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The Politics of Inclusion: A Sense of Belonging to U.S. Society and Latino Political

Participation

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by

Angela Ximena Ocampo

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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How do perceptions of belonging or lack of inclusion to American society influence political
interest and political engagement? To date, there have been few inquiries that systematically
investigate perceived belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society and the political rami-
fications of these predispositions. This project addresses this puzzle and investigates how a
sense of social belonging influences political engagement among Latinos, the largest, one of
the fastest growing and most pivotal groups in American politics. To examine how varying
perceptions of inclusion influence Latino political engagement, this project employs a novel
framework —the politics of inclusion framework— and an original measure of perceived be-
longing to U.S. society. This multi-method project investigates what drives Latinos to have
varying perceptions of social inclusion, and how a sense of perceived belonging to U.S. so-
ciety, or lack thereof, influence Latino political participation. This project contends that
feelings of belonging, social membership and inclusion are fundamental to political incorpo-
ration and subsequent political participation. The results indicate that Latinos' perceptions
of inclusion to U.S. society are a function of income, gender, generation and, most impor-
tantly, experiences of discrimination. Experimental evidence shows that when primed with
a hostile message Latinos are more likely to report lower perceptions of belonging to U.S.
society. Furthermore, the findings reveal that a sense of belonging is a unique and indepen-
dent predictor of political interest and various forms of electoral and non-electoral political
engagement for Latinos. This project finds that perceptions of belonging to U.S. society, as

well as perceived sense of respect by other Americans, are strongly associated with higher levels of political engagement for Latinos. This project extends our overall understanding of Latino political behavior at a time when the presence of Latinos is transforming the electorate and all of U.S. society. The findings of this dissertation also have significant and broad implications for the political behavior of blacks, Asian Americans, Muslim Americans and members of other minority groups who face similar experiences of exclusion and for whom a sense of belonging to America is not a given. Furthermore, the contribution of this project spans beyond race and ethnic politics and it brings into consideration the important role of psychological perceptions of belonging, or lack of belonging, to the national community for political behavior more broadly.

The dissertation of Angela Ximena Ocampo is approved.

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2018

To my parents Aura and Alberto. I could not have achieved this without all of your hard work, your love and constant encouragement.

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2006   White Plains High School, White Plains, NY

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Publications

Ocampo, Angela X., Karam Dana and Matt A. Barreto. 2018. "The American *Muslim* voter: Community belonging and political participation." *Social Science Research.* doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.02.002

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Considering perceptions of belonging

Scholars of political behavior have long been motivated by the question of what drives individuals to engage or not engage in politics. This has been one of the most studied phenomena in political science and it has yielded extensive scholarship on the most significant predictors of political engagement. Among these, scholars have identified the role of socioeconomic resources, socialization, social networks, civic skills, political predispositions, campaigns and get-out-the vote efforts (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954; Campbell et al., 1964; Verba and Nie, 1972; Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Leighley, 1996; Niemi and Junn, 1998; Sears and Funk, 1999; Gerber, 2004; Green and Gerber, 2008).

In the scholarly pursuit to understand how and why individuals engage politically, there has been a noticeable gap in the turnout rates of racial and ethnic groups. This question has long puzzled political scientists as they have tried to understand why such gap emerged and continues to exist (Verba and Nie, 1972; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993). Figure 1.1 below plots turnout rates of Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos and whites in presidential election years from 1980 until 2016. As the figure indicates, there are fluctuations from year to year in the participation levels of each group. But the figure also suggests that racial and ethnic groups have historically and continue to participate at much lower rates than white and this gap remain consistent over time. However, work in this particular area, especially in the subfield of race and ethnic politics, has shown that minorities are in fact more participatory when accounting for socioeconomic factors (Verba

Figure 1.1: Turnout rates 1980-2016 by racial and ethnic group
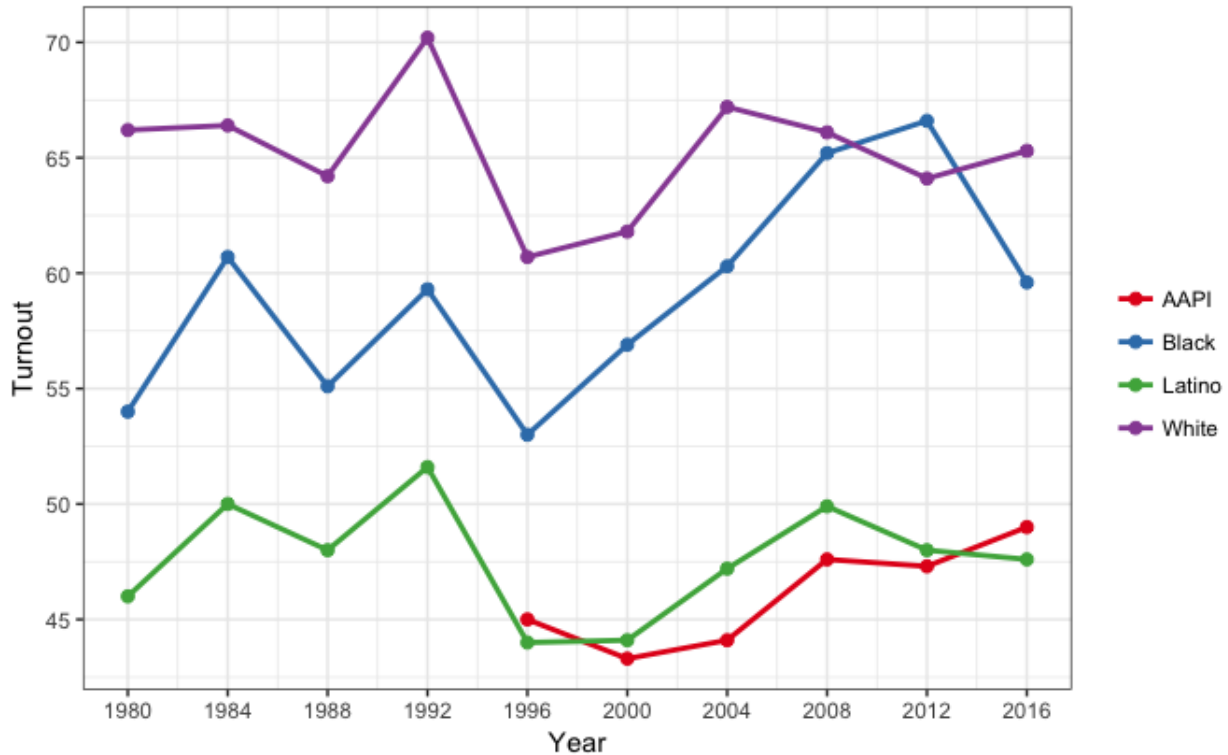
and Nie, 1972). This body of literature has also established the important role of contextual influences (Leighley, 2001), district composition (Barreto et al., 2004; Fraga, 2016), political empowerment (Bobo, Gilliam Franklin D. and Gilliam, 1990; Barreto and Woods, 2005) and in-group identification (Dawson, 1994; Sanchez, 2006*a*; Schildkraut, 2005) in fomenting greater levels of participation among racial and ethnic minorities.

However, despite this extensive research, little attention has been paid to the role that psychological notions of belonging, or lack of belonging, to America could have on political behavior outcomes. The limited attention paid to the behavioral repercussions of these psychological perceptions in the political science literature is concerning. While the notion of belonging has been well developed and investigated in the disciplines of sociology, psychology, geography, anthropology and higher education, political science has yet to fully comprehend and study this concept at length. Research in the aforementioned disciplines

suggests a strong and consequential relationship between perceptions of belonging and both individual and group outcomes. This implies that a comprehensive examination of the concept of perceived social belonging, or perceived social alienation, in political science is largely overdue.

The severe formal and informal exclusionary treatment toward racial, ethnic and religious minorities also call into question the role that internalized notions of social belonging might have on political behavior. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have faced political, social and economic oppression. Historically, these have taken the form of slavery, indenture servitude, massive killings and lynchings, segregation, deprivation of equal rights and opportunities, physical and verbal abuse, among others. As such, it is extremely important to understand how the legacy of exclusion has influenced the ways in which racial, ethnic and religious minorities see themselves as belonging or not belonging to the United States. Furthermore, we ought to understand how present-day forms of hostility and exclusion, in the form of explicit and also implicit acts of discrimination shape the current psychological belonging attitudes of minorities, and consequently influence their levels of political engagement.

Historically and in the present-day, racial, ethnic and religious minorities have been denied access to full and equal membership (Fanon, 1967; Du Bois, 1994; Ngai, 2007; Beaman, 2017; Flores-Gonzalez, 2017). As a result, the notion of belonging has been at the front and center of their lived experiences as they have always been in the quest for equality and full membership. Individuals from marginalized communities might have come to develop psychological frameworks of exclusion or a perceived sense of social alienation that could prevent them from engaging politically. On the other hand, it is possible that members from racial and ethnic groups might be able to develop positive notions of belonging or define social inclusion in their own terms, as they fight against their limited social standing. While the extant political behavior literature has been devoted to understanding how and when individuals become engaged politically, much of this research has largely overlooked if variation in perceptions of belonging to U.S. society have any association to the political engagement of racial and ethnic minorities. To date, there have been a few inquiries ex-

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amining perceived social belonging (Hochschild and Lang, 2011; Rocco, 2014; Fraga et al., 2010; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014; Schildkraut et al., 2018; Huo et al., 2018). While these studies have begun to do important work to further comprehend how the notion of belonging varies and how policies and context might influence these perceptions, little has been done to thoroughly investigate the specific role of these perceptions on the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities.

This project addresses the above mentioned shortcomings. First, this project aims to fill the large gap in the political science literature on the concept of perceptions of belonging and inclusion to America. Second, this project has the goal of investigating what, if any, role do psychological perceptions of inclusion or exclusion to U.S. society play in the political incorporation and engagement of racial and ethnic minorities. To address this, I examine how is it that perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society influence political interest and political engagement among those who have been granted limited social status and liminal forms of belonging by the state and its government institutions. This project specifically investigates how a sense of perceived social inclusion is related to the political engagement of Latinos,[1] the largest and one of the fastest growing groups in America. In answering these questions, the project engages in a multi-method examination that relies on original observational and experimental data as well as a novel framework. The project lays out a theoretical framework to understand how and why perceptions of belonging to the U.S. matter and why we would expect these to have any relationship at all to political behavior. This framework provides an outline of the ways in which Latinos understand if they belong or if they do not belong to U.S. society. Furthermore, the framework allows us to understand when we can expect psychological perceptions of social belonging to drive political outcomes.

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[1]I use the term Latino as a gender-neutral term.

1.2 Why Latinos?

Latinos encompass a diverse and heterogenous community of 55 million individuals in the U.S. However, despite being the largest racial and ethnic minority, and one of the most influential groups in American politics, Latinos still maintain a status of foreigners (Devos and Banaji, 2005; Huynh, Devos and Smalarz, 2011; Huntington, 2009). Latinos of Mexican origin date their presence in the U.S. to even before the annexation of the former Mexican territory (1848), which in the present-day includes the states of Utah, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and California. Similarly, Latinos of Puerto Rican descent trace their presence in the United States to the Spanish American War (1898) and the colonization of their territory by the U.S. government. Several other Latinos date their presence in the United States following large waves of migration that came after 1965. Regardless of national origin, generation, nativity, length of time in the U.S. or language ability, Latinos have been relegated to a low social status. Latinos come to learn this through their social encounters and interactions. Latinos from all walks of life encounter daily experiences that suggest that they are perceived as outsiders in the social hierarchy. Whether it is through daily interactions at school or work, while watching television and noticing that Latinos predominantly play stereotypical roles, or realizing that Latinos are largely absent from elite circles, mainstream media and positions of power, many Latinos in the U.S. learn that their standing in the U.S. social fabric is limited and below that of others (Portes, Parker and Cobas, 1980; Golash-Boza, 2006; Oboler, 2006; Rocco, 2014; Flores-Gonzalez, 2017).

In addition to these experiences, Latinos have historically been, and continue to be, the subject of explicit discrimination and hostility at the individual, local and national level. In a recent Pew Survey, about half of Latinos reported experiencing discrimination due to their race or ethnicity.[2] Many Latinos reside in communities where local authorities racially profile them as these localities form part of the Secure Communities program.[3] Following

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[2]Krogstad, Jens Manuel and Gustavo Lopez "Roughly half of Hispanics have experienced discrimination." http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/29/roughly-half-of-hispanics-have-experienced-discrimination/

[3]Secure Communities is a federal deportation program, originally discontinued in 2014 but re-instituted

Arizona's Senate Bill 1070, other states such as Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina and Utah enacted similar anti-immigration laws. Most recently in May 2017, Texas moved to enact an anti-sanctuary and anti-Latino law following the footsteps of a White House administration that has also prioritized federal immigration enforcement and deportations.[4] Furthermore, Latinos are reminded by local elected officials, Members of Congress, and even the President of the United States Donald Trump, that they are viewed as people who "have a lot of problems," "who bring drugs and crime into the U.S." and who "are rapists."[5]

Being that Latinos encompass the largest racial and ethnic group in America, a group that undoubtedly has faced severe forms of exclusion, and a group that that is pivotal in American politics today, we ought to better understand if psychological perceptions of belonging or lack or belonging among Latinos have any impact on their political behavior. Moreover, Latinos as a group, offer an important case study to examine the notion of perceived belonging to U.S. society. This racial and ethnic group is made-up of very diverse and heterogenous communities that vary substantially in their national origin, socioeconomic status, nativity, and other factors. While it is the case that many Latinos immigrated in recent decades, Latinos and their families have been in the U.S. for generations. Nonetheless, Latinos continue to be portrayed as perpetual foreigners and not innate to American society. As such, the heterogeneity and diverse experiences of this particular group can help us

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in 2017 by Trump, that relies on state and local authorities to enforce immigration policy. This program establishes a partnership between local enforcement, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to identify and prioritize the deportation of undocumented foreign born individuals. The program has been the subject of major controversy as implementation of the program has raised concerns of encouraging racial profiling by state and local enforcement, unlawful detention and the violation of individuals' civil liberties.

[4]Texas recently enacted Senate Bill 4 which forces local governments and law enforcement to inquire about immigration status. This law is likely to increase racial profiling against Latinos and it highlights the ways in which the state government and its elected officials have prioritized an anti-immigrant, and by association, an anti-Latino agenda.
Alvarez, Priscilla. 2017 "Will Texas's Crackdown on Sanctuary Cities Hurt Law Enforcement?" `https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/06/texas-sb4-immigration-enforcement/529194/` (accessed August 30, 2017).

[5]Ye Hee Lee, Michelle. 2015. The Washington Post. "Donald Trump's false comments connecting Mexican immigrants and crime." `https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/07/08/donald-trumps-false-comments-connecting-mexican-immigrants-and-crime/` (accessed November 1, 2015).

understand various facets of the notion of perceived belonging to U.S. society and elucidate the link between perceived belonging and political behavior.

1.3 Argument

Despite its apparent salience, we have yet to fully understand the political and behavioral repercussions of perceptions of inclusion in U.S. society among Latinos. What factors shape Latinos' notion of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society? How is it that perceptions of belonging, or lack of belonging, to U.S. society influence political incorporation and engagement among Latinos? This project addresses these questions and presents a novel framework to examine how the notions of social inclusion or social alienation influence the political engagement of Latinos. To do so, this dissertation relies on an original multi-method data collection effort that encompasses data from a total of 6 surveys and 1 experiment. These data are used to specifically investigate: (1.) the factors that influence Latinos to have varying perceptions of social belonging, and (2.) how a sense of belonging or lack of belonging influence Latino political participation. To tackle these specific research questions, this project investigates Latino political engagement through the politics of inclusion framework, a theory developed to explain under what circumstances Latinos learn about their sense of belonging to America and when we can expect these perceptions to influence their political behavior. Through this framework, the project argues that the political engagement of racial and ethnic minorities, and in this specific case of Latinos, is anchored on the notion of perceived belonging to U.S. society.

This project contends that feelings of belonging, membership and inclusion are fundamental to political incorporation and subsequent participation. As such, I argue that Latinos relate to the polity and behave politically according to whether they feel included in U.S. society, and whether they perceive that their membership is recognized and valued by other Americans. Having a sense of membership and a sense of belonging to the U.S. social fabric is critical for political incorporation and eventual participation as I argue that these correspond with becoming a stakeholder in the political system. If Latinos have a strong

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sense of membership to U.S. society, they should be more likely to show political interest and engage politically. On the other hand, if Latinos do not feel that they are valued or respected members of U.S. society, if they perceive that they are not welcome and that their contributions are not acknowledged, then they are likely to develop a psychological framework of social alienation. Feelings of social exclusion should be negatively associated with political interest and engagement.

But why would perceptions of belonging be so important? And, why would they be specifically related to political behavior and the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities? Belonging is a fundamental concept that drives a vast majority of social science research on human motivation and behavior, as well as research on social networks and identities. The need and desire to belong to social groupings and communities has been found to be a key driver of behavior in psychology (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Leary et al., 2013). This need has been characterized as important as other needs that are physiological in nature, such as shelter, food and also the need for safety. In other disciplines, the notion of belonging has been shown to be strongly associated with positive health, education and behavioral outcomes (Phinney, Cantu and Kurtz, 1997; Walton and Cohen, 2007; Maestas, Vaquera and Zehr, 2007; Cohen and Garcia, 2008; Huynh, Devos and Smalarz, 2011). Other research has found that individuals who perceive a strong sense of community attachment are more likely to be engaged and participate civically (Anderson, 2009). The concept of belonging to the larger U.S. society as a macro-level entity, however, has been largely understudied in political science. Though existent work has focused on understanding what similarly situated concepts such as American identity and patriotism mean for political engagement (Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Schildkraut, 2014), not much is known about how individuals' perceptions of their own membership to U.S. society is associated with their political behavior (Hochschild and Lang, 2011; Fraga et al., 2010).

Investigating the relationship between belonging and political engagement is critically important because Latinos, like other racial and ethnic minorities, are not only treated and perceived to be as outsiders but often times they feel that they do not belong in their own

country.[6] Latinos encompass a predominant immigrant group whose members have been historically perceived and continue to be treated as foreigners (Devos and Banaji, 2005; Huynh, Devos and Smalarz, 2011; Rocco, 2014). Despite some advancement in mobilization, incorporation, representation and socioeconomic mobility, the presence of Latinos in the U.S. continues to be defined by an ethno-racial hierarchy (Nelson and Tienda, 1985; Bonilla-Silva and Lewis, 1999; Schmidt et al., 2009) where the status of Latinos is not of insiders or equally belonging members but rather outsiders. Accordingly, Latinos dwell in a society that does not grant them inherent membership (Masuoka and Junn, 2013; Rocco, 2014) but rather one where they must strive to secure some type of social membership for themselves (Golash-Boza, 2006) or rely on other institutions and agents to enhance and foster their sense of inclusion.

1.4   Dissertation Outline

To investigate the fundamental role of the concept of belonging in shaping the political incorporation and political behavior of Latinos, I first develop a framework of inquiry and theoretical construct. From this theory, I develop a set of implications and testable hypotheses. To investigate these hypotheses, I begin by operationalizing the concept of perceived inclusion to U.S. society. Employing a novel measure of social belonging, I examine Latinos' perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society and how these are related to their political behavior.

Chapter 2 presents the politics of inclusion framework. This chapter begins by making the case as to why the notion of belonging to U.S. society is fundamentally tied to the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. Paying particular attention to the socio-historical trajectory of the Latino community, I highlight the many ways in which Latinos have been formally and informally excluded from U.S. society and its institutions.

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[6]Jones-Correa, Michael. 2012. The New York Times. "How Immigrants Are Marked as Outsiders." https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/11/15/how-immigrants-come-to-be-seen-as-americans/how-immigrants-are-marked-as-outsiders?mcubz=0

As a consequence, I showcase the struggles that Latinos have endured and continue to face in their long-lasting pursuit of full inclusion. Departing from the theoretical perspectives offered by psychologists and sociologists, I then propose the politics of inclusion framework, which is a theory of perceived belonging to U.S. society. The theory argues that the notion of belonging to U.S. society is essential for political incorporation and the eventual political participation of Latinos. Just as feelings of belonging have been found to be inherently tied to personal wellbeing and other outcomes in various social settings, I argue that feelings of belonging are also a paramount element of political incorporation. I argue that individuals need to feel like they belong to U.S. society in order to perceive that they are stakeholders in the larger community. I contend that Latinos develop either positive or negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and their membership within the nation-state according to their everyday experiences. Consequently, I contend that these perceptions, either of social inclusion or social alienation will dictate the extent to which they become politically involved.

I take the propositions outlined by the theory of the politics of inclusion from chapter 2 and I develop a novel set of items to measure perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. In chapter 3, I test these various items on four separate survey pilots, two which are national samples and two state samples, with the aim of identifying measures that most appropriately capture a sense of belonging or perceived lack of belonging to U.S. society. As the theory presented in chapter 2 outlines both an individual and a relative component of the concept of belonging, I operationalize items that attempt to measure both components. The findings in chapter 3 reveal that the belonging items appear to be tapping into a separate and new concept, thus providing the first set of evidence that the notion of belonging might be a unique predictor of political engagement. Moreover, early results from the pilot data show a strong relationship between perceptions of social inclusion and political interest as well as a desire to participate in the 2016 election.

Relying on a final set of original questions that measure the concept of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society, I delve deep into an investigation of the factors that lead Latinos to have varying attitudes of inclusion. In chapter 4, I begin by examining how demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status, experiences of discrimination, length of

time in the U.S. and other life circumstances shape Latinos' sense of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society. I pay particular attention to how these factors might influence the perceptions of belonging of foreign born Latinos in different ways than they might impact the attitudes of U.S. born Latinos. I use original data from the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post Election Survey (CMPS) to examine these relationships. The findings suggest that Latinos' perception of inclusion are strongly influenced by their levels of income, gender, and experiences of discrimination. The findings also reveal important differences in the way that first generation Latinos and second generation and above Latinos come to develop perceptions of belonging in America.

Chapter 4 also attempts to tease out the way in which elite messaging and cues can influence Latinos' perceived social inclusion or lack of inclusion. To do so, the second part of chapter 4 examines data from an original survey experiment conducted through the 2017 National Survey of Public Opinion. The goal of the experiment embedded in this national survey was to disentangle the way in which receiving welcoming or hostile messages could alter Latinos' feelings of belonging to U.S. society. The findings reveal that after receiving a hostile and discriminatory message Latinos are significantly more likely to report lower perceptions of social inclusion. Overall, the results from this chapter reveal that the cues that Latinos are receiving from peers and elites have a causal effect on their psychological perceptions of exclusion.

The last empirical chapter, chapter 5, investigates the role of perceptions of belonging on political engagement. In this chapter, I revisit the 2016 CMPS and examine how a perceived sense of inclusion and sense that one is respected and valued by other Americans are associated with political interest, likelihood of discussing politics, involvement at the local level and turnout in the 2016 election. The findings in this chapter show consistent evidence of the strong and significant relationship between perceived social inclusion and participation. In other words, Latinos who have more positive perceptions of belonging are more likely to engage politically along various domains. The results from the analysis in this chapter are robust to varying model specifications and also hold after accounting for established predictors of political behavior such as government trust, political efficacy,

perceived group discrimination and linked fate. These findings reveal the significant and independent role that perceptions of belonging have in driving various forms of political engagement.

I conclude the dissertation by providing an overview of the key arguments made and the most important takeaways. In the concluding chapter, I devote a section to acknowledging some of the limitations of the project and provide an avenue to address these limitations in future work. Lastly, I evaluate the contributions of my project and I speak of the implications of my work for Latino politics, race and ethnic politics and research in political behavior more generally.

CHAPTER 2

The Politics of Inclusion Framework: A Theory of Perceived Belonging to U.S. Society

2.1 Introduction

People can belong to various groups and communities and they can belong to these in a number of different ways. Individuals can belong to large or small groups and the affinities of people toward each one of these groups can vary. A sense of belonging, as it is examined in this dissertation, pertains to feelings of perceived inclusion and attachment to U.S. society (Maslow, 1943; Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2011). As notions of belonging can be multifaceted and multilayered (Antonsich, 2010), I focus on feelings of belonging *to* U.S. society. In this chapter, I lay out a framework to examine Latino political incorporation and engagement through the lens of perceived inclusion or exclusion from the larger U.S. society. The theory that I present here makes the argument that perceptions of belonging to the U.S. are an important aspect of Latino political incorporation and participation. The framework I lay out also aims to investigate how and under what conditions perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society catalyze or depress political action.

Determining who belongs and who does not belong in a society is a process that characterizes all nation-building phenomena. National identities are premised on the concepts of membership and citizenship. Both of these institutions formally establish which individuals are righteous and which are not (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Those who are righteous receive formal citizenship and become legally recognized as members. The ones who are not perceived to be righteous are deemed as outcasts and non-members of that society. Be-

longing, however, is not only comprised of political or formal membership. Belonging also requires a type of cultural or social membership (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Cultural membership is defined on a shared set of values and ideas. These shared ideals are indicative of who is part of the broader imagined community (Anderson, 1983). Therefore, having social or cultural membership means that one is accepted and respected by others and that one shares a set of core principals with other people in the community.

However, there can be individuals in a society who are deprived of formal citizenship based on a set of markers that prohibits them from being 'real' or worthy of legal membership (Haney-Lopez, 2006). As part of the national discourse, these individuals do not belong and are not given equal rights and protections as those who are perceived to truly belong. Similarly, there might also be individuals who despite having political membership –through legal citizenship– are considered to be second-class citizens. Often times, this is the result of cultural and social exclusion on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity or religion (Flores-Gonzalez, 2017). The exclusion of these individuals creates "citizen outsiders" and "alien citizens" (Fanon, 1967; Du Bois, 1994; Ngai, 2007; Beaman, 2017), or individuals who are not *de facto* members despite being *de jure* members.

At-large processes that establish forms of membership such as the ones outlined above psychologically influence the ways in which individuals see themselves in that society. That is, individuals take cues from their surrounding contexts, their interactions with others and their lived experiences to inform their sense of self in various communities (Mead, 1934). Through these cues, I argue, individuals form feelings of belonging or lack of belonging in U.S. society. These cues are often times internalized by individuals in that society and they come learn what is their place in the larger U.S. context. Furthermore, we can expect that these perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society have implications for political engagement as suggested by existent research on the consequences of perceived inclusion or exclusion (Garcia Bedolla, 2005; Sanchez, 2006*b*; Ngai, 2007; Flores-Gonzalez, 2017).

There have been few inquiries on the relationship between perceived belonging and political participation (Rocco, 2014; Hochschild and Lang, 2011). Scholars of political behavior

have focused on disentangling the role of formal citizenship, American identity, patriotism and government trust on political behavior (Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Schatz, Staub and Lavine, 1999; Citrin, 1974). Other scholars have investigated the role of membership in civic organizations (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995) and perceived sense of community by looking at involvement overlapping groups (Anderson, 2009). But little work has independently and thoroughly examined feelings of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society and its political behavior consequences (Fraga et al., 2010). In order to investigate how a sense of belonging to U.S.society among Latinos operates, what factors drive it and how it shapes political engagement, it is necessary to first establish a framework of inquiry to subsequently explore how perceived belonging, or lack thereof, is tied to political engagement.

In the sections that follow, I present the framework of the politics of inclusion in order to guide the analysis in subsequent chapters. In this chapter, first, I establish how notions of membership and belonging are at core of the political incorporation of Latinos as suggested by the century-long struggle to belong to America and be recognized as legitimate members of the nation-state. Following, the chapter discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the belonging framework as proposed by scholars in sociology and psychology. Relying on these theoretical foundations I present my framework of the politics of inclusion and belonging to U.S. society. In the presentation of the framework, I define the components that concept of perceived belonging and I proceed onto presenting the theoretical expectations and hypotheses to be tested in subsequent chapters.

2.2 A Century-long Struggle to Belong

To establish why the concept of belonging to U.S. society is so critical to the political realities of racial and ethnic minorities, and specifically of Latinos, I first delve into the historical and political processes that have construed people of Latin American descent as not inherent members of American society. As I outline these developments, I also point out how in the present-day Latinos continue to be relegated to an inferior social status. This is evident as Latinos, regardless of generation, continue to face daily acts of discrimination and they and

their families are detrimentally impacted by punitive immigration policies —all of which are intricately tied to a legacy of socio-historical exclusionary processes—. The account that follows specifies how in opposition to formal and informal forms of exclusion Latinos have mobilized and made demands for equal rights (Hero, 1992; DeSipio, 2012). Today, in the never-ending quest for full sociopolitical inclusion, Latinos continue to fight for equal protections in the workplace, in education, housing, voting rights, and a permanent solution or status regularization for all undocumented immigrants.

The examination presented below is by no means an exhaustive account of the ways in which members of marginalized communities have been deemed as inferior. This dissertation focuses on examining Latino political incorporation and behavior. Therefore, I focus on the processes that have specifically shaped the experiences of Latinos in the United States. However, the account presented here acknowledges existent broader structural forcers that have deemed all persons of color in the United States as subordinate and/or outsiders. In fact, as Goldberg (2002) argues, race has been an integral part of the building of modern nation states, including the United States. As such, the nation-building of the United States has been a racial project focused on fomenting racial Eurocentric homogeneity by employing several forms of racial exclusion and subjugation, including but not limited to slavery, formalized segregation, immigration restrictions, etc. (Goldberg, 2002). It is undeniable that U.S. history has been characterized by racial oppression specifically targeting Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans (Omi and Winant, 2014). Accordingly, an investigation of the historical and sociopolitical forces that have defined Latinos as not inherently part of America is situated within the broader understanding of how race, subjugation and oppression have also affected the lives of members of other marginalized groups.

A key point in time to begin the socio-historical analysis is with the Mexican American War (1946-1948). With the annexation of Mexican territory to the United States after the war, Mexicans who lived in these territories would be given U.S. citizenship as outlined by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Gutierrez, 1995; Dear, 2013). Soon after, Mexican Americans were outnumbered by American immigrants in the Southwest and were quickly

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deprived of political and economic influence (Gutierrez, 1995). Despite the fact that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had extended U.S. citizenship to Mexicans, they would not be treated and protected as such. Mexicans were stripped away of their lands and, alongside their economic displacement, they were relegated to an inferior status in society. The anti-Mexican sentiment and hostility among Anglo Americans that existed prior to the Mexican American war would prevail (Gutierrez, 1995). Throughout the 1900s Mexicans continued to have a subordinate status in society where they were seen as less than full members. During this period, Mexicans were treated as 'separate but equal' and were forced to attend segregated schools and facilities in many parts of the country. They also faced violence, at times in the form of lynchings, out-right hostility and were constant victims of immigration raids and mass deportation programs.

Puerto Ricans have experienced a similar historical trajectory of narrow citizenship. With the culmination of the Spanish-Cuban American War, the United States took possession of the island of Puerto Rico. Through the Jones Act of 1917, Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship. Nonetheless, despite such decree Puerto Ricans on the island and those who migrated to the mainland were granted only a limited form of citizenship (Cabranes, 1978; Gutierrez, 1995). The U.S. citizenship arrangement did not revoke Puerto Rico's status as a colony (Cabranes, 1978) and Puerto Ricans were not fully incorporated as full-fledged citizens and members of U.S. society (DeSipio, 2012). By the 1940s, this community was referred to as "the Puerto Rican problem," which was summoned to reference not the socioeconomic and political situation on the island but rather the type of people that Puerto Ricans were considered to be (Thomas, 2015). Despite the fact that Puerto Ricans in Chicago and Philadelphia faced a less hostility than those in New York, Puerto Ricans were disparaged at-large and were seen as second class citizens.

The efforts of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans to assert sociopolitical inclusion continued well into the 1900s. At the turn of the century, Latinos formed organizations to make their demands more widespread. The two organizations that formed during this time were the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and El Congreso de Pueblos que Hablan Español (El Congreso). While different in scope and nature, El Congreso – being

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more urban and working class– and LULAC –being more middle class and with a greater focus on assimilation– both fought for an end to Latino discrimination and demanded equal rights and opportunities for all Latinos in the U.S. (DeSipio, 2012).

These two organizations, through different strategies and priorities, laid the foundation for the civic and political organizing of Latinos to emerge in the Civil Rights era. In the post World-War II period, Latinos began to organize at the local level in response to limited representation in local government and elected office. Local organizations focused on recruitment, voter registration and voter mobilization, which resulted in numerous victories where Latinos broke the glass ceiling and became the firsts to hold elected office (Garcia, 1998; Burt, 2007). Latino youth activism was very prominent during this era. As a result of unequal treatment and poor school conditions, Latino youth in Los Angeles took to the streets and walked out in massive protests, in what became known as one of the igniting moments of the Chicano movement. Chicano students also engaged in protests against the Vietnam War and organized the Chicano Moratorium, one of the largest demonstrations against the war (Beltran, 2010).

The youthful and more radical activism of Latinos in this era was strongly shaped by the labor movement. Dolores Huerta and César Chavez founded the National Farm Workers Association, which later became the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). Throughout the Southwest, the UFW organized strikes, major protests, hunger strikes, nation-wide consumer boycotts and advocated for improved labor conditions for migrant farmworkers (Beltran, 2010). Latino activists in other parts of the country also organized and formed their own organizations in the Latino civil right struggle. In Texas, the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) headed numerous campaigns for voter registration, major walkouts and protests. MAYO's successor, the Raza Unida Party emerged after discontent and dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party. The Raza Unida Party was the most successful in getting candidates elected to city councils, mayors and school boards in the Southwest, particularly in Texas. In Colorado, the Crusade for Justice focused on dismantling discrimination of Mexican-Americans in schools and fought for greater inclusion of Mexican-American culture in the school curriculum (DeSipio, 2012). In New Mexico, the

Alianza Federal de Mercedes was dedicated to returning and restoring land-rights to Mexicans in New Mexico whose lands were lost or taken from them after the Mexican-American War (Beltran, 2010).

As Chicano activists were mobilizing in California and throughout the Southwest, Puerto Rican activists were forming their own organizations in the midwest and in the east coast. The Puerto Rican activism of the 60s and 70s was strongly shaped by radical demands for Puerto Rican independence and a complete transformation of U.S. society (Beltran, 2010). The most prominent organization in the Puerto Rican Movement was the Young Lords Party, which had an active presence in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Chicago, Puerto Rico and had connections to other Puerto Rican groups in Ohio, Massachusetts and Michigan (Beltran, 2010). The Young Lords organized protests, marches, conferences, and fought for better living conditions, against police brutality and in opposition to Puerto Rico's colonial status.

The activism of the Civil Rights era resulted in many breakthroughs for Latinos but existent institutions and sociopolitical structures continued to limit equal rights and fair access to opportunities. In the post-Civil Rights era and particularly with the passing of major legal protections, civil rights and voting rights became the focal points of Latino advocates (DeSipio, 2012). These demands further expanded as the Latino population drastically grew and diversified. Since the 1960s, the Latino population has increased from 5.5 million to 57 million in 2015.[1] Large waves of migration from Latin America not only resulted in a rapid growth of the overall size of the Latino population in traditional immigrant destinations but also in new destinations in the South and mountain West (Lichter and Johnson, 2009). While immigration was the main driver of Latino population growth between 1980 and 2000, in more recent times the main source of growth among Latinos has been U.S. births.

Despite the advances made in the post-civil rights period, many challenges towards the full inclusion of Latinos in America remain. The contemporary struggles of Latinos center

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[1]Flores, Antonio. 2017. "Facts on U.S. Latinos, 2015: Statistical portrait of Hispanics in the United States." Pew Research Center. `http://www.pewhispanic.org/2017/09/18/facts-on-u-s-latinos/`

on achieving equality for non-naturalized immigrants who face serious forms of political and social exclusion. It is estimated that there are around 11 million undocumented immigrants, 9 million which are estimated to be Latino.[2] Latinos, both immigrant and non-immigrant, have organized behind this large community and have vigorously lobbied, marched and fought for a path towards regularization and naturalization. The current fight for Latino social and political inclusion also includes demands for greater access to the voting booth through the elimination of strict voter identification laws, increased representation in elected office and American institutions, an end to police brutality and a fair treatment under the law, higher wages and better education opportunities.

As I have discussed, for over a century and a half Latinos have fought for inclusion. But this struggle continues well into today. Latinos continue to be viewed as having a lower status, being poor, uneducated, and incompatible with American values (Oboler, 1995; Huntington, 2009). The widespread stereotypes of Latinos as well as their enduring battle for inclusion showcases how the notion of belonging to U.S. society is tied to their social and political realities. It is for this reason that a systematic investigation of how Latinos understand their sense of membership and belonging to U.S. society is overdue. Furthermore, we must investigate how perceptions of belonging –or lack thereof– are associated with Latino political incorporation and political engagement. In order to begin this examination, the following section lays the theoretical groundwork for the politics of inclusion and belonging framework.

2.3 Theoretical Foundations of the Belonging Framework

Belonging is a recurrent theme in in the fields of psychology, anthropology, sociology, geography, among others. Notions of belonging explore human motivation, social networks, social identities, collective enterprises and people's movements. Sociological studies have focused on understanding how individuals belong to various collectives, communities and

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[2]Krogstad, Jens Manuel and Jeffrey S. Passel. 2017 "5 facts about illegal immigration in the U.S." Pew Research Center. April 27, 2017. `http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/27/5-facts-about-illegal-immigration-in-the-u-s/`

states and also the ways in which they are removed from belonging in these spaces due to social, economic or political displacement (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

In sociological theory, belonging has been conceptualized as a state of being where an individual who takes the role of a member is then included in a social collective, a *Gemeinschaft* –a community– (Weber, 1978). As George Herbert Mead proposed in his conceptualization of the mind, the self and society, belonging is a symbolic feature that defines human and social interactions (Mead, 1934). In Mead's theory, an individual behaves in response to a sense of belonging as "he has a mind in which mental processes can go on, a mind whose inner structure he has taken from the community to which he belongs" (Mead, 1934, pg. 270). As such, individuals behave according to their understanding of the communities that they are part of.

The psychological underpinnings of belonging can be traced to psychologist Abraham Maslow (1943), who defines belonging as one of the core human motivations. In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the need to belong is placed following physiological needs such as food and shelter, but taking precedence over needs such as self-esteem and self-actualization. According to Maslow's theory, people need to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance among social groups. Given that belonging is such a core need, individuals behave in ways to satisfy it. In other words, individuals seek to establish attachments to groups from which they develop positive feelings of belonging.

The concept of belonging has been further theorized by social psychologists who argue that this human need is a driver of all individual behavior and it defines social relationships. Baumeister and Leary, who develop a more comprehensive theory of belonging, argue that this concept has two main features (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). The first is that people need frequent contact and positive interactions to meet this need. The second is that "to satisfy the need to belong, the person must believe that the other cares about his or her welfare and likes or loves him or her"(Baumeister and Leary, 1995, pg. 500). In other words, people must perceive and understand that there is a positive relationship between themselves and the broader group as well as members of the group or community in order to meet the need. Thus, a sense of belonging is more than just an affiliation. Interactions must

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be positive and enduring and these must lead to the perception of stability and affective concern so that people can feel that they belong (Baumeister and Leary, 1995).

Similar works in community psychology have focused on examining perceptions of belonging to a community and the consequences associated with these. As Sarason (1974) argues, a sense of community is a perceived shared similarity with others and a recognition of interdependence with others in a given social structure of context (Sarason, 1974). A sense of community has also been defined as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment together" (Mcmillan and Chavis, 1986).

At the individual level, it is clear that people have an innate desire to be part of a group or a community. Psychologists argue that the innate quality of belonging also has basis on evolution theory. Forming groups and cooperating can be evolutionary advantageous as organisms have better chances of surviving, obtaining food and shelter, providing defensive vigilance against predators and ultimately reproducing (Bowlby, 1969; Axelrod and Hamilton, 27; Buss et al., 1990; Moreland, 1987). This desire to form part of groups and be part of communities is said to be found among all individuals across all societies.

Social identity theory and research on inter-group relations indicates that group dynamics inform a person's sense of belonging. According to Tajfel (Tajfel, 1981, pg. 255) an individual's social identity involves "knowledge of his [her] membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership". A sense of belonging is, then, an internalized state of group membership (Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013) and it is fundamentally defined by the perceived relation of the individual to the group or entity. While social identity theory primarily outlines how individuals come to see themselves, it suggests that this self-identity stems from how it is that individuals perceive themselves in relation to the broader group membership. An individual's social identity is that which comes from the self-concept that people have of themselves depending on their perceived membership to a social group.

To better understand the perceptions that one develops about one's membership in

a group, social identity scholars have established the group value model. The group value model posits that people rely on their experiences within groups to inform their identity or sense of self (Tyler and Lind, 1992; Tyler, 1994). Individuals regard cues about their relationship with group or community members to learn about their status within these groups (Tyler and Lind, 1992). The group value model argues that respect cues are especially important in learning of one's status in a group. If one is treated with respect by group leaders and group peers then this is a sign of group inclusion (Tyler and Lind, 1992). In this model of inter-group relations, the notion of respect is seen a relational concept tied to the position that individuals hold within a group. The perception that one is respected signifies that one is a belonging group member.

Regardless of how belonging has been operationalization, research in social psychology, higher education and other fields indicates that a sense of belonging, membership and perceived group respect leads to positive outcomes. A sense of belonging has been shown to motivate individuals to voluntarily assist and work on behalf of their group or community (Boeckmann and Tyler, 2002). Other findings demonstrate that a sense of social belonging promotes educational achievement (Walton and Cohen, 2007; Maestas, Vaquera and Zehr, 2007; Cohen and Garcia, 2008). A sense of belonging has been found to lead to greater motivation as individuals who belong to a group feel socially connected and motivated to behave and do things on behalf of that group (Walton et al., 2012). On the contrary, feelings of lack of belonging have been shown to result in a state of loneliness, social anxiety, depression and can lead to anti-social behavior (Maslow, 1943; Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Hagerty and Williams, 1999). Scholarship on perceptions of community belonging have established that a lack of sense of community, loneliness and lack of interconnectedness among individuals in a society lead to negatively social outcomes (Sarason, 1974). But a greater sense of community has been found to result in greater levels of engagement (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980; Davidson and Cotter, 1991).

Despite the fact that the concepts of belonging and perceived status within a community or group have been widely accepted in other disciplines, they have been underdeveloped in political science and political behavior (Hochschild and Lang, 2011). Some scholars have

taken up the question of the role of perceived in-group discrimination and personal discrimination (Sanchez, 2006*b*; Schildkraut, 2005; Oskooii, 2016) and social stigma on political participation (Garcia Bedolla, 2005). Others who have examined a sense of belonging among Latinos (Fraga et al., 2010; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014) have relied on proxies that capture similar but distinct concepts, such as American identity, and have not presented a framework of inquiry to thoroughly investigate psychological perceptions of belonging to U.S. society among members of marginalized groups. Therefore, in this dissertation I address these prior shortcomings and I lay out a comprehensive theoretical framework that asserts that perceived notions of belonging to U.S. society are critical for political incorporation and mobilization of Latinos in the U.S. This novel framework draws from the established theories of belonging as a core psychological motivation and need (Maslow, 1943; Baumeister and Leary, 1995), a feeling of 'home' (Antonsich, 2010), and the group value model in social identity theory (Tyler and Lind, 1992) to define belonging to the U.S. society and its political community.

2.4   A Framework of Perceived Belonging to U.S. Society

Relying on prior conceptualizations of belonging, this dissertation posits that belonging to U.S. society is defined by feelings that one is a member of the larger U.S. community and that one is also recognized as a member of that community. While greater social and political forces determine who belongs and who does not belong to U.S. society, this dissertation focuses on people's psychological perceptions of their sense of belonging. As such, it examines the extent to which Latinos' perceive a sense of belonging or lack of belonging to the U.S. society as a function of a host of factors and also how such perceptions of belonging influence their political participation.

I argue that a sense of belonging to U.S. society is comprised of two key elements (a.) an individual or the self component and (b.) a relative or external component. These two elements are displayed in table 2.1. The individual component is a person's feeling of attachment to U.S. society or sense of individual membership. As suggested by prior theories

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of belonging and membership, the individual element stems from a recognition of the self as part of the larger group or community (Mead, 1934; Weber, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 2004). Existent theories in psychology give grounding to this component as they indicate that individuals personally seek attachments to a group or community (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). The self pursues attachments to groups and then self-evaluates its inclusion or exclusion in the group based on cues from group members and other experiences within the group (Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013).

The second element that makes-up the belonging to U.S. society framework consists of a relative or external component. This can be defined as the perception that others in society recognize, respect and value one's membership. The notion of inclusion in U.S. society cannot be fully understood without delving into the social or peer aspect of belonging. Existent work in community psychology has identified relational features that define a sense of community membership. For some, the relational dimension is comprised of the 'nature and quality' of the relationship of an individual in a given community (Gusfield, 1975). Others have identified this relational component as the extent to which an individual has formed social connections and bonds in the community (Riger and Lavrakas, 1981). In other words, the relational component speaks to the ways in which individuals feel about their connection and relationship to the broader community or group in question.

Social identity theory and research on inter-group relations also suggest that group dynamics inform a person's sense of belonging to that group (Tajfel, 1981). The group value model in social identity indicates that peoples' experiences within groups to inform their identity or sense of self (Tyler and Lind, 1992; Tyler, 1994). In this manner, individuals observe cues about the relationships they have with group or community members to learn about their status within these groups (Tyler and Lind, 1992). Given that respect cues are particularly important in learning about one's place in a group or community, I argue that perceived respect is associated with the understanding that one belongs in a group or community. Expanding on this, my framework of belonging posits that beliefs about respect from other Americans are associated with the perception that one is included as a belonging member of U.S. society.

Table 2.1: Belonging Components

Individual	External
(I.) perception of one's individual membership	(II.) perception of external recognition of one's membership

Scholarship in social psychology and higher education suggest that positive perceptions of belonging, membership and perceived respect in a larger community lead to positive outcomes. Individuals with a greater sense of perceived respect in a community are much more likely to engage civically and politically in these communities (Boeckmann and Tyler, 2002). Other work demonstrates that a sense of social belonging in schools promotes higher educational achievement (Walton and Cohen, 2007; Maestas, Vaquera and Zehr, 2007; Cohen and Garcia, 2008). Research has also shown that a greater sense of community belonging leads to greater levels of engagement (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980; Davidson and Cotter, 1991). On the contrary, feelings of lack of belonging and social alienation result in a state of loneliness, social anxiety, depression and can lead to anti-social behavior (Maslow, 1943; Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Hagerty and Williams, 1999). A lack of community belonging and lack of community has been found to lead to negative social outcomes (Sarason, 1974).

In a similar vein, the framework of belonging developed here argues that perceptions of inclusion are associated with greater political engagement, both electorally and non-electorally. I argue that the notion of social belonging is particularly important for understanding Latino political behavior as it is the case that the struggle to belong for over a century and a half has been a focal point of the Latino lived experience. Moreover, the concept of belonging is fundamentally tied to the everyday experiences of Latinos regardless of generational status or nativity as they constantly strive to belong in opposition to the dominant narrative that they are outsiders or perpetual foreigners in the United States (Oboler, 2006; Golash-Boza, 2006; Rocco, 2014).

To better explain how perceptions of belonging to U.S. society are associated with political engagement, I lay out several theoretical expectations. Figure 2.2 illustrates these

expectations based on varying perceptions of belonging to U.S. society that Latinos might posses along with the psychological state of being associated with each perception. I content that a sense of belonging to the U.S. social fabric is fundamental to political incorporation and eventual participation. Latinos develop distinct perceptions of their social standing and inclusion in U.S. society based on interactions and socialization experiences. Through these experiences Latinos form feelings of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society. Perceptions of belonging to U.S. society matter for political interest and political engagement because, as existent research suggests, individuals who have attachments to their group or community and who feel like respected members of their communities are more likely to participate in their communities (Boeckmann and Tyler, 2002).

Latinos develop positive or negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society based on their everyday experiences and encounters with others. Through extensive focus groups Fraga et al. (2010) reveal that some Latinos had a strong sense of belonging to U.S. society, while others felt ambivalence about their belonging to American and a third group of Latinos felt that they did not belong to the U.S. Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson (2014) find that a sense of belonging to U.S. society also varied for undocumented youth. Some undocumented Latinos had very negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society given that they felt unwanted and completely alienated by American institutions. Other DREAMers, however, were able to overcome forms of oppression and the precariousness of their legal status and develop positive psychological perceptions of belonging. Despite the fact that Latinos in the U.S. regardless of generation or legal status are might be seen and treated as foreigners (Young, 2000) some Latinos transform the boundaries of what it means to be a member of U.S. society (Oboler, 2006; Rocco, 2014) and develop positive perceptions of belonging in America.

Latinos who have developed positive perceptions of belonging will have developed a psychological framework of social inclusion, where they themselves perceive that they are members of U.S. society. These perceptions should also be defined by perceived respect from others in U.S. society. Latinos with greater perceptions of belonging should be more likely to become politically vested and should also be more likely to participate in both electoral

and non-electoral politics. An attitudinal framework of social inclusion, I argue, corresponds with recognizing that one is a stakeholder in U.S. society and this should propel Latinos to engage politically.

Negative perceptions of belonging, on the other hand, mean that Latinos will find themselves in a state of psychological social alienation. Perceptions of lack of belonging to U.S. society mean that not only do Latinos not feel like they are not members U.S. society but also that they are not valued and not respected. Social alienation is characterized by feelings of disconnectedness and disassociation from U.S. society. I argue that perceptions of social alienation turn Latinos away from political affairs as they feel detachment and disillusionment. Latinos with negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society are likely to be disengaged from electoral and non-electoral politics.

This framework of perceived belonging to U.S. society differs on many dimensions from similarly situated concepts such as perceived personal or group discrimination. Perceived personal discrimination is often times defined by self-reported experiences of discrimination (Pérez, Fortuna and Alegría, 2008). Higher levels of education, age, nativity and a strong ethnic identity are strong correlates of perceived personal discrimination among Latinos (Pérez, Fortuna and Alegría, 2008). Perceived group discrimination is the perception that one's in-group faces hostility as a group in the United States. This concept has been found to be influenced by greater familiarity with U.S. society and a critical appraisal of it (Portes, Parker and Cobas, 1980). I argue that the concept of perceived belonging or lack of perceived belonging to U.S. society is a distinct concept. Lack of belonging to U.S. society is characterized by the feeling and perception that one is not a member of U.S. society, that one is not respected and one's contributions are not valued. While as defined in the literature both personal and group discrimination attempt to capture the extent to which one has been discriminated or one's group. Though, I argue that perceived lack of belonging is a separate concept from personal and group discrimination, experiencing discrimination and prejudice can influence one's perception of belonging or lack of belonging.

Personally experiencing discrimination can reinforce one's perceived lack of belonging or shift one's perceived belonging. Accumulating experiences of societal discrimination

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can negatively influence individuals' feelings of belonging by making them feel depressed and sad and eventually drive them to feel socially alienated (Krieger, 1999; Oskooii, 2016). As Golash-Boza (2006) argues, because of experiences of discrimination, Latinos come to learn that they are not real Americans but rather hyphenated Americans. Recent work also suggests that discrimination stemming from societal sources can lead to political disengagement (Oskooii, 2016) as experiencing discrimination makes individuals feel depressed, sad and powerless (Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey, 1999; Almeida et al., 2009; Schmitt et al., 2002). Other work also indicates that perceived personal discrimination is negatively associated with Latino adolescents' self-image (Armenta and Hunt, 2009) suggesting that personal discrimination might also lead to a lack of perceived belonging to U.S. society.

However, despite the plausible detrimental effects of discrimination, a large body of political behavior suggests that recognition of systemic inequality and relative group deprivation can motivate members of minority communities to engagement politically. Thus, I argue that perceived group discrimination and its relationship to political behavior is not at odds with the behavioral expectations outlined in the perceived belonging framework. Latinos who recognize group discrimination and the limited social standing of their ethnic group might develop feelings of belonging and inclusion to U.S. society despite understanding that Latinos are not always treated as equal members. These individuals might contest forms of group discrimination and systemic exclusion as they act on their sense of perceived belonging and deservingness to belong to America. In fact, this corresponds with findings in the literature that have shown that perceived group threat motivates political action among Latinos, especially those with high levels of Latino in-group identity (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001; Ramirez, 2013; Pérez, 2015). What appears to motivate Latinos who do experience group discrimination and who believe that their group is at a disadvantage in relation to others in America is the fact that they have a strong in-group identity, which might allow them to find a sense of 'home' in U.S. society and develop positive perceptions of belonging in the U.S.

Lastly, the concept of American identity is an important concept that must be discussed in relation to the proposed theory of perceived belonging to U.S. society. There is consensus

Table 2.2: Behavioral expectations based on perceptions of belonging to U.S. society

Perceptions of Belonging	Psychological state	Behavioral outcome
(+) positive	social inclusion	political interest, political action
(-) negative	social alienation	lack of political interest, no engagement

among scholars that American identity is no different than other social identities or collective identities of group membership (Turner, 1985; Tajfel and Turner, 2004). However, American identity has been measured and defined through a number of different items (Schildkraut, 2014). In the existent literature, some work refers to American identity as the extent to which people believe that being American is an important part of who they are (Schildkraut, 2005, 2011). Other research examines it by capturing the way in which individuals consider themselves as typical Americans or report that being American is important (Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Hochschild and Lang, 2011). These conceptualizations of American identity are different from the proposed concept of perceptions of belonging to U.S. society as considering American identity an important part of the self does not necessarily mean that one perceives that one fully and truly belongs in the United States or that others respect one's presence. As argued beforehand, the concept of perceived belonging is premised on these two important components. The individual component, which captures the belief that one is a member. And the relative or external one, which indicates that one's membership is recognized and valued by others. American identity measures the extent to which the group identity is an important part of the self. However, perceptions of belonging are characterized by the emotion or feelings that one is included in U.S. society or that one is feeling excluded from it. While I expect to find a positive relationship between those who have perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and those with high levels of American identity, I contend that these are two separate concepts; one captures a social identity and the other measures an emotional understanding of whether one is included or excluded from the national collective.

2.5 Conclusion

This aim of this chapter has been to provide a framework of inquiry to investigate how a sense of belonging to U.S. society is associated to Latino political incorporation and engagement. As this chapter has outlined, Latinos have struggled for over a century and a half to be recognized as fully belonging members of American society. In this struggle, Latinos have fought for equal and fair treatment, access to jobs and education opportunities, voting rights and immigrants' rights. However, numerous challenges, among them systemic inequality and individual-level acts of prejudice, prevent Latinos from achieving full social and political inclusion. These forces are not only barriers to the full inclusion of Latinos to the U.S. social fabric but they also shape Latinos' psychological perceptions of inclusion. As such, scholarship much delve deeper to have a better understanding of how Latinos come to develop perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging U.S. society and what are the political behavior repercussions of these perceptions.

Relying on an extensive body of scholarship in psychology, sociology and political science, I presented the politics of inclusion framework. I have argued that a sense of belonging to U.S. society is defined by an individual perception of membership followed by a perception of external recognition of respect and being valued by other members of U.S. society. I argued that Latinos develop these perceptions according to their everyday encounters and social experiences. As individuals generally seek attachments to a group, in this case, U.S. society, Latinos will develop the individual component of belonging. If this is fulfilled they will develop a positive perception of belonging but if not they will develop a perception of lack of belonging. Moreover, as scholars in social psychology suggest group dynamics inform an individual of their belonging to a given group. As such, Latinos will also take cues from their relationships with others in U.S. society to inform their perceived level of inclusion. Latinos specifically assess cues of respect and signals of whether or not their contributions are seen as valuable to inform their perceptions of belonging to America.

This chapter has argued that the notion of belonging to U.S. society is a critical component of Latino political incorporation and engagement as individuals must develop a psy-

chological state of social inclusion to see themselves as stakeholders in U.S. society. Given the expansive work that has demonstrated the strong relationship between perceptions of belonging and individual or group level outcomes, I theorized that we could expect a similar process for political behavior. Therefore, I argued that Latinos' perceptions of belonging were closely tied to developing an interest in politics and mobilizing politically.

CHAPTER 3

Measuring Perceptions of Belonging to U.S. Society

3.1 Introduction

The theory of belonging to U.S. society presented in the previous chapter provides an important opportunity to address shortcomings in the political incorporation and behavior literature. The theory posits that perceptions of belonging to U.S. society are critical to understanding the social and political realities of Latinos in the U.S. Moreover, the theory suggests that given the centrality of these attitudes to the daily experiences of Latinos, as well as for members from other marginalized communities, these attitudes should also be key drivers of political behavior. The framework presented in chapter 2 suggests various mechanisms and processes that influence Latinos to develop positive or negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. The framework also makes predictions as to when and under what circumstances we can expect perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society to lead to engagement to disengagement from the political system. However, in order to throughly examine what factors shape Latinos' sense of belonging and subsequently test the attitudinal and behavioral impact of these predispositions, we first need to operationalize and develop an appropriate measurement for the concept.

The measurement of the belonging concept presented in this chapter is important for various reasons. As argued in chapter 2, the idea that racial and ethnic minorities are not inherent and worthy members of U.S. society has been a prevalent theme throughout U.S. history. As such, evaluating the extent to which these macro-level processes have psychologically influenced the way in which racial and ethnic minorities have come to conceptualize their sense of place and being in the U.S. is important. Moreover, present-day forms hostility

and discrimination continue to communicate to racial and ethnic minorities that they are excluded from the dominant American narrative and are not always welcomed. Therefore, we must strive to better understand how it is that members of marginalized communities understand their belonging or lack of belonging to the United States and the ways in which these psychological perceptions influence their likelihood of engaging with the political system.

In this chapter, I focus on the operationalization and measurement of the belonging concept. I pay particular attention to identifying the key components theorized in chapter 2. To operationalize and measure the concept of belonging to U.S. society, I rely on data from four pilots conducted among samples of Latinos with the aim of capturing an appropriate measure of perceptions of social inclusion or exclusion. First, I present the theoretical foundations and existent measures in the social psychology literature that I relied on to construct my measures. Then, I present results from four pilots where I tested these measures in an iterative process but along the way modifying the items tested so as to incorporate evidence from each prior pilot. I also present preliminary evidence that supports the theoretical argument made in chapter 2. That is, I show preliminary evidence that perceptions of belonging to U.S. society are theoretically and empirically different from similarly situated concepts and that these are tied to political behavior outcomes.

3.2   Operationalization: Social Psychology Proxies

As outlined in chapter 2, the belonging framework traces its theoretical foundations to theories in psychology and sociology. More specifically, it is centered on the idea that the need to belong is a core human motivation and need (Maslow, 1943; Baumeister and Leary, 1995) and that individuals understand their sense of self based on group membership, which they learn through group cues (Tajfel, 1981; Tyler and Lind, 1992; Huddy, Sears and Levy, 2013). Moreover, the framework outlined in chapter 2 argues that perceptions of belonging should lead individuals to be in certain psychological states of either social inclusion or social alienation which subsequently determine the extent to which they will engage with the political system.

To operationalize the concept of perceived belonging to U.S. society, I rely on proxies from social psychology, as well as the expectations from the theory proposed in chapter 2. As the theory argues, the concept of belonging to U.S. society is comprised of two components, an individual one and an external one. First, to capture the individual component, I rely on the original "need to belong" scale (Leary et al., 2013). To operationalize this component, I also borrow from work in social identity that examines an individual's perception of his or her standing or worth as a member of a group (Tyler and Smith, 1999) and individual sense of inclusion within a group (Ellemers, Spears and Doosje, 2002; Ellemers, Doosje and Spears, 2004; Spears, Ellemers and Doosje, 2005). The wording of the original "need to belong scale" and the group value model can be found in appendices A.1 and A.2.

To get at the external component of the belonging concept, I rely on research pertaining to the group value model that specifically looks at perceptions of fair and respectful treatment from peers and group leaders as signals of social inclusion (De Cremer and Blader, 2006; Huo, Binning and Molina, 2010). Scholars have operationalized respectful treatment and perceived respect in a variety of different ways. Some have defined it as perceived liking by members and authority figures in a group (Branscombe et al., 2002; Ellemers, Doosje and Spears, 2004; Spears, Ellemers and Doosje, 2005). Others have conceptualized respect as a measure of treatment quality, one that is fair and respectful (De Cremer & Blader, 2006; Simon & Sturmer, 2003, 2005; Smith et al., 2003; Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996). While a few others have examined respect as a perception of worth and standing within a group –or perceived status– (Tyler and Smith, 1999). Since my theoretical framework of perceived belonging posits that cues from peers or elites are critical in informing one's sense of belonging and membership, as these specifically inform the external component of the concept, I borrow from these items to measure perceived inclusion.

Given that existent inclusion and exclusion items in social psychology did not specify what group or category individuals were assessing their sense of belonging to, I added the words *U.S. society* to ensure that this was the group that individuals were thinking about when evaluating their sense of membership or belonging. In other words, the items from the "need to belong" scale and group membership in social identity were adjusted to appropri-

ately account for membership to the macro-level group, in this case U.S. society. In some instances, these proxies were adjusted to reflect cues of respect or fair treatment from peers in U.S. society. To determine the appropriateness of these measures, I also relied on the work by Hochschild and Lang (2011), which has examined what the concept of membership and belonging in ten wealthy Democratic countries including the United States (Hochschild and Lang, 2011). Hochschild and Lang (2011) rely on data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) Survey in 2003 to examine social inclusion. In this data, they measure fourteen items that broadly captured how included or excluded individuals felt in their own country. Moreover, Hochschild and Lang (2011) assessed what were some of the characteristics that people felt a person needed to have or embody to be included as a member in their respective country. The full wording of all of these specific items can be found in appendix A.3.

Before delving into a more thorough analysis of the development of the perceived belonging measures, table 3.1 provides a summary of the samples where I tested the items. As the table suggests, the items were tested among both national and state level samples of Latinos of various age cohorts. All of the pilots were conducted among samples of Latino registered voters. While these samples are only representative of a segment of the entire U.S. Latino population, finding variation in proxies of social inclusion among this subset of Latinos is significant and meaningful. Given that Latino registered voters might already have higher levels of perceived belonging because they tend to be more incorporated and assimilated, it is likely that the proxies would have a more even distribution and be more robust in the general U.S. Latino population. This is to say that if any relationship is found between perceived belonging and political behavior, it might be underestimated given some of the constraints posed by the samples.

To analyze the belonging items in each one of the pilots, I rely on various analysis including an examination of the chronbach's alpha as well as principal component analysis. Though no components or were extracted from the items I measured, I relied on these techniques to observe whether or not there were observable components that supported the theoretical propositions outlined in chapter 2. Moreover, I examined at the correlations

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Table 3.1: Summary of Pilots

Pilot	Observations	Sample	Date
I.	N=502	National, Latino registered voters	April 2016
II.	N=1001	State, Latino registered voters	May 2016
III.	N=406	State, Millennial Latino registered voters	May 2016
IV.	N=809	National, Latino registered voters	July 2016

among the items to investigate how closely related the items were to each other and to other existent predictors of political behavior. Lastly, I conducted regression analysis to 1.) examine whether or not the wording of the questions impacted the observed results and 2.) briefly assess if the belonging items had any relationship whatsoever to political attitudes and behaviors.

3.3 Pilot I

After reviewing all existent proxies, I developed 8 items to be tested among a sample of Latino respondents. The full wording of the items can be found in appendix B.1. The first four items, which I refer to as social belonging, asked individuals the extent to which 1.) they felt that other people *valued and appreciated* their contributions to U.S. society; 2.) they felt *welcomed* by others in U.S. society; 3.) they perceived themselves as *outsiders* in U.S. society; 4.) they perceived that *other people excluded* them from U.S. society. Relying on the work that suggests that treatment and respect cues are important signals of inclusion, I measured items that attempted to capture treatment and respect towards Latinos by political elites. These are the political belonging items. These items measured the extent to which respondents perceived that: 1.) *public and elected officials viewed them as valuable and important members of U.S. society; 2.) electeds questioned them as true Americans*; 3.) *elected officials paid more attention to the demands made by non-Latinos;* and 4.) *elected officials genuinely cared* about helping Latinos succeed.

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Table 3.2: Pilot 1: Cronbach's alpha and Guttman's Lambda 6

Raw alpha	Std alpha	G6(smc)	Average r	S/N	Ase	Mean	sd
0.53	0.54	0.54	0.13	1.2	0.032	0.61	0.16

Lower alpha	Upper alpha	95% C.I.					
0.47	0.53	0.6; 0.4					

Table 3.3: Pilot 1: Reliability if an item is dropped

	Raw alpha	Std alpha	G6(smc)	Average r	S/N alpha	se
n.outsider	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.12	1.00	0.035
welcomed	0.48	0.49	0.49	0.12	0.95	0.036
n.othersexclude	0.47	0.48	0.47	0.12	0.92	0.037
value.contribs	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.12	0.98	0.035
elec.valuable	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.13	1.06	0.033
n.elec.american	0.53	0.53	0.52	0.14	1.14	0.032
n.demands	0.51	0.53	0.53	0.14	1.11	0.033
elec.care	0.51	0.52	0.52	0.13	1.08	0.033

First, I examined whether or not all of these items, the political belonging and social belonging, were correlated with one another. Figure 3.3 presents a correlation matrix of these items. As the figure suggests none of these items are highly correlated with one another, implying that each one of the items appears to be measuring a separate part of the perceived belonging concept. I then analyzed the Chronbach's alpha for all items. This is a measure of internal reliability that allows one to assess how well the items do as a group. Table 3.2 and 3.3 present these results. According to table 3.2, the $\alpha=.54$, which indicates a weak internal consistency among all the items when combined into a single measure. Table 3.3 presents analysis regarding the reliability of the items as a combined scale if either one of the items is dropped. The results indicate that the Chronbach's alpha would increase if any of the political belonging items were to be dropped from the scale. On the contrary, the internal consistency of the combined scale would drop if the social belonging items were to be dropped.

Figure 3.1: Correlation Plot of Belonging Items from Pilot I
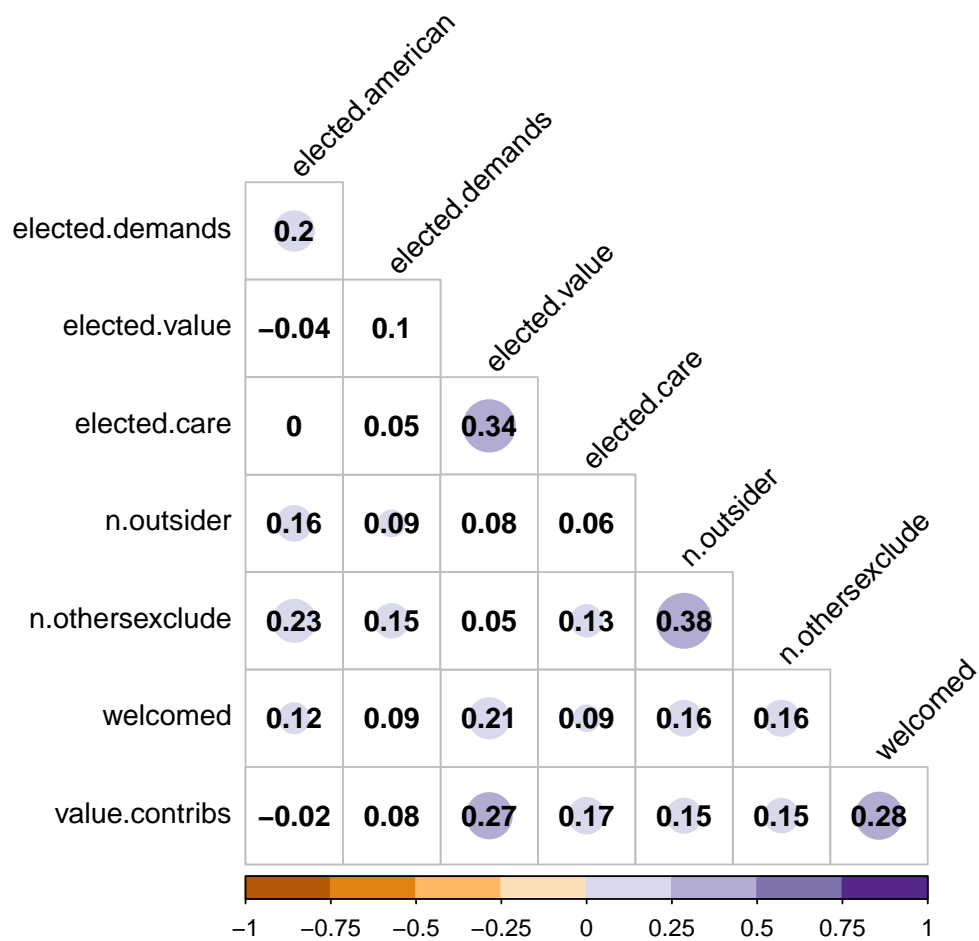
Table 3.4: Pilot I: Principal Component Analysis

Importance of components:

	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5	Comp.6	Comp.7	Comp.8
Standard deviation	0.4358888	0.3760402	0.3180859	0.2906873	0.2850244	0.24813332	0.23676640	0.22782300
Proportion of Variance	0.2474417	0.1841577	0.1317681	0.1100459	0.1058000	0.08018472	0.07300651	0.06759532
Cumulative Proportion	0.2474417	0.4315995	0.5633676	0.6734134	0.7792134	0.85939817	0.93240468	1.00000000

Loadings:

	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5	Comp.6	Comp.7	Comp.8
n.outsider	-0.441		-0.623		0.208	0.516		0.325
welcomed	-0.305	-0.161		-0.188	-0.605	-0.169	-0.637	0.211
n.othersexclude	-0.439		-0.341		0.256	-0.547		-0.552
valuecontribs	-0.270	-0.335		-0.233	-0.358	-0.253	0.738	0.134
elec.valuable	-0.260	-0.498	0.247			0.527		-0.578
n.elc.american	-0.468	0.612	0.382	0.382	-0.272	0.113	0.170	
n.demands	-0.310	0.120	0.449	-0.710	0.412			0.105
elec.care	-0.256	-0.462	0.283	0.503	0.382	-0.228		0.427

	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5	Comp.6	Comp.7	Comp.8
SS loadings	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Proportion Var	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125
Cumulative Var	0.125	0.250	0.375	0.500	0.625	0.750	0.875	1.000

Figure 3.2: Scree Plot of Belonging Items from Pilot I
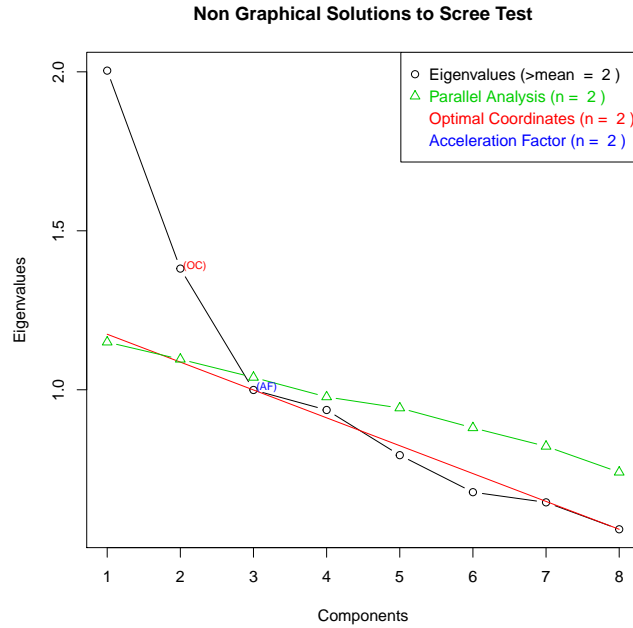
Furthermore, I conducted a principal component analysis (PCA) on all items to investigate whether or not internal dimensions were present in the data. The results of the PCA are found in table 3.4. The factor loadings in table 3.4 suggest that some items load the best on some components. The higher the value the better each item loads onto each component. By looking at the cumulative variance explained by each component it appears that after each component the variance explained improves significantly. In other words, each component (not just the first, second or third) appear to play an important role in accounting for the overall variance. Lastly, looking at the eigenvalues plotted on the scree plot displayed figure 3.2 it is apparent that after 3 components the eigenvalue is below 1. It is always recommended to retain the component with the largest eigenvalue and any others greater than 1. Nonetheless, given that only half of the cumulative proportion of the variance is accounted for with retaining the third component it seems appropriate to conclude that more than 3 are necessary.

The analysis from the first pilot revealed several patterns. The first finding is that the political belonging items decline the internal consistency of the grouped items. The social belonging items were found to give the strongest internal consistency. This implies that

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the political belonging items might not necessarily map well into a combined scale with the social inclusion items. Based on these results, I decided to reduce the number of political belonging items to be tested in the subsequent pilots. However, given that no political behavior outcomes were tested in this pilot, I retained one of the political belonging items to assess its relationship to political attitudes and behavior. The analysis from the first pilot also revealed that the *outsider* and *others include* items load the strongest into the three components, which further suggested the importance of retaining these. I continued testing these items in the subsequent pilots.

3.4   Pilot II

Given sample and resource constraints, I was only able to incorporate a few of the belonging items on the second pilot. However, I took advantage of the fact that this pilot included political attitude and behavior items to examine the relationship between perceptions of belonging and behavior. As table 3.1 indicates the second pilot was conducted among a sample of Colorado Latino registered voters. In this pilot, I was able to test four belonging items and their association to political interest and vote intent. The specific wording of the items can be found in appendix B.2. The first item assessed the extent to which respondents believed that they *belonged* to U.S. society. The second item measured whether or not Latinos perceived that *others valued and appreciated* their contributions as members of U.S. society. The third item captured the extent to which Latinos perceived that *elected officials cared* about helping Latinos succeed. Given that the political belonging items had the poorest performance in the first pilot, I retained only one item to test its relationship to variables of interest. All of the items ranged from 1 to 5, with 1 being the lowest or most negative perception and 5 being the highest. Lastly, in this pilot I incorporated a message about belonging. The aim of this message was to let respondents know that this was their country, that they belonged and they were very much part of the democratic process. I then measured how convincing respondents found this message. The *belong message* item ranged from 1, meaning not at all convincing, to 4 very convincing.

This pilot also included two important measures of political behavior. The first was an item that asked respondents their *interest for politics* and voting. This item ranged from 1 to 4, where 1 meant that respondents found politics to be boring and often times tuned out of it. 4 indicated that respondents identified themselves as people who very interested in political affairs. The second outcome captured in this survey was an item that asked respondents about their likelihood of participation in the 2016 Presidential election. The item ranged from 1 to 4. where 1 indicated definitely not voting and 4 meant that respondents believed that they were definitely going to vote.

I ran several regressions to assess the extent to which the belonging items and the belonging message were associated with political interest and vote intent in the 2016 election. The models incorporated other predictors known to influence political participation. The models accounted for partisanship and included a dummy variable for whether or not individuals were Democrats. I also included dummy variables for the three largest national origin groups: Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican. The model included a dummy variable for whether or not respondents were foreign born. Lastly, the models incorporate two socioeconomic measures: income and education. Income was measured in 9 categories. The first category represents making less than $20,000 and category 9 represents having an income of $150,000 or above. Education was measured by assessing the highest level of education attained by the respondents. It was measured in 6 categories. The first category represented having completed grades 1-8 and the sixth category indicated having received a post-graduate education.

First, I examine the relationship between the belonging items and political interest. Table 3.5 presents four models predicting political interest as a function of each one of the belonging items and other covariates. These are ordinary least squares models. The results from model 1 in table 3.5 suggest that perceptions of belonging appear to be positively associated with greater levels of political interest. Model 4 suggests that even when incorporating all of the items in one model, perceived belonging continues to predict political interest. Figure 3.3 presents the predicted levels of political interest as a function of low and high levels of belonging. As this figure suggests, Latinos who report the lowest level of

perceived belonging are predicted to have about 2.9 level of political interest. Those who have the highest perceptions of belonging instead are predicted to have a 3.2 level of political interest. This modest positive change in the predicted level of political interest when moving from low perceived belonging to the highest level of perceived belonging suggests that there is a meaningful link between these two which should be further explored.

Figure 3.3: Predicted Political Interest
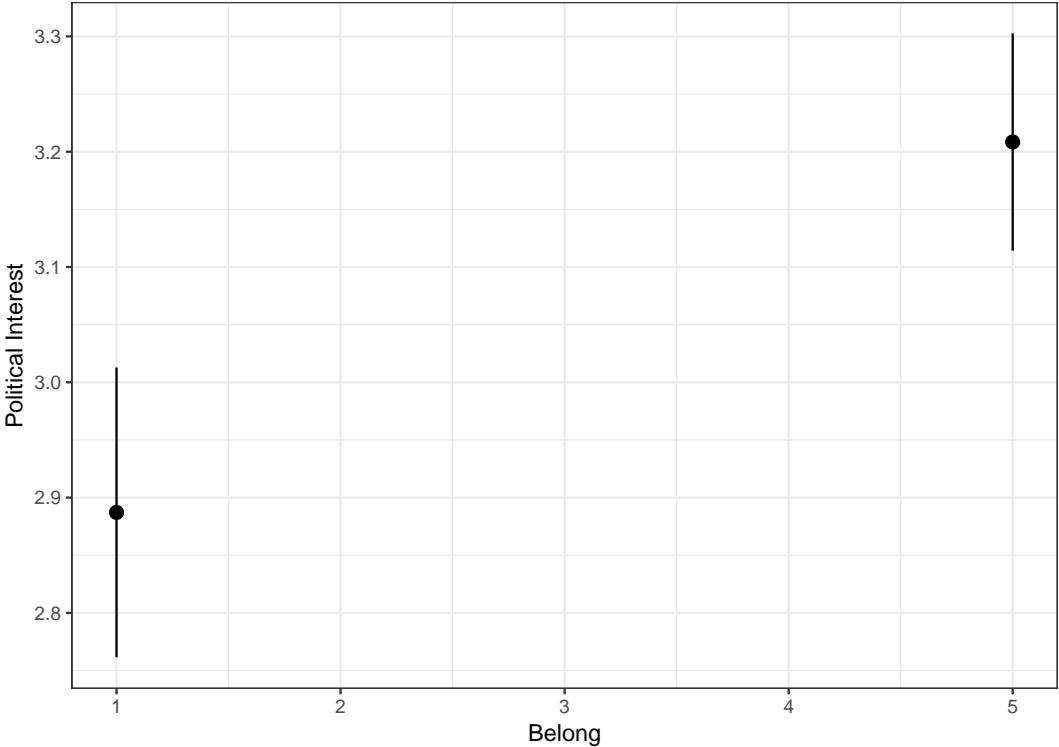
The next analyses focus on investigating the relationship between belonging and vote intent in the 2016 Presidential election. To assess this relationship, I modeled vote intent as a function of all the belonging items. The results from the ordinary least squares models are shown in table 3.6. Each one of the models includes the belonging items one by one and model 4 incorporates all of the inclusion and exclusion items. The results indicate that perceiving that one belongs to U.S. society is positively associated with reporting the greater intent to participate in politics. Greater perceptions of belonging for Latinos are linked to greater intent to vote in the election. To illustrate these findings figure 3.4 showcases the predicted level of vote intent at each of the lowest and highest possible levels of perceived

Table 3.5: Pilot II: Predictors of Political Interest

	Dependent variable:			
	Political Interest			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Belong	0.080**			0.079**
	(0.025)			(0.026)
Not an Outsider		−0.003		−0.004
		(0.022)		(0.022)
Electeds Care			0.011	−0.004
			(0.022)	(0.023)
Age	0.006***	0.006***	0.006***	0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Income	0.025*	0.026*	0.027*	0.027*
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Education	0.091***	0.104***	0.103***	0.091***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Foreign Born	−0.112	−0.064	−0.054	−0.119
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.076)
Female	−0.142**	−0.140**	−0.138**	−0.146**
	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Democrat	0.088	0.100	0.099	0.095
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.054)
Mexican	0.101*	0.092	0.093	0.108*
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.052)
Cuban	0.432	0.418	0.430	0.435
	(0.338)	(0.341)	(0.343)	(0.340)
Puerto Rican	−0.034	0.028	0.027	−0.023
	(0.206)	(0.199)	(0.199)	(0.207)
Constant	1.998***	2.192***	2.157***	2.013***
	(0.160)	(0.156)	(0.164)	(0.188)
Observations	746	760	760	732
R^2	0.102	0.091	0.090	0.104
Adjusted R^2	0.089	0.078	0.077	0.089
Residual Std. Error	0.666 (df = 735)	0.673 (df = 749)	0.674 (df = 749)	0.667 (df = 719)
F Statistic	8.307*** (df = 10; 735)	7.454*** (df = 10; 749)	7.376*** (df = 10; 749)	6.927*** (df = 12; 719)

Note: $^{*}p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$

belonging. As the figure suggests Latinos with the lowest perceptions of belonging to U.S. society have a much lower level of vote intent than Latinos who have the highest perceptions of belonging.

Table 3.6: Pilot II: Predictors of Vote Intent

	Dependent variable:			
	voteintent			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Belong	0.037*			0.035
	(0.018)			(0.018)
Not an Outsider		−0.027		−0.024
		(0.015)		(0.016)
Electeds Care			−0.002	−0.005
			(0.015)	(0.016)
Age	0.002*	0.003*	0.003**	0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income	0.013	0.014	0.014	0.013
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Education	0.026	0.027	0.031*	0.022
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Foreign Born	0.056	0.074	0.078	0.054
	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.055)
Female	−0.020	−0.017	−0.015	−0.026
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.037)
Democrat	0.117**	0.128***	0.122**	0.128***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.038)
Mexican	0.015	0.015	0.010	0.020
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Cuban	−0.464*	−0.450*	−0.471*	−0.452*
	(0.217)	(0.216)	(0.218)	(0.219)
Puerto Rican	0.110	0.138	0.133	0.121
	(0.148)	(0.140)	(0.141)	(0.149)
Constant	3.363***	3.505***	3.436***	3.452***
	(0.114)	(0.111)	(0.116)	(0.136)
Observations	762	777	777	746
R^2	0.046	0.049	0.045	0.049
Adjusted R^2	0.034	0.036	0.032	0.034
Residual Std. Error	0.477 (df = 751)	0.476 (df = 766)	0.478 (df = 766)	0.481 (df = 733)
F Statistic	3.638*** (df = 10; 751)	3.908*** (df = 10; 766)	3.585*** (df = 10; 766)	3.178*** (df = 12; 733)

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 3.4: Predicted Vote Intent
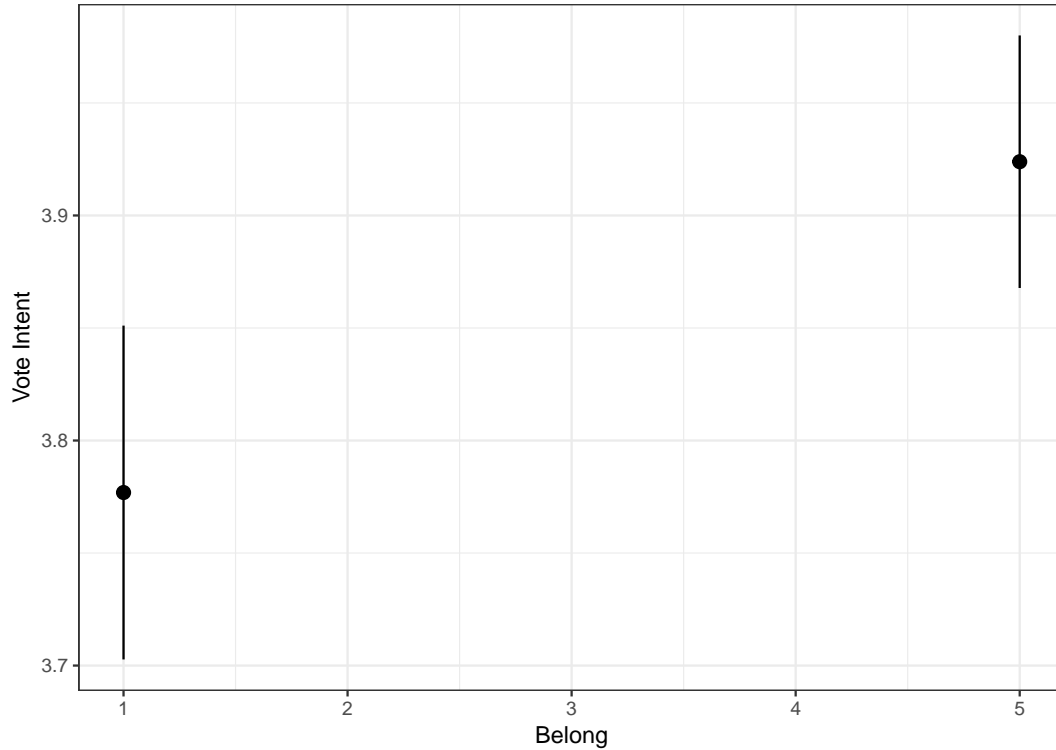
The last analysis from pilot II looked at the relationship between a belonging message and vote intent. As it was mentioned earlier, the belonging message gave respondents a brief prompt about how they belonged to U.S. society and how the U.S. was very much *their* country. Only a subset of the original respondents were given this message as another subset of the sample was given a different message. Then respondents were asked to rate how convincing this item was. Respondents who found it the most convincing gave a 4 and those who found it the least convincing were coded as 1. Vote intent was then modeled as a function of how convincing respondents rated the belonging message as well as other demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status and controls. The results of this linear model are displayed in table 3.7. As the findings reveal, those who perceived the belonging message to be convincing were more likely to report a great intent of participation in the 2016 presidential election, even after controlling for party affiliation, socioeconomic status, age, nativity and national origin.

In all, the analyses from pilot II indicate that the *belong* item has the strongest associ-

Table 3.7: Pilot II: Message of Belonging as Predictor of Vote Intent

	Dependent variable:
	Vote Intent
Belong Message	0.070* (0.029)
Age	0.001 (0.002)
Income	0.011 (0.010)
Education	0.044* (0.020)
Foreign Born	0.086 (0.071)
Female	−0.050 (0.047)
Democrat	0.193*** (0.050)
Mexican	−0.006 (0.048)
Cuban	−1.458*** (0.327)
Puerto Rican	0.159 (0.190)
Constant	3.222*** (0.154)
Observations	395
R^2	0.126
Adjusted R^2	0.103
Residual Std. Error	0.452 (df = 384)
F Statistic	5.542*** (df = 10; 384)
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

ation to political interest and electoral participation. The findings revealed that even after accounting for important predictors of political interest and participation among Latinos the influence of perceived belonging persisted. The other two items yield any significant associations to political attitudes or behavior.

3.5   Pilot III

The third pilot was very similar to the second one in that it was comprised of a state level sample of Latino registered voters. However, this specific sample was only conducted among Latino millennials. Given resource and sample constraints only two belonging items were placed in the survey, along with the previously analyzed belonging message. The specific wording of the items can be found in appendix B.3. Due to the poor performance of the *political* belonging items, or the items that assessed respondents sense of inclusion based on the treatment that they received from political elites, in the last two pilots, I excluded these items from the third pilot. The first inclusion item was the *others value your contributions* question, which assessed the extent to which respondents believed that other people in U.S. society valued and appreciated their contributions. The second question asked respondents whether or not they believed that they were *outsiders* in the United States. Lastly, the belonging message consisted of a prompt letting respondents know that they belonged to the U.S. and that America was their country. After receiving the message they were asked how convincing they felt that this message was.

The third pilot allowed me to assess once more the relationship between perceived inclusion and likelihood of participating in the 2016 election. To examine this relationship, I ran several models. Table 3.8 presents these models. The DV here is likelihood of participating in the 2016 election and it follows the same coding scheme as in the previous pilot analysis. This variable ranges from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates that the respondent is definitely not going to participate in the election and 4 meaning that the respondent reports a definite likelihood of voting in the election. The model includes controls and other demographic items. Age is accounted for. Income is measured categorically ranging from 1 to 7, where the

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first category represents an income of less than $20,000 and the seventh category indicates an income of more than $150,000. Education is also measured categorically ranging from 1 to 6. The first category represents an education of grades 1-8 and the sixth category indicates having obtained a post-graduate education. The models also include indicator variables for being a female as well as being of Mexican national origin.

Table 3.8 presents results from linear regressions. The results in model indicate that believing that the belonging message is convincing is positively associated with a greater intent to participate in the presidential election. Latinos who believed the belonging message to be very convincing were predicted to be .5 more points likely report that they were going to vote in the 2016 election. The second model presents results for the *outsider* item, coded in the positive direction. In other words, the results indicate that believing that one is an outsider is actually positively associated with the likelihood to participate in the 2016 election. While this finding might seem counterintuitive, it actually supports the theoretical expectation outlined in chapter 2 where threats to one's sense of belonging can also be motivating and induce political action. In this case, it appears that specifically among millennials, those who feel the most like outsiders are more likely to report their intent of participating in the 2016 Presidential election.

Pilot III in combination with pilot II provide strong evidence that perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society are associated with interest in politics and likelihood of participating electorally. While some items perform stronger than others, it appears that the social belonging items have the strongest reliability within the combined group scale and have the strongest relationship to behavior outcomes. In other words, these are the items that directly asked Latinos in the sample how much they felt like they belonged and whether or not they felt like outsiders in the U.S. Taking these findings together, the next pilot assesses how well the identified questions stand next to other traditional political predispositions and traditional predictors of political behavior.

Table 3.8: Pilot III: Predictors of 2016 Vote Intent

	Dependent variable:			
	Vote Intent			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Belong Message	0.169*			0.137
	(0.073)			(0.073)
Not an Outsider		−0.176***		−0.173*
		(0.044)		(0.068)
Value Contribs.			−0.011	0.018
			(0.030)	(0.045)
Age	0.012	0.011	0.009	0.010
	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.013)
Income	0.025	0.026	0.034	0.016
	(0.026)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.026)
Education	0.049	0.059	0.083	0.043
	(0.063)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.062)
Female	−0.045	−0.120	−0.126	−0.013
	(0.119)	(0.077)	(0.079)	(0.118)
Democrat	−0.022	−0.009	−0.031	−0.027
	(0.133)	(0.084)	(0.086)	(0.131)
Mexican	0.126	0.137	0.152	0.124
	(0.118)	(0.076)	(0.078)	(0.116)
Constant	2.364***	3.467***	2.879***	3.033***
	(0.479)	(0.304)	(0.278)	(0.549)
Observations	178	366	366	178
R^2	0.065	0.089	0.048	0.099
Adjusted R^2	0.026	0.071	0.029	0.051
Residual Std. Error	0.744 (df = 170)	0.700 (df = 358)	0.716 (df = 358)	0.735 (df = 168)
F Statistic	1.685 (df = 7; 170)	5.001*** (df = 7; 358)	2.584* (df = 7; 358)	2.061* (df = 9; 168)

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

3.6 Pilot IV

The fourth pilot was conducted among a national sample of Latino registered voters. Given the coverage of this sample this pilot was ideal for testing all of the different items examined in previous pilots. Moreover, this pilot presented the opportunity to examine the belonging questions in contrast with other questions known to be established correlates of political behavior among Latinos. Lastly, because of the large sample size, I was able to test the wording of the belonging questions by splitting the samples.

Pilot IV included 5 belonging questions. The specific wording of these can be found in appendix B.4. These belonging questions were the items that performed the strongest and were found as the most reliable in previous pilots. The first question asked respondents how much they felt like they *belonged* to U.S. society. The second item assessed how much individuals felt like *outsiders* in America. The third item asked respondents if they perceived that other people tried to *exclude them* from U.S. society. The fourth item asked individuals whether or not they believed that others *valued* their presence and membership to U.S. society. Lastly, the fifth item assess how much individuals believed that other Americans *appreciated Latinos as a group* in America. All of these items ranged from 1 to 4 and were all recoded in the positive direction where 4 indicated the highest level of perceived inclusion.

To assess whether or not Latinos were thinking about their identity as Latino individuals in answering the belonging questions discussed above, I presented half of the respondents with one version of the questions and the other half of the sample with a different version. Respondents were randomly assigned to the Latino-specific wording or the general wording. The Latino split sample specifically asked the belonging questions priming Latino identity. To do this, I added the words "you as a Latino." For example for the first question, I asked "how strongly do you feel like *you as a Latino* belong in the United States." All respondents who were randomly assigned to the Latino-specific split were given the belonging questions with this identity prime. All other respondents, randomly assigned to the general condition, were given the belonging questions with an individual prime. The individual prime included the words "you or you as an individual." For example, the belonging item in the general

conditional was as follows: "how strongly do you feel like *you* belong in the United States. The specific wording of all of the items can be found in appendix B.4.

In addition to the belonging items, I included several other items which are theoretically close and related to the concept of perceived belonging. It was important to test how related these established concepts were to the perceived belonging items in order to rule out the possibility that what I was capturing with the belonging questions was those existent concepts. The first set of items I included were questions about political efficacy. I included two items to capture both *internal* and *external* efficacy. The wording of these two items is the same as that of the American National Election Studies (ANES). The *internal efficacy* asked respondents about how much they believed that they had a say in what the government does. This was a four-point item ranging from 1-4, where 4 indicated that individuals believed that they had a strong say in government affairs. The *external efficacy* item asked respondents to evaluate how much they believed that elected officials cared about people like them and their demands. This item ranged from 1-4, where 4 indicated that they believed elected officials cared about people like them. I also included a question about perceived group discrimination. As existent scholarship has shown, perceived group discrimination for Latinos is a strong driver of public opinion and political engagement (Schildkraut, 2005; Sanchez, 2006*a*,*b*). The *group discrimination* item asked respondents if discrimination against Latinos in our society today was a major problem, a minor problem, not a problem at all. This item ranged from 1-3, where 1 indicated that respondents felt that discrimination was not a problem at all for Latinos, and 3 meant that they believed discrimination was a major problem for Latinos.

To first examine how closely related the perceived belonging items are to other concepts such as political efficacy and group discrimination, I plotted the correlations among all items. Figure 3.5 presents the correlations among all items. As the figure suggests, there are only moderate correlations between the *outsider* and *others exclude* items, the *internal efficacy* and *external efficacy* items and the *value group* and *value presence* items. However, these are very moderate. There are not striking or strong correlations between the perceived belonging items and the efficacy items or the perceived belonging items and the group discrimination

Figure 3.5: Correlation Plot of Belonging Items from Pilot IV
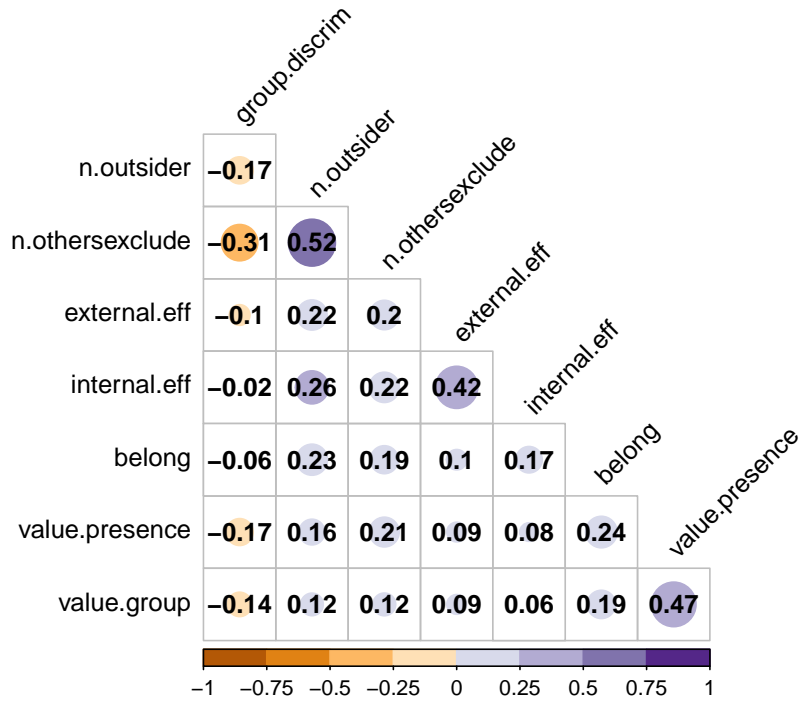
item. These results suggest that a perceived sense of belonging is not necessarily moving together with many of these other established predictors. The proxies for perceived belonging to U.S. society appear to be capturing a separate concept distinct from the belief that one has a say in the political system and the belief that the political system and its elites are responsive to one's demands. Moreover, the findings suggest that a perceived sense of exclusion is not necessarily the same as perceiving that one's pan-ethnic group might face discrimination as a group.

The analysis that follows focuses on examining the reliability of the items when grouped together. The Chronbach's alpha analysis is found in table 3.9. The results yielded an

Table 3.9: Pilot IV: Cronbach's alpha and Guttman's Lambda 6

Raw alpha	Std alpha	G6(smc)	Average r	S/N	Ase	Mean	sd
0.61	0.61	0.61	0.24	1.6	0.022	3.2	0.55

Lower alpha	Upper alpha						
0.57	0.61						

Table 3.10: Pilot IV: Reliability if an item is dropped

	Raw alpha	Std alpha	G6(smc)	Average r	S/N alpha	se
belong	0.58	0.59	0.58	0.26	1.4	0.024
n.outsider	0.55	0.55	0.51	0.23	1.2	0.025
value.presence	0.53	0.53	0.50	0.22	1.1	0.026
n.othersexclude	0.53	0.55	0.51	0.23	1.2	0.027
value.group	0.57	0.57	0.53	0.25	1.3	0.024

α=.61. This alpha is moderate, yet it is much stronger than the one identified in the first pilot. These findings suggest that the belonging items tested here are an improvement in terms of reliability from those tested in pilot I. Table 3.10 indicates that the reliability of the overall measure when grouped together would not change significantly if any of the separate items were to be dropped.

Next, I conducted principal component analysis with the 5 belonging items measured in this pilot. Table 3.11 shows the results for the PCA. The PCA results show that the *outsider* and *others exclude* items load the strongest on the first component. The *others value presence* and *value group* appear to load the strongest on the second component. The results pertaining to the cumulative proportion of the variance explained by each component suggest that the first two components explain about 69% of the variance. Though the remainder of the components also explain a nontrivial amount of the additional variance.

As mentioned earlier, in this pilot, I randomly assigned half of the respondents to receive a general wording of the belonging items and the other half was assigned to receive the belonging items in combination with a prime of their Latino ethnicity. The aim of this exercise was to discern whether or not there were meaningful differences in how respondents reported perceptions of belonging according to the wording of the questions. First, I looked at the distribution of the belonging items by split condition. Tables 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.15 and 3.16 present the cross tabulations. Table 3.12 indicates very small differences in the

Table 3.11: Pilot IV: Principal Component Analysis

Importance of components:					
	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5
Standard deviation	1.2697591	1.0040189	0.6681890	0.6336509	0.58470961
Proportion of Variance	0.4231486	0.2645660	0.1171787	0.1053781	0.08972856
Cumulative Proportion	0.4231486	0.6877146	0.8048933	0.9102714	1.00000000

Loadings:					
	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5
belong	-0.196			0.293	0.933
n.outsider	-0.650	0.481	0.505	0.241	-0.180
vaue.presence	-0.399	-0.552	-0.361	0.562	-0.298
n.othersexclude	-0.505	0.276	-0.661	-0.477	
value.group	-0.354	-0.619	0.421	-0.559	
	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5
SS loadings	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Proportion Var	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Cumulative Var	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.0

Eigenvalues:					
	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5
	1.6122882	1.0080540	0.4464765	0.4015135	0.3418853

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distribution of the responses. In the Latino split about 73% of respondents reported strong perceived belonging, while in the general split it was 69%. A 4 percentage point difference is also visible among those that reported moderate perceived belonging. Table 3.13, which looks at perceptions of not being an outsider, the differences are much smaller than for the prior item. At most, the difference between the general and Latino split samples is of 2 percentage points.

Turning to table 3.14, which looks at perceived inclusion from peers, there appear to be slightly larger differences than those observed in the previous two tables. Approximately 17% of those in the general split sample reported that they were slightly included by others in U.S. society, whereas 23% in the Latino group prime reported that they slightly perceived they were included by other peers. Similarly, when it came to those who reported the strongest perceptions of inclusion by others there a slightly bigger differences. 32% of those in the general sample reported the strongest level, where as 26% of those receiving the Latino group prime fell in this category.

Next, table 3.15 looks at the distribution of the item that looks at how much respondents felt that others valued their presence and contributions to U.S. society. The breakdowns from this table suggest some slight differences in the reporting of perceived valued presence. About 12% in the general split sample reported that they slightly perceived others valued them, whereas 16% who were assigned to the Latino split sample reported this slight perception. A small 2 percentage point difference was present in the moderate category. In the general split sample, there were about 39% who strongly perceived that they were valued by others. However, among those assigned to the Latino split sample 34% reported that they strongly perceived they were valued by their peers.

The last split sample comparison is presented in 3.16. This table examines the item that measures perceptions towards Latinos as a group or *any* group in the general split sample. For this specific item, respondents assigned to the general splits sample were asked how much did they perceived that most Americans appreciated *their* group, whatever it was that came to mind. For the Latino split sample, respondents were asked if they perceived that most Americans appreciated Latinos a a group in the United States.

The comparison of the proportions in each category of each one of the belonging items by condition yielded mixed results. Some of these results had larger differences whereas others had much small differences. To more rigorously examine if these discrepancies were statistically significant in yielding a report of lower or higher perceptions of social inclusion, I ran several regressions. Table 3.17 presents five linear models where the dependent variable is each one of the belonging items. Each one of these items is coded from 1 - 4 where 1 indicates low perceptions of inclusion and 4 represents the highest reported level of inclusion. The *latino split* variable is a dummy variable for whether or not individuals received the Latino split condition or the general condition.

As the models in table 3.17 suggest, there are no statistically significant differences in the reported level of perceived *belong* and sense that one is *not an outsider* when assigned to the general wording of the question or the question that primed the Latino identity of the respondent. However, models 3 and 4 yield different results. Latinos who were assigned to the wording with the Latino prime reported lower levels of perceived inclusion and acceptance from other Americans than those who were assigned to the general wording. Similarly, model 4 suggests that Latinos who randomly assigned to the question wording that referenced their Latino identity as opposed to the question wording that did not reference it, reported a lower perception that others in U.S. society valued their contributions.

Several patterns emerged from the data in the fourth pilot. First, analysis of the reliability of the items suggests an improvement from previous pilots. The internal reliability of the items improved substantially after removing *political* belonging items or those that attempted to capture acceptance and inclusion from political elites. Second, an analysis of the internal logic among all items reveals that each item appears to be playing a meaningful role, and while some internal components emerge as the most visible the most appropriate strategy is to keep all items. Third, the findings strongly indicate that the items measuring the perceived belonging concept appear to be distinct from concepts such as political efficacy and perceived group discrimination. The social inclusion questions do not appear to be strongly correlated to these two other key concepts in the political behavior literature. Lastly, the findings revealed that mentioning or priming Latino identity mattered only for half of

Table 3.12: Perceived belong items by split sample

Belong	General Split	Latino Split
Not at all	.015	.005
Slightly	.047	.054
Moderately	.240	.203
Strongly	.696	.730

Table 3.13: Perceived not as an outsider items by split sample

Not an outsider	General Split	Latino Split
Not at all	.084	.086
Slightly	.217	.220
Moderately	.170	.196
Strongly	.526	.490

the social inclusion questions. In other words, when Latinos are made to think about their pan-ethnic identity they are likely to report lower perceptions of inclusion by their peers and lower perceptions that they and their contributions to America are valued. However, when made to think about their Latino identity, respondents did not report lower levels of perceptions that they belong to the U.S. or that they are outsiders in America. This suggests that moving forward it will be important further understand how Latino identity shapes reported levels of inclusion under some circumstances and not others. Moreover, future analyses of the link between perceived belonging and political engagement will have to account for strength of Latino identity as well as other identities relevant for Latinos.

Table 3.14: Perceived inclusion by others items by split sample

Others not exclude	General Split	Latino Split
Not at all	.061	.074
Slightly	.175	.238
Moderately	.425	.416
Strongly	.323	.262

Table 3.15: Perceived value presence/contributions by split sample

Others value	General Split	Latino Split
Not at all	.051	.086
Slightly	.123	.161
Moderately	.412	.394
Strongly	.385	.337

Table 3.16: Perceived value Latinos as group by split sample

Value Latinos as grp.	General Split	Latino Split
Not at all	.088	.056
Slightly	.158	.173
Moderately	.410	.418
Strongly	.306	.337

Table 3.17: Pilot IV: Wording effects

	Dependent variable:				
	Belong	Not Outsider	Others Not Exclude	Value Contribs.	Value Latinos as Grp.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Latino Split	0.050	−0.044	−0.150**	−0.160**	0.081
	(0.044)	(0.073)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.064)
Constant	3.621***	3.141***	3.025***	3.162***	2.969***
	(0.031)	(0.051)	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Observations	806	805	799	789	788
R^2	0.002	0.0005	0.007	0.008	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.0004	−0.001	0.006	0.007	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.625 (df = 804)	1.030 (df = 803)	0.880 (df = 797)	0.888 (df = 787)	0.894 (df = 786)
F Statistic	1.309 (df = 1; 804)	0.364 (df = 1; 803)	5.806** (df = 1; 797)	6.396** (df = 1; 787)	1.617 (df = 1; 786)

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

3.7   Conclusion

Before engaging in an examination of how Latinos have come to understand their sense of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society and how these perceptions shape their likelihood of engaging politically, it was critical to establish an appropriate measure that captured these perceptions. This chapter has presented the various steps I took to operationalize and test plausible measures of perceived belonging to U.S. society. Given that the concept of perceived social inclusion has been marginally examined in the political science literature, I adapted items from existent works and also research in social psychology to capture the theoretical concept of social belonging proposed in this dissertation.

The theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 argued that the concept of belonging is comprised of two important components, an individual one and a relative one. The individual component centers on the self and the recognition that one as an individual is part of the larger national community. The individual component strives to measure how the self understands one's place in the broader U.S. society. The external or relative component is focused on capturing one's inclusion in the U.S. society as a function of cues or treatment from others. In combination, these two components comprise concept of perceived belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society.

In this chapter, I presented results from the various pilots I conducted to arrive at the measures of perceived social inclusion. Through these four survey pilots, I attempted to measure and tease out the most appropriate and robust measurement of perceived belonging to U.S. society. For each pilot, I conducted several analysis to understand how the each one of the items performed when grouped together and whether or not the items were overlapping each other or other existent predispositions. The pilots revealed that each one of items that was tested appeared to be capturing a separate ingredient of the concept of perceived belonging to U.S. society. The results also demonstrated that the items which attempted to capture perceived inclusion as a sign of treatment of political elites decreased the reliability of all other items when grouped together. After removing these items, the internal reliability of the combined scale increased substantially, thus indicating that the

explicit *political* belonging items were the least appropriate.

In this chapter, I presented the first set of evidence that the belonging items and messages of belonging have a meaningful association with political variables. In two of the pilots, the data revealed that notions of belonging were significantly associated with levels of interest for political affairs and the likelihood of participating in the election. In one of the pilots, the pilot that was a sample of Latino millennials, the findings showed that a strong sense of being an outsider was associated with a greater level of intent to vote. The data also suggested that specifically the *belong* item was the most robust in its association to the political variables compared to the other items that measured social inclusion. Lastly, the results in this chapter provided strong evidence that the concept of belonging to U.S. society is independent from other similar concepts. I showed that there was no significant relationship between political efficacy, group discrimination and perceived inclusion in U.S. society.

Moving forward, the analysis in this chapter leaves important lessons. Priming the pan-ethnic identity of the respondents matters for the level of reported social inclusion. I show evidence that in some cases, Latinos who are reminded of their Latino ethnicity in the question report lower levels of perceived inclusion and appreciation of their peers in U.S. society. This implies that as this project continues with an examination of the factors that shape Latinos' perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging it will be critically important to disentangle what role do identity markers, not just pan-ethnicity but also national origin, gender, and others, play in shaping Latinos' perceived social inclusion. Moreover, the results presented in this chapter provide an important stepping stone for how to appropriately measure notions of perceived social belonging not just for Latinos but also other racial and ethnic minorities, as well as the grounding for quantitatively investigating the role that social inclusion has on political behavior more broadly.

CHAPTER 4

Shaping Latinos' Perceptions of Belonging to U.S. Society: Messages of Inclusion and Exclusion

4.1 Introduction

An extensive body of scholarship in political science has evaluated the factors associated with political incorporation and political engagement. However, much of this research has largely assumed that all individuals perceive themselves as equally belonging members to U.S. society. As prior research has shown perceptions of membership and belonging to U.S. society among Latinos are not always positive nor a given (Garcia Bedolla, 2005; Fraga et al., 2010). In fact, perceptions of belonging and membership to U.S. society vary a great deal particularly for those who are, and have historically been, marginalized along the lines of race, ethnicity, legal status, religion, gender and other characteristics.

Not all Latinos perceive themselves as belonging members of U.S. society (Golash-Boza, 2006; Fraga et al., 2010; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014) and as I have argued in previous chapters, perceptions of belonging and lack of belonging to U.S. society have behavioral consequences. However, before delving into a study of the relationship between perceived belonging and political participation it is necessary to understand what drives Latinos to have distinct perceptions of membership and belonging to U.S. society. While some Latinos learn from their surroundings and through cues that they belong to U.S. society, other Latinos develop and internalize frameworks of exclusion based on negative experiences. To-date there have been a few studies of the factors associated with varying perceptions of belonging among Latinos (Rocco, 2014; Schildkraut et al., 2018; Huo et al., 2018). We also know very little about how messages of exclusion or inclusion can influence

Latinos' perceptions of belonging. While existent research has focused on understanding perceived individual or in-group discrimination among Latinos (Michelson, 2001; Schildkraut, 2005; Pérez, Fortuna and Alegría, 2008; Armenta and Hunt, 2009), scholarship has not disentangled the complex nature of the concepts of social belonging and social alienation and how life experiences, social encounters and other factors including personal or perceived group discrimination contribute to perceptions of belonging to U.S. society.

This chapter specifically aims to investigate the factors that shape Latinos' perceptions of belonging and sense of membership. In doing so, I focus on examining what might influence Latinos to have high or low perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. I also investigate how messages and cues can influence and shift perceptions of belonging and feelings of social alienation among Latinos. I rely on two data sources to examine Latinos' sense of belonging to U.S. society. First, I draw from original data on the Latino subsample (n=3,003) of the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post-election survey to examine the correlates of perceived social inclusion among Latinos. Relying on this survey, I examine the extent to which demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status and other predispositions are associated with perceived belonging to U.S. society. Second, to examine how varying messages and distinct cues have a causal impact on Latinos' perceptions of inclusion and exclusion to U.S. society, I use a novel experiment among a nationally representative sample of Latinos (n=689). This experiment allowed me to manipulate the content of various message and determine how welcoming or hostile messages can move Latinos' perceptions of inclusion or alienation in U.S. society.

I find that personal discrimination is strongly associated with lower perceptions of belonging in U.S. society. I also find that socioeconomic status as captured by income is negatively associated with notions of belonging to U.S. society in particular for foreign born Latinos. I also find that acculturation plays an influential role in positively driving perceptions of belonging. But even as Latinos become more acculturated and familiar with the United States, discrimination continues to play a role in negatively shaping their sense of social inclusion. I find that skin color is negatively associated with perceptions of belonging only among U.S. born Latinos.

The experimental findings reveal that cues that are negative and that belittle the Latino community drive lower internalized perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. That is negative messages from society and political elites cause Latinos to have negative perceptions of belonging and membership in U.S. society. This evidence suggests that through cues and messages political elites and everyday Americans critically shape the process of political incorporation for Latinos.

4.2 Former Approaches to Understanding a Sense of Belonging among Latinos in America

Existent scholarship in various disciplines has spent a great deal of effort trying to examine how America has been defined and who is defined as part of it. In this scholarly pursuit, researchers have investigated the conceptual boundaries of membership to the American polity and along with it they have examined markers of belonging in American society (Marshall, 1950; Oboler, 2006; Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2011; Rocco, 2014; Schildkraut, 2014). Scholars who have studied the contours of membership within political science have paid particular attention to the concepts of American identity, patriotism and citizenship (Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Hochschild and Lang, 2011; Schildkraut, 2014). These concepts have been of critical importance in the study of political incorporation and political engagement.

However, much less attention has been paid to understanding what drives individuals to have varying perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. In her in-depth examination of Latinos in working-class East Los Angeles and the middle-class Montebello community Garcia Bedolla (2005) pays particular attention to the role of stigma. As she posits, the experience of stigma acts as a boundary between how Latinos see themselves and how they see the broader political community (Garcia Bedolla, 2005). The way in which Latinos respond to stigma along with the political resources and opportunities available to them help determine their political engagement. While this work highlights how stigma plays an intermediary role between attachment to Latino identity and political engagement, it speaks little about how stigma might be related to notions of belonging and membership. The research sug-

gests, however, that stigma given its detrimental impact on identity and personal wellbeing (Link and Phelan, 2001), should negatively influence Latinos' perception of belonging to U.S. society as a whole.

Similarly, in their examination of undocumented youth, Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson (2014) show that the traumatic growing up experiences of these youth, predominantly behind the shadows, negatively influence many DREAMers to feel as if they will never truly belong in the U.S. Part of this was because they did not feel accepted by various segments of U.S. society and were perceived to be as unwanted. However, despite the remarkable hardships faced by undocumented youth, some did have a strong sense of belonging to U.S. society via their strong American identity and sense of feeling at home in the U.S. In their attempt to re-affirm their sense of belonging to America they over participate and heavily engage in civic groups, churches and other local and justice oriented organizations (Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014). This work suggests that Latinos' lived experiences and status as undocumented individuals greatly influence the extent to which they perceive their sense of membership in the broader U.S. society.

As Golash-Boza (2006) argues, discrimination influences one's racial and ethnic identification. Based on this work and other research on stigma and undocumented Latinos, we can expect that experiences of discrimination negatively influence Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. Discrimination is a mechanism of exclusion and as others suggests it binds racial and ethnic boundaries (Telles and Ortiz, 2008). Therefore, discrimination should also influence one's understanding of status within a group or broader community and it should negatively influence how Latinos' perceive their sense of membership and belonging to U.S. society. As discrimination increases Latinos are more aware of their non-white status and are less likely to identify as American (Golash-Boza, 2006). This suggests that as Latinos experience more discrimination this should also negatively influence their sense of belonging in U.S. society.

In line with the expected role of discrimination on Latinos' perceptions of belonging, recent work suggests that immigration policies that are either welcoming or hostile in nature can shift Latinos' perceptions of belonging in America (Huo et al., 2018). Latinos, in

particular those who are foreign born, reported a greater sense of belonging when primed with a welcoming immigration policy proposal, as opposed to a negative immigration policy proposal. These findings also held for U.S. born Latinos and even for liberal whites (Huo et al., 2018). These results indicate that policy proposals espoused by political elites that are closely related to the Latino community, immigration in this case, have a direct influence on the way in which Latinos conceptualize their sense of belonging or not belonging in U.S. society. Furthermore, new research reveals that living in a state context that is hostile towards immigrants, such as Arizona, reduces Latinos' perceptions of belonging –primarily in that state–, compared to residing in New Mexico (Schildkraut et al., 2018). In combination, these results demonstrate that Latinos internalize symbols and messages transmitted through policies, and that these in fact do shape their notions of perceived belonging. Moreover, these finings imply that beyond unwelcoming immigration policies, other types of hostile messages and cues could potentially impact Latinos' sense of belonging. This proposition will be tested in the second part of this chapter.

Acculturation refers to the adoption of "cultural patterns" and familiarization with the host society (Gordon, 1964). Several modes of acculturation have been investigated including various forms of assimilation into to the host society or separation from it. While acculturation means espousing the cultural values, rules and symbols of the host society, assimilation means that newcomers leave their formal and informal ethnic ties to be fully immersed in the non-ethnic institutions and ties in the host society (Gans, 1997). Early scholars of assimilation argued that immigrants assimilated and eventually become Anglo-Americans generation after generation (Gordon, 1964). However, more recent approaches to assimilation posit that this process can be multifaceted. The more recent frameworks of assimilation detail how it is not necessarily the case that immigrants and the children of immigrants assimilate into the majority group and become white Americans (Alba and Nee, 2003; Portes and Zhou, 1993). An important aspect of the new approaches to understanding assimilation highlight how minority immigrant communities also transform mainstream America (Alba and Nee, 2003). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) offer a different perspective by which they outline three paths of a segmented form of assimilation where assimilation into

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mainstream U.S. society is attainable for some immigrants but not all.

Given the various approaches to assimilation, it is not necessarily safe to assume that as Latinos become more familiar with the United States and incorporated in various ways generation after generation that they should be more likely to feel like they belong to U.S. society. In fact, prior research suggests that the more familiarized Latinos are with United States' customs, language and culture the more cognizant they become of hostility and animosity towards minority communities (Portes, Parker and Cobas, 1980). Moreover, recent work details how many young U.S. born Latinos, despite being American citizens, do not feel part of the larger U.S. social fabric. Thus, it remains an open question if greater levels of acculturation and familiarity with the U.S. lead to higher perceptions of belonging to U.S. society among Latinos.

Skin color and phenotype are important determinant of Latino social stratification as defined by income, education, occupational status, criminal justice sentencing, poverty rates and mental health outcomes (Telles and Murguia, 1990; Murguia and Telles, 1996; Codina and Montalvo, 1994; Espino and Franz, 2002; Morales, 2008; Faught and Hunter, 2012). Skin color also leads to negative material outcomes for African Americans. However, as Hochschild and Weaver (2007) and Faught and Hunter (2012) point out a skin color 'paradox' exists for African Americans and also Latinos. Whereas skin color determines social stratification, it does not seem to be associated with political interest, political efficacy, government trust (Faught and Hunter, 2012). Nonetheless, as Faught and Hunter (2012) suggest, the inequalities faced by African Americans and Latinos due to skin color is evidence of systemic discrimination at play. Golash-Boza (2006) finds that dark-skinned Latinos are less likely to self-identify as American. Based on this research, we might expect that skin tone could influence Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society as dark-skinned Latinos are more likely to experience social rejection which could lead them to internalize a perceived sense of lack of belonging to U.S. society.

American identity is understood to be a social identity. Social identities come to being based on how individuals understand their sense of self based on their membership within a group and attachment to that group (Tajfel, 1982). Research on American identity through

this perspective has aimed to understand how one's identity as an American becomes more or less salient, how individuals perceive threats to their American identity, what factors influence attachment to this identity and how this identity is associated with political attitudes and behaviors (Schildkraut, 2014, 2011; Theiss-Morse, 2009).

Research suggests that Latinos report a strong sense of American identity, country of origin identity and pan-ethnic identity (Fraga et al., 2010). In fact, recent research suggest that Latinos' multiple identities are perennial and situational (Garcia Rios, 2015). Meaning that Latinos identify with various identities such as country of origin, Latino identity and American identity throughout the course of their lives in ways that allow them to maintain a positive sense of self (Garcia Rios, 2015). Other findings suggest, however, that Latinos who experience discrimination are less likely to identify as American (Golash-Boza, 2006). In other words, Latinos who might experience exclusion and negative encounters appear to be less likely to perceive themselves as part of the broader American social fabric.

Scholarship on American identity and belonging to U.S. society has used these two notions interchangeably. Some scholars rely on questions about the importance of American identity to indicate whether or not Latinos' feel at home in the United States and whether or not they feel like they belong. But little empirical work has disentangled these two concepts. While research suggests that espousing an American identity and a sense of belonging to U.S. society are closely related (Fraga et al., 2010), it is not necessarily clear whether these two concepts capture the same construct. As Schildkraut (2014) points out, a consensus is lacking regarding the appropriate concepts that operationalize and measure the concept of American identity. Some research has examined American identity by assessing the extent to which individuals believe that this identity is an important part of how they see themselves (Schildkraut, 2005). Others have operationalized it by looking at whether or not people consider themselves to be typical Americans or if they believe being American is important (Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Theiss-Morse, 2009; Jacobs and Theiss-Morse, 2013). Recent work suggests that a perceived sense of belonging to U.S. society is its own unique explanatory factor with predictive power distinct from American identity (Ocampo, 2017). Despite suggestive evidence that these two are separate constructs, it expected that a strong

desire to identify as an American is positively associated with perceptions of belonging and membership to U.S. society. Otherwise, as social identity theory suggests, if individuals have negative perceptions of belonging in the U.S. they would choose to identify with other available identities in order to preserve a positive self-image (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 2004; Garcia Rios, 2015). In this chapter, I examine this link more closely and investigate what is the relationship between believing American identity is an important part of the self and perceptions of belonging to U.S. society.

Prior research shows that some Latinos indicate having a strong sense of belonging to U.S. society as they perceive that the U.S. is their home (Fraga et al., 2010). There is also evidence that suggests that some Latinos feel ambivalent about their sense of belonging to America. Even though Latinos feel accepted, their sense of ambivalence was captured by a sense of being "neither from here nor from there" especially among the first generation. Prior work also suggests that some Latinos do not feel like they belong in U.S. society and this sentiment was prevalent among Latinos who had been recent arrivals to the United States, who were Spanish speakers and who lived in newer immigrant destinations (Fraga et al., 2010). These important findings suggest that generation, nativity and familiarity with the U.S. are strong determinants of perceived belonging to U.S. society. But given that most of these results stem from focus groups that emerged as part of the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS) further inquiry into whether or not these also emerge as prevalent factors in a quantitative analysis is warranted.

4.3   Correlates of Perceptions of Belonging

The concept of belonging to U.S. society as examined in this dissertation is defined by two components, an internal and an external one. Both of these components, when captured, measure the extent to which Latinos feel or do not feel as belonging members to U.S. society. Prior to examining how it is that belonging is related to political behavior, I focus on disentangling and examining what factors are correlates of positive or negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society among Latinos.

In order to examine what factors are associated with perceptions of social inclusion or lack of inclusion among Latinos, I placed measures of perceived belonging to U.S. society on the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post election survey (CMPS). In addition to the belonging items, this original survey collected demographic data, questions on political attitudes and political behaviors among a nationally representative sample of the U.S. population. The 2016 CMPS was a self-administered survey collected from December 3, 2016 until February 15, 2017. The survey collected a total of 10,145 responses from Latinos, Asians, blacks and whites. For this analysis, I primarily rely on analysis of the Latino subsample though in some cases I also conduct comparisons across other racial and ethnic groups. To my knowledge, the 2016 CMPS is the first national survey to specifically measure perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society among a representative sample of Latinos, blacks and Asians. The Latino subsample of the CMPS is comprised of 3,003 respondents, out of which 1,816 were registered voters and 1,187 were not.

The 2016 CMPS asked respondents the belonging questions that based on results from the pilots shown in chapter 3 were the most appropriate and best items to capture the concept. These were the *belong* and the *respected* items. The *belong* item asked respondents in a 4-point scale to answer the following question: "how strongly do you feel like you belong in the United States?" The *respected* item asked respondents the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "Most Americans value and respect my individual presence in the United States." This item was also on a 4-point scale.

Figure 4.1 presents the distribution of the two items that measure perceptions of belonging among all CMPS respondents. With regards to the belong item, approximately 10% of Latinos in the sample reported that they did not feel like they belonged to U.S. society, whereas 25% somewhat felt that they belonged and 64% strongly agreed that they belonged. The distribution of the responses for both items has a left skew. However, it appears that some Latinos possess negative perceptions of social inclusion as displayed by the left tails.

To further examine how perceptions of belonging and membership vary among the foreign born and U.S. born, figure 4.2 displays the distribution of responses to these items by nativity. The solid line, which represents the mean, suggests that U.S. born Latinos

Figure 4.1: Distribution of belonging items in 2016 CMPS
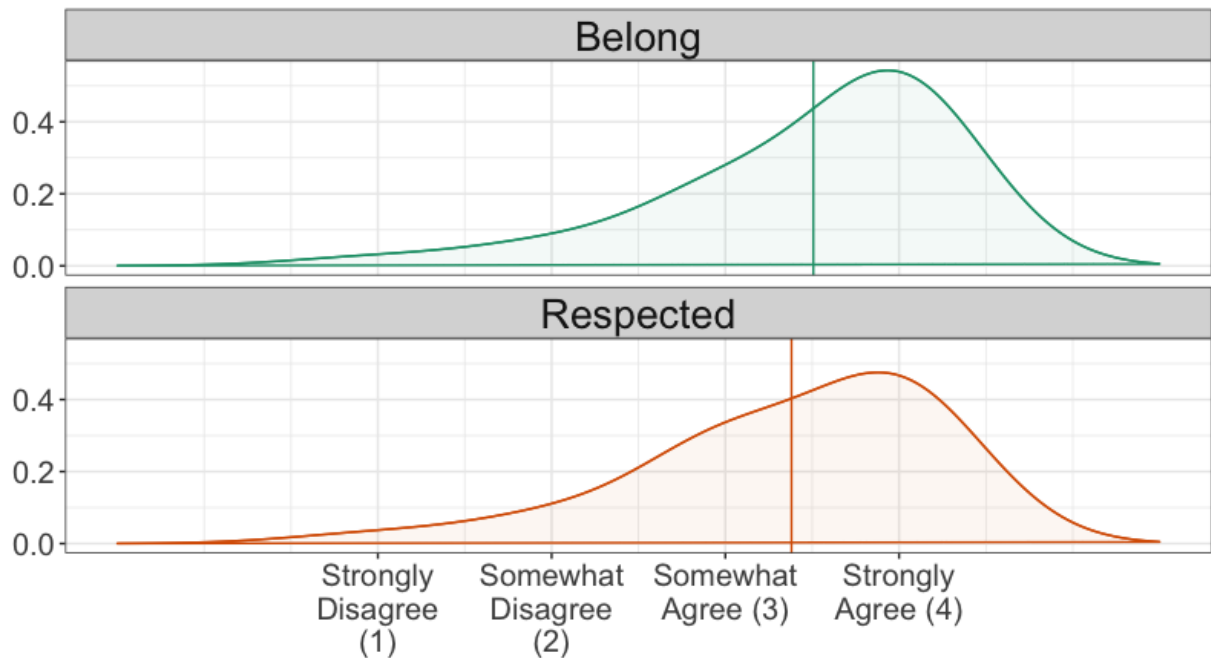
on average are more likely to have greater perceptions of belonging and feelings of being respected than foreign born. 50% of foreign born Latinos have the highest perceptions of belonging to U.S. society, while 35% somewhat agree that they belong and 14% report that they either strongly or somewhat don't feel like they belong. Compared to the U.S. born, 68% strongly agree that they belong, 22% believe that they somewhat belong and 9% believe that they either strongly or somewhat do not belong. These proportions suggest that foreign born Latinos have slightly lower perceptions of belonging to U.S. society than U.S. born Latinos.

With regards to the *respected* item, 46% of foreign born Latinos report that they strongly agree that they are respected by other Americans, 41% somewhat agree, and 13% either somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that they are respected by other Americans. 56% of U.S. born Latinos in the sample report on average that they strongly agree that they are respected, 31% somewhat agree that they are respected and 12% disagree either somewhat or strongly that they are respected by other Americans. These figures suggest that U.S. born Latinos are more likely to believe that they are respected by other Americans as opposed to their foreign born counterparts. Figure C.3 in appendix D displays the dis-

tribution of perceptions of belonging for Asias, whites, blacks and Latinos. Similarly, figure C.2 illustrates the distribution of responses for the *respected* item across all racial and ethnic groups in the CMPS. These plots suggest that out of all racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. whites have the highest perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. Asians and blacks also have varying perceptions of belonging to U.S. society comparable to those of Latinos. In the analysis that follows, I combine the respect and belong item into a social inclusion combined item. This measure had a scale of α=.7 and a Spearman-Brown coefficient of.81.[1]

To analyze how other predictors and demographic characteristics are associated with varying perceptions of belonging to U.S. society, I rely on other measures included in the survey. As existent research suggests, discrimination can have negative consequences as it can make people feel sad, depressed, powerless, lower self-esteem and a negative self-image (Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey, 1999; Almeida et al., 2009; Schmitt et al., 2002). Therefore, I posit that experiencing personal discrimination and perceiving that one has been discriminated against should be negatively associated with perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. To examine the relationship between perceived personal discrimination and perceptions of belonging, I use an item that asked respondents if they had been ever treated unfairly or personally experienced discrimination because of their race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, being an immigrant or due to their religious heritage of having an accent. This item is a binary variable that takes the value of 1 if the respondent perceived to ever have been discriminated against and 0 otherwise. In the 2016 CMPS, over half of Latino respondents (52%) reported that they had been discriminated in the past.

I also test for the possibility that acknowledging group discrimination toward Latinos as a group is associated with perceptions of belonging. To test for this, the item *group discrimination* measures the extent to which respondents believed that discrimination against Latinos was preventing Latinos in general from succeeding in the U.S. This item was a 5-category item where 1 meant that respondents felt like it was not a problem at all and 5

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[1]Scholars suggest that to assess the reliability of two items it is best to present both the Chronbach's alpha and the Spearman-Brown statistic (Eisinga, Grotenhuis and Pelzer, 2013). While neither in isolation are completely accurate measures of reliability, the usage of both of these to asses scale reliability is the most recommended for two item scales.

Figure 4.2: Distribution of belonging items in 2016 CMPS by nativity
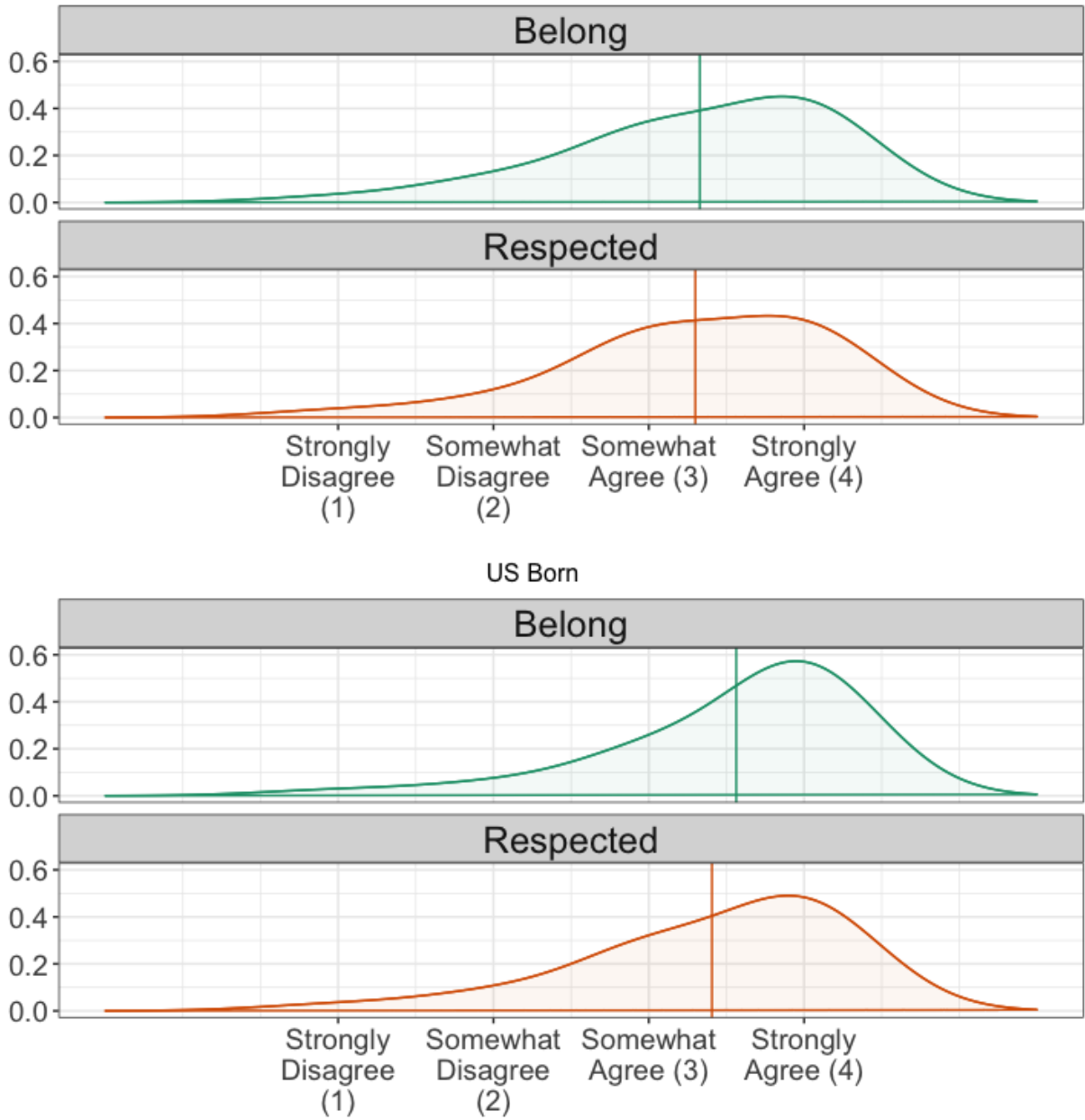
signified that respondents believed it was the primary problem. I also included several items to test for the role of identity on perceptions of belonging. I included items for American identity, Latino identity and country of origin identity. All three of these items measured how much respondents felt that being either Latino, American or of a given nationality was an important part of how they saw themselves. These were 4-category items ranging from 1, not at all important to 4, very important. I included a measure of linked fate to account for whether or not feeling that one's fate was connected to that of others from the in-group influenced the extent to which Latinos expressed perceptions of belonging. Originally, this was a binary item. But I combined it with a followup question about how much individuals felt that their fate was going to depend based on others in the in-group. The final linked fate item had 4 categories ranging from none 1, none at all to 4, a lot.

As scholarship on social stratification has shown, skin color has a substantive impact on outcomes for Latinos (Telles and Murguia, 1990; Murguia and Telles, 1996; Codina and Montalvo, 1994; Espino and Franz, 2002; Morales, 2008). Despite the fact that scholars have not found a strong relationship between skin color and political attitudes among Latinos (Faught and Hunter, 2012), it is plausible that the link between skin color and political attitudes manifests itself through diminished perceptions of belonging. To examine the influence of skin color on perception of belonging among Latinos, I rely on the traditional item that measures skin tone which allows respondent to self categorize their skin tone using the skin color scale ranging from 1, the darkest to 10, the lightest. This is the same scale utilized in surveys such as the American National Election Study (ANES), originally developed by Massey and Martin (Massey et al., 2003).

Research on acculturation suggests that greater levels of integration in the host society are associated with positive outcomes such as higher self-esteem and better mental health (Miranda and Umhoefer, 1998). It is plausible that acculturation also positively influences perceived belonging to U.S. society among Latinos. As Fraga et al. (2010) point out, uncertainty among Latinos with regards to belonging is most present among first generation immigrants. It is possible that this is driven by their levels of unfamiliarity with the U.S., as well as lack of connectedness or attachment to the host society. In order to examine the role

of acculturation on perceptions of belonging to U.S. society, I rely on two proxies used in existent scholarship to help me capture familiarity with the U.S. or acculturation (Michelson, 2003). The first is Spanish language dominance, which I capture with a dummy variable of whether or not the respondent took the survey in Spanish. The second acculturation item measures the length of time that the respondent has lived in the United States.

To account for the role of partisanship in influencing Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society, I use dummy variables for whether or not respondents are Republican or Democrat (Independent is the baseline category). I also account for partisanship using a 5-point ideology scale ranging from very conservative to very liberal. I include measures of income and education. To measure the respondents' income, the survey asked individuals what was the total combined household income. There were 12 categories that respondents chose from ranging from 1, less than \$20,000 to 12, which represented \$200,000 or more. Education was measured through a 6-category item where 1 meant that respondents had obtained only a grade 1 – 8 schooling, whereas a 6 meant that respondents had received a post-graduate education.

I also accounted for various demographic characteristics and other control variables. Age captured how old respondents were at the time of the survey. A dummy variable was included for whether or not the respondent was female and if they had been born outside of the United States. The analysis also includes controls for the three largest Latino national origin groups: Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican. Table C.1 in appendix C provides all summary statistics for all variables in the survey.

To more systematically examine the relationship between aforementioned predictors and Latinos' perceptions of social belonging, I use ordered logit models given the ordered categorical nature of the dependent variable. Table 4.1 presents three models. The first model shows the relationship between the covariates and a sense of belonging for all Latinos in the CMPS sample. Models 2 and 3 in table 4.1 show separate models for subsets of the data by nativity.

First observing the results from model 1 in table 4.1, we see that reporting having

been discriminated in the past is one of the most salient predictors of perceived belonging for all Latinos. Reporting that American identity is an important part of the self is also a very strong predictor of notions of belonging to U.S. society. Acculturation, as signaled by Spanish language usage, is strongly and negatively associated with high perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. Ideology, age, and gender also appear to be strongly associated with perceptions of belonging.

Looking at model 2, which displays the results for the model only among foreign born Latinos, indicates that perceived discrimination is also negatively associated with a strong sense of belonging. Considering American identity an important part of the self is strongly and positively associated with high perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. In addition to Spanish language dominance, time in the U.S. emerges as a significant predictor of belonging. The longer that Latino immigrants reside in the U.S. the more likely they are to report a greater sense of belonging to U.S.society. For foreign born Latinos, income shows to be strongly and positively associated with perceived belonging. Model 3 displays the results only among U.S. born Latinos. Skin color emerges as a strong predictor of perceived belonging to U.S. society. The darker the skin color of U.S. born Latinos the less likely they are to report high perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. Age and gender are also associated with perceptions of belonging among U.S. born Latinos.

Given that the coefficients from these ordered logit models are directly uninterpretable I calculate predicted probabilities. The predicted probability plots are show in figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5. These predicted probability plots display the results for each one of the models. The plots show the change in predicted probability of being in the highest category of belonging as opposed to being in any other category, when moving each one of the independent variables from its minimum to its maximum while holding each one of the other covariates at their means.

Figure 4.3 shows the change in the predicted probability of being in the highest category of belonging for all Latinos as a function of each one of the independent variables listed, while holding all other covariates in the model fixed. For all Latinos, when moving from reporting no discrimination to reporting having experienced personal discrimination is associated with

Table 4.1: Predictors of Perceived Social Inclusion

	All Latinos	Foreign Born	U.S. Born
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Discrimination & Identity			
Pers. Discrim.	−0.298***	−0.355**	−0.301**
	(0.081)	(0.123)	(0.114)
Grp. Discrim.	−0.004	0.041	0.004
	(0.041)	(0.059)	(0.058)
Latino ID.	0.001	−0.160	0.084
	(0.080)	(0.123)	(0.109)
American ID.	0.940***	0.876***	1.040***
	(0.059)	(0.084)	(0.087)
Nat. Origin ID.	−0.133	−0.156	−0.171
	(0.077)	(0.120)	(0.104)
Linked Fate	−0.048	−0.051	−0.025
	(0.035)	(0.052)	(0.049)
Skin Color	−0.056	−0.024	−0.106**
	(0.029)	(0.045)	(0.040)
Acculturation			
Spanish Int.	−1.361***	−1.105***	−1.291***
	(0.113)	(0.158)	(0.263)
Years in the U.S.		0.012*	
		(0.006)	
Partisanship			
Democrat	0.155	0.387**	0.033
	(0.087)	(0.128)	(0.123)
Republican	0.369**	0.358	0.306
	(0.128)	(0.202)	(0.174)
Ideology	0.090*	0.251***	−0.042
	(0.038)	(0.057)	(0.054)
Socioeconomic Status			
Income	0.014	0.087***	−0.029
	(0.015)	(0.024)	(0.020)
Education	−0.027	−0.019	−0.023
	(0.036)	(0.050)	(0.055)
Demographics & Controls			
Age	0.012***	−0.016**	0.022***
	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Female	−0.268***	−0.296*	−0.230*
	(0.078)	(0.117)	(0.109)
Foreign Born	−0.188		
	(0.101)		
Mexican	0.175	−0.083	0.328*
	(0.095)	(0.143)	(0.135)
Puerto Rican	−0.237		−0.220
	(0.156)		(0.177)
Cuban	0.047	0.518	−0.152
	(0.209)	(0.273)	(0.335)
Observations	2,578	1,131	1,447
Log Likelihood	−3,349.847	−1,586.867	−1,695.007

Note: Ordered logit models *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

a .13 change in the predicted probability of being in the highest level of belonging and overall perceived social inclusion. Reporting that American identity is one of the most important parts of one's self is among the strongest predictors of perceived belonging to U.S. society. When moving from not regarding American identity as important to regarding it as the most important is associated with a .53 change in the predicted probability of being in the highest category of belonging. Being female as opposed to being a male is associated with a 6 percent decrease in the probability of reporting the highest levels of inclusion for all Latinos.

Figure 4.4 allows us to examine the effects from model 2 in table 4.1 between the independent variables and perceptions of belonging among foreign born Latinos. Latino immigrants who experience discrimination as opposed to those who do not are 5 percentage points much less likely to report the highest level of belonging to U.S. society. For foreign born Latinos moving from not believing that an American identity is important to believing that it is very important to the self are 50 percent more likely to report greater levels of belonging. Latino immigrants who took the survey in Spanish were 26 percent points less likely to report high levels of social inclusion. Latinas born abroad were 4 percent less likely to report being in the highest category of belonging.

Lastly, figure 4.5 displays predicted probabilities calculated from the effects shown in model 3 in table 4.1. U.S. born Latinos who experience personal discrimination as opposed to those who do not experience it are 6 percentage points less likely to report the highest level of belonging. The change in the predicted probability when going from the lowest level of American identity to its highest level among U.S. born Latinos is associated with 48 percent change in the predicted probability of reporting the highest level of belonging. A relationship that emerges as important among second generation Latinos is the role of skin color. Having the darkest skin tone as opposed to the lightest among U.S. born Latinos is associated with a 10 percent decrease in the probability that they report the highest level of belonging.

Overall, the findings indicate that lived experiences and demographic characteristics are very much drivers of Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. For all Latinos, having

Figure 4.3: Predicted Probabilities of Perceiving Highest Level of Belonging among all Latinos
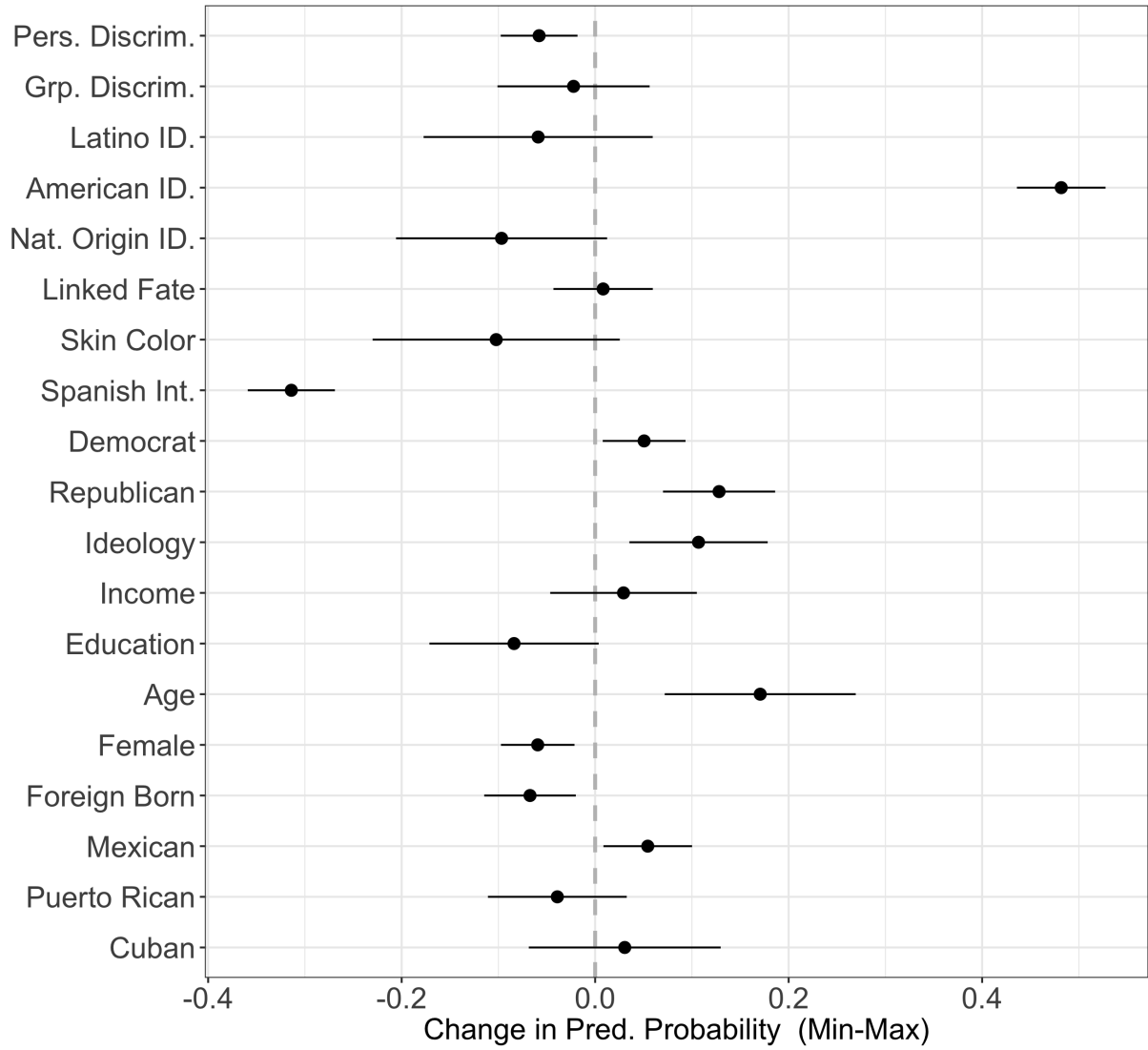
Figure 4.4: Predicted Probabilities of Perceiving Highest Level of Belonging among Foreign Born Latinos
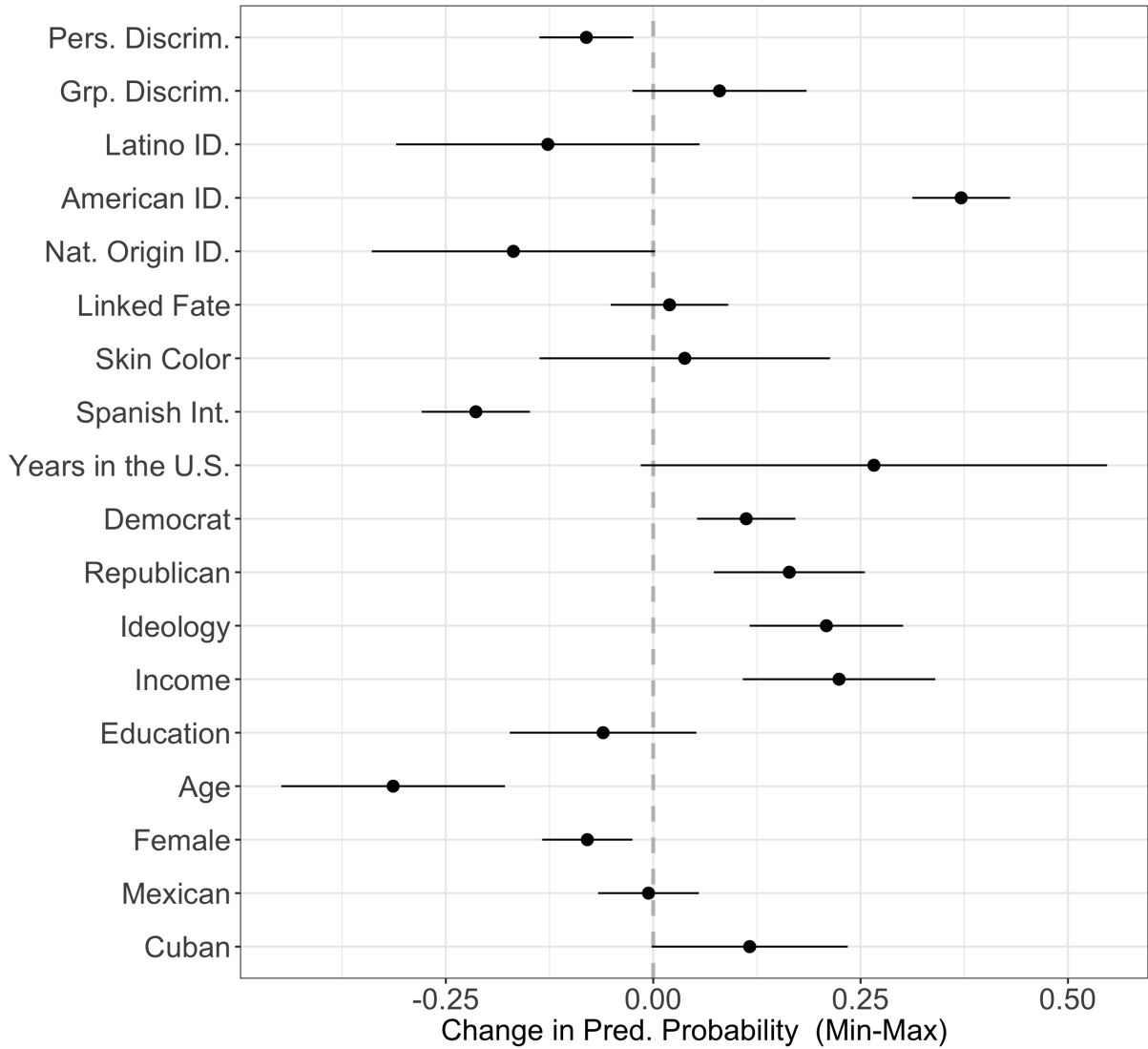
Figure 4.5: Predicted Probabilities of Perceiving Highest Level of Belonging among U.S. Born Latinos
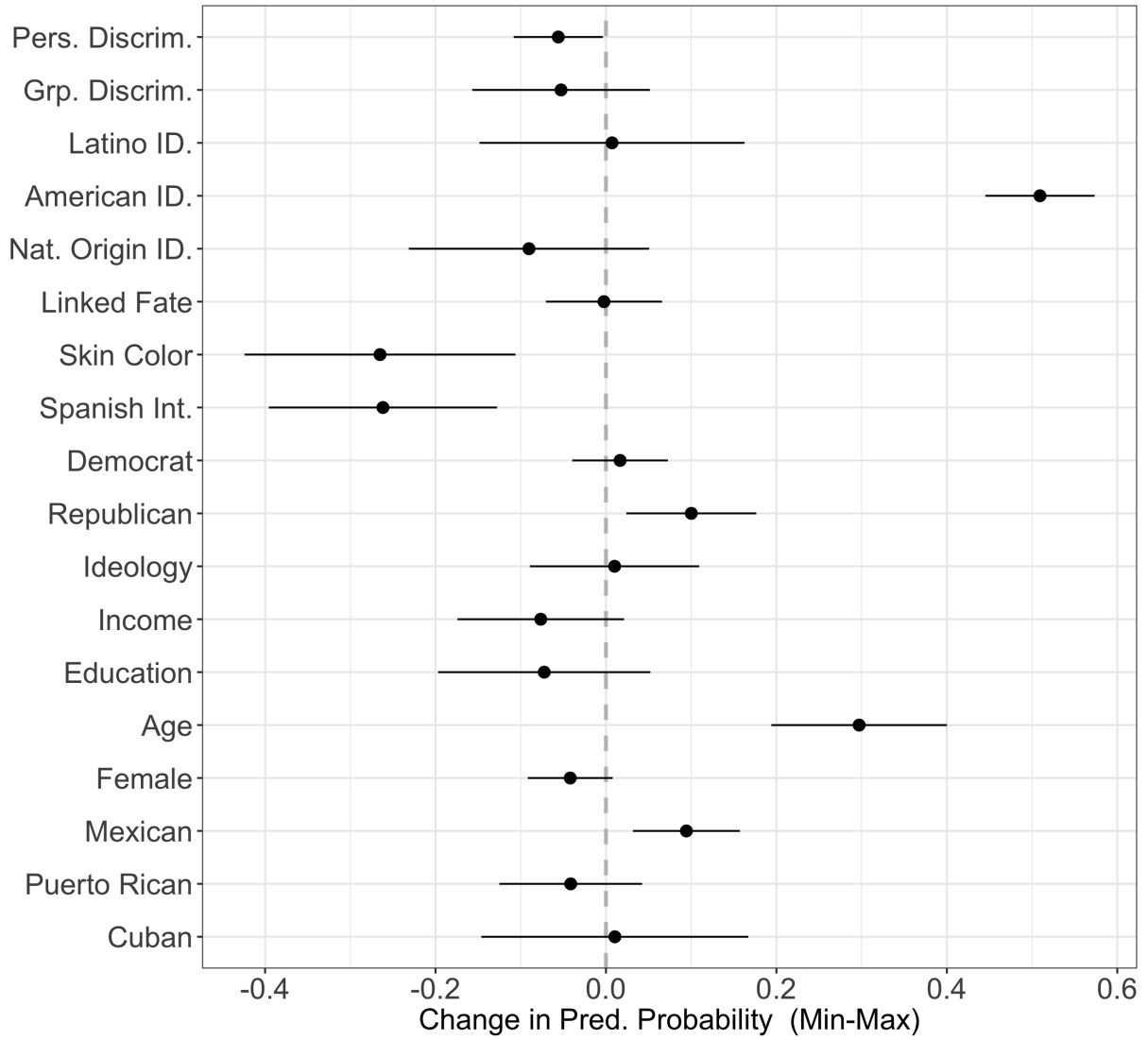
experienced discrimination and the importance of American identity for the self are some of the most salient predictors of perceived social inclusion. Several key predictors emerge when examining first and second generation Latinos separately. In particularly, these include the role of income for Latino immigrants and skin color for U.S. born Latinos.

4.4 Shaping Perceptions of Belonging

As the results above indicate, various life circumstances and experiences shape Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. In particular, having experienced personal discrimination negatively influences Latinos' sense of belonging to U.S. society. However, given that the prior analysis is from observational data, we can only assess the extent to which the independent variables are associated with varying levels of perceptions of belonging. To have a more succinct understanding of the causal relationship between perceiving negative as well as positive messages, and Latinos perceptions of belonging, I conducted an experiment. The goal of this experiment was to establish whether or not welcoming or hostile messages could influence Latinos' feelings of belonging to U.S. society.

To test for possible effect due to positive or negative messages on Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society, I designed and administered a unique experiment embedded in a national survey of Latino adults. This survey was fielded by the firm ResearchNow - Survey Sampling International (SSI) from October 3 – 15, 2017. The respondents were recruited via the firm's opt-in panel to participate in the 2017 National Survey on Public Opinion study (n=689). The summary statistics of this sample can be found in C.2.

All respondents were asked a set of screening and demographic questions prior to being randomly assigned to four possible conditions. Table 4.2 summarizes the treatments that respondents were assigned to. Respondents were assigned to either a control, a positive, a negative or a non-ethnic condition. The experiment was designed in the form on a fictitious news story, using original HTML code from the New York Times website. Respondents were told that this news story had recently appeared in the New York Times. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. In the control condition, respondents were given

an article that contained a story about a new technology buy from Google. In the positive, or welcoming condition, respondents were presented a story where Members of Congress and the broader American public showed strong support for funding the National Smithsonian Latino History Museum. In the negative, or hostile condition, respondents were given the same exact article as in the positive prime, except that all language was changed to be negative. As opposed to supporting the National Smithsonian Latino History Museum, this article showed the strong opposition by American legislators and the broad American public. The last condition, the non-ethnic one, was the same as the positive condition, except that the museum was not Latino but it was an American museum without ethnic ties to the Latino community. The articles that respondents saw are show in figures 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9. Respondents were allowed to take the survey in the language of their choice.

Table 4.2: Experiment Design

Name	Description
Control	Respondents read an article about new Google technology
Positive	Respondents read an article about support and funding for Smithsonian National Latino History Museum
Negative	Respondents read an article about opposition and no funding for Smithsonian National Latino History Museum
Non-ethnic	Respondents read an article about support and funding for Smithsonian American Latino History Museum

After the experiment, respondents were asked the same belonging questions that were asked on the 2016 CMPS. These were the *belong* and *respected* items. The *belong* item asked respondents the extent to which they belonged to the United States. This was a 4-point item. The *respected* item asked respondents to agree on a 4-point scale with whether or not they felt that other Americans valued and respected their presence in the United States. As the descriptive statistics indicate, the distribution and variation of these two items closely resembles those of the 2016 CMPS withs similar means and standard deviations. Similar to the CMPS analysis, these two items were combined into a single measure of overall

perceptions of social inclusion. The survey also included manipulation checks to assess whether or not the respondents were paying close attention.

Figure 4.6: Control Treatment

The balance statistics, shown in appendix D, suggest that the covariates were equally distributed among all treatment groups. Given that there is no statistical difference by design between the treatment groups, any difference observed in perceptions of belonging can be attributed to the treatments themselves. In order to directly analyze the effect of being assigned to each one of the treatments on reported levels of belonging, I run a simple model predicting perceptions of belonging. Table 4.3 shows the results when regressing assignment to each treatment condition on perceptions of social inclusion. Here the control condition is the reference category.

The OLS results indicate that respondents who were assigned to the negative or hostile treatment condition reported lower levels of perceived belonging to U.S. society. Being assigned to the positive or non-ethnic condition did not yield any results. To better understand the magnitude of these effects, I plot the predicted level of perceived belonging

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Figure 4.7: Positive Treatment

NEWS

Members of Congress and the American Public show strong support for funding Latino History Museum

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT   📘 🐦 ✉ ➥   🔖   405

Representatives Harris D-NV and Richardson R-OK endorse the idea of recognizing Latino heritage. Recent poll finds majority of white Americans also get behind the proposal.

Washington DC – A group of Washington lawmakers has come out in strong support of providing federal funding for the National Smithsonian Latino History Museum. A recent national poll indicates that white Americans are also in strong support of funding the museum.

The bill to establish a Latino History Museum passed in 2008, however funding for it had been delayed. Over the last month, discussions about allocating federal funding for the museum have taken the national spotlight. In their most recent survey, the PewResearch Center asked Americans if the National Smithsonian Museum of Latino History should be a priority for the federal government to fund. An overwhelming 87% of white Americans agreed that it should be a priority. When asked, 79% of white Americans agreed that as a nation we have not sufficiently recognized the significant contributions of Latino Americans, and a larger recognition of their extensive contributions is overdue.

Two of the most vocal supporters have been Rep. Jake Harris D-NV and Rep. Emily Richardson R-OK. In a recent interview with Representative Richardson, she stated that "the Latino community has been an important part of America since before the founding of our great nation. Latinos are veterans, artists, athletes, business leaders and active participants in every walk of life." Similarly, Representative Harris stated that, "the Latino story is the American story: one of family, patriotism, hard work, and pride in the country we've all built together. It's time to recognize the contributions of Latinos and their ongoing efforts to improving our nation."

The Latino museum commission envisions a 310,000-square-foot building. As of last summer, the commission had narrowed its list of desired sites to four, all of them on the National Mall in Washington, DC.

Figure 4.8: Negative Treatment

The New York Times

Members of Congress and the American Public show strong opposition for funding Latino History Museum

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

405

Representatives Harris D-NV and Richardson R-OK do not endorse the idea of recognizing Latino heritage. Recent poll finds majority of white Americans also against the proposal.

Washington DC – A group of Washington lawmakers has come out in strong opposition of providing federal funding for the National Smithsonian Latino History Museum. A recent national poll indicates that white Americans are also in strong opposition of funding the museum.

The bill to establish a Latino History Museum passed in 2008, however funding for it had been delayed. Over the last month, discussions about allocating federal funding for the museum have taken the national spotlight. In their most recent survey, the PewResearch Center asked Americans if the National Smithsonian Museum of Latino History should be a priority for the federal government to fund. An overwhelming 87% of white Americans disagreed that it should be a priority. When asked, 79% of white Americans agreed that as a nation we have done enough for Latinos, and a larger recognition of their contributions is unnecessary.

Two of the most vocal opponents have been Rep. Jake Harris D-NV and Rep. Emily Richardson R-OK. In a recent interview with Representative Harris, he stated that "the Latino community has not really been a distinctively important part of America." Similarly, Representative Richardson stated that "It's not necessary to waste resources to recognize Latinos. The members of this group are problematic and often times bring more harm than good to our nation."

The Latino museum commission had envisioned a 310,000-square-foot building. As of last summer, the commission had narrowed its list of desired sites to four, all of them on the National Mall in Washington, DC. Given recent strong opposition, it is very unlikely that the museum will be funded or built anytime soon.

Figure 4.9: Non-Ethnic Treatment

≡ SECTIONS   𝕿   🔍   The New York Times   👤▾   ⚙

NEWS

Members of Congress and the American Public show strong support for funding American History Museum

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT   f 🐦 ✉ ➤ | 🔖   [405]

Representatives Harris D-NV and Richardson R-OK endorse the idea of further recognizing American heritage. Recent poll finds majority of Americans also get behind the proposal.

Washington DC – A group of Washington lawmakers has come out in strong support of providing federal funding for the National Smithsonian American History Museum. A recent national poll indicates that Americans are also in strong support of funding the museum.

The bill to establish a new contemporary American History Museum passed in 2008, however funding for it had been delayed. Over the last month, discussions about allocating federal funding for the museum have taken the national spotlight. In their most recent survey, the PewResearch Center asked Americans if the National Smithsonian Museum of American History should be a priority for the federal government to fund. An overwhelming 87% of Americans agreed that it should be a priority. When asked, 79% of Americans agreed that as a nation we have not sufficiently recognized the significant contributions of all Americans, and a larger recognition of their extensive contributions is overdue.

Two of the most vocal supporters have been Rep. Jake Harris D-NV and Rep. Emily Richardson R-OK. In a recent interview with Representative Richardson, she stated that "all communities in the U.S. have been an important part of America since before the founding of our great nation. Americans are veterans, artists, athletes, business leaders and active participants in every walk of life." Similarly, Representative Harris stated that, "the American story is one of family, patriotism, hard work, and pride in the country we've all built together. It's time to further recognize the contributions of all Americans and their ongoing efforts to improving our nation."

The American history museum commission envisions a 310,000-square-foot building. As of last summer, the commission had narrowed its list of desired sites to four, all of them on the National Mall in Washington, DC.

based on treatment condition. Figure 4.10 display these results. Respondents assigned to the negative condition did report lower levels of perceived social inclusion than respondents who were assigned to the control condition. The reported levels of those assigned to the negative condition were much lower than even those assigned to the positive condition as well. Interestingly, respondents in the non-ethnic condition did not report distinguishably different levels of belonging from the control.

Table 4.3: Effect of Treatment on Perceptions of Belonging: OLS Regression Results

	Belonging
Positive	0.112
	(0.119)
Negative	−0.298*
	(0.117)
Non-Ethnic	−0.155
	(0.122)
Age	0.011***
	(0.003)
Foreign Born	−0.362***
	(0.108)
Latino ID	−0.160**
	(0.058)
Republican	0.473***
	(0.110)
American ID	0.531***
	(0.071)
Constant	4.792***
	(0.305)
Observations	689
R^2	0.184
Adjusted R^2	0.175
Residual Std. Error	1.122 (df = 680)
F Statistic	19.207*** (df = 8; 680)

Note: OLS model   *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 4.10: Experiment Results: Predicted Level of Belonging per Treatment Condition
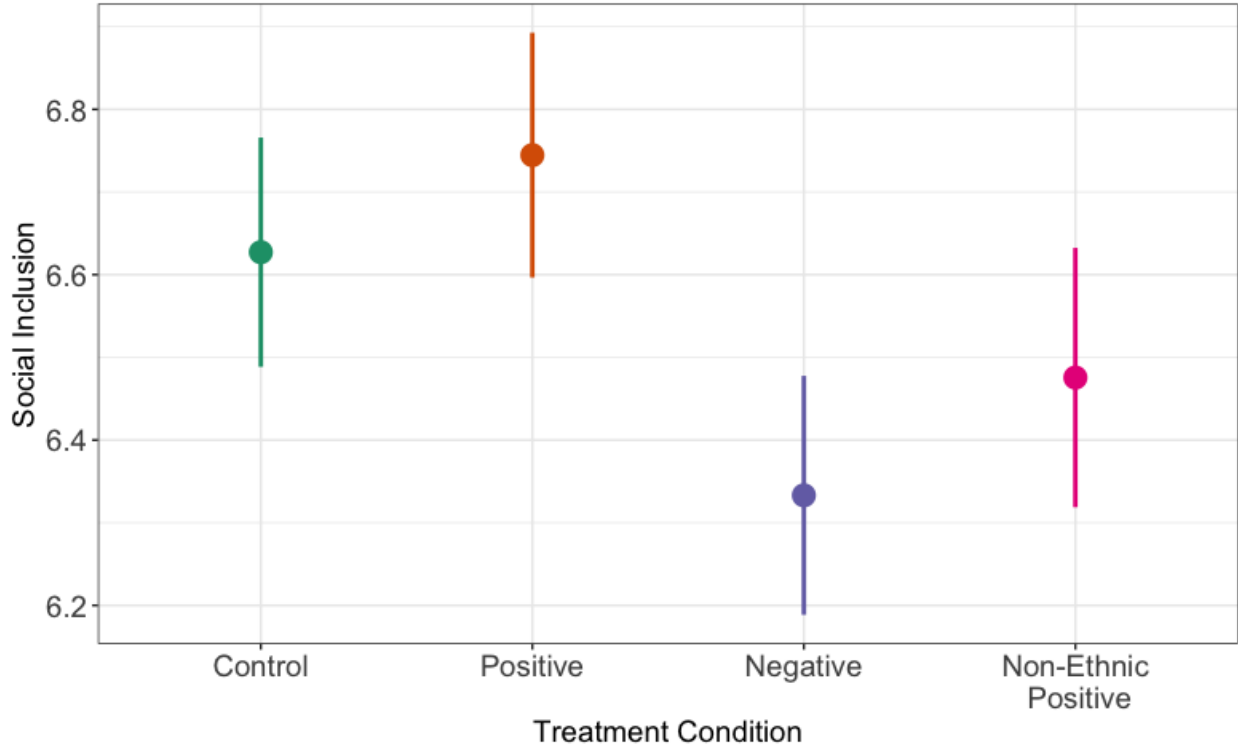
4.5   Conclusion

Taken together, the findings in this chapter suggest that a number of factors is associated with shaping Latinos' perceptions of belonging. The results show that Latinos sense of social inclusion is dependent not only on demographics and socioeconomic characteristics but it is directly and strongly influenced by day-to-day experiences of discrimination and hostility. Investigating what shapes Latinos' sense of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society is critically important as we aim to further understand how Latinos and other racial and ethnic minorities are incorporating politically. As the results highlight discrimination continues to be a barrier to the inclusion of Latinos in U.S. society and its polity.

Results from the observational data tell us that as Latinos become more familiarized with the U.S. culturally and socially, they are more likely to develop perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. After all, a sense of belonging is tied to notions of feeling at 'home' (Antonsich, 2010) and Latinos who establish their lives in the United States are likely to develop attachments for U.S. society. This is also reflected in the findings that highlight

the importance of American identity in shaping Latinos' sense of social inclusion. However, despite the positive outlook supported by these results, large barriers remain and continue to negatively impact Latinos' sense of belonging to U.S. society.

This chapter has studied how experiencing hostility and discrimination are related to internalized notions of belonging. The findings here are especially important as hostility and racism continue to be a reality for Latinos in America, regardless of generation, socioeconomic status, gender, etc. Discrimination and hostility against Latinos and immigrants is nothing new and it is certainly not on a path of decline. As the data suggests, half of Latino respondents on the CMPS reported having been discriminated against in the past. The findings reveal that Latinos are not immune to the detrimental impact of discrimination on perceptions of social inclusion. Furthermore, the role of structural racism as exhibited by the negative impact of skin tone on U.S. born Latinos' sense of belonging is indicative that discrimination not only acts at an individual level, but also at a more structural level, to depress Latinos' perceived sense of belonging.

The findings in this chapter have important implications for the study of political incorporation and political behavior. As recent work suggests the source of discrimination matters for motivating or depressing political engagement (Oskooii, 2016). The evidence in this paper suggests that one plausible explanation for why societal discrimination leads to disengagement is because discrimination works by first negatively shaping minorities' sense of belonging and as a consequence this depresses political participation. Future work should further investigate this relationship.

In line with recent work that shows the negative impact of hostile immigration policies on Latinos' perceived belonging to U.S. society (Huo et al., 2018), the experimental results here show a similar pattern. The findings suggest that hostile messages and cues have a causal negative impact on Latinos' perceptions of belonging. These messages were not policies or policy proposals but they still had a detrimental impact on Latinos' perceived sense of social inclusion. Latinos are exposed to cues and messages not only during campaign season but they receive cues from their peers and political elites on a regular basis. Signals that are hostile, denigrating and that disparage Latinos are bound to impact Latinos' sense

of membership and belonging to U.S. society. This matters because as I have argued in chapter 2 and I will empirical demonstrate in the following chapter, belonging is a strong driver and predictor of political engagement in both electoral and non-electoral politics.

CHAPTER 5

Belonging and Latino Political Participation

5.1   Introduction

Disappointed over the inaction from Congress and the White House over the termination of DACA, Javier Gamboa, a DACA recipient and Democratic party activist was recently quoted saying that DREAMers belong in this country and that their fight is one for inclusion into the country that they feel is their home. Gamboa like many other DREAMers and undocumented individuals who have mobilized on behalf of immigration reform have strong perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. This might be surprising given that undocumented individuals lack formal citizenship and they are portrayed to be perpetual outsiders and foreigners in their own land. However, as Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson (2014) show in their analysis many undocumented youth have strong perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and they continue to have these even after they learn that they are not U.S. citizens. In fact, as Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson (2014) point out, undocumented youth are among the most fierce advocates of immigrant's rights and tend to be greatly involved with justice and advocacy organizations.

Psychological perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to the broader U.S. society are part of Latinos' everyday experiences, whether Latinos are documented or not, foreign born or U.S. born (Fraga et al., 2010; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014; Rocco, 2014). As the previous chapter has shown, various life experiences and context cues can influence Latinos to develop a positive or a negative sense of belonging to the broader U.S. society. Given how tied perceptions of inclusion or lack thereof appear to be to historical and sociopolitical structures, we would expect that psychological perceptions of belonging have

an influence on levels of political engagement. However, despite the plausible relationship between these two, little work explored how such relationship might unfold. While research in political science has been devoted to understanding why some people participate and others do not, little has been devoted to investigating the link between feelings that one belongs or does not belong to the broader U.S. society and various forms of political action. This specific chapter addresses this shortcoming.

A comprehensive framework of the politics of inclusion has been presented in chapter 2. In chapter 2, I argue that perceptions of belonging and inclusion are a fundamental driver of political participation, particularly for racial and ethnic minorities who have been, and continue to be, formally and informally excluded in America. In light of the heightened relevance of notions of belonging and membership particularly for members of marginalized communities, developing a psychological framework of inclusion is crucial for minorities to see themselves as a stakeholders in and within the broader U.S. society. Developing a psychological framework of belonging is fundamental for political participation, as feeling that the U.S. society is one's home and that one is part of it should lead individuals to develop an interest for engaging with its political system. I also argued that members of racial and ethnic groups could develop a sense of belonging while also acknowledging systemic inequality. That is, individuals could come to understand that they belong in U.S. society despite the animosity that their communities have experienced, historically and in the present-day. These individuals, while recognizing at-large and individual-level exclusionary forces, develop a notion of belonging and behave in ways to preserve and defend their sense of membership to U.S. society.

This chapter departs from the theoretical expectations laid out in chapter 2 and it examines the explicit link between Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and various forms of political participation. I rely on the conceptualization and operationalization of the concept of belonging presented in chapter 3, and then used in chapter 4, to test the relationship between perceived belonging and political participation. Relying on data from the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post-election Survey, I investigate how perceived belonging, or lack thereof, is associated to Latinos' political interest in the 2016 Presidential

election, their likelihood of discussing politics, participating in neighborhood level activities, voting in the election. Across the board, I find that Latinos who perceive a sense of belonging to U.S. society and who believe that other Americans respect them and value them as members of U.S. society are more likely to engage politically. Latinos with a perceived sense of social alienation are less likely to engage politically. I find that perceptions of belonging are a strong and independent predictor of Latino political engagement even after accounting for the role of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics as well as other established predictors of Latino political behavior. This chapter concludes by discussing the implications of these findings.

5.2   Revisiting Theories of Political Participation

The questions of who turns out to vote and why do they turn out are at the core of political science inquiry. Early scholars of political behavior sought to examine how individuals developed early political attitudes and how these attitudes influenced political participation (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954; Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954; Greenstein, 1965). Since then, political socialization studies have focused on investigating not only the learning of attitudes but also the acquisition of civic and political behaviors from an early age (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995; Plutzer, 2002).

Scholars have also devoted time to examining the role of resources such as socioeconomics, social networks, civic skills and political knowledge on voting behavior (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995; Leighley, 1996). These have established that education, political interest, involvement in church and civic organizations are linked to turnout (Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993). However, a majority of the foundational studies on turnout have largely assumed that all Americans, including racial and ethnicity minorities, conceptualize their sense of belonging to the U.S. in similar ways. Contrary to this, evidence points out that members of marginalized groups feel as outsiders and perpetual foreigners in the U.S. (Phinney, Cantu and Kurtz, 1997; Tuan, 1998; O'Brien, 2008; Fraga et al., 2010; Flores-Gonzalez, 2017). Other research also

suggests that there is great variation in Latinos perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and while some espouse strong perceptions of social alienation other Latinos do have strong beliefs that they belong to U.S. society (Fraga et al., 2010; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014). However, despite scholars documenting these feelings, studies have not focused on investigating what this means for political participation or political incorporation. This suggests that scholarly work must begin to address the unanswered question of how perceptions of belonging, or lack thereof, influence the political engagement of racial and ethnic minorities.

Race, ethnicity and politics scholarship has also sought to understand what factors motivate racial and ethnic minorities to participate. These studies have explored the role of socioeconomic resources, political predispositions, social connectedness, and group identity on the political and civic engagement of the members of these communities (Miller et al., 1981; Tate, 1993; Dawson, 1994; DeSipio, 1998; Junn, 1999; Leighley and Vedlitz, 1999; Sanchez, 2006*b*; Junn and Masuoka, 2008; Garcia Bedolla, 2005). This body of work has established the important role of demographics, religiosity, socioeconomic resources and group identity in motivating Asian-Americans, African-Americans and Latinos to behave politically. While a few of these studies suggest that perceived exclusion might be associated with political engagement among racial and ethnic minorities, no study to-date has taken up this empirical question.

In recent times, scholars have provided alternative avenues of examining the political incorporation and political behavior of immigrants and the children of immigrants (Wong, 2000; Bloemraad, 2006; Kasinitz et al., 2009; Humphries, Muller and Schiller, 2013). While these studies highlight that several factors that are strongly predictive of political socialization for whites are not as equally predictive for immigrants and children of immigrants, none of these specifically theorize the notion of belonging and its possible connection to political incorporation. Moreover, these studies fail to offer a broader framework for understanding how perceptions of inclusion might be at the core of the political incorporation process for both foreign born and U.S. born Latinos as well as other minority groups who confront experiences of exclusion.

Scholars of Latino political behavior have devoted significant efforts to investigate how specific predictors influence engagement. To that aim, they have established that socioe-conomics, citizenship, generation, group consciousness, national origin, and political and electoral contexts are some of strongest predictors of Latino political participation (De-Sipio, 1996; Hero and Campbell, 1996; DeSipio, 1998; Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001; Jones-Correa and Leal, 2001; Stokes, 2003; DeSipio, 2003; Schildkraut, 2005; Sanchez, 2006b; Barreto, 2007; Ramirez, 2013). The role of several of these factors have also been found to be mediated by social stigma and the intersection of gender, context, social location and geography (Garcia Bedolla, 2005). While these studies have established the foundations of Latino political behavior, they have not explicitly theorized on perceived belonging and its implications for Latino political participation.

Thus far, scholars have established that group consciousness is positively correlated with higher levels of Latino political engagement (Sanchez, 2006b).[1] Group consciousness refers to a sense of commonality between members of a group who, based on shared experiences of deprivation, are influenced to participate politically (Verba and Nie, 1972; Miller et al., 1981; Padilla, 1985). Similar work has established the critical of role of political threat in mobilizing Latinos (Ramirez, 2013), particularly those who felt strongly about a political issue affecting members of their community and felt motivated to act on it (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001). However, we lack a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms by which threat and perceived discrimination results in a positive outcome of eventual mobilization. Is it that episodic discrimination and a sudden threat result in reactive mobilization? What about more deep-seated feelings of social alienation? Do these result in lack of political engagement? While it is plausible that an ingrained sense of social alienation negatively impacts political engagement, this question has yet to be answered.

The relationship between political alienation and political engagement among Latinos has been explored to some extent (Michelson, 2000; Pantoja and Segura, 2003). It is

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[1]Latino group consciousness has been previously evaluated by capturing: 1.) a general level of identification with the pan-ethnic group, 2.) an understanding of the position of the group within the larger social structure, 3.) a sense of motivation to want to improve the material conditions of the group, and 4.) a common sense that the group shares political goals (Garcia, 2003; Padilla, 1985; Sanchez, 2006a,b)

important to note, however, that in the political science literature alienation has been defined primarily in political terms and not in terms of social detachment, or feelings of social isolation or displacement from the U.S. society. Citrin and his colleagues defined political alienation in terms of distance, rejection and separation from the political system. "To be politically alienated is to feel a relative enduring sense of estrangement from existing political institutions, values and leaders" (Citrin et al., 1975). In fact, scholars of political alienation and political trust have studied these two as countering concepts. Some have found that Latinos overall are less trusting of government, tend to have low levels of trust, and these trust levels vary by national origin group (Michelson, 2000, 2001; Fraga et al., 2012). On the other hand, a few others have shown that Latinos are more trusting than other racial groups (Abrajano and Alvarez, 2010). Interestingly, the presence of Latino legislators is associated with lower levels of political alienation, potentially because Latinos are more likely to feel a close connection with those in the polity (Pantoja and Segura, 2003). Nonetheless, very little work has been done to unpack the notion of social alienation among Latinos, and to assess whether this concept is different among people who endure experiences of discrimination and hostility and may never develop positive feelings of membership.

A closely related concept is that of political efficacy. Efficacy is largely defined as "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact in the political process, i.e. that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties." (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954, pg. 187). Efficacy has been divided into two further concepts: internal and external efficacy. Internal efficacy is the belief that one can understand politics and therefore participate in politics. External efficacy is the belief that the government will respond to one's demands. Research among Latinos finds that they are likely to have low levels of internal and external efficacy (Michelson, 2000, 2001), but little is understood as to why that is the case. Prior studies that examine Latino efficacy have not explored how perceptions of inclusion in U.S. society might shape perceptions of political efficacy. It appears that having political efficacy requires that one feels as an included member of U.S. society, otherwise one may not develop the notion that one's actions can influence what the government does. Despite their relevance, the potential connection between social inclusion and political efficacy remains

under-theorized and understudied. Many studies of political alienation, political efficacy and trust in government among Latinos continue to rely on the same proxies and scales. This is not to say that the measures are not valid but large assumptions that have been made in the conceptualization of these theories. Specifically, some of these assumptions pertain to whether members of racial and ethnic minorities must feel as belonging members of U.S. society in order to develop political efficacy and trust in government.

5.3   Perceptions of Belonging and Political Participation

A close read of the political behavior literature suggests that scholars have understudied the role of social inclusion and perceived membership in influencing political participation. To address this shortcoming, in chapter 2 I presented a theoretical framework to better understand Latino political participation through the lens of the politics of inclusion framework. I argue that despite the limited attention that this concept has received, the notion of belonging to U.S. society is critically important for understanding Latino political participation. As outlined in the framework, I argue that positive perceptions of belonging are associated with developing a psychological framework of social inclusion that allows Latinos to perceive themselves as individuals in U.S. society who are stakeholders and who are willing to part-take in behaviors on behalf of the larger community. On the other hand, individuals who have negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society should be less likely to view their position in the broader community as one that matters or or be invested in the broader society, and as a consequence they should be less likely to engage in politics.

As existent scholarship on perceptions of community belonging suggests, loneliness and lack of interconnectedness among individuals in a given social context leads to negative social outcomes (Sarason, 1974). On the contrary, a greater sense of community among individuals in a particular context has been found to lead to higher levels of participation (Wandersman and Giamartino, 1980; Davidson and Cotter, 1991). Similar work in higher education suggests that individuals who have a sense of belonging in classrooms and school settings have a greater likelihood of displaying positive individual outcomes such as educa-

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tional achievement, self-efficacy and a greater concept of the self (Walton and Cohen, 2007; Maestas, Vaquera and Zehr, 2007; Cohen and Garcia, 2008; Chiu et al., 2016). Moreover, individuals with greater perceptions of belonging in school settings are more motivated to participate on behalf of their group (Boeckmann and Tyler, 2002; Walton et al., 2012). While high perceptions of belonging appear to be associated with greater individual and social outcomes, a perceived sense of lack of belonging has been shown to lead to negative outcomes. Individuals who feel socially alienated in various contexts are likely to develop a state of loneliness, social anxiety, depression, and they are also less likely to feel motivated to participate or be engaged in the community (Maslow, 1943; Sarason, 1974; Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Hagerty and Williams, 1999; Anderson, 2009).

Based on these prior findings and the framework developed in chapter 2, we can expect that perceptions of belonging to U.S. society among Latinos should be strongly tied to their level of political engagement. The expectation is that a greater notion of perceived belonging to U.S. society is associated with higher levels of participation among Latinos along various domains. Latinos who possess greater perceptions of belonging should identify as individuals who are stakeholders in U.S. society and individuals who feel that the U.S. is their home. These strong perceptions of belonging to the U.S. and membership should drive Latinos to be politically motivated as they not only have a strong connection to the broader U.S. society, as perceived members of a larger community they are invested in it. On the contrary, if Latinos lack a sense of belonging to U.S. society, they should not be motivated to engage politically on behalf of a community that they do not feel part of because they feel disconnected and detached from it.

5.3.1 Data

To more closely examine and test the relationship between perceptions of belonging and Latino political participation, I rely on an empirical analysis of the 2016 CMPS. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 2016 CMPS collected data on the key belonging items along with a number of other demographic indicators, attitudes and behaviors. Given the fact that

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Table 5.1: Percentage breakdown of belonging items

	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly
Belong	.03	0.07	0.25	0.64
Respected	.03	0.09	0.34	0.54

Table 5.2: Perceived belong items by generation

Belong	First	Second	Third +
Not at all	.03	.03	.01
Slightly	.12	.06	.07
Moderately	.35	.23	.20
Strongly	.50	.68	.72

such a large sample size of non-registered voters were included, the 2016 CMPS also offers an important opportunity to understand political behavior among Latinos who are often times excluded from survey research. The 2016 CMPS is the first nationally representative sample of racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. to ask these unique questions about belonging and perceived inclusion. As a result, it offers an unique and first-time opportunity to examine Latino political behavior as a function of these understudied psychological perceptions.

In the previous chapter, figure 4.1 displayed the distribution of the belonging items. To review what this distribution looked like, table 5.1 shows the percentages per category across the perceived belong and perceived respect items ranging from the lowest to the highest value. As the data suggests, a large portion of Latinos report high levels of perceived belonging to U.S. society with a majority of them reporting strong levels of perceived respect and perceived sense of belonging. The percentage breakdown, however, suggests that around 10% of Latinos display weak levels of perceived belonging and 11% reported perceived lack of respect. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show percentages of the *belong* and *respected* items respectively by generation. These breakdowns suggest that first generation Latinos have weaker perceptions of perceived lack of belonging and respect and third third generation Latinos report the highest levels of belonging and perceived respect.

To investigate the relationship between perceived inclusion and political engagement

Table 5.3: Perceived respected items by generation

Respected	First	Second	Third +
Not at all	.04	.04	.02
Slightly	.09	.09	.20
Moderately	.41	.32	.30
Strongly	.46	.56	.60

Figure 5.1: Correlation plot of key IVs
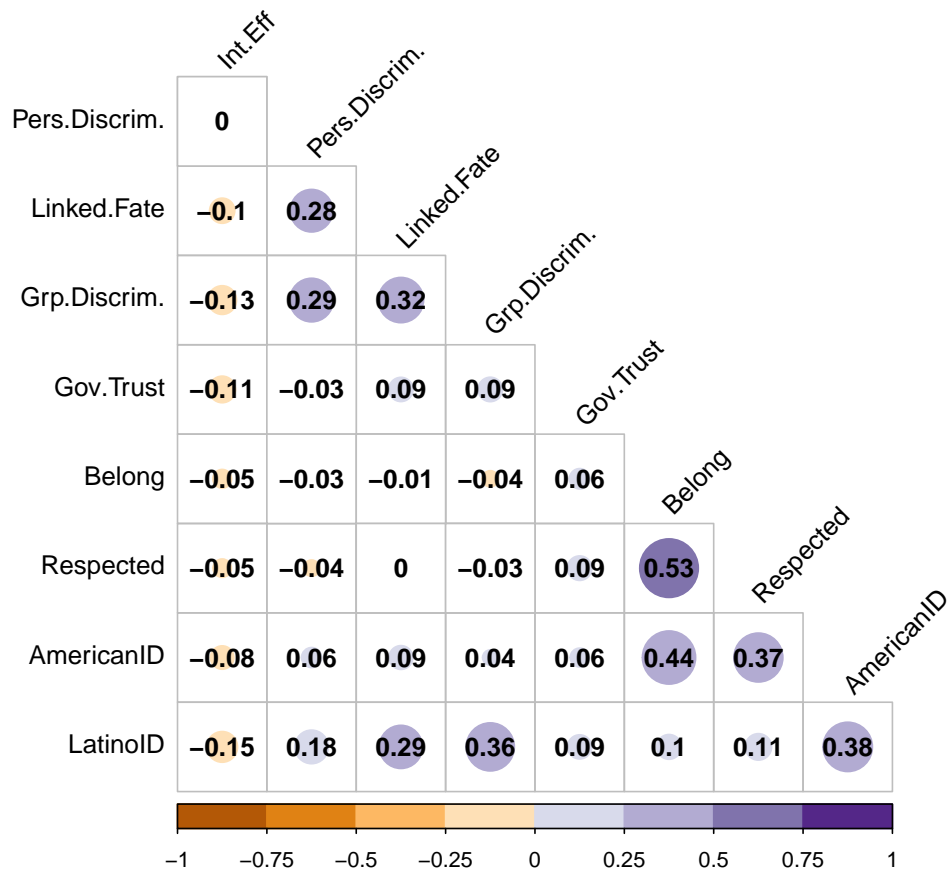
among Latinos, I rely on the CMPS. As previously mentioned, the CMPS is comprised of a large nationally representative sample of Latinos and it also includes key items that lend themselves to a robust analysis of the relationship between perceived inclusion and various types of political participation. The main independent variables in the analysis are the two unique belonging items that were used in chapter 4. While in the previous chapter, I investigated what factors led Latinos to have a high sense of perceived inclusion or low levels of belonging, in this chapter the belonging items will be used to examine how they influence various forms of political action. The two key independent variables are the *belong* and *respected* items. These items maintain the same coding scheme used previously, ranging from 1, indicating low perceptions of respect to 4, signaling a high level of perceived respect. The *belong* item is also a categorical item ranging from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates low perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and 4 indicates the highest level of perceptions of belonging.

The other independent variables in the analysis include perceptions of *group discrimination*. This 3-point item asks respondents whether or not they feel that discrimination against Latinos is a major problem, a minor problem or no problem at all. Given how prevalent this specific item has been to examine Latino political behavior (Sanchez, 2006*b*), it was important to incorporate it in the analysis. The models also account for Latino *linked fate*. This item asks respondents if they believed what happens to Latinos in this country will have something to do with their life. This item ranges from 1 (not at all) to 4 (a lot). The CMPS models include a measure of *internal efficacy*. This is the traditional 4-point item that measures the extent to which individuals believe that they have an individual say in what the government does. *Government trust* is also accounted for. This 4-point item asks respondents how much of the time do they trust the Federal government in Washington D.C. to do what is right. *Personal discrimination* is a dummy that accounts for whether or not the respondent reported having been treated unfairly or personally experienced discrimination because of their race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, being an immigrant, religious heritage or having an accent. Two important identity items that are also included in the models are *American identity* and *Latino identity*. The *American identity* is a 4-point item

that asked respondents how much was being American an important part of how they saw themselves. The *Latino identity* question is a 4-point item that asked how important was being Latino to how the respondents saw themselves. Figure 5.1 presents a correlation plot of all these independent predictors.

The models controlled for a number of items. These include age, which ranges from 18 to 97. Income is measured categorically where the lowest category is an income level of less than $20,000 and the 12th category is more than $200,000. Education ranges from 1 to 6, where 1 is a category of having completed 1-8 grades and 6 is equivalent to having achieved a post-graduate degree. Dummy variables are also included for female respondents, foreign born, Spanish language dominance, Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban origin, and partisan affiliation. Appendix C presents summary statistics for all variables in the analysis.

The key dependent variables are *political interest*, *discuss politics*, *solve neighborhood* and *voted*. The *political interest* variable assess the extent to which respondents were interested in political affairs. The item ranges from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates that individuals were not at all interested in politics and 4 meaning that respondents were very interested in politics. The *discuss politics* item assessed whether or not respondents had discussed politics in the previous year with family or friends. This is a binary item where 1 indicates that individuals had discussed politics in the previous 12 months. The *solve neighborhood* item is a dichotomous item that asked respondents whether or not in the previous year they had worked or cooperated with others to solve a problem affecting their city or neighborhood. Lastly, the *voted* item assessed whether or not respondents had turned out to vote in the 2016 election. The distribution of these variables is shown in figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Distribution of Dependent Variables
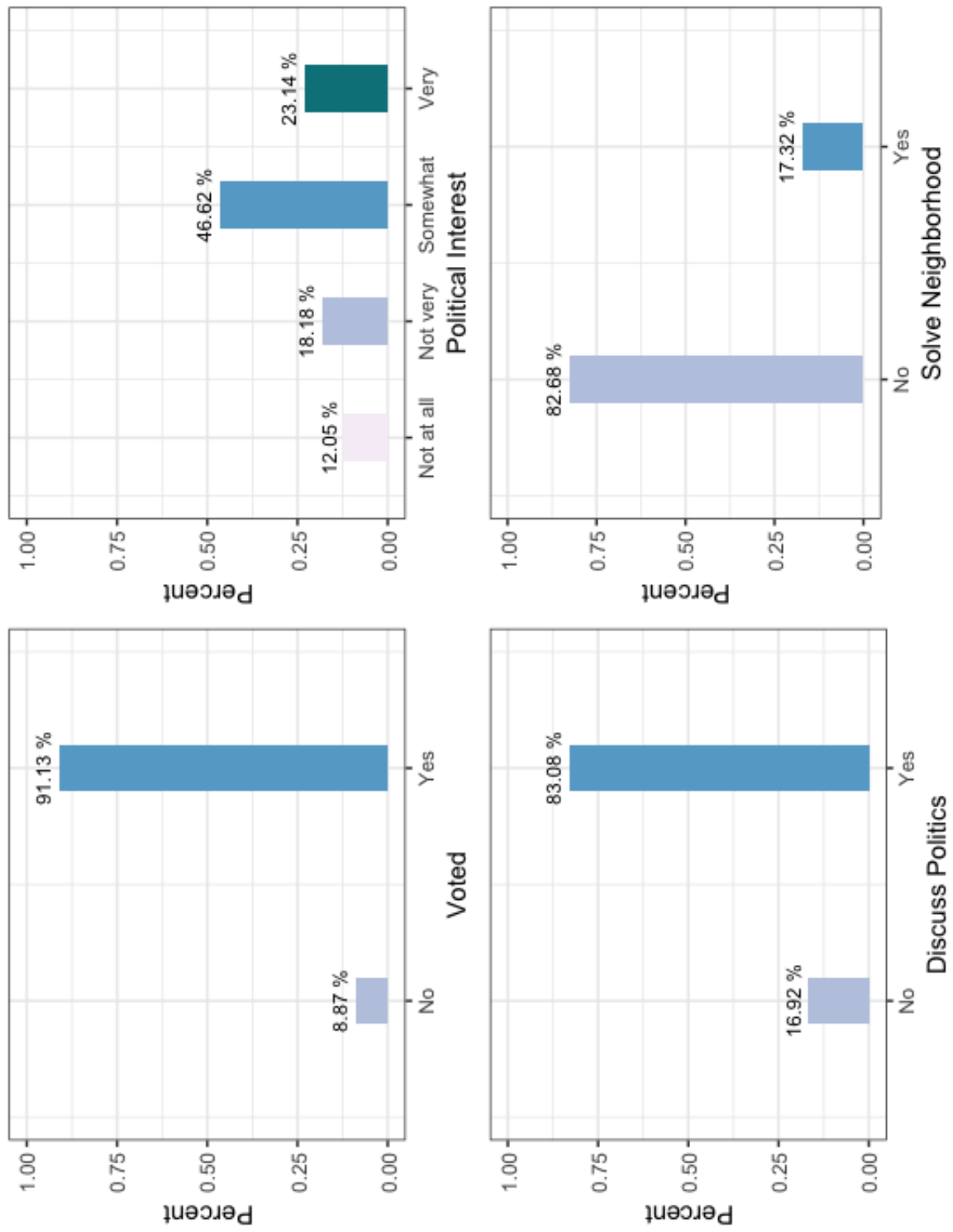
5.3.2 Results

First, I begin by analyzing how perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society are associated with interest in political affairs. Given the categorical nature of this variable, I model it using an ordered logit. Table 5.4 presents three ordered logit models predicting political interest. The first model is a baseline model. Models 2 and 3 include the *belong* and *respected* items accordingly. Model 2 in table 5.4 shows that belonging is strongly and positively associated with greater levels of political interest. This strong effect appears to hold even after accounting for variables that are known to strongly predict political interest such as socioeconomic status, trust in government and political efficacy. Similarly, model 3 in table 5.4 demonstrates that perceptions of respect are strongly and positively associated with higher interest in political affairs. Both of these models also suggest that for Latinos age is strongly and significantly associated with political interest. Greater perceptions of trust in government and greater levels of internal efficacy are also positively associated with a greater interest in political affairs. However, given that the coefficients from the ordered logit models are not directly interpretable (King, Tomz and Wittenberg, 2000), I calculate predicted probabilities in order to more intuitively interpret the relationship between perceptions of belonging and political interest. These predicted probabilities are also meaningful in helping understand the magnitude of the relationship compared to other factors.

Figure 5.3 calculates predicted probabilities from table 5.4. Figure 5.3 presents changes in the predicted probability of being in the highest category of political interest when moving from the lowest to the highest value in each one of the independent variables on the y-axis, while holding all other covariates at their means. Of particular interest is the highlighted change in the predicted probability of reporting the greatest interest in politics when moving from the lowest level of belonging to the highest level of feelings that one belongs to U.S. society. This particular change is associated with 7% change in predicted probability of reporting the highest level of interest as opposed to other levels. When comparing the size of this relationship to that of other meaningful factors such as income, we can see that it has quite a similar size in that relationship. Moving from the lowest level of income, which here

is less than \$20,000 to the highest level of income, being \$200,0000 or more is associated with an 11% change in the predicted probability of reporting the highest level of political interest. Comparatively, we can see that the relationship shown in 5.3 between a perceived sense of belonging is quite large and meaningful.

Now, looking to interpret the effects from table 5.4 model 3, figure 5.4 plots the predicted probabilities associated with a change from the minimum to the maximum of each one of the covariates while holding all else equal. In figure 5.4, the highlighted point and range indicate the change in the predicted probability when moving from the lowest level of perceived respect to its highest level. This is associated with a 7% change in the predicted probability of reporting the highest level of political interest. To gain a better sense of the magnitude of this relationship, we can look at the effect of income on political interest. A change when moving from the lowest level of income to the highest level is associated with a 12% change in the predicted probability of reporting the highest level of political interest. This suggests that the relationship between belonging and political interest is comparable to the effect of income on political interest. It is important to also note that for both models 2 and 3 in table 5.4 the relationship between perceived belonging and perceived respect holds even after including key established predictors of political interest and behavior.

The second dependent variable I look at is the likelihood that individuals discuss politics with their family or friends. In order to model this, I rely on a logit specification to assess how notions that one belongs to U.S. society and perceived respect are related to the variable of interest. Table 5.5 presents three models that predict Latinos' likelihood of discussing politics in the previous 12 months. Model 1 presents the baseline model and models 2 and 3 display the results that incorporate the belong and respected items respectively. The results in table 5.5 suggest that both perceiving that one belongs to U.S. society and perceived respect by others are positively correlated with having discussed politics with family and friends. The models also suggests that other predictors are strongly associated with having discussed politics such as linked fate, perceived group discrimination, a strong attachment to American identity, trust in government, partisan attachments, income, education and gender. However, given that the logit coefficients in table 5.5 are not interpretable directly,

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Table 5.4: Belonging as Predictor of Political Interest

	Political Interest		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Belong		0.247***	
		(0.053)	
Respected			0.166***
			(0.049)
Discrimination & Identity			
Linked Fate	0.218***	0.225***	0.221***
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Grp. Discrim.	0.142***	0.142***	0.142***
	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.037)
Per. Discrim.	0.216**	0.233**	0.232**
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)
American ID	0.294***	0.198***	0.238***
	(0.053)	(0.056)	(0.055)
Latino ID	0.001	0.006	0.001
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Pol. Predispositions & Party ID			
Internal Eff.	0.398***	0.404***	0.401***
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Govt. Trust	0.571***	0.560***	0.556***
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Democrat	0.539***	0.532***	0.540***
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Republican	0.651***	0.635***	0.635***
	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Demographics & Controls			
Age	0.011***	0.010***	0.010***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income	0.072***	0.071***	0.072***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Education	0.232***	0.236***	0.233***
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Female	−0.607***	−0.596***	−0.611***
	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.078)
Foreign Born	−0.122	−0.105	−0.124
	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.099)
Mexican	0.104	0.091	0.096
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Puerto Rican	0.336*	0.337*	0.324
	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.166)
Cuban	−0.411***	−0.400***	−0.404***
	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.114)
Spanish Int.	0.008	0.106	0.071
	(0.125)	(0.127)	(0.127)
Observations	2,997	2,997	2,997
Log Likelihood	−3,339.751	−3,328.847	−3,333.989

Note: Ordered logit models   *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 5.3: Changes in Predicted Probability of Political Interest
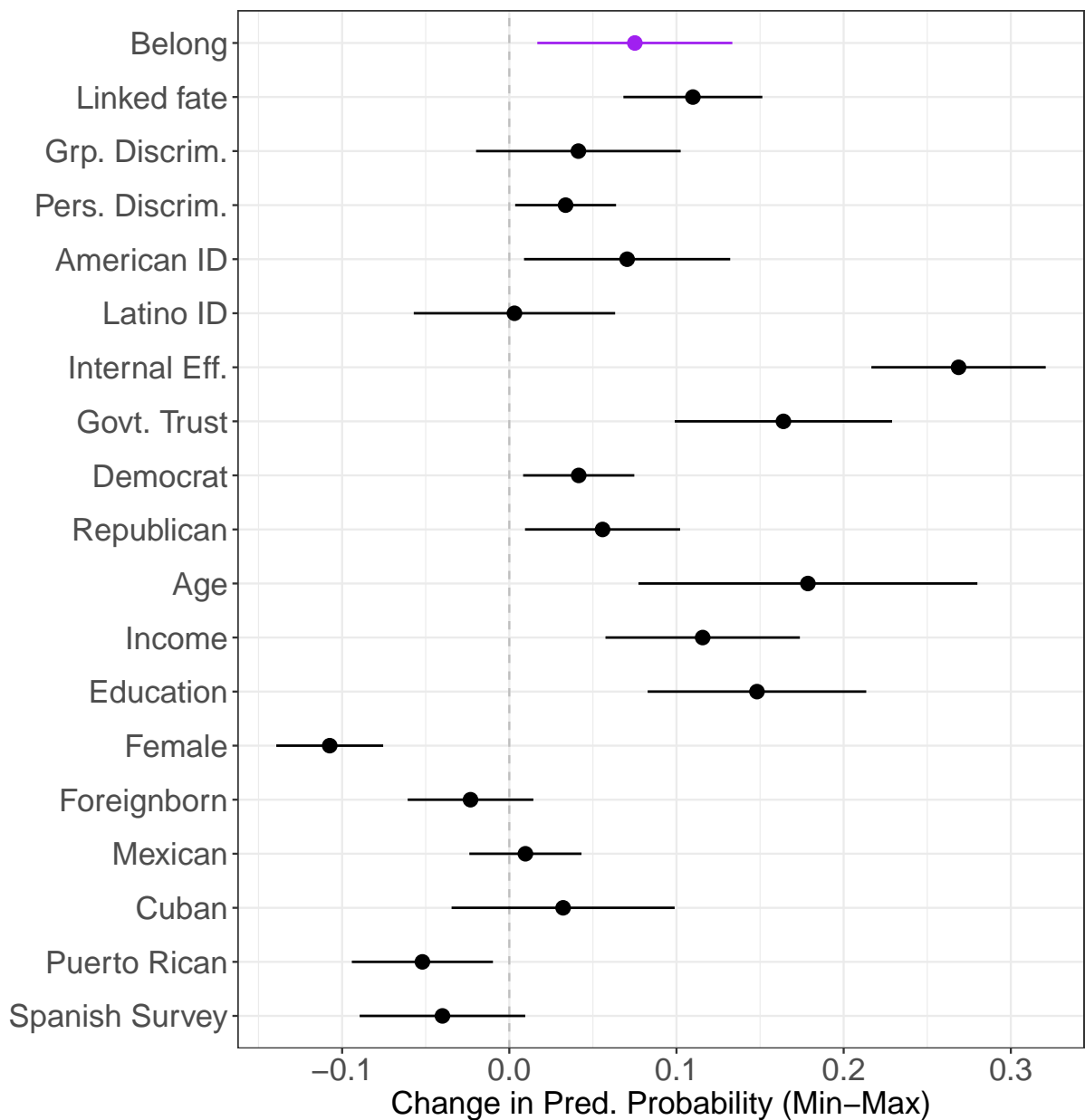
Figure 5.4: Changes in Predicted Probability of Political Interest
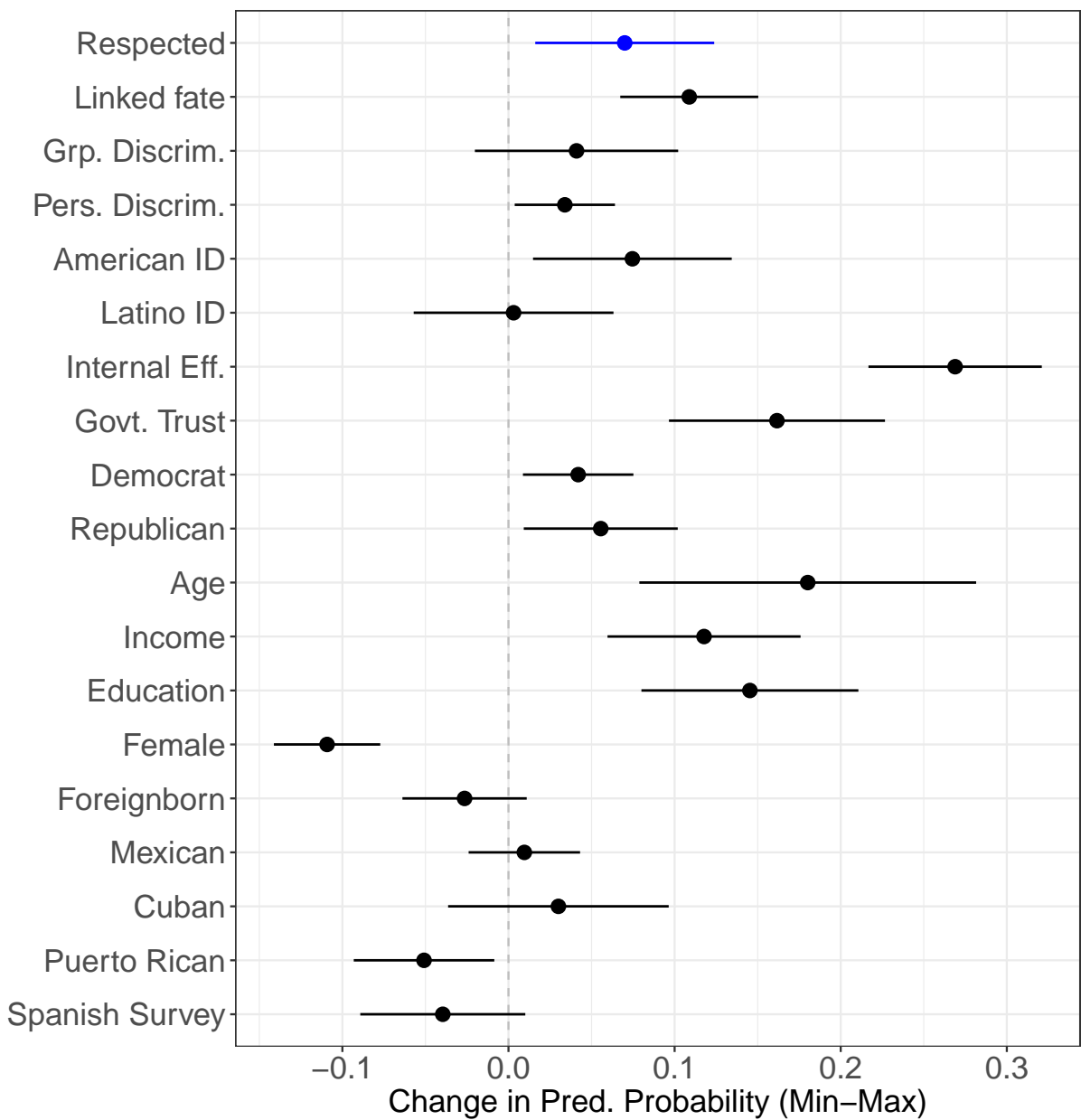
I calculate predicted probabilities.

Figure 5.5 plot the changes in the predicted probability of having discussed politics as a function of each one of the covariates in model 2 from table 5.5. Similarly, figure 5.6 displays changes in the predicted probabily of having discussed politics as a function of the variables in model 3 from table 5.5. In figure 5.5, the results suggests that when moving from low perceptions of belonging to the highest level of belonging is associated with a change of 16% in the predicted probability of having discussed politics with one's family and friends. We can compare this relationship to the effect of education, for example, which suggests that when moving from having a level of grades 1-8 education to having a post-graduate degree is associated with a 19% change in the predicted probability of having discussed politics. The magnitude of the education effect allows us to appreciate how meaningful the relationship is between a perceived sense of belonging for Latinos and the likelihood that they discuss politics. Moreover, the results suggest that this effect appears to surpass the effect of other traditional predictors in the political behavior literature.

Now, turning to figure 5.6, we can see that when moving from low perceived respect by others in U.S. society to very high perceived respect is associated with a 21% change in the predicted probability of discussing politics. Similar to the comparison made previously, when we contrast this effect to the relationship between education, the results suggest that it is an even stronger predictor of discussing politics. Moving from the lowest level of education (grades 1-8) to the highest level (post-graduate degree) is associated with an 18% change in the predicted probability of discussing politics. The remainder of the effects displayed on figure 5.5 indicate once more the independent and strong association between notions that one's membership is valued and respect and Latinos's propensity to discuss political affairs with their family and friends.

To get a sense a sense of how perceived belonging influences other types of political engagement, I examine the respondents' likelihood of becoming involved to solve or address an issue at the neighborhood level. Table 5.6 displays three logit models where the dependent variable is a binary measure of whether or not respondents were involved at the neighborhood level to solve an issue that arose in their community. Model 1 displays the baseline model

Table 5.5: Belonging as Predictor of Having Discussed Politics

	Discuss Politics		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Belong		0.370***	
		(0.071)	
Respected			0.484***
			(0.068)
Discrimination & Identity			
Linked Fate	0.205***	0.214***	0.211***
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Grp. Discrim.	0.152**	0.146**	0.153**
	(0.052)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Per. Discrim.	0.428***	0.452***	0.484***
	(0.113)	(0.115)	(0.116)
American ID	0.507***	0.358***	0.357***
	(0.071)	(0.077)	(0.075)
Latino ID	−0.144	−0.134	−0.167*
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.076)
Pol. Predispositions & Party ID			
Internal Eff.	0.049	0.066	0.068
	(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Govt. Trust	0.237**	0.207**	0.188*
	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.075)
Democrat	0.366**	0.349**	0.371**
	(0.118)	(0.119)	(0.120)
Republican	0.430*	0.395*	0.371*
	(0.170)	(0.171)	(0.171)
Demographics & Controls			
Age	0.003	0.002	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Income	0.121***	0.120***	0.123***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Education	0.289***	0.298***	0.290***
	(0.052)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Female	−0.361**	−0.334**	−0.360**
	(0.122)	(0.123)	(0.123)
Foreign Born	0.189	0.208	0.173
	(0.157)	(0.159)	(0.159)
Mexican	−0.036	−0.069	−0.072
	(0.129)	(0.131)	(0.131)
Puerto Rican	0.118	0.085	0.054
	(0.280)	(0.279)	(0.281)
Cuban	−0.341*	−0.327	−0.340*
	(0.166)	(0.168)	(0.168)
Spanish Int.	−0.166	0.005	0.048
	(0.187)	(0.192)	(0.192)
Constant	−2.976***	−3.771***	−3.900***
	(0.418)	(0.452)	(0.447)
Observations	2,997	2,997	2,997
Log Likelihood	−1,178.657	−1,165.263	−1,153.816
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,395.314	2,370.526	2,347.633

Note: Logit models   *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 5.5: Changes in Predicted Probability of Discussing Politics in 2016
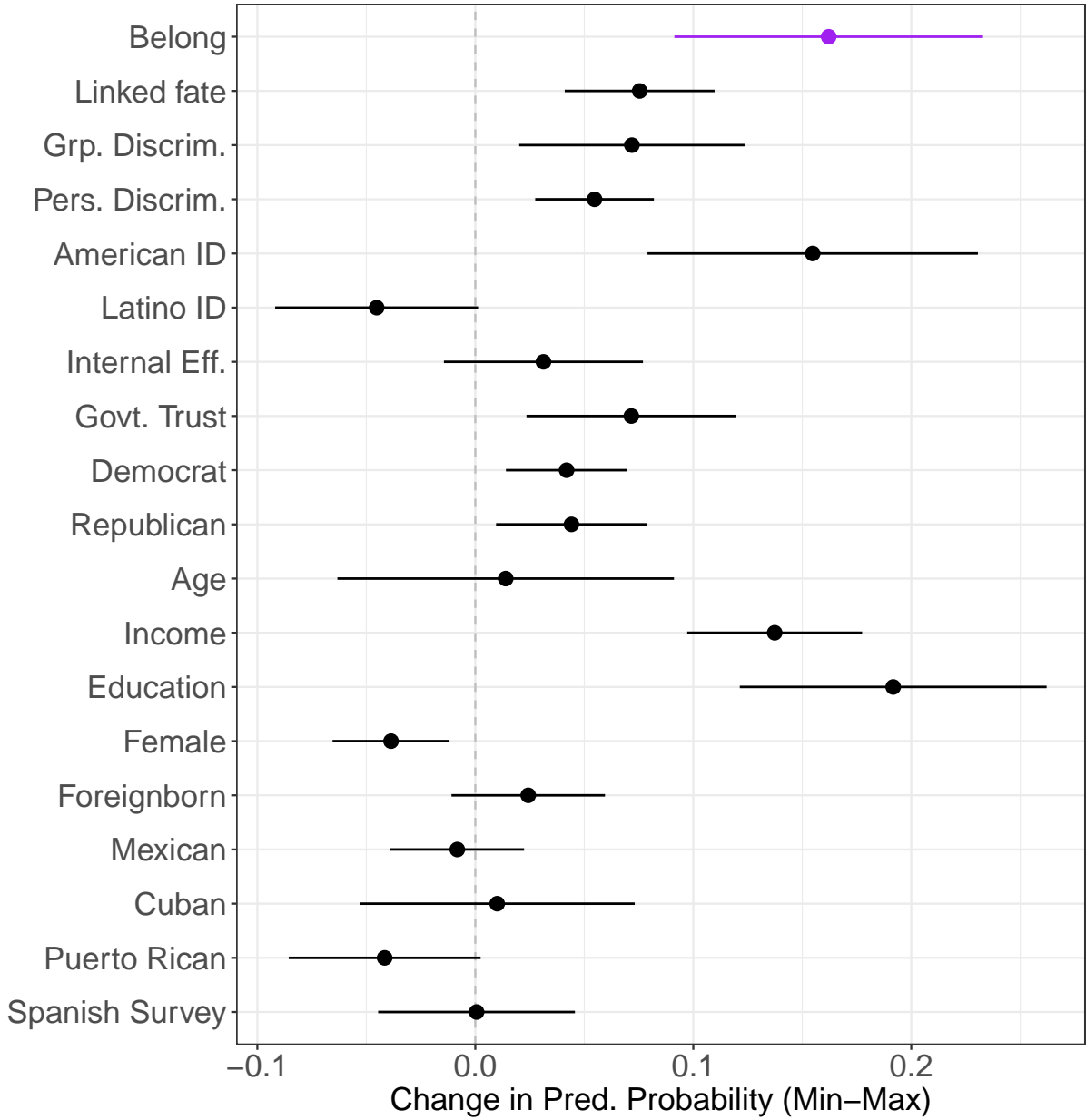
Figure 5.6: Changes in Predicted Probability of Discussing Politics in 2016
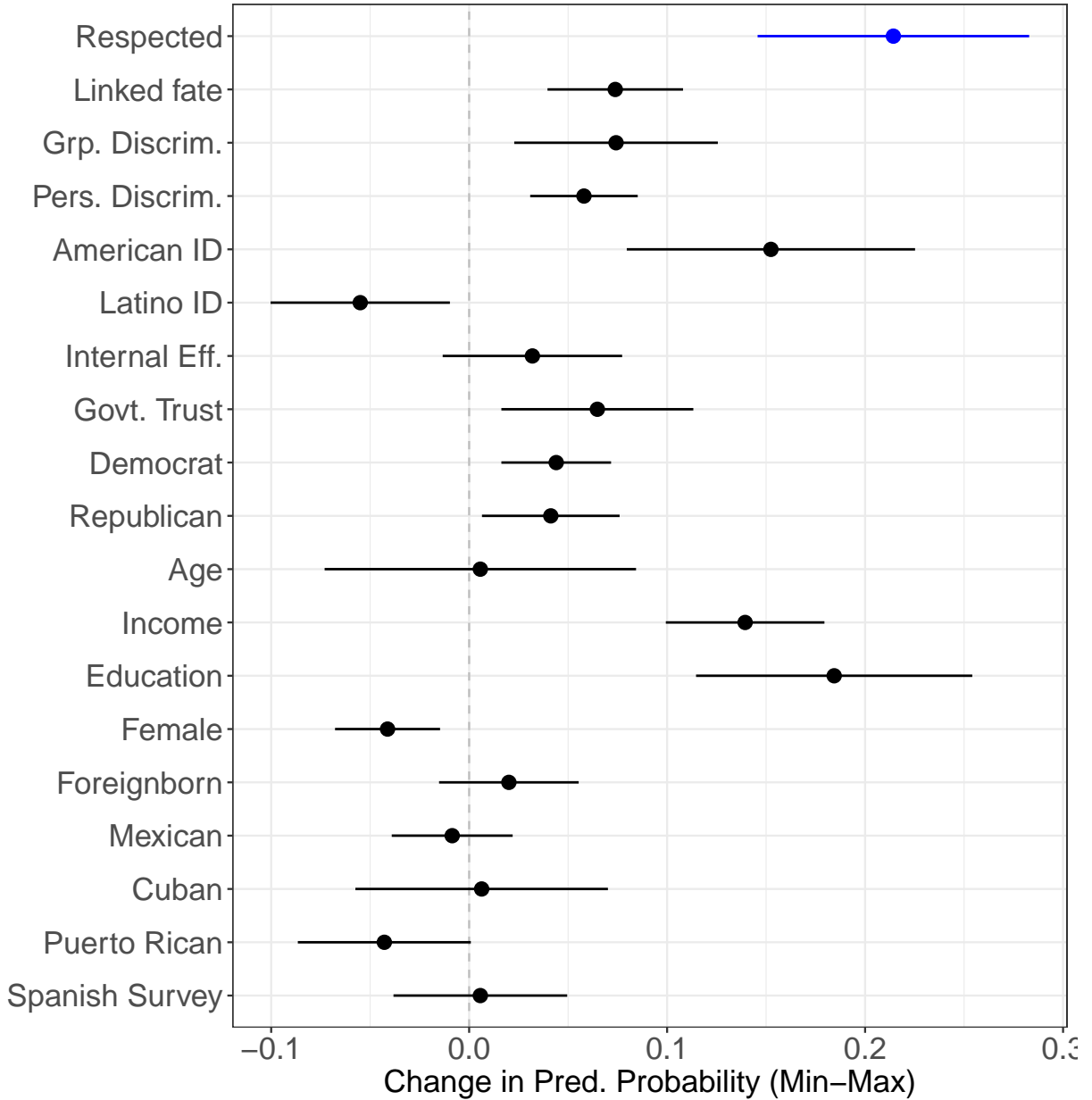
with no belonging items and models 2 and 3 include the perceived belonging and perceived respect items. Model 2 in table 5.6 indicates the perceived belonging is significantly and positively associated with becoming involved to solve a neighborhood problem. I do not find an effect for perceived respect though the coefficient is in the expected direction. The relationship between the perception that one belongs to U.S. society is however indicative that notions of belonging and membership are tied to involvement at the local level. To better understand these effects, I calculate predicted probabilities.

Figure 5.7 displays the predicted probabilities derived from model 2 in table 5.6. This figure shows the changes in the predicted probably of being involved to solve a neighborhood issue as a function of each variable presented on the y-axis while holding all else equal. This figure suggests that when moving from not perceiving that one belongs to U.S. society to feeling that one strongly belongs to U.S. society results in a 6% change in the predicted probability that one worked or cooperated to try to solve a problem affecting Latinos' city or neighborhood.

Lastly, I examine the role of perceived belonging and perceived respect on reported turnout in the 2016 presidential election. Table 5.7 displays a baseline model as well as two additional models each incorporating the belong and the respected items. These are all logit models. Model 2 in table 5.7 indicates that Latinos' perception that they belong to U.S. society is strongly and positively correlated with their reported turnout in 2016. Moreover, the results from model 3 also show that the higher the perceived respect among Latinos the more likely they were to report they participated in the 2016 election. Because the coefficients are not directly interpretable, I calculate predicted probabilities for models 2 and 3 as shown in figures 5.8 and 5.9.

Figure 5.8 displays the changes in the predicted probability of reporting having voted in 2016 as a function of each covariate on the y-axis while holding all other variables at their means. When going from perceptions that one does not belong to U.S. society to believing that one strongly belongs in U.S. society is associated with close to a 10% change in the predicted probability of voting. To better understand the magnitude of this effect, we can compare it to the effect of income on turnout. When moving from the lowest level of income

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Table 5.6: Belonging as Predictor of Becoming Involved to Solve Neighborhood Issue

	Solve Neighborhood		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Belong		0.177*	
		(0.079)	
Respected			0.052
			(0.070)
Discrimination & Identity			
Linked Fate	0.226***	0.232***	0.227***
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Grp. Discrim.	0.100	0.104	0.101
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Per. Discrim.	0.505***	0.520***	0.510***
	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.110)
American ID	0.034	−0.032	0.017
	(0.075)	(0.081)	(0.079)
Latino ID	0.020	0.023	0.020
	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Pol. Predispositions & Party ID			
Internal Eff.	0.122**	0.123**	0.123**
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Govt. Trust	0.197**	0.189**	0.192**
	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.070)
Democrat	−0.091	−0.100	−0.092
	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)
Republican	0.100	0.086	0.095
	(0.153)	(0.153)	(0.153)
Demographics & Controls			
Age	0.002	0.001	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Income	0.049**	0.048**	0.049**
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Education	0.057	0.064	0.058
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Female	−0.368***	−0.363***	−0.370***
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Foreign Born	−0.099	−0.083	−0.101
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)
Mexican	−0.159	−0.166	−0.161
	(0.118)	(0.119)	(0.119)
Puerto Rican	0.027	0.032	0.024
	(0.225)	(0.225)	(0.225)
Cuban	−0.215	−0.206	−0.212
	(0.165)	(0.165)	(0.165)
Spanish Int.	0.217	0.276	0.237
	(0.175)	(0.177)	(0.177)
Constant	−3.865***	−4.290***	−3.976***
	(0.431)	(0.476)	(0.457)
Observations	2,997	2,997	2,997
Log Likelihood	−1,313.126	−1,310.562	−1,312.842
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,664.252	2,661.123	2,665.684

Note: Logit models $^*p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$

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Figure 5.7: Changes in Predicted Probability of Being Involved to Solve a Neighborhood Issue
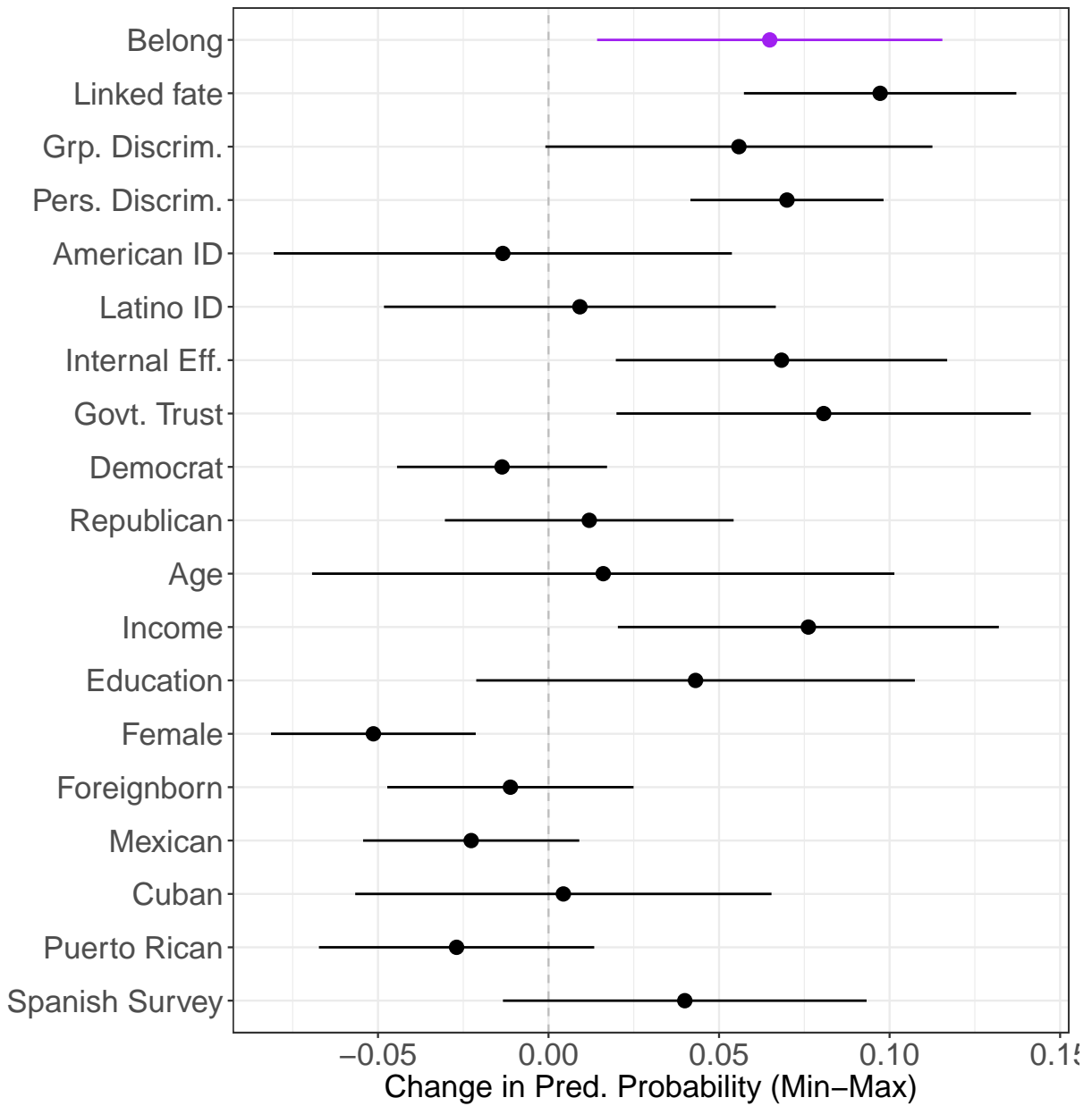
($20,000) to the highest level (over $200,000) is associated with also a 10% change in the predicted probability of voting in the election.

Figure 5.9 displays the changes int he predicted probability of self-reported turnout in 2016. Here the results indicate that when moving from perceiving that one is not respected at all to believing that one is highly respected by others in U.S. society is associated with a 5 percent change in the predicted probability of voting. This effect is significant and though not as strong as the effect of other covariates, or even perceived belonging as shown in the previous figure, it has an independent effect on Latino turnout.

The above results show convincing evidence that both perceived belonging and perceived respected as the two key components of the notion of belonging presented in this project are quite strong predictors of various form of political engagement. The relationship between a perceived sense of belonging and perceived respect were strongly tied to participation even after including predictors that have been traditionally known as important drivers of Latino political behavior. To further assess how including the belonging items changes the fit of the models, we can look at the log likelihood and the Akaike information criterion (AIC) statistics to measure the relative goodness of fit of a model compared to other models. For both of these statistics a smaller value indicates a more superior model. In all models in the above analysis that looked at varying political behavior variables (tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7), we can see that the AIC drops substantially when the models include either the belong or respected variables. There are also increases in the log likelihood for the models in table 5.4 after including the belonging items. In other words, the fit of the models improve. Lastly, as a robustness check and to ensure that the results obtained in the above multivariate analysis was also observable under less complex models, I also ran simple bivariate analysis. These can be found in appendix E. Across the board, the relationships uncovered between perceived belonging and perceived respect on political engagement in the multivariate setting are also present at the bivariate level.

Table 5.7: Belonging as Predictor of 2016 Turnout

	Voted in 2016		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Belong		0.330**	
		(0.124)	
Respected			0.238*
			(0.116)
Discrimination & Identity			
Linked Fate	0.078	0.085	0.083
	(0.086)	(0.087)	(0.087)
Grp. Discrim.	−0.048	−0.048	−0.050
	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.095)
Per. Discrim.	−0.134	−0.111	−0.120
	(0.192)	(0.194)	(0.193)
American ID	0.175	0.036	0.090
	(0.122)	(0.134)	(0.129)
Latino ID	0.255*	0.272*	0.261*
	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)
Pol. Predispositions & Party ID			
Internal Eff.	0.086	0.096	0.097
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Govt. Trust	0.260*	0.222	0.233
	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.127)
Democrat	1.020***	1.006***	1.026***
	(0.202)	(0.203)	(0.202)
Republican	0.468	0.415	0.444
	(0.252)	(0.254)	(0.253)
Demographics & Controls			
Age	0.032***	0.030***	0.032***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Income	0.144***	0.140***	0.143***
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Education	0.421***	0.422***	0.424***
	(0.097)	(0.097)	(0.097)
Female	−0.208	−0.204	−0.213
	(0.193)	(0.194)	(0.194)
Foreign Born	−0.374	−0.330	−0.382
	(0.266)	(0.267)	(0.266)
Mexican	0.385	0.363	0.367
	(0.207)	(0.208)	(0.207)
Puerto Rican	−0.244	−0.220	−0.267
	(0.388)	(0.388)	(0.388)
Cuban	0.328	0.346	0.337
	(0.279)	(0.282)	(0.280)
Spanish Int.	0.306	0.450	0.404
	(0.412)	(0.422)	(0.419)
Constant	−4.134***	−4.733***	−4.611***
	(0.777)	(0.810)	(0.812)
Observations	1,815	1,815	1,815
Log Likelihood	−469.469	−466.050	−467.439
Akaike Inf. Crit.	976.938	972.099	974.878

Note: Logit models | *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure 5.8: Changes in Predicted Probability of Turnout in 2016 Election
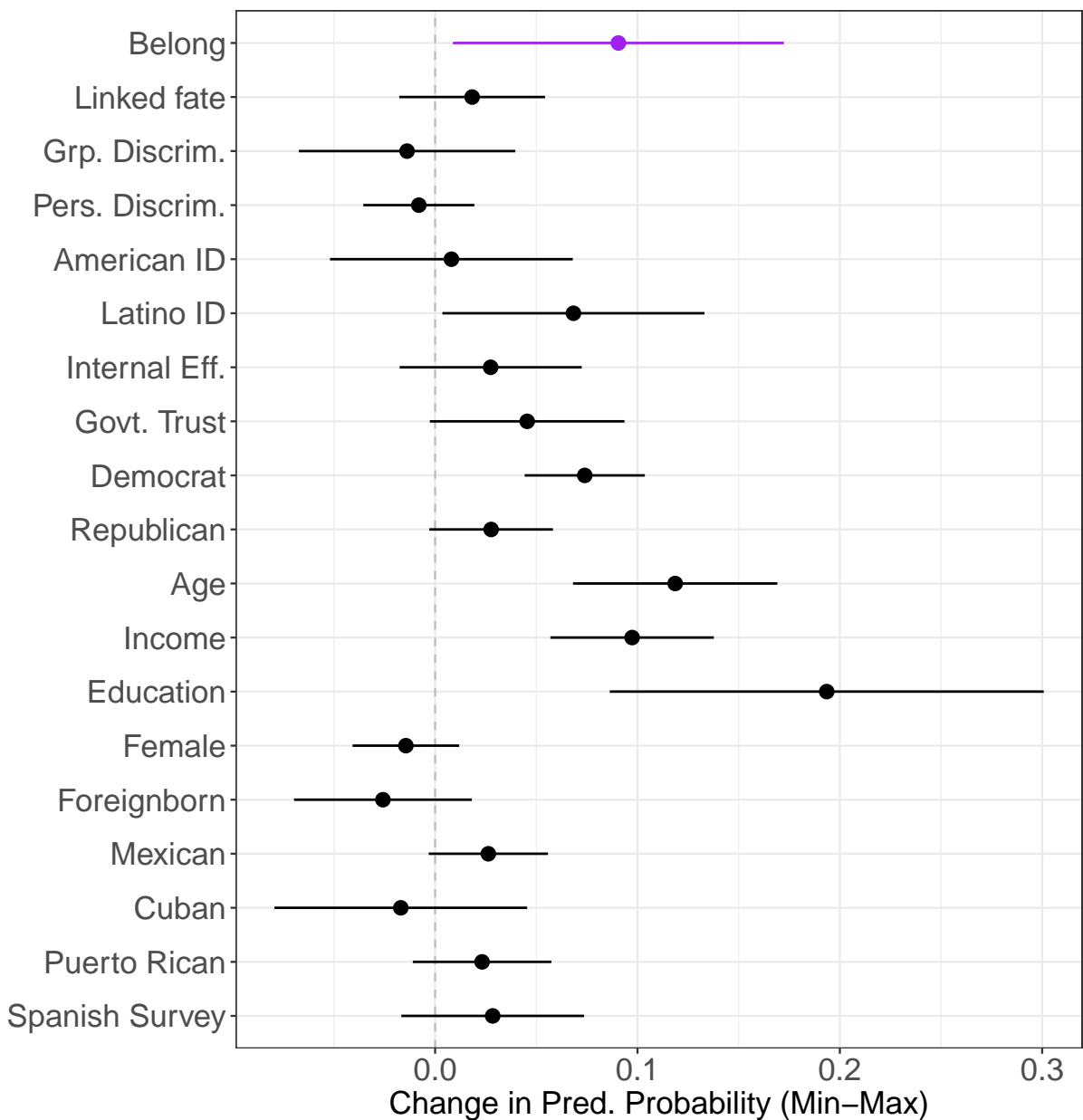
Figure 5.9: Changes in Predicted Probability of Turnout in 2016 Election
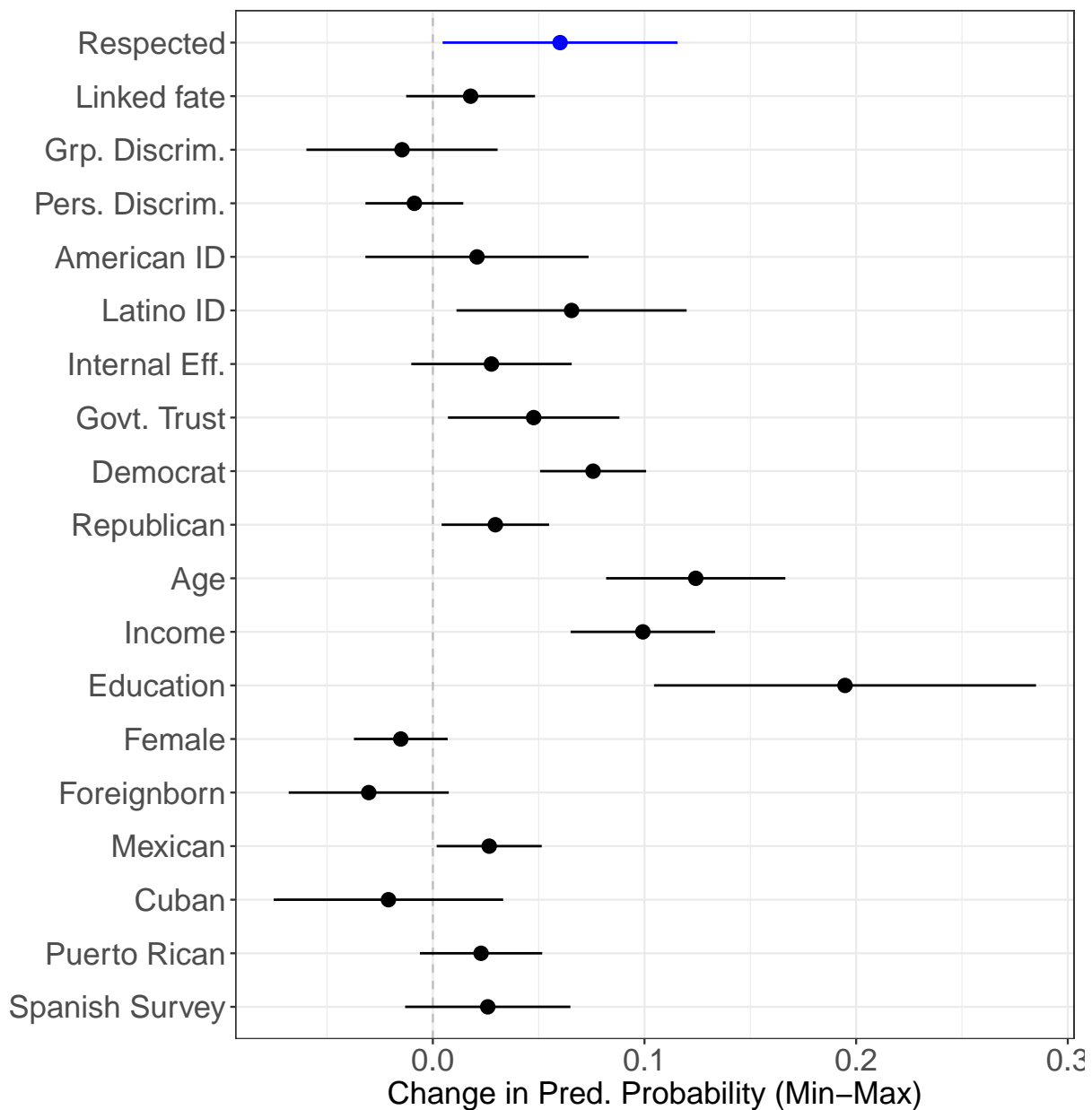
5.4 Conclusion

To-date little work in political science research has investigated the link between Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society –or lack therefore– and its repercussions for political behavior. Departing from the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 and the operationalization of this framework through new original items tested in chapter 3, this chapter set out to investigate how perceived belonging is related to political engagement for Latinos. Exploring both the individual and relative dimensions of belonging, through the perception that one belongs to U.S. society and perceived respect by other individuals, this chapter finds that Latino participation across various domains is largely a function of whether or not Latinos believe that they are inherent members of U.S. society and that others are also inclusive and respectful of them.

The findings in this chapter present an important contribution to the field of not only Latino politics but also race and ethnicity, and political behavior more broadly, as this chapter shows strong evidence of the critical link between perceptions of inclusion and political participation. The notion of belonging to U.S. society has been under-theorized in the traditional political behavior literature, despite the fact that scholars have highlighted variation in perceptions of belonging and perceived inclusion among members of marginalized communities (Rocco, 2014; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014; Oboler, 2006; Hochschild and Lang, 2011). This chapter has shown how varying perceptions of inclusion or social alienation have important repercussions for political behavior. Not only has this chapter shown that perceived belonging to U.S. society matters for political interest, but it has demonstrated that notions of belonging have an impact on various forms of political engagement locally and nationally.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

6.1   Overview

The aim of this project has been to investigate perceived belonging to U.S. society among Latinos and its influence on political engagement. While political scientists have devoted decades to the study of political incorporation and political participation, the concept of social inclusion has been largely understudied and underdeveloped. Prior research has suggested that notions of social belonging and perceptions of membership could matter for political behavior (Hochschild and Lang, 2011), and that these could matter a great deal for racial and ethnic minorities (Garcia Bedolla, 2005; Golash-Boza, 2006; Fraga et al., 2010; Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014; Rocco, 2014). However, to-date there has been no systematic investigation of these concepts and their influence on the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities. To address this shortcoming, this dissertation provides a nuanced framework of the politics of inclusion and perceived belonging. This framework posits that the notion of belonging to U.S. society is central to the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities. With a particular focus on Latinos, this dissertation argues that feelings of belonging, membership and inclusion in the larger society are fundamental to political incorporation and subsequent participation. I posit that Latinos develop positive or negative perceptions of belonging based on context cues, elite and peer messages and lived experiences. I also argue that these perceptions lead Latinos to find themselves in a psychological state of either social inclusion or social alienation, which I contend lead to variations in behavioral outcomes.

In chapter 2, I presented the framework of the politics of inclusion and made the case

as to why the notion of perceived belonging to U.S. society is so intrinsically tied to the experiences of members from marginalized communities. I examined why the concepts of perceived inclusion and membership are so critical to the experiences of Latinos, historically and in the present-day. In doing so, I highlighted the ways in which Latinos have been the subject of formal and informal discrimination and have been deemed as inferior, outsiders and perpetual foreigners. Latinos have confronted such hostility head-on and they have fought for inclusion and equal rights for over a century and a half. Despite some achievements in representation, voting rights, education, and economic mobility, Latinos continue to face exclusion in many domains. Widespread stereotypes of Latinos and immigrants continue to drive both subtle and overt forms of racism directed towards all Latinos regardless of generation or background. This socio-historical analysis illustrated how processes that have deemed Latinos as perpetual foreigners and inferior are deep rooted in American history and its institutions. Coupled with an emphasis on the never-ending quest for sociopolitical inclusion, this chapter showcased how the concept of belonging and rightful membership is at the forefront of the Latino experience in America.

The framework presented in chapter 2 departed from various theories in sociology and psychology that have long theorized on the concept of belonging. Belonging, as I argued, is defined by the perception that one is part of U.S. society and that one's membership and presence is recognized and valued by others. Given the centrality of this concept to the self and the understanding of one's place in the rest of U.S. society, I argued that a psychological perception of belonging to the U.S. was intricately tied to political engagement. I argued that Latinos came to develop either positive or negative perceptions of belonging to U.S. society according to their everyday encounters and experiences. Positive or negative perceptions of inclusion then meant that Latinos were either in a psychological state of social inclusion or social alienation. I theorized that those who perceived that they belonged and/or needed to defend their sense of belonging were likely to engage in politics. On the contrary, those who were in a state of social alienation were likely to detach themselves from the political process and not participate.

To test the propositions of the politics of inclusion framework, I proposed several

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measures in chapter 3. The goal of these measures was to capture the concept of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society and its various components. In chapter 3, I tested various questions on four separate surveys in an iterative manner. The results in chapter 3 suggested that the items that best measured the notion of belonging centered on capturing the ways in which Latinos felt as part of U.S. society or not, and also the extent to which they perceived that they were included by others, in more general terms, as opposed to being specifically included by political elites. Extensive evidence from this chapter showed that the unique items measuring the concept of belonging did not have an overlap with other existent measures of concepts that were closely related such as political efficacy and perceived group discrimination. Moreover, here we saw the first set of evidence of the unique and strong relationship between notions of belonging to America and political interest as well as a desire to participate in politics.

In chapter 4, I specifically examined the ways in which Latinos' developed perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. Existent scholarship had shown variation in perceptions of belonging and lack of belonging to U.S. society. However, there was little understanding as to what factors could be attributed to such variation. This chapter was comprised of two parts. The first part examined correlates of perceptions of social inclusion or social alienation among Latinos. This analysis examined the final original measures of perceived belonging to tease out how demographics, socioeconomic characteristics, perceptions of individual and group discrimination, among others, were associated with Latinos' reported levels of belonging to U.S. society. As hypothesized, the results revealed that experiences of hostility, as indicated by having experienced discrimination in the past, was one of the strongest drivers of perceptions of lack of belonging to U.S. society for Latinos. I also found that acculturation and familiarity with the U.S. were important correlates of higher perceptions of belonging. Moreover, income was strongly associated with more positive perceptions of inclusion and women were less likely to have a strong perception of belonging than men. While all other identity variables did not seem to play a crucial role in perceptions of belonging, Latinos who reported that an American identity was important to who they were had higher perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. In all, these results highlighted the critical role of negative

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experiences and discrimination. Even after length of time in the U.S. and acculturation were accounted for, having experienced discrimination strongly drove Latinos' attitudes of social alienation.

The second part of chapter 4 presented analysis from an experiment embedded in a national survey. As most of the work in the first section of this chapter was observational, it was difficult to assess whether or not discrimination or positive cues had a causal relationship to perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. To get more causal leverage, I designed an experiment where respondents were randomly assigned to various messages and I evaluated the ways in which these messages impacted their reported levels of social inclusion. The results from this experiment showed that Latinos who had been exposed to the hostile prime reported much lower levels of perceived inclusion than those who were randomly assigned to the control condition, and the welcoming condition. Results from the experiment confirmed the observational findings from the first part of this chapter. The chapter presented strong evidence of how multiple predictors, but in particular discrimination and hostile messages and cues, can influence Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society.

Chapter 5 focused on understanding the relationship between perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging to U.S. society. As the theory chapter had argued previously, I expected to find that perceptions of belonging to U.S. society were positively associated with political action along various domains. The reason for this, I argued, is that Latinos who felt like they belonged in U.S. society and/or needed to defend their right to belong to the U.S. were motivated to participate politically. In other words, I expected to find that those with positive perceptions of belonging perceived themselves as stakeholders in U.S. society and this would lead them to develop an interest in politics and also be politically motivated. I investigated these propositions by looking at Latinos' likelihood of participating in the 2016 election, their interest for political affairs, likelihood to discuss politics and also become involved at the neighborhood level. Across the board, the findings revealed that Latinos with greater perceptions of social inclusion were more likely to report a greater level of interest in politics, a greater likelihood of having participated in the 2016 election, and were more likely to have been involved to solve a problem at the local level. I also found that the

relationship between perceived belonging and political participation was quite strong and significant even when compared to the relationship of other key predictors such as income or education. The results showed that after accounting for traditional political behavior predictors, a sense of belonging was significant and strongly associated with various forms of political engagement.

6.2 Limitations

This project presented a novel framework to better understand the political behavior of one of America's most pivotal groups. Through a multi-method approach, this dissertation examined the notion of perceived belonging to U.S. society and its political behavior ramifications. This project is among the first to systematically assess how the concept of belonging to U.S. society is associated to political behavior. This project has provided extensive evidence of the factors that shape Latinos' perceptions of belonging to America. In doing so, I showed evidence of the ways in which hostile messaging can make Latinos have lower perceptions of acceptance and social inclusion. This dissertation has also presented strong evidence of how perceptions of social inclusion and social alienation are related to engaging in political acts. However, the project has several limitations that should be carefully considered.

While this project finds a strong link between perceptions of belonging and political participation, it is important for future studies to acknowledge the role of the political climate at the time. Most of the data for this study was conducted during or immediately after the 2016 Presidential election. The 2016 Presidential campaign was one of the most hostile and anti-Latino Presidential campaigns in recent U.S. history. The Republican candidate and now President, Donald Trump, began his campaign with denigrating remarks about how Mexicans and people of Latin American descent were criminals, gang members and had nothing good to contribute to American society. Furthermore, Trump's presidency has been dominated by hateful rhetoric and anti-immigrant policies that hurt the Latino and immigrant community. It is possible that in their totally perceptions of belonging among Latinos were strongly affected by the political climate, and compared to other years, these

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were significantly different. This is difficult to assess given that most of the research presented here comes from 2016. There is no prior national data that examines Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. Research has shown that Latinos' overall attitudes toward politics and the government fluctuate from one election cycle to the other. For example, recent work suggests that Latinos who were citizens, legal residents and undocumented immigrants showed greater levels of political interest in the 2016 election than in 2012, and they also showed increased level in non-electoral political behavior (Michelson and Lavariega Monforti, 2018). It is also possible then, that Latinos' level of social inclusion or social alienation may have shifted from the Obama presidency to 2016. Future work must aim to have a more general understanding of how notions of belonging to U.S. society are broadly impacted by the national political context.

This specific project has only barely begun to investigate perceptions of belonging, a complex concept that has many dimensions and is dependent on place and context. In this project, little has been done to examine the role of local context and overlapping contexts on Latinos' perceptions of belonging. Given the closeness between the concept of belonging and place (Antonsich, 2010), future work must address the ways in which Latinos' immediate context (i.e. the neighborhood and city) or larger context (i.e. county and state) impacts notions of belonging and subsequently levels of political behavior. The Latino population is geographically concentrated in California, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, Nevada, Florida and the Northeastern corridor. However, large pockets of Latinos reside in less traditional immigrant destinations that have had a rapid Latino population changes in recent years such as Georgia.[1] Examining the ways in which welcoming contexts, hostile contexts or even a combination of both, depending on the overlapping contexts, could shed more light on the different ways in which Latinos' perceptions of belonging to U.S. society are shaped. Some very recent work has begun to examine how state-level context does in fact shape Latinos' sense of belonging at the state level (Schildkraut et al., 2018). Future work must strive to further understand the many ways in local context influence perceived belonging to U.S.

[1]Flores, Antonio. 2017. *How the U.S. Hispanic Population is Changing* http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/18/how-the-u-s-hispanic-population-is-changing/

society and subsequently how these perceptions influence rates of political engagement.

In this dissertation I have argued that the concept of belonging has two components, an internal component and an external one. The final operationalization of these two components resulted in two separate items that attempted to measure how much Latinos felt that they belonged to U.S. society and the extent to which they perceived that others respected or valued their contributions. However, these are only two components of the belonging concept and as proposed by the theory of the politics of inclusion, it is likely that there are other dimensions of this concept that remain under-explored. For example, one of the dimensions that deserves further investigation is the notion of reactionary belonging. In chapter 2, I presented the theoretical framework of perceived belonging to U.S. society to help us understand the ways in which Latinos conceptualize their sense of self in America in relation to broader institutions and its society to better understand their rates of political engagement. Toward the conclusion of that chapter, I focused on reconciling the work that has shown that threat can catalyze political action among Latinos (Pantoja, Ramirez and Segura, 2001; Ramirez, 2013; Pérez, 2015) with the predictions derived from the belonging framework. I argued that what motivates Latinos to participate in the face of threat or group discrimination might be a sense of belonging, or what I call, reactionary belonging. In other words, it is plausible that Latinos only participate when faced with group threat if they have a strong sense of belonging to U.S. society. Future studies must continue to explore the different dimensions of the concept of perceived belonging and devote particular attention to the notion of reactionary belonging.

The experimental findings in chapter 4 show that messages and cues can affect perceptions of belonging to U.S. society. However, this is only a first attempt to get some causal identification and understanding of how perceptions of belonging function. The results from the experiment provide causal evidence that messaging can bring significant changes in reported levels of social inclusion among Latinos. More work remains to be done to better understand the causal relationship between belonging and political participation. Given that most of the results that examine the relationship between perceived belonging to U.S. society and political behavior are observational, it is difficult to disentangle if belonging only leads

to participation or if by participating politically Latinos might also develop a greater sense of belonging. While this research has showed extensive evidence of the link between belonging and participation, future studies must seriously address the issue of ndogeinity.

6.3 Contributions and Implications

This project makes an original and important contribution to the political science literature and the field of race and ethnic politics by establishing a link between perceptions of belonging to U.S. society and political participation. This dissertation is a first attempt to theorize on the concept of belonging and perceived membership, its manifestations, and implications for minority political behavior. The dissertation finds evidence of variation in perceptions of inclusion among Latinos in the U.S. Some Latinos express a sentiment of social alienation or lack of belonging, while others display greater feelings of membership and inclusion to the larger American society. As the evidence indicates, the way in which Latinos see themselves as belonging or not belonging to U.S. society is closely tied to their political participation. Exploring both individual and relative dimensions of the politics of inclusion framework, I find that Latino political behavior is a function of how much Latinos believe that they are inherent members of U.S. society and that others are inclusive and respectful towards them. That is, the greater the perceptions of belonging, the more likely Latinos are to engage in politics along various domains.

The conceptualization of belonging presented here extends our overall understanding of Latino political behavior at a time when the presence of Latinos is transforming the electorate and all of U.S. society. This project broadens our understanding of political incorporation and expands traditional theories of political behavior that have largely assumed that all individuals in the U.S. feel as belonging members. Given that attitudinal frames of inclusion correspond with becoming a stakeholder in the political system and engaging in politics, scholars of political behavior will have to grapple with further examining under which conditions Latinos, and also other racial and ethnic minorities, develop greater perceptions of inclusion or exclusion in American society. How do political elites, local, state and national

contexts as well as other agents influence perceptions of inclusion among Latinos and others minorities? More research is needed to tease out the intricate notions of perceived belonging and social alienation, and their relationship to varying forms of political engagement. Even among Latinos, further research is needed to tease out how notions of belonging vary and are conceptualized among Latino citizens, legal residents and undocumented immigrants (Chavez, Lavariega Monforti and Michelson, 2014).

The findings in this dissertation also have important and broad implications for the political behavior of blacks, Asian Americans and the members of other minority groups who might face similar experiences of exclusion and for whom a sense of belonging is not a given. Scholars have suggested that like Latinos, African Americans and Asian Americans perceive themselves as excluded members in U.S. society (Tuan, 1998; Nunnally, 2012). However, little is known about how perceptions of exclusion and social alienation influence the political behavior of the members of other marginalized groups. This project highlight the need to engage in scholarly work that theorizes on the politics of belonging to better understand how perceived inclusion and exclusion shape the political behavior of other racial, ethnic and religious minorities. While the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 paid particular attention to the historical trajectory of Latinos, it is grounded within a broader framework that recognizes the fundamental role of race and racism in defining and shaping the circumstances of blacks, Asian Americans, Native Americans and religious minorities like Muslim Americans. As such, the basis of the theoretical framework presented here lays the groundwork for developing a framework of inquiry to study how perceptions of belonging to U.S. society influence the political attitudes and political engagement of members from other marginalized groups. The politics of inclusion framework presented here serves as a backbone for other work to further examine political behavior among other marginalized communities as a function of psychological perceptions of belonging or lack of belonging.

Perceptions of inclusion, however, are not only critical to understanding minority political behavior. In fact, perceived belonging or a threat to one's perceived belonging might also be fundamentally tied to the political behavior of whites, in particular rural disaffected and conservative whites who in the 2016 Presidential election garnered behind Donald Trump

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as he promised to "Make America Great Again." Recent polls have found that a large number of white Americans believe that they are strangers in their own country and that they do not identify with what America has become.[2] Perceptions of exclusion among white Americans, combined with racial animosity[3] could be in fact what led to reactionary mobilization on behalf of Trump in order to assert feelings of membership and belonging. As very recent scholarship has found, immigration policies that are welcoming of immigrants appear to positively influence notions of belonging among Latinos and liberal whites. However, conservative whites who are exposed these same positive immigration policies report lower perceptions of belonging in the U.S. (Huo et al., 2018). It appears that even among whites there is a differential impact of welcoming and hostile cues and messages on perceived notions belonging, which consequently might also be a salient factor for political behavior. Future research in political science must seriously engage with the politics of inclusion and exclusion as these relate to the experiences of various groups in America in order to better understand when and how varying forms of perceived belonging or social alienation can catalyze or depress mass political behavior.

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[2]Young, Cliff and Chris Jackson. 2015. "The rise of Neo-Nativism: Putting Trump into Proper Context." *IPSOS Ideas Spotlight.* http://spotlight.ipsos-na.com/index.php/news/the-rise-of-neo-nativism-putting-trump-into-proper-context/

[3]Sides, John and Michael Tesler. 2016. "How political science helps explain the rise of Trump: the role of white identity and grievances." *Monkey Cage*
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/03/03/how-political-science-helps-explain-the-rise-of-trump-the-role-of-white-identity-and-grievances/?utm_term=.3fb7c5f4d910

APPENDIX A

Items Adapted from Social Psychology Constructs and Existent Research

A.1   Proxies adapted from the need to belong scale (NTB)

For each of the statements below, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement by allocating to each statement a number from the scale.

(1) strongly disagree (2) somewhat disagree (3) neither agree nor disagree (4) somewhat agree (5) strongly agree

  A. I have a strong desire to belong to American society

  B. I want other people in society to accept me

  C. It bothers me a great deal when I am not included as a member of U.S. society

  D. I seldom worry about whether society is inclusive of me or people like me

A.2   Group Value Model Items

  1. **Perceived status items**[1] – individuals are asked to consider the views of society as a whole (including of other individuals and politicians/legislators.)
  Most of the time I feel that people:

  (a) Feel warmly towards me

  (b) Don't like me

  2. **Perceived liking items**
  Most of the time I feel that people in society:

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[1]Tyler and Smith, 1999; Ellemers, Spears and Doosje, 2002; Ellemers, Doosje and Spears, 2004; Spears ,Ellemers and Doosje, 2005; De Cremer and Blader, 2006; Huo, Binning and Molina, 2010

(a) Respect my achievements (or the achievements of others like me)

(b) Value my opinion and ideas (or those of others like me)

(c) Think well of how I or people like me conduct ourselves

(d) Think highly of my abilities and talents (or those of people like me)

3. **Authority treatment items**
Individuals are asked to consider how each statement describes their experiences with the political system and politicians.

(a) Treat me fairly

(b) Show concerns for my rights

(c) Are fair in the decisions and policies that concern me or people like me

(d) Are honest in their dealings with me or people like me

(e) Show that they care about me or people like me

4. **Peer treatment items**
Participants are asked to describe how each of these describes their experiences with other members of society (mirror items from authority treatment).

(a) Treat me fairly

(b) Show concerns for my rights

(c) Are honest in their dealings with me or people like me

(d) Show that they care about me or people like me

A.3   Hochschild and Lang (2011) Social Inclusion Measures

1. Which in the following list is most important to you in describing who you are?

- Your current or previous occupation;
- Your race/ethnic background;
- Your gender;
- Your age group;
- Your religion;
- Your preferred political party, group, or movement;
- Your nationality;
- Your family or marital status;
- Your social class;
- The part of the country that you live in.

2. How close do you feel to your country?

3. I would rather be a citizen of [country] than any other country in the world.

4. How proud are you of being from [country]?

The index for inclusion of others included: To be truly [nationality] (for example, American), how important is it to

1. have been born in [country];

2. have [nationality] citizenship;

3. have lived in [country] for most of ones life;

4. be able to speak [country's recognized language(s)];

5. to be a [member of the dominant religion or denomination in that country];

6. to respect [country's] political institutions and laws

APPENDIX B

Pilot Question Wording

B.1 Pilot I

1. How often do you feel that other people in society value and appreciate your contributions?
   (1) Always (2) Very often (3) Sometimes (4) Rarely (5) Never

2. How welcomed do you feel by other people in U.S. society?
   (1) Extremely (2) Moderately (3) Somewhat (4) Slightly (5) Not at all

3. How much do you see yourself as an outsider in U.S. society?
   (1) Extremely (2) Moderately (3) Somewhat (4) Slightly (5) Not at all

4. How often do you think that other people try to exclude you from U.S. society?
   (1) Always (2) Very often (3) Sometimes (4) Rarely (5) Never

5. How much do you think elected officials view you as a valuable and important member in U.S. society?
   (1) Extremely (2) Moderately (3) Somewhat (4) Slightly (5) Not at all

6. How much of the time do you feel that elected and public officials question whether you are truly American?
   (1) Always (2) Very often (3) Sometimes (4) Rarely (5) Never

7. I will read to you a few statements. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these. Elected officials pay more attention to demands made by non-Latinos than those made by Latinos. Do you?
   (1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Somewhat disagree (5) Strongly disagree

8. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement. Elected officials genuinely and actually care about helping Latinos succeed. Do you?
   (1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Somewhat disagree (5) Strongly disagree

B.2 Pilot II

1. Political parties, candidates, and non-profit organizations are all interested in trying to get more people to vote through their outreach drives. However sometimes the

outreach message doesn't really speak to us. I am going to read you four different voter outreach messages, and for each one, tell me how convincing is it as a reason to vote?

Okay, how about, "This is YOUR country - you belong - you are part of democracy - your vote is your voice." Would you say that message was really convincing, it was just okay, not that convincing, or was it not convincing at all?

(1) Really convincing (2) Just okay (3) Not that convincing (4) Not at all convincing

2. How strongly do you personally feel like you belong in the U.S.?

(1) Extremely belong (2) Moderately belong (3) Somewhat belong (4) Slightly belong (5) Not at all belong

3. How often do you feel that other people in society value and appreciate your contributions?

(1) Always (2) Very often (3) Sometimes (4) Not too often (5) Never

4. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: Elected officials genuinely and actually care about helping Latinos succeed. Do you...?

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Somewhat disagree (5) Strongly disagree

B.3   Pilot III

1. Political parties, candidates, and non-profit organizations are all interested in trying to get more people to vote through their outreach drives. However sometimes the outreach message doesn't really speak to us. I am going to read you four different voter outreach messages, and for each one, tell me how convincing is it as a reason to vote?

Okay, how about, "This is YOUR country - you belong - you are part of democracy - your vote is your voice." Would you say that message was really convincing, it was just okay, not that convincing, or was it not convincing at all?

(1) Really convincing (2) Just okay (3) Not that convincing (4) Not at all convincing

2. How often do you feel that other people in society value and appreciate your contributions?

(1) Always (2) Very often (3) Sometimes (4) Not too often (5) Never

3. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: Elected officials genuinely and actually care about helping Latinos succeed. Do you...?

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Somewhat disagree (5) Strongly disagree

B.4 Pilot IV

1. How strongly do you feel like [SPLIT: you / you as a Latino] belong in the United States?

   (1) Extremely (2) Moderately (3) Slightly (4) Not at all

2. How much do [SPLIT: you / you as a Latino] feel like an outsider in the United States?

   (1) Extremely (2) Moderately (3) Slightly (4) Not at all

3. How often do you think that other people try to exclude [SPLIT: you / you as Latino] from U.S. society?

   (1) Always (2) Very Often (3) Rarely (4) Never

4. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most Americans value [SPLIT: your presence / your presence as a Latino] in the United States. Do you?

   (1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

5. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most Americans appreciate [SPLIT: your group / Latinos as a group] in the United States. Do you?

   (1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

APPENDIX C

Summary Statistics

C.1   2016 CMPS Descriptives

Table C.1: 2016 Summary Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	2,997	38.368	13.979	19	97
Income	3,003	4.558	3.266	1	12
Education	3,003	3.978	1.148	1	6
Female	3,003	0.678	0.467	0	1
Married	3,003	0.403	0.491	0	1
Foreign Born	3,003	0.240	0.427	0	1
US Born	3,003	0.760	0.427	0	1
Generation	3,003	1.830	0.530	1	3
Years in the US	871	25.127	18.030	1	76
Spanish Int.	3,003	0.120	0.324	0	1
Catholic	3,003	0.440	0.496	0	1
Protestant	3,003	0.028	0.165	0	1
Born Again	2,456	0.235	0.424	0	1
Religiosity	2,456	3.249	1.727	1	6
Democrat	3,003	0.479	0.500	0	1
Republican	3,003	0.161	0.367	0	1
Independent	3,003	0.284	0.451	0	1
Ideology	2,683	3.265	1.102	1	5
Mexican	3,003	0.499	0.500	0	1
Cuban	3,003	0.053	0.225	0	1
Puerto Rican	3,003	0.164	0.370	0	1
Central American	3,003	0.060	0.238	0	1
Dominican	3,003	0.036	0.185	0	1
Pers. Discrim.	3,003	0.525	0.499	0	1
Grp. Discrim.	3,003	3.208	1.104	1	5
Linked Fate	3,003	2.279	1.186	1	4
Imm. Linked Fate	2,742	2.435	1.030	1	4
Latino ID.	3,003	3.334	0.848	1	4
American ID.	3,003	3.485	0.771	1	4
Internal Eff.	3,003	2.815	1.147	1	5

External Eff.	3,003	2.501	1.025	1	5
Govt. Trust	3,003	2.095	0.739	1	4
Local Govt. Trust	3,003	2.287	0.777	1	4
Belong	3,003	3.507	0.761	1	4
Respected	3,003	3.381	0.789	1	4
Social Inclusion	3,003	6.888	1.357	2	8
Know Undoc. Person	2,462	0.459	0.498	0	1
No. Know Deported	685	1.601	8.020	0	100
Worried Abt. Deport	685	1.775	1.333	1	5
Registered	3,003	0.605	0.489	0	1
Protest	3,003	0.119	0.324	0	1
Petition	3,003	0.368	0.482	0	1
Donate	3,003	0.132	0.338	0	1
Voted	1,816	0.911	0.284	0	1
Volunteer for Cand.	3,003	0.063	0.243	0	1
Solve Neighborhood	3,003	0.173	0.378	0	1
Att. Comm. Mtg.	3,003	0.204	0.403	0	1
Discuss Pol.	3,003	0.831	0.375	0	1
Pol. Interest	3,003	2.809	0.927	1	4
Govt. Contact	3,003	0.155	0.362	0	1
Elected Contact	3,003	0.182	0.386	0	1
Local Elec. Voter Type	3,003	2.228	1.191	1	4

C.2 Experiment Summary Statistics

Table C.2: 2017 National Survey on Public Opinion

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	689	40.569	14.580	18	100
Income	689	5.241	3.343	1	12
Education	689	4.178	1.140	1	6
Female	689	0.704	0.457	0	1
Male	689	0.294	0.456	0	1
Foreign Born	689	0.208	0.406	0	1
U.S. Born	689	0.792	0.406	0	1
Generation	689	2.083	0.773	1	4
Ideology	689	3.170	1.105	1	5
Mexican	689	0.428	0.495	0	1
Democrat	689	0.447	0.497	0	1
Republican	689	0.184	0.387	0	1
Independent	689	0.297	0.457	0	1
Ideology	689	3.170	1.105	1	5
Latino ID.	689	3.440	0.773	1	4
American ID.	689	3.605	0.651	1	4
Country of Origin ID.	689	3.442	0.776	1	4
Belong	689	3.536	0.707	1	4
Respected	689	3.018	0.795	1	4
Soc. Inclusion	689	6.554	1.248	2	8
Internal Eff.	689	1.958	0.800	1	4
External Eff.	689	2.192	0.949	1	4
Gov't. Trust	689	2.113	0.762	1	4

C.3 Belonging Items Comparison

Figure C.1: Distribution of Belong Item among Latinos, Blacks, Asians and Whites
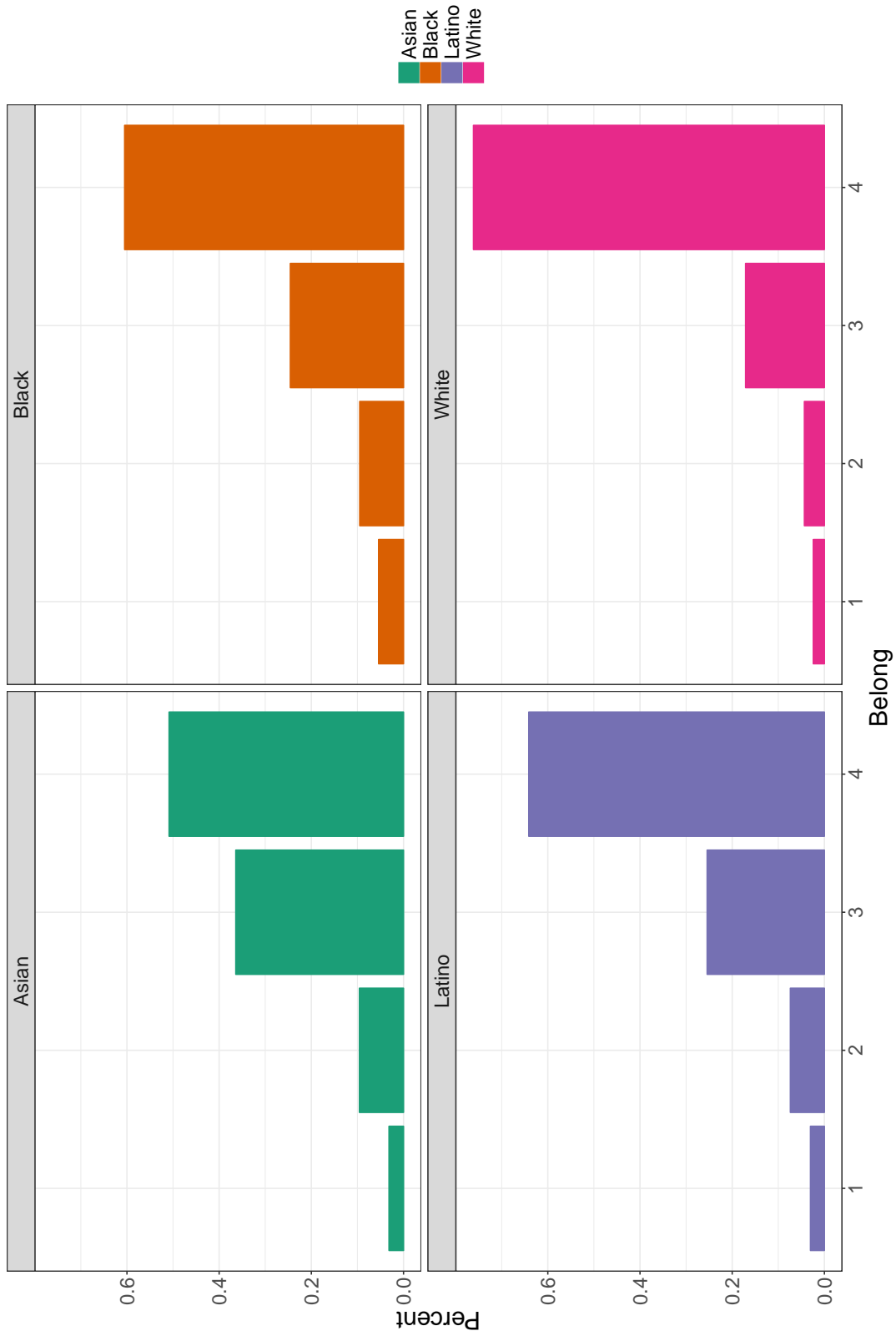
Figure C.2: Distribution of Respected Item among Latinos, Blacks, Asians and Whites
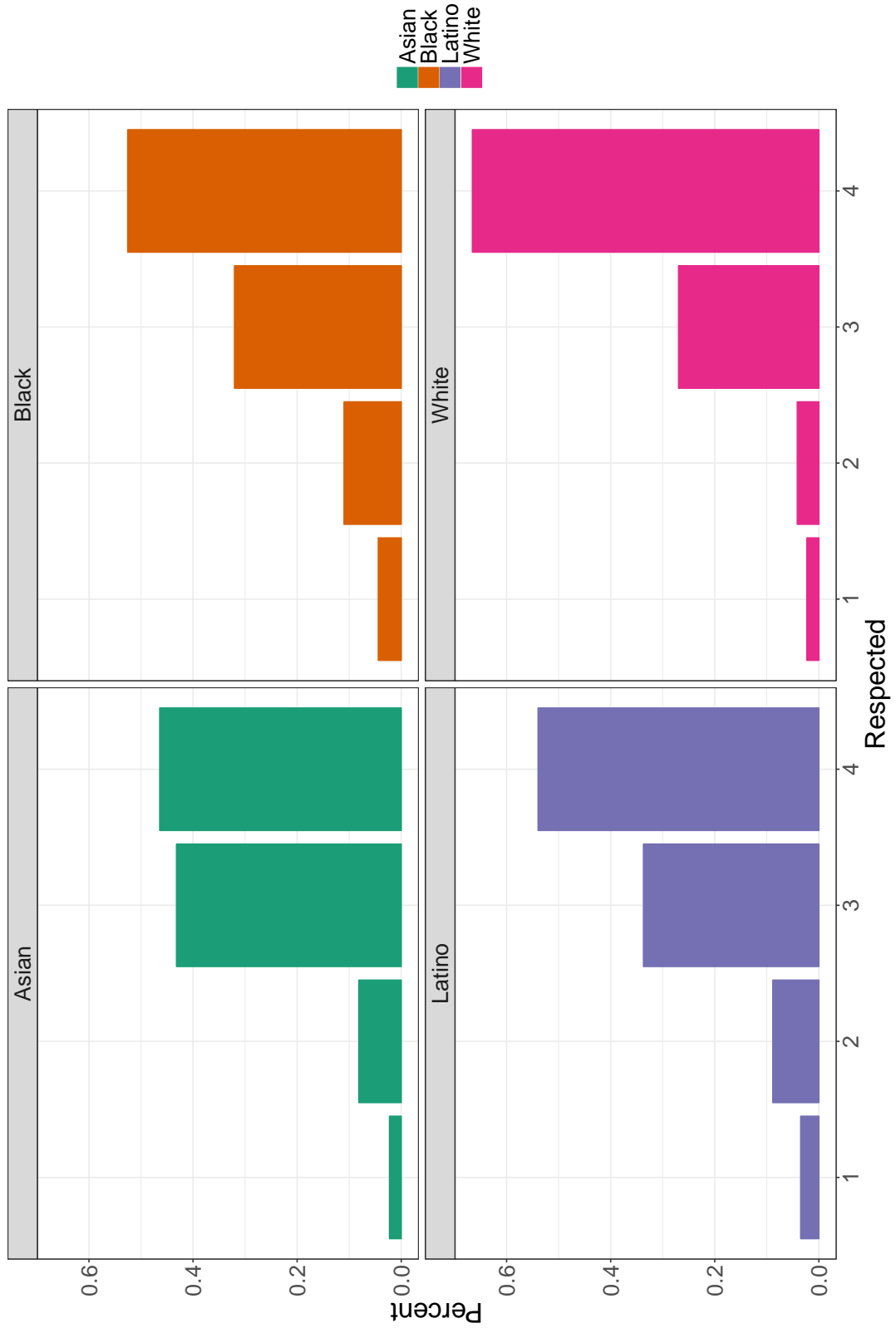
APPENDIX D

Balance Statistics

Table D.1: Balance Statistics for Social Positive Condition

	mean.Tr	mean.Co	T pval	KS pval
Age	40.380	39.960	0.770	0.680
Education	4.230	4.180	0.700	0.730
Income	4.840	5.420	0.070	0.060
Foreign Born	0.230	0.200	0.500	
Generation	2.030	2.110	0.300	0.660
Latino ID.	3.470	3.420	0.470	0.340
American ID.	3.560	3.580	0.690	0.570
Mexican	0.470	0.470	0.980	
Ideology	3.200	3.090	0.350	0.530

Table D.2: Balance Statistics for Positive Condition

	mean.Tr	mean.Co	T pval	KS pval
Age	41.440	39.960	0.310	0.410
Education	4.180	4.180	0.960	0.990
Income	5.120	5.420	0.360	0.270
Foreign Born	0.240	0.200	0.320	
Generation	1.990	2.110	0.120	0.250
Latino ID.	3.460	3.420	0.540	0.470
American ID.	3.500	3.580	0.240	0.360
Mexican	0.380	0.470	0.070	
Ideology	3.130	3.090	0.750	0.800

Table D.3: Balance Statistics for Negative Condition

	mean.Tr	mean.Co	T pval	KS pval
Age	41.520	39.960	0.280	0.490
Education	4.220	4.180	0.750	0.590
Income	5.510	5.420	0.780	0.930
Foreign Born	0.180	0.200	0.560	
Generation	2.210	2.110	0.200	0.230
Latino ID.	3.410	3.420	0.900	0.840
American ID.	3.680	3.580	0.140	0.140
Mexican	0.430	0.470	0.440	
Ideology	3.150	3.090	0.630	0.930

Table D.4: Balance Statistics for Non-Ethnic Condition

	mean.Tr	mean.Co	T pval	KS pval
Age	40.510	39.960	0.700	0.720
Education	4.070	4.180	0.310	0.390
Income	5.180	5.420	0.460	0.700
Foreign Born	0.190	0.200	0.820	
Generation	2.110	2.110	0.960	0.990
Latino ID.	3.450	3.420	0.650	0.420
American ID.	3.640	3.580	0.360	0.440
Mexican	0.400	0.470	0.160	
Ideology	3.290	3.090	0.060	0.300

APPENDIX E

Robustness checks

E.1 CMPS Bivariate Models

Table E.1: Bivariate models predicting interest in politics

	Political Interest	
	(1)	(2)
Belong	0.188***	
	(0.022)	
Respected		0.155***
		(0.021)
Constant	2.149***	2.286***
	(0.079)	(0.074)
Observations	3,003	3,003
R^2	0.024	0.017
Adjusted R^2	0.024	0.017
Residual Std. Error (df = 3001)	0.916	0.919
F Statistic (df = 1; 3001)	73.426***	52.902***

Note: OLS model   *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table E.2: Bivariate models predicting having discussed politics

	Discuss Politics	
	(1)	(2)
Belong	0.092***	
	(0.009)	
Respected		0.097***
		(0.008)
Constant	0.510***	0.503***
	(0.032)	(0.029)
Observations	3,003	3,003
R^2	0.035	0.042
Adjusted R^2	0.034	0.041
Residual Std. Error (df = 3001)	0.368	0.367
F Statistic (df = 1; 3001)	107.605***	130.734***

Note: OLS model .... *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table E.3: Bivariate models predicting becoming involved to solve neighborhood issues

	Solve Neighborhood	
	(1)	(2)
Belong	0.019*	
	(0.009)	
Respected		0.007
		(0.009)
Constant	0.108***	0.150***
	(0.033)	(0.030)
Observations	3,003	3,003
R^2	0.001	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	0.001	−0.0001
Residual Std. Error (df = 3001)	0.378	0.378
F Statistic (df = 1; 3001)	4.229*	0.622

Note: OLS model .... *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table E.4: Bivariate models predicting reported turnout in 2016

	Voted	
	(1)	(2)
Belong	0.052***	
	(0.010)	
Respected		0.033***
		(0.009)
Constant	0.724***	0.798***
	(0.036)	(0.032)
Observations	1,816	1,816
R^2	0.015	0.007
Adjusted R^2	0.014	0.007
Residual Std. Error (df = 1814)	0.282	0.283
F Statistic (df = 1; 1814)	27.700***	12.916***

Note: OLS model   *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

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