d) Muy fácil
    - Rows
        (a) Blancas
        (b) Latinas o Hispanas
        (c) Asiáticas
        (d) Negras

37. Usted se puede sentir cerca de algunos grupos de personas, mientras que de otros no tanto. ¿Qué tan cerca se siente de las personas en los Estados Unidos que son ...

    - Columns
        (a) Nada cerca
        (b) No muy cerca
        (c) Algo cerca
        (d) Muy cerca
    - Rows
        (a) Blancas
        (b) Latinas o Hispanas
        (c) Asiáticas
        (d) Negras

38. Ahora, por favor, díganos si está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones. Ser Insert Respondent's Race es una parte importante de cómo me veo a mí mismo.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

39. A menudo pienso sobre el hecho de que soy Insert Respondent's Race.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

40. Lo que sucede en general a la gente Insert Respondent's Race en este país afectará lo que me sucede a mí.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

41. No creo que los funcionarios públicos se preocupen mucho por lo que piensan las personas como yo.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

42. Me considero bien cualificado para participar en política.

    - Totalmente en desacuerdo
    - Algo en desacuerdo
    - Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo
    - Algo de acuerdo
    - Totalmente de acuerdo

43. Anteriormente, le pedimos que pensara en las personas que hicieron posible que usted esté donde está hoy. ¿Quién o qué viene a su mente cuando piensa en eso? [ONE LINE TEXT BOX]

44. Cuando piensa en sus antepasados, ¿quién o qué le viene a su mente? [ONE LINE: TEXT BOX]

45. Anteriormente, le pedimos que pensara en las personas necesitadas. ¿Quién o qué viene a su mente cuando piensa en eso? *Only in pre-test / soft launch*

46. ¿Sus dos padres nacieron en los Estados Unidos?

    (a) Mis dos padres nacieron en los Estados Unidos
    (b) Un padre nació en los Estados Unidos
    (c) Ningún padre nació en los Estados Unidos
    (d) No sé

47. ¿Cuántos de sus abuelos nacieron fuera de los Estados Unidos de América?

    (a) Ninguno
    (b) Uno
    (c) Dos
    (d) Tres
    (e) Todos
    (f) No sé

1.3 Supplementary Questions Collected by GFK

1. Are you...? Select one answer only.

    (a) Male
    (b) Female

2. How old are you? Type in your age. [PROMPT: Providing this information makes sure that answers from you help represent the entire U.S. population. Please remember that your individual responses are kept confidential. Thank you!]

3. This is about your ethnicity. Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino? Select one answer only.

    (a) No, I am not
    (b) Yes, Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
    (c) Yes, Puerto Rican
    (d) Yes, Cuban, Cuban American
    (e) Yes, other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino group (Please specify, for example Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on) [BLANK]

4. Please indicate what you consider your race to be. We greatly appreciate your effort to describe your background using these categories. While they may not fully describe you, they do match those used by the U.S. Census Bureau. Please choose one or more race(s) that you consider yourself to be. Select all answers that apply. [PROMPT: We would like to have your answer to this question. Your individual responses will remain confidential.]

   (a) White
   (b) Black or African American
   (c) American Indian or Alaska Native
   (d) Asian
   (e) Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
   (f) Some other race [BLANK]

5. What is the highest level of school you have completed? Select one answer only.

   (a) Some high school or less – no diploma or GED
   (b) High school graduate – high school diploma or the equivalent (GED)
   (c) Some college, no degree
   (d) Associate degree
   (e) Bachelor's degree
   (f) Master's degree
   (g) Professional or Doctorate degree

6. How much is the combined income of all members of YOUR HOUSEHOLD for the PAST 12 MONTHS? Please include your income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES and from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits). Select one answer only. [PROMPT: We realize that this is personal information. We will ONLY ASK the range of your household income NOT the exact amount.]

   (a) Below $50,000
   (b) $50,000 or more
   (c) Don't know

7. *Shown only to respondents with household income below $50,000.* We would like to get a better estimate of your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months before taxes. Was it... Select one answer only.

   (a) Less than $5,000
   (b) $5,000 to $7,499
   (c) $7,500 to $9,999

(d) $10,000 to $12,499
(e) $12,500 to $14,999
(f) $15,000 to $19,999
(g) $20,000 to $24,999
(h) $25,000 to $29,999
(i) $30,000 to $34,999
(j) $35,000 to $39,999
(k) $40,000 to $49,999

8. *Shown only to respondents with household income of $50,000 or more* We would like to get a better estimate of your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months before taxes. Was it... Select one answer only.

(a) $50,000 to $59,999
(b) $60,000 to $74,999
(c) $75,000 to $84,999
(d) $85,000 to $99,999
(e) $100,000 to $124,999
(f) $125,000 to $149,999
(g) $150,000 to $174,999
(h) $175,000 to $199,999
(i) $200,000 to $249,999
(j) $250,000 or more

9. Were you born a United States citizen or are you a naturalized U.S. citizen? Select one answer only.

(a) Born a U.S. citizen
(b) Naturalized U.S. citizen

10. Most every family in this country has ancestors from other parts of the world. From what countries or parts of the world did your ancestors come? Select all answers that apply.

- Africa
- America
- Cambodia
- Canada
- China
- Colombia
- Cuba
- Dominican Republic

- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- France
- Germany
- Great Britain
- Greece
- Guatemala
- Guyana
- Haiti
- Honduras
- Hungary
- India
- Iran
- Ireland
- Italy
- Jamaica
- Japan
- Korea
- Laos
- Mexico
- Nicaragua
- Peru
- Philippines
- Poland
- Portugal
- Russia
- Taiwan
- Thailand
- Trinidad and Tobago
- Vietnam
- Yugoslavia
- Another country, please specify. [O]

11. Are you currently registered to vote in the U.S.? Select one answer only.

    (a) Yes, I am registered to vote
    (b) No, I am not registered to vote
    (c) Not sure

12. In general, how interested are you in politics and public affairs? Select one answer only.

    (a) Very interested
    (b) Somewhat interested
    (c) Slightly interested
    (d) Not at all interested

13. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. Did you happen to vote in the November 2016 elections for the U.S. President or Congress? Select one answer only.

    (a) Yes
    (b) No

14. This question is about LOCAL elections, such as for mayor or a school board. Do you:

    (a) Never vote in local elections
    (b) Rarely vote in local elections
    (c) Sometimes vote in local elections
    (d) Always vote in local elections

15. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

    (a) Republican
    (b) Democrat
    (c) Independent
    (d) Another party, please specify:
    (e) No preference

16. *Display to respondents who answer "Republican" in preceding question.* Would you call yourself a ...

    (a) Strong Republican
    (b) Not very strong Republican

17. *Display to respondents who answer "Democrat."* Would you call yourself a ...

    (a) Strong Democrat
    (b) Not very strong Democrat

18. *Display if respondent answers "Independent," "Another party...", or "No preference."* Do you think of yourself as closer to the...

(a) Republican Party

(b) Democratic Party

19. In general, do you think of yourself as:

(a) Extremely liberal

(b) Liberal

(c) Slightly liberal

(d) Moderate, middle of the road

(e) Slightly conservative

(f) Conservative

(g) Extremely conservative

20. People may be involved in civic and political activities. In the past 12 months, have you: *Select all answers that apply.*

(a) Attended a political protest or rally

(b) Contacted a government official

(c) Volunteered or worked for a Presidential campaign

(d) Volunteered or worked for another political candidate, party, issue, or cause

(e) Served on a committee for a civic, non-profit or community organization

(f) Written a letter or email to a newspaper/magazine or called a live radio or TV show

(g) Commented about politics on a message board or internet site

(h) Shared your opinion about a town or community issue at a public meeting

(i) Held a publicly elected office

(j) Signed a petition

(k) None of these

21. What is your religion?

(a) Catholic

(b) Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)

(c) Jehovah's Witness

(d) Mormon

(e) Jewish

(f) Islam/Muslim

(g) Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)

(h) Hindu

(i) Buddhist

(j) Unitarian (Universalist)

(k) Other Christian religion, please specify: [text box]

(l) Other non-Christian religion, please specify: [text box]

(m) No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic

22. *Display to respondents who select any of the following in the preceding question: Evangelical or Protestant Christian, Catholic, Jehovah's Witness, Mormon, Orthodox, or Other Christian.* Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian? Select one answer only.

    (a) Yes

    (b) No

23. How often do you attend religious services? Select one answer only.

    (a) More than once a week

    (b) Once a week

    (c) Once or twice a month

    (d) A few times a year

    (e) Once a year or less

    (f) Never

2 Chapter 3 Supplementary Material

2.1 Qualitative Interview Protocol

A sample of the questions that were used most often during my qualitative interviews are included in the appendix of the book, The Obligation Mosaic. Here, I include a list of the questions that appeared across multiple versions of the interview protocol. I note: my approach to qualitative interviewing was flexible, with the questions I asked reacting to things respondents said more so than following the strict outline of the protocol. As a result, there were few interviews where I asked all these questions in the order listed below, and often other questions that were not initially in the protocol were asked based on how the interview unfolded. Still, the protocol served as a guide and many of the questions were asked across multiple interviews. I compile here a list of questions from both early and later protocols.

Defining Self, Community, and Network

1. How would you describe yourself to someone who doesn't know you?
    (a) What are some things about yourself you are most proud of?
    (b) What do you think your parents are most proud of? (young adults)
2. Tell me about where you grew up. / Tell me about your family.
    (a) What was your family like?
    (b) Who was a part of your household?
    (c) What did your family do? Work? Activities?
    (d) How is your relationship with them?
    (e) Where does your family live now?
    (f) What kinds of things do your parents do? Work? Activities?
    (g) How is your relationship with your parents?
3. Do you work? Tell me about your job.
    (a) How did you get into this work?
    (b) What are some of the things that drew you to this work?
    (c) Where do you see your career heading?
4. Tell me about some things you do that don't have to do with work or your family. (Organizations? Activities?)
    (a) How long have you been involved?
    (b) Why did you join these organizations?
    (c) How often do you attend their meetings?
    (d) Which of these do you think is most important to you?
    (e) How would your life be different if you weren't part of these organizations?

(f) Tell me about the other participants.

i. PROBE: ethnic/racial makeup of other participants

ii. PROBE: nativity of other participants

Community Values

5. One of the things I'm really interested in is how different people think about the meaning of their community. When you think about "your community," what do you think of? / Other people I've interviewed have talked a lot about "community." What do you think about when you think about "your community"?

   (a) What would you say are the values of your community?

   (b) What do you think you would be like without your community? /What was it like before the community or after?

   (c) Other communities? Religions? Political? Work? Cultural?

6. What kinds of things do members of your community do?

   (a) What do you think would happen if you didn't do these things?

      i. How would you feel if you didn't do these things?

      ii. How would your relationships be affected if you didn't do these things?

7. Can you tell me about someone who you know that stands out as a great community member?

   (a) Who are some people you know who are good community members?

   (b) What types of things does a good member of your community do?

   (c) Which of these things do you do?

   (d) What about a bad community member?

      i. How did you come to this view?

      ii. What types of things do they do?

8. Tell me about some people you look up to.

   (a) How about people outside your family?

   (b) Who do you try to model yourself after?

   (c) Why do you respect them?

   (d) What are the types of things they do that are special?

   (e) Tell me about how these people affect your life and choices?

   (f) PROBE: do you ever try to emulate the actions of these people?

9. (In your community,) What does it mean to be successful?

   (a) How do you know if someone is successful?

   (b) What are the kinds of things someone who is successful does?

   (c) Are you successful? How will you know when you've succeeded?

Concepts of Citizenship

10. What do you think it means to be a good citizen?
    (a) What types of things does a good citizen do?
    (b) Do you feel you have any responsibilities or obligations as a citizen?
    (c) Is there anything a good citizen should do that you don't do?
    (d) How about a bad citizen?
11. What does it mean to be a good American?
    (a) What is the American Dream?
12. Have you ever been to a potluck dinner?
    (a) Tell me about it. What do you think of them?
    (b) What's good or bad about a potluck?
    (c) What do you like about potluck dinner?
    (d) What would happen if someone came to a potluck dinner but didn't bring a dish?

Political Action

13. Are you interested in politics? What (doesn't) interest you about it?
    (a) Tell me about what you think of politics.
    (b) What do you think of people who are politically active?
14. Think about someone who is politically active – what kinds of things do they do?
    (a) When I say, political activism, what kinds of things come to mind?
    (b) Do you know people who are politically active? What kinds of things do they do?
    (c) What kinds of things count as political activism?
15. Have you ever voted in an election? / Did you vote in this past election?
    (a) Would you call yourself a regular voter?
    (b) Why do you vote? / How did you come to your choice to vote/not to vote?
    (c) Are you registered to vote?
    (d) Did you go alone? / How did you get to the voting location? / Walk me through your voting day.
16. Have you been politically active in other ways? How?
    (a) Tell me about the last time you did something political.
    (b) Tell me about why you decided to undertake that action?
    (c) Did you do it alone?
    (d) How would your parents feel if you suddenly became committed to a cause?

17. Are there any political causes that matter to you?
    (a) What are the causes you care about?
    (b) Tell me about any political causes that you've been involved in.
    (c) Which ones matter most?
    (d) What kinds of things do you do about these acts?
    (e) How often do you talk about these issues with your closest friends?
    (f) How do your friends feel about these issues?
    (g) How often do you talk about these issues with members of your broader community?
    (h) How does your community feel about these issues?
    (i) What kinds of actions, if any, do you think you could take to affect these causes?
    (j) Do you think there's anything you can do to do something about this cause?
18. Are other people in your family active in politics?
    (a) How does your family feel about /activism? political action generally?
    (b) How about each of these actions?
    (c) PROBE: voting?
    (d) PROBE: attending rallies?
    (e) PROBE: working on a campaign?
19. How do your closest friends feel about political action generally?
    (a) How about each of these actions?
    (b) PROBE: voting?
    (c) PROBE: attending rallies?
    (d) PROBE: working on a campaign?
20. Is being active in politics part of success?

    Specific Norm Questions

21. How important do you think it is to take care of those in need?
    (a) Why is it / is it not important?
    (b) What are some ways society can take care of people in need?
    (c) What are ways you try to take care of people in need?
    (d) Is politics a way to take care of people in need?
22. Some people have told me they always trust the government to do what is right; others are more suspicious of it. What do you think about those ideas?
23. Who do you think is responsible for holding government officials accountable?
    (a) Do they do a good job of this?

Demographics

24. What role does religion play in your life?
    (a) Do you attend religious meetings regularly?
    (b) Have you ever talked about politics at religious gatherings or worship? How often?
    (c) Does your religious leader talk about politics?
25. Are there other community activities you're involved in? Do you volunteer?

Networks

26. Tell me about four or five people you talk to on a regular basis about things that are happening in your life.
    (a) Tell me about some of the people you feel most connected to. Why do you feel that connection?
    (b) How did you meet them?
    (c) How often do you see them? Talk with them?
    (d) How do you stay in contact?
    (e) Race / Ethnicity?
    (f) Religion?
    (g) Born in the US?
    (h) Parents born in the US?
    (i) Career?
    (j) Age?

Table 1: Respondent Descriptives

	Aisha	**Lisa**	**Misaki**	**Tala**	**Amber**	**Aditi**	**Jonathan**	**Samaira**
Race	Asian	Asian	Asian	Asian	Asian	Asian	Asian	Asian
Ethnicity	Indian	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Chinese	Indian	Chinese	South Asian
Birthplace (BP)	Netherlands	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.
Parents' BP	India	Vietnam	U.S.	Philippines	U.S.	India	China	India
Age	25	26	25	22	22	28	28	32
Education	College	College	Some college	Some college	Some college	College	Graduate	Graduate
Family Income ($/year)	12,000	32,000	-	50,000	100,000 +	200,000	143,000	200,00
	Legend	**Tisha**	**Martin**	**Royce**	**Chelsea**	**Owen**	**Monica**	**Dwayne**
Race	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black
Ethnicity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Birthplace (BP)	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.
Parents' BP	U.S.	U.S.	U.S	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.
Age	21	28	32	22	24	27	62	28
Education	Some college	Graduate	College	Some college	Graduate	College	Graduate	Less than HS
Family Income ($/year)	>50,000	28,000	∼60,000	400,000	42,000	95,000	140,000	∼15,000
	Abel	**DeMarkus**	**Alexus**	**Rhonda**	**Doreen**	**Richard**	**Maaza**	
Race	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	
Ethnicity	Ethiopian	-	-	-	-	-	Ethiopian	
Birthplace (BP)	Ethiopia	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	Ehtiopia	
Parents' BP	Ethiopia	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	-	
Age	52	35	22	39	34	46	48	
Education	Masters	Masters	College	Some College	Masters	Associates	-	
Family Income ($/year)	200,000	140,000	45,000	8,500	110,000	35,000	200,000	

3 Chapter 4 Supplementary Material

Table 2: Demographic Correlates of the Political Ancestors Norm by Ethnic Groups

	Mexican American	Chinese American	Indian American	Filipino American
(Intercept)	0.19 (0.05)*	0.13 (0.09)	0.44 (0.18)*	0.40 (0.11)*
Income	−0.00 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.01)
Education	0.02 (0.01)*	0.03 (0.01)*	0.02 (0.02)	−0.04 (0.02)
Age	0.02 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.07)	−0.39 (0.17)*	−0.17 (0.11)
Male	0.03 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.27 (0.17)	−0.30 (0.11)*
2nd Gen	0.02 (0.01)*	0.02 (0.01)*	0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)*
1st Gen	0.07 (0.03)*	0.07 (0.03)*	−0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
R^2	0.04	0.06	0.11	0.16
Num. obs.	470	382	104	98
RMSE	0.33	0.30	0.27	0.26

*$p < 0.05$

Table 3: Measurement Model (CFA) of Ancestor Scale

	Loading	SE
Guide	0.718	0.020
Respect	0.580	0.019
Debt	0.775	0.019
Sacrifice	0.859	0.019
N	4016	
χ^2	9.055	
DF	1	
CFI	0.998	
TLI	0.987	
SRMR	0.007	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.045 [0.022, 0.073]	

Note: Entries denote parameter estimates (standardized factor loadings) and associated standard errors. Estimated via maximum likelihood. Factor variance fixed to 1 to identify the model. One residual correlation estimated (between anc.guide and anc.resp) but omitted. With the CFI and TLI above .95, and the SRMR and RMSEA below .05, the model fit offers evidence that a single dimension appropriately characterizes the relationship between the items.

Table 4: Measurement Model (CFA) of Ancestor Scale, by Race

	Asians		Blacks		Latinos		Whites	
	Loading	SE	Loading	SE	Loading	SE	Loading	SE
Guide	0.614	0.036	0.869	0.037	0.733	0.039	0.686	0.039
Respect	0.516	0.033	0.747	0.035	0.581	0.038	0.508	0.039
Debt	0.660	0.034	0.823	0.040	0.874	0.041	0.696	0.038
Sacrifice	0.794	0.035	0.842	0.038	0.930	0.041	0.829	0.038
N	1020		999		1000		997	
χ^2	4.452		4.712		1.593		9.332	
DF	1		2		1		1	
CFI	0.996		0.997		0.999		0.990	
TLI	0.978		0.992		0.997		0.941	
SRMR	0.009		0.010		0.005		0.015	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.058 [0.013, 0.118]		0.037 [0.000, 0.081]		0.024 [0.000, 0.092]		0.091 [0.045, 0.149]	

Note: Entries denote parameter estimates (standardized factor loadings) and associated standard errors. Estimated via maximum likelihood. Factor variance fixed to 1 to identify the model. One residual correlation estimated in all models but for Blacks (between anc.guide and anc.resp) but omitted. Not only do the items scale well looking at the full sample, they also scale well together within each racial group. In all cases the CFI and TLI surpass benchmarks for well-fitting models, as does the SRMR. The RMSEA in the models for Asians and Whites suggests an adequately fitting model, but the larger confidence intervals suggest a fair degree of uncertainty related to this conclusion.

Table 5: Measurement Model (CFA) of Political Ancestors Index

	Loading	SE
Rights	0.932	0.012
Vote	0.873	0.013
Justice	0.729	0.015
Protest	0.687	0.028
N	4023	
χ^2	18.144	
DF	2	
CFI	0.998	
TLI	0.995	
SRMR	0.033	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.045 [0.027, 0.065]	

Note: Entries denote parameter estimates (standardized factor loadings) and associated standard errors. Estimated via diagonally weighted least squares. Factor variance fixed to 1 to identify the model. The results show the political ancestors index exhibits good measurement properties.

Table 6: Measurement Model (CFA) of Political Ancestors Index, By Race

	Asians		Blacks		Latinos		Whites	
	Loading	SE	Loading	SE	Loading	SE	Loading	SE
Rights	0.921	0.024	0.892	0.026	0.919	0.025	0.980	0.027
Vote	0.859	0.025	0.877	0.027	0.878	0.026	0.844	0.031
Justice	0.742	0.030	0.758	0.030	0.744	0.030	0.656	0.033
Protest	0.656	0.064	0.729	0.048	0.677	0.054	0.705	0.064
N	1020		1003		1000		1000	
χ^2	6.814		1.307		1.642		7.661	
DF	2		2		2		2	
CFI	0.998		1.000		1.000		0.997	
TLI	0.993		1.001		1.000		0.992	
SRMR	0.042		0.016		0.020		0.047	
RMSEA [90% CI]	0.049 [0.012, 0.091]		0.000 [0.000, 0.055]		0.000 [0.000, 0.059]		0.053 [0.017, 0.095]	

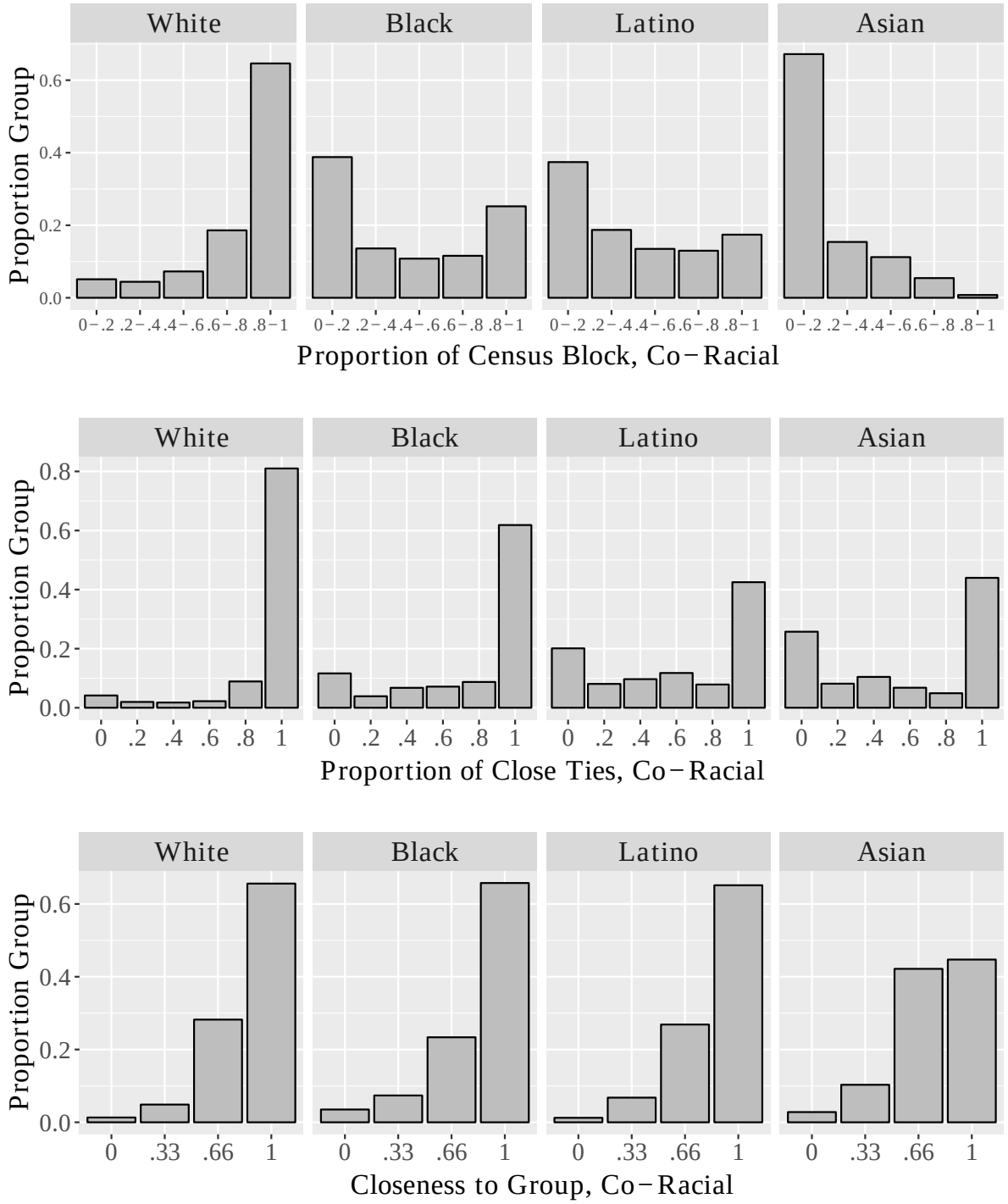
Note: Entries denote parameter estimates (standardized factor loadings) and associated standard errors. Estimated via diagonally weighted least squares. Factor variance fixed to 1 to identify the model.

Table 7: Correlation of Social Embeddedness Across Contexts

	Block & Ties	*Ties & Closeness*	*Block & Closeness*
White	0.11*	0.11*	0.02
Black	0.29*	0.14*	0.07*
Latino	0.38*	0.24*	0.14*
Asian	0.26*	0.14*	0.04

*Notes: Pearson's Correlation Coefficients, *p<0.05*

Figure 1: The Distribution of Co-racial Contexts



Notes: Not all respondents reported five close ties; thus, x-axis categories reported in panel b also represent off-category groups: 0=0; 0.2=0.2, 0.25, and 0.33; 0.4= 0.4 and 0.5; 0.6= 0.6 and 0.67; 0.8=0.75 and 0.8; 1=1.

4 Chapter 5 Supplementary Material

Table 8: Black-White Variation from GSS Data Referenced in Chapter 5

Question Wording	White Sample Mean	Black Sample Mean
Some people say that people get ahead by their own hard work; others say that lucky breaks or help from other people are more important. Which do you think is most important? Hard work most important (1); Hard work, luck equally important (0); Luck most important (0). *Pooled data, with weights, 2000-2018*	70%	66%
Please show for each of these how important you think it is for getting ahead in life . . . First, how important is coming from a wealthy family? Essential (1); Very important (1); Fairly important (1); Not very important (0); Not important at all (0) *Data collected 2000, with weights*	46%	60%
On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are . . . Mainly due to discrimination? Yes (1); No (0). *Pooled data, with weights, 2000-2018*	31%	58%
Question wording	Evaluation of Whites	Evaluation of Blacks
The second set of characteristics asks if people in the group tend to be hard-working or if they tend to be lazy. Where would you rate whites in general on this scale? 1- Hard-working; 7 - Lazy. *Averages among White respondents, pooled data, 2000-2018, with weights*	3.55	4.18

Note: The General Social Survey (GSS) is an in-person, national probability sample survey conducted since 1972 (Smith et al., 2019). I include a few empirical findings drawn from this dataset in Chapter 5.

Table 9: Demographic Correlates of the Political Helping Norm

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	0.14 (0.04)**	0.07 (0.03)**	0.15 (0.03)**	0.16 (0.03)**
Income	−0.00 (0.00)	−0.01 (0.00)**	−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)
Education	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.00)**	0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.01)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.00)**	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)
Male	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)**	0.01 (0.02)
2nd Gen	−0.00 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
1st Gen	0.02 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	−0.11 (0.06)**
R^2	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.01
Adj. R^2	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00
Num. obs.	1008	955	926	963
RMSE	0.25	0.23	0.26	0.25

$^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table 10: Demographic Correlates of the Political Helping Norm by Ethnic Groups

	Mexican American	Chinese American	Indian American	Filipino American
(Intercept)	0.11 (0.04)*	0.22 (0.07)*	0.48 (0.16)*	0.05 (0.09)
Income	−0.00 (0.00)	−0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)*	−0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Age	0.03 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.06)	−0.28 (0.16)	0.06 (0.09)
Male	0.06 (0.03)*	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.27 (0.15)	0.06 (0.09)
2nd Gen	0.00 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)
1st Gen	0.05 (0.02)*	0.02 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.05)	−0.04 (0.05)
R^2	0.02	0.04	0.09	0.05
Adj. R^2	0.01	0.02	0.04	−0.01
Num. obs.	470	382	104	98
RMSE	0.27	0.25	0.24	0.20

$^{*}p < 0.05$

5 Chapter 6 Supplementary Material

Table 11: Predicting Validated Voter Turnout in Presidential Election, 2016—Replication with full Asian American Sample excluding Political Interest Variable

	Asian
(Intercept)	0.25 (0.08)*
Political (Ancestors)	0.32 (0.07)*
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.09 (0.05)*
Economic (Ancestors)	0.03 (0.05)
Political (Help)	−0.04 (0.07)
Charitable (Help)	0.04 (0.05)
Religious (Help)	−0.04 (0.05)
Recruitment	0.18 (0.03)*
Linked Fate	−0.18 (0.06)*
External Efficacy	−0.03 (0.06)
Internal Efficacy	−0.11 (0.05)*
Income	−0.01 (0.04)
Education	−0.01 (0.04)
1st Gen	−0.09 (0.03)*
2nd Gen	0.10 (0.05)*
Age	0.12 (0.06)
Male	−0.03 (0.03)
R^2	0.12
Adj. R^2	0.10
Num. obs.	881
RMSE	0.43

*$p < 0.05$

Table 12: Predicting Validated Voter Turnout in Presidential Election, 2012

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	0.76 (0.14)*	0.38 (0.07)*	0.23 (0.07)*	0.76 (0.14)*
Political (Ancestors)	0.30 (0.10)*	0.14 (0.07)*	0.19 (0.07)*	0.30 (0.10)*
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.19 (0.07)*	−0.02 (0.06)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.19 (0.07)*
Economic (Ancestors)	0.10 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.10 (0.09)
Political (Help)	−0.06 (0.11)	0.03 (0.07)	−0.02 (0.08)	−0.06 (0.11)
Charitable (Help)	0.16 (0.09)	0.17 (0.06)*	−0.02 (0.06)	0.16 (0.09)
Religious (Help)	−0.02 (0.07)	−0.08 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	−0.02 (0.07)
Recruitment	0.25 (0.06)*	0.06 (0.04)	0.19 (0.04)*	0.25 (0.06)*
Interest Politics	−0.03 (0.09)	−0.05 (0.05)	0.21 (0.06)*	−0.03 (0.09)
Linked Fate	−0.21 (0.10)*	0.02 (0.06)	−0.18 (0.06)*	−0.21 (0.10)*
External Efficacy	−0.48 (0.11)*	0.11 (0.06)	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.48 (0.11)*
Internal Efficacy	0.01 (0.09)	−0.05 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.09)
Income	−0.13 (0.07)	0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	−0.13 (0.07)
Education	0.10 (0.07)	−0.08 (0.04)*	−0.02 (0.04)	0.10 (0.07)
1st Gen	−0.03 (0.06)	−0.08 (0.08)	−0.06 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.06)
2nd Gen	−0.20 (0.08)*	−0.07 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)	−0.20 (0.08)*
Age	−0.02 (0.11)	0.34 (0.07)*	0.35 (0.07)*	−0.02 (0.11)
Male	0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	−0.07 (0.03)*	0.06 (0.05)
R^2	0.24	0.10	0.17	0.24
Adj. R^2	0.20	0.08	0.16	0.20
Num. obs.	341	850	782	341
RMSE	0.48	0.42	0.44	0.48

*$p < 0.05$

Table 13: Predicting Validated Voter Turnout in Presidential Election, 2014

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	0.26 (0.14)$^{+}$	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.07)
Political (Ancestors)	0.47 (0.10)*	0.28 (0.07)*	0.13 (0.07)$^{+}$	0.10 (0.06)
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.14 (0.07)*	0.09 (0.06)	−0.10 (0.05)$^{+}$	−0.03 (0.06)
Economic (Ancestors)	−0.10 (0.09)	0.03 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	−0.07 (0.06)
Political (Help)	−0.09 (0.10)	0.08 (0.08)	0.05 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)
Charitable (Help)	0.13 (0.08)	−0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	−0.02 (0.05)
Religious (Help)	−0.08 (0.07)	−0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.11 (0.05)*
Recruitment	0.15 (0.05)*	0.13 (0.04)*	0.13 (0.04)*	0.12 (0.04)*
Interest Politics	−0.01 (0.09)	−0.02 (0.05)	0.14 (0.06)*	0.17 (0.05)*
Linked Fate	−0.12 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)	−0.10 (0.05)$^{+}$	−0.04 (0.06)
External Efficacy	−0.25 (0.10)*	0.08 (0.06)	−0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.05)
Internal Efficacy	0.07 (0.09)	0.09 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)
Income	0.03 (0.07)	−0.03 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Education	0.09 (0.06)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	−0.08 (0.04)*
1st Gen	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.01 (0.08)	−0.06 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.11)
2nd Gen	−0.15 (0.08)$^{+}$	−0.08 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)
Age	0.33 (0.10)*	0.39 (0.07)*	0.48 (0.07)*	0.56 (0.06)*
Male	0.09 (0.05)$^{+}$	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
R^2	0.27	0.18	0.18	0.20
Adj. R^2	0.23	0.16	0.16	0.18
Num. obs.	346	858	804	878
RMSE	0.46	0.43	0.43	0.43

$^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 14: Predicting Self-Reported Vote in Presidential Election, 2016

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	0.84 (0.10)*	0.48 (0.05)*	0.59 (0.05)*	0.67 (0.04)*
Political (Ancestors)	0.22 (0.07)*	0.19 (0.05)*	0.17 (0.06)*	0.11 (0.04)*
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.11 (0.05)*	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)
Economic (Ancestors)	−0.02 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Political (Help)	−0.03 (0.07)	−0.10 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)
Charitable (Help)	0.06 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)
Religious (Help)	0.05 (0.05)	−0.04 (0.04)	−0.01 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.03)
Recruitment	0.06 (0.04)	0.12 (0.03)*	0.06 (0.03)*	0.08 (0.03)*
Interest Politics	−0.01 (0.06)	0.10 (0.04)*	0.13 (0.05)*	0.10 (0.03)*
Linked Fate	0.03 (0.07)	0.07 (0.04)	−0.08 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.03)
External Efficacy	−0.08 (0.07)	0.09 (0.05)*	0.03 (0.05)	0.00 (0.03)
Internal Efficacy	−0.08 (0.06)	0.07 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)	0.06 (0.03)
Income	−0.05 (0.05)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)
Education	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)
1st Gen	−0.00 (0.04)	0.10 (0.06)	0.06 (0.03)	−0.05 (0.07)
2nd Gen	−0.06 (0.06)	−0.03 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)
Age	0.15 (0.07)*	0.20 (0.05)*	0.09 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)*
Male	0.02 (0.04)	−0.09 (0.02)*	0.00 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.02)
R^2	0.12	0.16	0.13	0.11
Adj. R^2	0.07	0.14	0.11	0.09
Num. obs.	325	829	762	840
RMSE	0.33	0.32	0.34	0.27

*$p < 0.05$

Table 15: Examples of the Honoring Ancestors Norm in Election Mobilization

Source	Quote
Cory Booker, Democratic Presidential Primary Debate, November 2019	"We drink deeply from wells of freedom and liberty that we did not dig. We eat lavishly from banquet tables prepared for us by our ancestors. We have a wonderful obligation–a blessed burden–for our nation is not finished. We have so much work to do. We must show our reverence for our ancestors through sacrifice and service - by advancing the Nation they helped build."
John Lewis, Twitter, October 2018	"I have been beaten..., arrested more than forty times so that each and every person has the right to... vote."
Migdalia Soza, Latino Community Foundation's website, November 2018	"Through this simple act of civic engagement, I can call for the changes my community needs and remember the hardships our ancestors had to endure. Our ancestors along with many other people fought for the right to vote... This November, I am honoring their sacrifice by voting."
Steven Paul Judd, Facebook, November 6, 2018	The Facebook post includes original artwork that depicts a Native American woman wearing traditional garb and casting her ballot with the words "Be a Good Ancestor" superimposed over the image and a list of laws that historically disenfranchised Native Americans in the United States.
Better America Television Ad, Joe Biden for President 2020	Just like our ancestors who stood up to the violent racists of a generation ago, we will stand up to this president and say, "No more."
"Tennessee Women on Why Voting is Important to Them," Desiree Stennett and Katherine Burgess, *Commercial Appeal*, August 16, 2020	*Quoting Tunisia Holley:* I fight and I'm passionate about this because if not for the John Lewises of the world and the Fannie Lou Hamers and the Shirley Chisholms of the world, we would not be where we are in terms of having the access to the vote, so I have a moral responsibility to vote. *Quoting Tajuan Stout-Mitchell:* Women bled and fought and marched for a right to vote, and African Americans died for the right to vote. *Quoting Jacque Hillman:* If Sue White could be sent to jail so you could have the right to vote, the least we can do is go vote.
Barack Obama, *The Shop: Uninterrupted,* Season 3, Episode 2, 2020	The idea that you would just stop, and give up, is something that would be a betrayal to our ancestors. It would be a betrayal to all the folks, Black and White and Latino and Asian who fought to allow us to be able to sit here. None of the three of us could image doing what we have done and what we continue to do fifty years ago. It was not in the cards. My dear friend John Lewis, who was an inspiration to me, that's why I got into politics and public service was because of the Civil Rights Era.... These folks... risking their lives just to have the chance to vote, just to break down Jim Crow, just to get the Voting Rights and the Civil Rights Act passed. The sacrifices they made did in fact make a difference... So, we have an obligation to do all the work now to make sure that our grandkids fifty years from now, they look back and say, ya'll had to put up with that? And the reason they won't is because we did the work.

Note: As I was working on this book, I would often run into examples of the honoring ancestors norm being used in mobilization campaigns, or be sent examples from friends, family, and colleagues familiar with my work. Here are some of the examples that have come across my desk.

6 Chapter 7 Supplementary Material

Table 16: Predicting Protest, Self-Reported

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	−0.04 (0.09)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.05 (0.03)$^{+}$	0.03 (0.04)
Political (Ancestors)	0.20 (0.06)*	0.03 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)*	0.07 (0.03)*
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.04 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.02)*	−0.08 (0.03)*
Economic (Ancestors)	−0.17 (0.06)*	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Political (Help)	0.12 (0.07)$^{+}$	0.22 (0.03)*	0.05 (0.03)	0.19 (0.04)*
Charitable (Help)	0.05 (0.06)	−0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Religious (Help)	−0.08 (0.05)$^{+}$	0.01 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	−0.07 (0.02)*
Recruitment	0.08 (0.04)*	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Interest Politics	0.07 (0.05)	0.10 (0.02)*	0.11 (0.02)*	0.12 (0.03)*
Linked Fate	0.05 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$	−0.01 (0.03)
External Efficacy	−0.04 (0.07)	−0.05 (0.03)$^{+}$	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Internal Efficacy	0.04 (0.06)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$	0.01 (0.03)
Income	0.06 (0.04)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	−0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$
Education	−0.06 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
1st Gen	0.08 (0.04)*	−0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.07 (0.06)
2nd Gen	0.02 (0.05)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	0.09 (0.03)*
Age	−0.07 (0.06)	−0.08 (0.03)*	−0.00 (0.03)	−0.12 (0.03)*
Male	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.02)
R^2	0.17	0.14	0.11	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.13	0.12	0.09	0.16
Num. obs.	351	862	833	883
RMSE	0.31	0.18	0.19	0.23

$^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 17: Predicting Speaking at Town Hall Meeting, Self-Reported

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	−0.04 (0.09)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.05 (0.03)$^{+}$	0.03 (0.04)
Political (Ancestors)	0.20 (0.06)*	0.03 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)*	0.07 (0.03)*
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.04 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.02)*	−0.08 (0.03)*
Economic (Ancestors)	−0.17 (0.06)*	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Political (Help)	0.12 (0.07)$^{+}$	0.22 (0.03)*	0.05 (0.03)	0.19 (0.04)*
Charitable (Help)	0.05 (0.06)	−0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Religious (Help)	−0.08 (0.05)$^{+}$	0.01 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	−0.07 (0.02)*
Recruitment	0.08 (0.04)*	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Interest Politics	0.07 (0.05)	0.10 (0.02)*	0.11 (0.02)*	0.12 (0.03)*
Linked Fate	0.05 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$	−0.01 (0.03)
External Efficacy	−0.04 (0.07)	−0.05 (0.03)$^{+}$	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Internal Efficacy	0.04 (0.06)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$	0.01 (0.03)
Income	0.06 (0.04)	−0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	−0.04 (0.02)$^{+}$
Education	−0.06 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
1st Gen	0.08 (0.04)*	−0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.07 (0.06)
2nd Gen	0.02 (0.05)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	0.09 (0.03)*
Age	−0.07 (0.06)	−0.08 (0.03)*	−0.00 (0.03)	−0.12 (0.03)*
Male	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.01)	−0.02 (0.02)
R^2	0.17	0.14	0.11	0.18
Adj. R^2	0.13	0.12	0.09	0.16
Num. obs.	351	862	833	883
RMSE	0.31	0.18	0.19	0.23

$^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 18: Predicting Contacting Government Official, Self-Reported

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	−0.05 (0.06)	−0.10 (0.04)**	−0.14 (0.04)**	−0.08 (0.05)
Political (Ancestors)	0.05 (0.05)	0.09 (0.04)**	−0.01 (0.04)	0.10 (0.05)**
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.06 (0.03)*	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.05 (0.03)	−0.05 (0.05)
Economic (Ancestors)	−0.03 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Political (Help)	0.07 (0.05)	0.10 (0.04)**	0.15 (0.05)**	0.24 (0.05)**
Charitable (Help)	0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	0.07 (0.03)**	−0.02 (0.04)
Religious (Help)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)
Recruitment	0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)*	0.05 (0.03)
Interest Politics	0.09 (0.04)**	0.12 (0.03)**	0.23 (0.04)**	0.20 (0.04)**
Linked Fate	0.08 (0.05)	−0.03 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.04)
External Efficacy	0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.04)
Internal Efficacy	0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.03)*	0.05 (0.04)	0.18 (0.04)**
Income	−0.04 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.03 (0.03)
Education	−0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
1st Gen	−0.04 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.06 (0.03)**	−0.12 (0.09)
2nd Gen	−0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.07 (0.05)
Age	0.05 (0.05)	0.10 (0.04)**	0.07 (0.04)*	0.03 (0.05)
Male	−0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.02)
R^2	0.11	0.12	0.19	0.19
Adj. R^2	0.06	0.10	0.17	0.18
Num. obs.	351	862	833	883
RMSE	0.23	0.25	0.28	0.34

$^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table 19: Predicting Petition Signing, Self-Reported

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	−0.18 (0.11)	−0.00 (0.06)	−0.09 (0.05)*	0.02 (0.06)
Political (Ancestors)	0.22 (0.08)**	0.07 (0.05)	0.21 (0.06)**	0.08 (0.06)
Cultural (Ancestors)	0.11 (0.06)*	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.11 (0.04)**	0.03 (0.05)
Economic (Ancestors)	−0.36 (0.08)**	−0.03 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	−0.00 (0.05)
Political (Help)	0.11 (0.09)	0.21 (0.06)**	0.08 (0.06)	0.37 (0.06)**
Charitable (Help)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.05)**	0.06 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.05)
Religious (Help)	0.04 (0.06)	−0.00 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Recruitment	0.05 (0.05)	0.09 (0.03)**	0.08 (0.03)**	0.03 (0.04)
Interest Politics	0.40 (0.07)**	0.33 (0.04)**	0.38 (0.05)**	0.28 (0.05)**
Linked Fate	0.09 (0.08)	−0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	−0.00 (0.05)
External Efficacy	0.11 (0.09)	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.02 (0.05)	−0.14 (0.05)**
Internal Efficacy	0.05 (0.08)	−0.01 (0.05)	−0.03 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Income	0.02 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Education	−0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)**	−0.02 (0.03)
1st Gen	−0.00 (0.05)	0.01 (0.07)	−0.09 (0.03)**	−0.13 (0.10)
2nd Gen	0.10 (0.07)	−0.07 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.05)
Age	−0.08 (0.08)	−0.10 (0.05)**	−0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)
Male	−0.00 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.03)*	−0.04 (0.03)	−0.06 (0.03)**
R^2	0.27	0.21	0.25	0.19
Adj. R^2	0.23	0.19	0.23	0.17
Num. obs.	351	862	833	883
RMSE	0.41	0.35	0.36	0.39

$^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table 20: Predicting Participation in Campaign or Issue, Self-Reported

	Asian	Black	Latino	White
(Intercept)	0.01 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.04)	−0.08 (0.03)**	−0.06 (0.03)**
Political (Ancestors)	0.09 (0.05)*	−0.02 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Cultural (Ancestors)	−0.06 (0.03)*	−0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.03)
Economic (Ancestors)	0.00 (0.04)	−0.00 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Political (Help)	0.20 (0.05)**	0.11 (0.04)**	0.05 (0.03)*	0.20 (0.03)**
Charitable (Help)	−0.00 (0.04)	−0.05 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)
Religious (Help)	0.10 (0.03)**	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)
Recruitment	−0.03 (0.03)	0.05 (0.02)**	0.01 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
Interest Politics	−0.00 (0.04)	0.14 (0.03)**	0.09 (0.02)**	0.04 (0.02)
Linked Fate	−0.10 (0.05)**	0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	−0.03 (0.02)
External Efficacy	−0.07 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)*	0.03 (0.02)
Internal Efficacy	0.07 (0.04)*	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)*
Income	0.07 (0.03)**	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
Education	−0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	−0.00 (0.02)
1st Gen	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.04)	−0.03 (0.02)*	−0.02 (0.05)
2nd Gen	0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)*	0.01 (0.03)
Age	0.04 (0.05)	−0.08 (0.03)**	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Male	−0.03 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	−0.00 (0.01)
R^2	0.20	0.09	0.06	0.13
Adj. R^2	0.16	0.07	0.05	0.11
Num. obs.	351	862	833	883
RMSE	0.23	0.22	0.19	0.19

$^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

References

Smith, Tom W., Michael Davern, Freese Jeremy and Stephen L. Morgan. 2019. *General Social Surveys, 1972-2018*. [machine readable data file] ed. Chicago, ILL: NORC.