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Immigrant Voices: How do patterns of expressive forms of civic engagement differ across immigrant generation?

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ABSTRACT

Prior research suggests that immigrants in the U.S. are less likely to civically engage than the native-born, but few studies have systematically examined whether levels of expressive engagement differ by immigrant generational status – particularly in the case of contacting a public official and boycotting or buycotting products for political or social reasons. Using the Current Population Survey, November 2011 and 2013 Civic Engagement Supplements, this study examines whether these forms of expressive engagement differ across immigrant generational status, and by race and ethnicity within immigrant generations. In accord with classical assimilation theory, the findings show that the first generation is less likely than the third+ generation to participate in either form of engagement. However, the second generation is more likely to boycott or buycott and as likely to contact an official compared to the third+ generation. While whites tend to be more likely than blacks, Hispanics and Asians to participate in both forms of engagement across all immigrant generational statuses, there is a notable exception. Second-generation blacks are as likely as second-generation whites to contact an official and to boycott or buycott.

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Introduction

Studies in various fields of social sciences in recent decades have called attention to a gradual disengagement of the American public from civic life and traditional forms of political participation, such as voting, and have warned of its negative implications for democratic ideals (Putnam 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008; Zukin et al. 2006). Some studies highlight differing levels of participation across groups, such as by nativity, race and ethnicity (see Bass and Casper 2001a; Ramakrishnan 2006; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001), which may indicate unequal motivation or unequal access to political processes (Ramakrishnan 2006). With continued large-scale immigration to the U.S. since the late 1960s, and the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the U.S. population, it is useful to gain a better understanding of patterns of participation in various forms of civic engagement across and within immigrant generations.

Prior studies have indicated that naturalized immigrants are less likely to vote compared with those who are native-born (Bass and Casper 2001a; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001; Tam Cho 1999). However, some scholars argue that while voter turnout rates may be declining, other forms of civic engagement may be expanding (Zukin et al. 2006), including forms that differ from those captured in past studies (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). Other scholars suggest that participation among the foreign-born population could be underestimated because research often focuses on activities where naturalization is required (DeSipio 1996; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). In fact, some argue that individuals have the ability to more effectively sway corporations today than their governments (Hertz 2001; Scammell 2000), and therefore

some people may opt to engage civically through consumerism versus more traditional forms of political participation.

For these reasons, this study focuses on two measures of expressive engagement – contacting an official and boycotting or buycotting (supporting businesses that engage in desirable behavior) for social or political reasons – to determine whether participation in these forms of engagement, which do not require citizenship, varies across immigrant generations and by race and ethnicity within immigrant generations. These forms of engagement are expressive in nature, requiring individuals to act upon their opinions to sway representatives in the government or a corporation to change a certain practice (Neilson 2010; Zukin et al. 2006). The inclusion of both forms of expressive engagement allows us to examine participation as a way of influencing two major institutions in our civil society – the government or corporations. To the best of our knowledge, there are few prior studies focused on the associations between immigrant generation and participation in forms of expressive civic engagement (see, e.g., Ramakishnan and Baldassare 2004).

Political Consumerism

In recent decades, scholars have begun examining political consumerism as a means of civic engagement. Political consumerism can be defined as the choice of purchasing certain products based on attitudes or values of interest to one's personal well-being in addition to the individuals' ethical and political assessment of business practices (Micheletti 2002). Political consumerism as an act of political participation aims to influence the social values in a society through indicating priorities (such as

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environmental protection, economic justification or humanitarianism) that corporations should have (Newman and Bartels 2011).

Some studies in European nations indicate that political consumerism appeals to those who tend to engage less in traditional forms of political participation, including young adults, those living in urban areas, and individuals who are distrustful of political institutions (Acik 2013; Stolle et al. 2005). Similarly in the U.S., those who are younger and more distrustful of institutions tend to also be more likely to have participated in boycotting or buycotting behaviors (Newman and Bartels 2011). However, Newman and Bartels (2011) also find that similar to patterns of electoral participation, those with more political interests are more likely to engage in political consumerism. To the best of our knowledge, a systematic study of the role of immigrant generational status on the likelihood of participating in political consumerism has not been examined to date.

Assimilation Theories and Civic Engagement

According to classical assimilation theory, immigrants adopt the culture, norms and values of the destination country as they become incorporated into society (Alba and Nee 2003; Gordon 1964). Classical assimilation theory assumes a linear process by which length of residence in the United States and higher immigrant generational status are positively associated with greater levels of civic engagement.

Some past studies focused on civic engagement support classical assimilation theory. These studies find that the native-born are more likely to be civically and politically engaged than the foreign-born and, with more time spent in the U.S., immigrants are more likely to participate in voting and non-electoral politics, and are more likely to naturalize (Bass and Casper 2001a, 2001b; DeSipio 1996; Han 2004; Junn

1999; Ramakrishnan 2006; Sandoval and Jennings 2012; Tam Cho 1999). With more time in the U.S., immigrants may gain greater exposure to the organization of U.S. civic and political life, may gain greater familiarity with candidates and political/community issues, and may become more incorporated into their local communities (Bass and Casper 2001b; Stoll and Wong 2007). Findings also suggest that the native-born population is more likely to participate in electoral politics than the foreign-born who are naturalized citizens and more likely to be involved in civic organizations than the foreign-born population (Bass and Casper 2001a; DeSipio 1996; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001; Tam Cho 1999). However, some of these studies do not capture differences that may occur across successive immigrant generations, lumping together the native-born population.

Similar to patterns found for electoral participation, DeSipio (2011) suggests that immigrants are less likely than the native born to participate in passive forms of civic activities, such as following U.S. politics in the news. In addition, Leal (2002) finds that, among Latinos, non-citizens are less likely than citizens to participate in non-electoral political activities, such as signing petitions (Leal 2002). Furthermore, studies that have focused on volunteering indicate that foreign-born adults are less likely to engage than native-born adults (Ramakrishnan 2006).

However, a series of studies focused on non-electoral engagement of Mexican Americans suggest that for some groups, patterns of participation in non-electoral activities may differ from those of electoral activities. For example, in a study focused on Mexican Americans' participation in non-electoral forms of engagement (attending a meeting or rally, volunteering for a campaign, or donating to a political cause), Barreto

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and Muñoz (2003) find that the level of participation did not vary between foreign-born and native-born. And among Mexican youth, first-generation immigrants are found to be more likely to engage in volunteerism compared to third+ generation counterparts (Ishizawa 2014). A more systemic, national study of how non-electoral expressive engagement varies across immigrant generation and a examination of how participate differs by race and ethnicity within immigrant generation is necessary to better understand patterns of non-electoral civic engagement.

The segmented assimilation theory suggests that the second and third+ generation may experience multiple pathways for incorporation into U.S. society, differing across racial, ethnic and class lines (Portes and Zhou 1993). For instance, discrimination and structural barriers may influence participation in civic organization and politics and lead to disengagement in society.

Some prior research suggests that patterns of engagement across immigrant generations do vary by race and ethnicity, and these patterns also differ according to the specific measure of civic participation. Ramakrishnan's (2006) study on volunteerism finds a straight-lined assimilation pattern for whites, Latinos, and Asians, while participation among blacks peaks among the second generation. By contrast, when it comes to voting, blacks follow a straight-lined assimilation pattern, while there is a peak among second-generation whites and Asians and a drop-off after the second generation (Ramakrishnan and Espendshade 2001). Among Hispanics, the first generation is more likely to vote than second- and third+-generation Hispanics (Ramakrishnan and Espendshade 2001) and third+-generation whites (Logan et al. 2012).

For Asians, studies have found a lower rate of voluntary association membership (Stoll 2001) and voting (Kasinitz et al. 2009; Lien 2004; Wong et al. 2011) compared with whites. Another study found that second-generation Asian youth are more likely to volunteer than third+-generation whites (Ishizawa 2015).

Hypotheses

Consistent with classical assimilation theory, we expect that first-generation immigrants are less likely to contact an official and boycott or buycott a product compared to the third+ generation. However, due to prior findings that patterns of immigrant civic and political engagement vary by race and ethnicity, we expect that patterns of engagement to vary by race and ethnicity within immigrant generations.

It is possible that patterns of engagement across immigrant generation and race and ethnicity are different for the two measures of expressive engagement. For example, contacting an official to express one's view on a certain policy indicates strong knowledge about how one might influence policy in the U.S. democratic process, as well as a belief that this action serves as a way of doing so. In particular, immigrants coming from less developed democratic systems or immigrants who have higher levels of distrust in government institutions due to their experiences in their country of origin may not consider this a fertile way to influence policy.

In contrast, due to the global nature of corporations and the use of the internet to purchase goods, one must not be sufficiently incorporated into U.S. society to have the knowledge and understanding that boycotting or buycotting is a relevant action. In fact, prior studies looking at the likelihood of participating in political consumerism indicate that groups who tend to be less likely to participate in more traditional forms of political

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engagement have a greater propensity to participate in actions such as boycotting and buycotting (see Acik 2013; Newman and Bartels 2011; Stolle et al. 2005). For this reason, it remains possible that the patterns of participation by immigrant generation frequently observed in prior studies on civic engagement, whereby the first generation is generally less likely to engage, may not be observed for political consumerism.

Data and Methods

The data used for this study is from the Current Population Survey (CPS), November 2011 and 2013 Civic Engagement Supplements. There are a couple of advantages to using these CPS supplements over other data intended to measure levels of civic and political engagement (Ramakrishnan 2006). First, these data enable the detection of immigrant generation through indicators of the nativity of respondents and their parents, a variable often unavailable in other data sources measuring civic engagement. Second, because the CPS is primarily used to provide reliable estimates on demographic and economic measures, it should provide reliable information on controls.

While the CPS November Supplement includes a range of other measures on civic engagement (such as voting in local elections, expressing opinions about political and community issues online, participation in groups and organizations, and discussing politics with family members or friends), this study focuses on understudied forms of civic engagement, boycotting and buycotting and contacting an official, in order to enhance our knowledge on the patterns of participation in areas where people are actively seeking to influence a current practice or policy.

The sample is restricted to those who responded to both questions on boycotting and buycotting and contacting an official and those who are ages 25 to 64. The lower

bound is imposed because educational attainment should be largely completed by age 25, and educational attainment in turn influences civic engagement (Verba et al. 1995). The upper bound is imposed because older individuals tend to have different patterns of civic engagement (see Keeter et al. 2002; Zukin et al. 2006). Logistic regression is employed to investigate participation in forms of expressive engagement across immigrant generational status and by race and ethnicity within immigrant generation.

Measures

Dependent variables

The study uses two measures of expressive engagement. The first measure captures whether the individual has or has not *boycotted or buycotted* a company's products or services within the last 12 months because of the company's political or social values (yes=1, no=0). The second measure asks whether the respondent has or has not *contacted a public official* to express their opinion in the past 12 months (yes=1, no=0) (See Appendix A for verbatim wording).

Independent variables

Prior studies indicate that sociodemographic, socioeconomic, and measures of social incorporation are correlated with levels of civic participation. We include the following sociodemographic variables in the models presented: immigrant generational status, race and ethnicity, gender, and age. The categories used for *immigrant generational status* include: (1) first generation (2) second generation, and (3) third+ generation. Following the definition of immigrant generation used in previous studies (e.g., Logan et al. 2012; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001), 'first generation' includes those who were born abroad and have at least one immigrant parent, 'second generation'

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is defined as those born in the U.S. and having at least one immigrant parent and 'third+ generation' includes those born in the U.S. whose parents were also born in the U.S. In the present analysis, third+ generation serves as the reference group. The models capture *race and ethnicity* using the following categories: non-Hispanics whites, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians, and Hispanics. Non-Hispanic whites serve as the reference group.

Gender and age controls are used since the prior literature indicates variability in measures of civic and political engagement for these variables. For example, men are more likely than women to participate in formal political activities, such as voting or contributing to a campaign (Verba et al. 1995), but women are more likely than men to volunteer (Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004). *Gender* is treated as a dichotomous variable (female=1, male=0), and *age* is treated as a continuous variable in years.

Because the positive relationship between socioeconomic status and civic engagement is well-documented (Musick and Wilson 2008; Verba et al. 1995), a measure of educational attainment is included as a control.¹ Two dichotomous variables are used for this purpose: some college (yes=1, other=0), and high school graduate or less (yes=1, other=0), with respondents holding a bachelor's degree or beyond serving as the reference group.

Measures of 'rootedness' or social incorporation in their community are also utilized, including employment status, homeownership, marital status, and the presence of children in the household. Three categories are used for *marital status*, including married, either divorced, widowed, or separated, and never having been married. Those who are married serve as the reference group. There are three categories capturing

employment status: employed, unemployed, and not in the labor force, with the employed serving as the reference group. *Homeownership* is a dichotomous variable where 1 indicates that the respondent owns their home, with 0 otherwise. The models also capture whether the respondent has a *child living in the house* (yes=1, no=0).

These measures of social incorporation may be associated with the formation of social networks that encourage participation (Putnam 2000; Ramarkrishnan and Baldassare 2004). In particular, individuals who are employed are more likely to be involved in social networks and work-related institutions that encourage participation (Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004). For example, Terriquez (2011) found that Latino immigrant parents who were active members of a union were also more likely to voice their interests and exercise leadership in their children's school-based organizations. Therefore, the skills individuals acquired in one form of participation may carry over into other civic organizations.

Homeowners tend to have higher electoral participation rates than renters because they lead a less mobile lifestyle and are able to form social networks that encourage engagement (Putnam 2000). In addition, they tend to have a greater financial stake in their community. Research also shows that homeowners are more likely than renters to volunteer in their communities, vote, give money to politicians, or write to elected officials (Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004; Rotolo et al. 2010). While part of this could be attributed to the differences in socioeconomic status between homeowners and renters, Rotolo et al. (2010) find that the value of the home (an indicator of socioeconomic status) does not influence one's likelihood to volunteer.

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Being married remains an important predictor of political participation for immigrants and the native-born population (Bueker 2004). It appears that marriage provides stability and greater integration into a community or social networks, and encourages naturalization and voting (Bueker 2004), though past findings have been mixed (Leighley and Vedlitz 1999).

The presence of children in the home has been shown to increase the likelihood of political participation for both men and women (Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004). Jones-Correa (1998) finds that immigrant women's children tend to bring them into contact with their community more so than for men, thereby creating opportunities for greater social ties. Conversely, children may deplete the time and resources required to commit to activities for civic engagement (Sandoval and Jennings 2012).

Results

A bivariate analysis of the measures of expressive engagement indicates that firstgeneration immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities are less likely to have contacted an official or boycotted or buycotted in the past 12 months, compared to the third+ generation and whites, respectively. Table 1 shows that about 6 percent of firstgeneration immigrants boycotted or buycotted in the last 12 months, compared with 15 percent of the second generation and 16 percent of the third+ generation. Likewise, 4 percent of the first generation contacted an official, compared with 12 percent of the second generation and 15 percent of the third+ generation. Table 2 shows that whites are at least twice as likely as other races and ethnicities to have boycotted or buycotted or to have contacted an official in the last 12 months.

[TABLE 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE]

To determine whether these differences remain after controlling for sociodemographic characteristics and measures of socioeconomic status and social incorporation, those variables are included in logistic regression models to predict the likelihood of expressive participation. (See Appendix B for descriptive statistics.) The results are presented in Table 3.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

First-generation immigrants remain significantly less likely than the third+ generation to boycott or buycott or to contact an official. When it comes to contacting an official, there is no statistical difference in the level of participation between the second generation and the third+ generation. But the second generation is more likely than the third+ generation to boycott or buycott. For both measures, blacks, Asians, and Hispanics are significantly less likely than whites to participate after accounting for various controls.

Next, consider an immigrant generational status specific model to see whether the patterns for racial and ethnic groups vary within immigrant generational status. Table 4 presents the racial and ethnic differences in participation for boycotting or buycotting for each immigrant generational status. Table 5 presents the racial and ethnic differences in contacting an official for each immigrant generational status.

[TABLES 4 and 5 ABOUT HERE]

Across all immigrant generations, Hispanics and Asians are less likely than their white counterparts to contact an official or to boycott or buycott in the last 12 months. Among blacks, there are some important differences. For both measures of expressive engagement, second-generation blacks are equally as likely as second-generation whites

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to participate. But first-generation and third+-generation black are less likely than their white counterparts to participate in either form of expressive engagement.

Figures 1 and 2 show the predicted probabilities of each measure of expressive engagement by race and ethnicity within each immigrant generation when all other variables in the model are being held constant at their mean. For example, among firstgeneration whites, there is a 9 percent chance of participation in boycotting or buycotting activities, compared with about 5 percent or less for blacks, Asians and Hispanics in the first generation. In the second generation, there is an 11 percent chance that Asian and Hispanics participate. By comparison, there is a 17 percent chance that whites participate and a 15 percent chance that blacks in the second-generation do so. Finally, in the thirdgeneration, the chance that whites boycott or buycott is about twice as high as for other races and ethnicities.

[FIGURES 1 & 2 ABOUT HERE]

Discussion and Conclusions

Using the Current Population Survey, November 2011 and 2013 Supplements, we examined rarely studied forms of civic engagement to determine the extent to which participation varies across immigrant generation and by race and ethnicity within immigrant generation. In accordance with classical assimilation theory, both for boycotting and buycotting and for contacting an official, the first generation is less likely than the third+ generation to participate. However, departing from the classical assimilation theory that predicts each successive generation is more likely than the prior generation to participate in expressive forms of civic engagement, the results show that there is no significant difference between the second and third+ generation for contacting

an official, and the second generation is actually more likely than the third+ generation to boycott or buycott.

This study provides some evidence that participation in expressive forms of civic engagement do differ by race and ethnicity within immigrant generations. The notable finding is that second-generation blacks are equally as likely as second-generation whites to boycott or buycott and to contact an official. However, there is no such difference for Hispanics and Asians – they are less likely than their white counterparts to be civically engaged in these forms regardless of immigrant generational status. Although it is difficult to untangle what may be contributing to these racial and ethnic differences in expressive engagement within each immigrant generation using the Current Population Survey Supplement, the segmented assimilation theory suggests that the integration process may differ greatly in the U.S. by race, ethnicity and class. For example, past experiences with discrimination may erode trust in the system and lead to disengagement among racial and ethnic minorities. There are also several related attitudinal or ideological variables that have been found to predict a greater likelihood of civic engagement (Schildkraut 2005; Stoll and Wong 2007); however, the Current Population Survey Supplement does not collect these types of data. Past studies note that a positive evaluation of the political system, identifying as extremely conservative or liberal, experiences with discrimination, and religiosity may influence the likelihood of civic participation (DeSipio 2002; Jones-Correa and Leal 2001). These types of data could be helpful in further identifying what is driving the differences in the likelihood of engagement by race and ethnicity within each immigrant generation.

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When it comes to expressive engagement as defined by contacting an official, it may not be surprising that first-generation immigrants are less inclined to do so than those in successive generations. Prior work indicates that the civic education received in U.S. schools increases political knowledge (Galston 2001), which, in turn, may promote higher levels of political engagement (Galston 2004). Without receiving this form of civic education in the U.S., some first-generation immigrants may lack the familiarity with the U.S. democratic system necessary to view contacting an official about their opinions on policy matters as a way of influencing that policy. In order to tease out the effect of place of education on civic engagement, we separated the first generation into two groups: the first generation (those who came to the U.S. at the age 12 or later) and the 1.5 generation (those who came to the U.S. before age 12) with the assumption that the latter group would have had the majority of their education in the U.S. The results show that the 1.5 generation is more likely than the first generation to have contacted an official (results available upon request). However, 1.5-generation immigrants remain less likely than successive generations to participate in this civic activity, indicating that there may be additional influences contributing to the lower participation level of firstgeneration immigrants, regardless of their age of arrival and, therefore, where they completed most of their education.

Similarly, the context of the economic system in an immigrant's home country and its similarity or dissimilarity to the U.S. economic system could be a driver of participation in boycotting or buycotting. Like other forms of civic engagement, individuals' level of knowledge of ways to influence the systems may encourage or discourage participation. When we include the 1.5 generation to serve as a proxy for

place of education, again, we find that the 1.5 generation is more likely than the first generation to boycott or buycott; however, there is no statistical difference in the likelihood of participating in political consumerism between the 1.5 generation and second or third+ generations. This suggests that, perhaps, place of education and age of arrival does matter when it comes to immigrant participation in political consumerism.

It is possible that using race and ethnicity in this study obscures greater nuance in the story of expressive engagement in that the country of origin may have great influence on immigrants' likelihood to engage in political and civic life in the United States. In a prior study, Bueker (2005) finds that immigrants coming from nations with similar political systems to the U.S. were more likely to vote than those who came from less democratic political systems. For example, race and ethnicity may serve as a proxy for country of origin, whereby white immigrants may be coming mainly from countries with similar democratic systems to the U.S. It is plausible that the likelihood of participating in political consumerism for immigrants is also driven by country of origin, in that immigrants coming from countries with similar economic systems to the U.S. may be more likely to participate in this form of civic engagement than those coming from countries with different forms of economic systems. Testing for differences in the likelihood of engagement in non-electoral participation by country of origin would be an worthwhile examination for future work.

Finally, it is possible that immigrants coming to the United States from more repressive countries or those with higher levels of political corruption may exhibit higher levels of distrust in political institutions that could prevent them from engaging with their representatives (Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001). The CPS November Supplement

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does not incorporate measures of distrust in political institutions, but some prior studies of other forms of political engagement do suggest that greater levels of distrust are associated with lower levels of participation on other measures of political engagement (Fennema and Tillie 1999). It is plausible that this relationship holds particularly for contacting an official too.

Overall this study expands upon prior work comparing civic participation levels of immigrants by systematically examining expressive engagement – forms of civic engagement that have been rarely studied. It provides evidence that first-generation adults are less civically engaged when it comes to these non-electoral forms than the third+ generation and that, with the exception of second-generation blacks, racial and ethnic minorities remain less likely than whites to participate, regardless of immigration generational status. This work adds to the literature examining the relationship between immigrant generation, race and ethnicity and civic incorporation by expanding its focus to understudied measures of engagement.

ENDNOTES

¹Due to issues of multicollinearity, household income is not included in the analysis, despite evidence suggesting that higher levels of income are associated with a greater likelihood of civic participation. Several studies suggest that education serves as a stronger predictor of civic engagement than household income (Arvizu and Garcia 1996; Musick and Wilson 2008; Verba et al. 1995).

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Table 1: Expressive Civic Engagement by Immigrant Generation (%)						
	1st generation	2nd generation	3rd+ generation			
Boycotted or buycotted	5.79	15.14	16.15			
Contacted an official	3.96	12.25	14.65			
Unweighted N	11,474	4,784	62,167			
Source: Current Population	Survey, November	Supplement 2011, 20)13			

<u>Hispanic</u>
5.95
5.42
9,414
3,866
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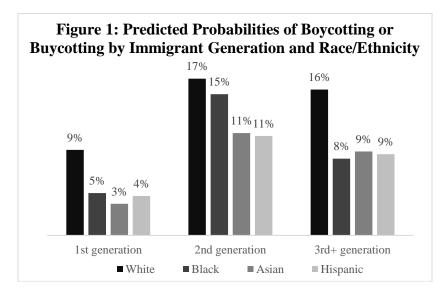
REVISED MANSCRIPT

Table 3: Models Predicting Expressive Civic Engagement

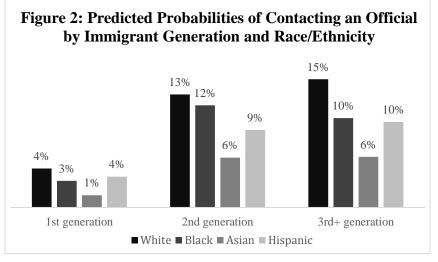
	Boycotting or buycotting		Contact an official	
	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
	Ratios		Ratios	
Immigrant generation				
1 st generation	0.56***	0.03	0.40***	0.02
2 nd generation	1.14**	0.05	0.97	0.04
3 rd + generation ^a	-		-	
Race/Ethnicity				
Black	0.50***	0.02	0.67***	0.03
Asian	0.43***	0.03	0.33***	0.03
Hispanic	0.51***	0.03	0.64***	0.03
White ^a	-		-	
Gender				
Female	1.08***	0.02	0.86***	0.02
Age	1.01***	0.00	1.03***	0.00
Education				
High school graduate or less	0.26***	0.01	0.25***	0.01
Some college	0.58***	0.01	0.56***	0.01
Bachelor's degree or higher ^a	-		-	
Marital status				
Married ^a	-		-	
Divorce/separated/widowed	0.90***	0.03	0.88***	0.03
Never married	0.96	0.03	0.83***	0.03
Employment Status				
Employed ^a	-		-	
Unemployed	1.12*	0.06	1.14*	0.06
Not in the labor force	0.90***	0.03	0.90***	0.03
Homeowner	0.96	0.03	1.16***	0.03
Presence of own child in household	0.89***	0.02	0.99	0.03
Constant	0.26***	0.02	0.10***	0.01
Unweighted N	78,455		78,455	
***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05	,		,	
indicates the reference group				
Source: Current Population Survey, N	ovember Sup	plement 2011.	2013	

	1^{st} generation 2^{nd} generation			ntion	$\frac{1}{3}$ ion 3^{rd} + generation		
	Odds Ratio	SE	Odds Ratio	SE	Odds Ratio	SE	
Race/Ethnicity							
Black	0.47***	0.07	0.88	0.18	0.48***	0.02	
Asian	0.35***	0.04	0.61**	0.09	0.53***	0.08	
Hispanic	0.44***	0.05	0.59***	0.06	0.51***	0.04	
White ^a	-		-		-		
Gender							
Women	1.21*	0.1	1.10	0.09	1.07**	0.02	
Age	1.01	0.00	1.02***	0.00	1.01***	0.00	
Education							
High school or less	0.33***	0.03	0.24***	0.03	0.25***	0.01	
Some college	0.60***	0.07	0.49***	0.05	0.58***	0.01	
Bachelor's degree or higher ^a	-		-		-		
Marital Status							
Married ^a	-		-		-		
Divorced/separated/widowed	0.83	0.11	0.89	0.11	0.90**	0.03	
Never married	1.13	0.14	0.91	0.1	0.94	0.03	
Employment Status							
Employed ^a	-		-		-		
Unemployed	1.15	0.19	0.96	0.17	1.13*	0.06	
Not in labor force	0.76*	0.08	0.92	0.1	0.91**	0.03	
Homeowner	1.43***	0.13	0.75**	0.07	0.93*	0.03	
Presence of child in household	0.84	0.08	0.81*	0.08	0.90***	0.02	
Constant	0.13***	0.03	0.24***	0.06	0.27***	0.02	
Unweighted N	11,474		4,784		62,167		
***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05							
^a indicates the reference group							
Source: Current Population Surve	ey, November	Suppl	ement 2011, 2	2013			

Race/Ethnicity Black	<u>1st genera</u> Odds Ratio		2nd generation		3^{rd} + gener	
-		SE	Odds Ratio	SE	Odds Ratio	SE
Black						
	0.67*	0.12	0.89	0.21	0.66***	0.0
Asian	0.30***	0.04	0.41***	0.08	0.36***	0.0
Hispanic	0.78*	0.09	0.65***	0.08	0.63***	0.04
White ^a	-		-		-	
Gender						
Women	0.98	0.10	1.00	0.09	0.85***	0.02
Age	1.02***	0.01	1.04***	0.00	1.03***	0.0
Education						
High school or less	0.20***	0.03	0.17***	0.03	0.26***	0.0
Some college	0.60***	0.07	0.48***	0.05	0.56***	0.0
Bachelor's degree or higher ^a	-		-		-	
Marital Status						
Married ^a	-		-		-	
Divorced/separated/widowed	0.89	0.13	1.02	0.13	0.87***	0.0
Never married	0.97	0.15	0.96	0.12	0.82***	0.0
Employment Status						
Employed ^a	-		-		-	
Unemployed	1.14	0.23	0.85	0.18	1.17**	0.0°
Not in labor force	0.85	0.11	1.07	0.13	0.89***	0.0
Homeowner	1.83***	0.21	1.05	0.12	1.12***	0.0
Presence of child in household	0.94	0.10	1.07	0.12	0.99	0.0
Constant	0.04***	0.01	0.07***	0.02	0.10***	0.0
Unweighted N	11,474		4,784		62,167	



Predicted probabilities of boycotting/buycotting while holding all other variables in the models (gender, age, education, marital status, employment status, homeownership, presence of children in the household) at their means.



Predicted probabilities of contacting an official while holding all other variables in the models (gender, age, education, marital status, employment status, homeownership, presence of children in the household) at their means.

APPENDIX A: QUESTION WORDING FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The following presents the exact question wording for the dependent variables used in this study in the November 2011 and 2013 Supplement of the Current Population Survey.

I am going to read a list of some things people have done to express their views. Please tell me whether or not (you have/NAME has) done any of the following in the past 12 months, that is since (November 2012/November 2010):

- (a) Contacted or visited a public official at any level of government to express (your/his/her) opinion?
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No
- (b) Bought or boycotted a certain product or service because of the social or political values of the company that provides it?
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No

APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

(N=78,455)						
	1 st	2^{nd}	$3^{rd}+$			
	generation	generation	generation			
Dependent Variables			<i>.</i> .			
Boycotted or buycotted	5.79	15.14	16.15			
Contacted an official	3.96	12.25	14.65			
Independent Variables						
Race/Ethnicity						
White	18.01	44.36	79.59			
Black	8.15	4.15	13.67			
Asian	25.11	11.61	0.49			
Hispanic	48.73	39.89	6.25			
Gender						
Female	50.28	48.24	51.42			
Age (median)	42	39	46			
Educational attainment						
High school graduate or less	47.73	27.92	34.52			
Some college	17.45	32.17	31.60			
Bachelor's degree and higher	34.82	39.91	33.87			
Marital Status						
Married	64.76	49.94	53.37			
Divorce/separated/widowed	16.00	17.67	22.85			
Never married	19.24	32.40	23.77			
Employment Status						
Employed	72.42	77.56	72.26			
Unemployed	6.26	6.00	5.36			
Not in the labor force	21.33	16.44	22.38			
Homeowner	49.71	62.43	67.82			
Presence of child at home	48.91	37.80	34.38			
Unweighted N	11,474	4,784	62,197			
Based on those who are ages 25	to 64, single-ra	ce and answered	d both			