Supplementary Materials: State Legitimacy and Sector-Level Claim-Making: Evidence from East Jerusalem

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A: SURVEY QUESTION EXAMPLES

Tables 1 and 2 reflect the two types of questions in the Services Census section of the survey. The first question type, shown in Table 1, records where and/or from whom individuals would seek help if dealing with a problem related to a particular GSI. Here I use the example of dispute resolution. This question type was used to record engagement with a variety of GSIs (such as justice and dispute resolution institutions, the sanitation and water departments, amongst others). The advantage of this question type is that it captures comfortability (or lack thereof) with institutions that an individual may not have yet had the occasion to use. Thus, it captures information about engagement tolerance that would otherwise be lost if a person had not yet needed the particular service, but would feel comfortable seeking out if they did need it in the future. When recording state engagement based upon these question types, the observation would be marked as a 1 (engagement) if the individual answered "yes" to numbers 4, 10, or 11 (in bold), and otherwise, 0 (no engagement). Number 6, "Israeli NGO," is not included because though these are Israeli institutions that can receive state funding, Israeli NGOs are not formally part of the state apparatus.

The second question type asks individuals directly about whether they engage with a particular GSI and/or the frequency with which they engage. This question type is used where possible, as it is provides a more direct answer to the question of usage history. An example of this question type is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 1. Services Census Question Type 1

If you had a dispute about property with a family member or neighbor that you could not settle yourself, who would you turn to to help settle it? You can choose more than one. Please tell me all that apply;
1. Hamula (yes/no)
2. Family (yes/no)
3. Mukhtar (yes/no)
4. Municipal community center (yes/no)
5. Palestinian NGO or CSO (yes/no)
6. Israeli NGO (yes/no)
7. International NGO (yes/no)
8. The Waqf (yes/no)
9. Local mosque or church leaders (yes/no)
10. The Israeli police (yes/no)
11. The Israeli court system (yes/no)
12. The Sharia court system (yes/no)
13. Neighbors or friends (yes/no)
14. A Sulha or reconciliation committee (yes/no)
15. Factions or political parties (yes/no)
16. UNRWA (yes/no)
17. The PA (yes/no)
18. Other _____

TABLE 2. Services Census Question Type 2

What type of school did you attend, if you were able to attend school?
1. Private schools (religious, charitable, international)
2. Jerusalem Municipality schools using the Tawjihi curriculum
3. Jerusalem Municipality schools using the Bagrut curriculum
4. Palestinian schools/Alwaqaf schools
5. UNRWA schools
6. Other _____

B: SURVEY EXPERIMENT REGRESSION RESULTS

Table 3 lists the regression results from which the average treatment effects were drawn for the survey experiment. Due to the experimental design, no additional control variables were added, but all attributes and levels were tested to ensure that they did not interfere with the treatments.

TABLE 3. Survey Experiment Regression Results

	Dependent variable: Composite Likability Peer Evaluation
Community Center	-1.188^{***}
	(0.214)
Police	-6.230^{***}
	(0.253)
Vote	-2.619^{***}
	(0.219)
Name-Amir	0.328
	(0.229)
Name-Elias	−1.185
	(0.930)
Name-George	−1.182
	(0.915)
Name-Hanna	−0.121
	(0.825)
Name-Ibrahim	−0.104
	(0.235)
Name-Jiries	0.572
	(0.842)
Name-Mohammad	−0.123
	(0.238)
Age	0.052
	(0.042)
Occupation-Doctor	−0.070
	(0.227)
Occupation-Engineer	−0.242
	(0.224)
Occupation-School Principal	−0.398
	(0.238)
Neighborhood-Beit Hanina	0.313
	(0.225)
Neighborhood-Ras Al Amoud	−0.203
	(0.236)
Neighborhood-Sur Baher	−0.262
	(0.233)
SbjNum	−0.00000
	(0.00000)
Constant	76.534
	(44.324)
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

C: ADDITIONAL GSI TYPE AND DIMENSION EXPLANATIONS

GSI Types

Coercive The first GSI type–coercive–identifies whether a GSI, by virtue of its connection to the state security apparatus, is able to deploy the coercive capabilities of the state. GSIs that fall within the coercive type include the police, justice and dispute resolution institutions, and the housing authority. One interviewee succinctly described how a GSI's connectedness to the coercive capabilities of the state is a helpful way to distinguish between GSIs deemed political and others,

> "Anything affiliated with the security apparatus (military/prisons/police/intelligence) is more controversial...the controversiality of a service increases with respect to its proximity to overtly security/political criteria. If that's upfront and out there, it is difficult to engage with." (Interview 21 2022)

When asked which services were the most controversial, interviewees most commonly answered that calling the police reaches the top of the list, with one interviewee noting, "this is definitely considered normalization" (Interview 40 2022). Several interviewees characterized the police as "the enemy" (Interview 6 2022; Interview 23 2022). One respondent succinctly described the consequences of calling the police,

> "The police are the enemy who are coming with orders to kill. People go to their families [for help]. If they don't have families, they will go to the police but they will be considered collaborators and traitors." (Interview 6 2022)

A common refrain amongst interviewees was that the police not only symbolize state violence, but enact further violence when called upon to help remedy a situation. One respondent described the contentious and violent relationship that East Jerusalemites have with police as akin to Black Americans' experience with the police, making both groups less likely to call even if in need of law enforcement assistance (Interview 40 2022).

In a similar vein, when discussing willingness to seek out dispute resolution assistance or pursue cases in the justice system, respondents repeatedly described how people prefer to keep these matters

within the family or community, and are reluctant to pursue intervention from the Israeli state. Several respondents used the difficult example of domestic violence, one citing that few women would be likely to approach Israeli authorities to intervene, and that instead "it is considered an inner-Palestinian issue and it would be better for the family or Mukhtar[1] to solve it" (Interview 25 2022). Another interviewee noted that many women see calling the police or pursuing a case in the justice system as an absolute last resort, only if her life is in danger (Interview 23 2022). The interviewee further noted that this was in large part due to the community stigma against using state channels to address matters of justice, but that if her life was truly in danger she must contact the authorities and "no one can fault her for that" (Interview 23 2022). These sentiments echo Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2000, 2004)'s analyses of the policing of Arab/Palestinian women in Israel, whereby the militarization of society, the discrimination wrought against Arab/Palestinians, and the demands of patriarchal/hierarchical family structures together leave women bereft of viable options for remediation and protection from the state in the face of domestic abuse.

Related to the political apparatus or political agenda of the state The second GSI type–related to the political apparatus or political agendas of the state–identifies whether the GSI is connected to the overtly political institutions of the state or forwards the state's political agendas, particularly with respect to conflict over disputed territory. The key institution that fits this criteria is the institution of voting, which is considered a highly politicized form of engagement with the state. Contact with the housing authority could also be considered a form of engagement that is highly politicized on these grounds due to the fact that housing policies–including home demolitions, evictions, and settlement building–are seen as central to the political agenda of the Israeli authorities with respect to the disputed territory of East Jerusalem. In describing the unwillingness of most East Jerusalemites to vote or engage with the political institutions of the state, one interviewee noted,

[1]Today, there are conflicting views on (a) the continued existence of Mukhtars and (b) the formality of their connection to the Jerusalem Municipality. While several Israeli interviewees insisted that state-appointed Mukhtars no longer exist, the consensus among Palestinian interviewees was that Mukhtars still exist in many neighborhoods and do work closely with the municipality as mediators. See Baer (1978, 1980) for additional information on the functions and history of Mukhtars in Palestine.

> "People want to get civil rights, and will work with civil society organizations who can help get rights, but will not work through an elected representative at the [municipal] council. Elections are a recognition of Israeli sovereignty in East Jerusalem. If you vote you are accepting and agreeing to it. It gives Israel another card to use against East Jerusalemites." (Interview 6 2022)

Another interviewee remarked that "there is great risk in political activism. People are not willing to take part in the Israeli political system, for example by voting" (Interview 25 2022). Regarding engagement with the housing authority in light of its connection to the political agenda of the state, another interviewee noted,

> "Palestinians are fighting to keep our identity. We are seen as a minority in a sovereign state that can do anything to show sovereignty in its capital. According to international law and UN conventions, Palestinians have the right to fight for freedom and reject occupation. This could mean rejecting the need for building licenses and house demolitions."(Interview 31 2022)

Material Benefits The third GSI type–material benefits–consists of the basic goods and services that the state provides to residents, either by obligation or convention, to promote their wellbeing. GSIs of this type include infrastructure and sanitation services, water, and healthcare, among others. Importantly, all GSIs that fall outside of the bounds of the first two types–coercive and related to the political apparatus–are material benefits.

GSIs that fall into the "Material Benefits" type are oftentimes seen by residents as rights or entitlements that the state is obligated to provide to those under its jurisdiction. When discussing these types of GSIs, interviewees often used explicit rights language, citing that it is their right as taxpaying permanent residents or citizens to receive certain goods and services from the state. Several interviewees appealed to international law, noting that Israel has an obligation to provide certain goods and services to Palestinians under the Geneva conventions (Interview 16 2022; Interview 40 2022). These appeals to international law exemplify the nascent acknowledgment of the state's limited legitimacy as an occupying power to provide basic goods and services in select sectors, but fall short of

suggesting that Israel should provide these as the legitimate, permanent, sovereign. One interviewee noted, “Demanding basic rights is outside of normalization" (Interview 40 2022). When asked how to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable GSIs, several interviewees explained that because East Jerusalemites pay taxes, they should receive goods and services from the state in exchange for the taxes; “For the services you pay [taxes] for, ask for it and take it—this is not wrong." (Interview 23 2022). Another noted, “In the post-Oslo era, it is acceptable to get help for social services—you are paying taxes to the authorities and it is your right to get what you want" (Interview 6 2022).

Moderating Dimensions

At base, the majority of material benefits are technical GSIs that the average Palestinian East Jerusalemite is willing to engage with. However, certain features of select material benefits make it such that they are considered political rather than technical. I term these features “moderating dimensions" and identify three that are relevant for most cases of contested sovereignty. Thus, the following three moderating dimensions are features of select material benefits that help to determine whether material benefits are considered political or technical GSIs. In the absence of any and all moderating dimensions, a given GSI will be considered technical. If it posseses any or all of the following moderating dimensions, it will instead be considered political.

Cultural The first moderating dimension–cultural–identifies whether engaging with the GSI exposes civilians to the civic culture of the state, or the culture of the majority group. If the material benefit possesses features of the cultural dimension, the GSI is likely considered to be “political." GSIs such as education and community center attendance rank highly on the cultural dimension. Interviewees described how cultural activities or events were seen as sensitive, and made a distinction between GSIs with cultural elements and those without;

> “If the authorities try to do festivals or bring cultural events to East Jerusalem, like the cinema, this is very sensitive. We want your infrastructure because you have to give it to us, but we don’t want more than that." (Interview 39 2022)

Similarly, there was consensus among interviewees that enrolling children in Israeli municipal

schools that use the Bagrut curriculum ranks high on the list of controversial actions for this reason. As Masarwi (2022) details in her work on the Israeli education system in East Jerusalem and as was echoed by interviewees, the primary points of contention with the Bagrut curriculum are the use of the education system as a tool for surveillance, the absence of any mention of Palestinian history, culture, or national identity from the curricula, and the unwillingness to tailor curricula to include these themes for Palestinian students. This is considered by many to be a deliberate act of erasure and an impingement on the right to national identity expression and self-determination (Interview 18 2022). One respondent described the Bagrut curriculum as, "another attempt to force the Israeli narrative onto people" (Interview 19 2022). Respondents also described similar dynamics regarding Municipal Community Centers, noting that “there is sensitivity from people to anything that is related to education, ’Israelization,’ culture. But events for the elderly? Why not. Let them go have fun. Cooking lessons are not sensitive" (Interview 31 2022).

Bricks-and-Mortar The second moderating dimension–bricks-and-mortar–identifies whether the GSI is itself or is conferred via a bricks-and-mortar institution whereby (a) its construction necessitated the absorption of land by the state and/or (b) the exterior of the facility displays state logos or symbols in East Jerusalem neighborhoods. Bricks-and-mortar GSIs are considered to be more controversial, and are thus more likely to be considered political, while those that lack a bricks-and-mortar presence within East Jerusalem are typically considered less controversial. This is in large part because the bricks-and-mortar presence of an Israeli state institution within an East Jerusalem neighborhood is seen as a physical manifestation of the state’s encroachment within the disputed territory. Several interviewees described how official state logos or emblems on bricks-and-mortar institutions deter East Jerusalemites from engagement, and thus the municipality has intentionally removed such logos on select buildings to increase engagement (Interview 13 2022; Interview 22 2022). Other state employees cited that they work itinerantly, and lack designated bricks-and-mortar office spaces in East Jerusalem neighborhoods because they can more effectively perform their job duties if they bring services to residents rather than expect residents to show up to a state-run facility in East Jerusalem (Interview 7 2022; Interview 8 2022).

However, it should be noted that not all bricks-and-mortar institutions are considered political.

For example, while healthcare institutions are often located within East Jerusalem neighborhoods they are most often franchised to Palestinian owners, staffed by Palestinian doctors and nurses, and are considered to be “the acceptable face of the Israeli services" (Interview 33 2022). As a result, these bricks-and-mortar institutions are, by and large, welcome within East Jerusalem neighborhoods (Interview 43 2022). By contrast, even something seemingly technical such as a park or soccer field can become highly politicized under particular conditions. One interviewee described how when the state installed a large community garden in a field between two portions of a once contiguous neighborhood, residents perceived the garden as an attempt to block future neighborhood expansion and thus boycotted the garden (Interview 8 2022).

Staff Identities The third and final moderating dimension–staff identities– identifies whether the GSI is distributed by staff who share an ethnic or national identity with residents, or instead by staff who hold the ethnic or national identity of the majority group or the power-holders of the state. In the East Jerusalem context, it is relevant whether those interfacing with Palestinian residents to provide GSIs are themselves Palestinian East Jerusalemites, or instead Jewish Israelis, Druze, or Arab Israelis who originated from other parts of Israel. Interfacing with other Palestinian East Jerusalemites is typically perceived as preferable, while interviewees expressed skepticism surrounding interfacing with Jewish Israelis, Druze, or Arab Israelis/Palestinian citizens of Israel (Interview 13 2022; Interview 4 2022; Interview 5 2022). The main reason cited for hesitancy working with Arab Israelis/Palestinian citizens of Israel “from the North" was a feeling of being misunderstood due to the uniqueness of the East Jerusalemite experience (Interview 19 2022; Interview 29 2022). Therefore, if Palestinian East Jerusalemites must interface with Jewish Israelis, Druze, or Arab Israelis in order to access a GSI, the GSI is more likely to be perceived as political. By contrast, if they are able to access the GSI by interfacing only with other East Jerusalemites or without interfacing with any state agents, these GSIs are more likely to be considered technical. One interviewee recounted a story of the installation of a post office in East Jerusalem, which was burned down in protest within 24 hours of opening. However, when the Jerusalem Municipality consulted with a neighborhood resident to identify locally relevant street names so that mail could be delivered, the mail delivery system was thereafter accepted (Interview 13 2022).

D: ADDITIONAL METHODS & RESEARCH ETHICS INFORMATION

Interview Sampling Procedures

I used two non-random sampling strategies to conduct interviews with mid-level experts, civil society leaders, and a select number of elites. I preferenced a non-random sample of mid-level experts and community leaders during the theory building stage because these interviewees were likely to have a developed sense of community-wide trends, norms, and decision-making processes. This rationale is not unlike Tansey (2007)'s contention that non-probability sampling of elites can be preferable when process tracing because elites are best able to speak to the process in question.

Thus, the first round of interviewees were selected using the PASSIA Diary, published annually by the Jerusalem-based think tank the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) (Abdul Hadi 2022). The diary lists contact information for all Palestinian and international institutions (governmental, religious, civil society, intergovernmental, etc.) that operate across Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza. I scanned the Jerusalem section for all potentially relevant institutions and used the listed contact information to conduct the first round of interviews. In the first round, I also conducted interviews with Jerusalem Municipality employees in relevant institutions, such as municipal community centers and the social welfare offices, using publicly available contact information. After each interview, I asked interviewees the same question— "Who else do you think I should talk to?"— and relied upon snowball sampling to contact a second round of individuals and institutions.

Research Ethics

Because the research concerned the (il-)legitimacy of the Israeli state and the state has a record of repressing East Jerusalemites who overtly challenge its claims to sovereignty (e.g. Abdulrahim 2022; Hasson 2019), I took additional steps to protect respondent anonymity and confidentiality. Both the interview protocol and survey instrument were granted "exempt" status from my institution's IRB. However, IRBs are understandably ill-equipped to foresee all of the implications for participants in each distinct research context, particularly foreign ones. Thus, I took additional measures to promote

the anonymity, safety, and confidentiality of interview and survey respondents (Fujii 2012). First, upon arrival in Jerusalem and before beginning interviews I consulted with several Israeli and Palestinian academics concerning my interview questions and informed consent processes. No major edits were suggested, but all edits to the interview and survey were processed through the IRB. During interviews, in addition to collecting informed consent information at the beginning of the interview, I reminded interviewees of their rights to abstain from answering prior to asking particularly sensitive questions. Interviewees did abstain from answering the subsequent questions on select occasions. Perhaps most importantly, I collected only verbal consent rather than signed consent documents and kept interviewee contact information in a password protected document separate from the password protected interview question answers. I then used a number system to link the two. These additional measures were taken so that identifying information would not be linked to interview answers, and so that no documents exist which contain both identifying information and interview question responses.

When fielding the survey, I included an extensive pre-script outlining survey respondent rights and measures taken to protect respondent confidentiality. The survey firm advised that the script was uncharacteristically long and that discussing matters of confidentiality prior in such detail could deter respondents from participating. However, I decided it was important to retain the full length script despite the risk of lowering the response rate. The response rate for the survey was 77%, which was higher than should be expected given the difficulty of the political environment, the sensitivity of the topic, and the documented decline in survey response rates in other contexts (Cavari and Freedman 2023). Further, at the urging of the survey firm I removed a module that was approved by the IRB but in their estimation too sensitive in the East Jerusalem context.

Positionality

My orientation towards the research question, data collection processes, and access to information were inevitably affected by my identity as a non-Palestinian, non-Israeli, Christian white female Comparative Politics scholar. First, though there are numerous difficulties associated with conducting field research as a young white female in Middle Eastern contexts, white foreign women have been referred to as “the Third sex" due to their unique ability to traverse otherwise gender exclusive spaces (Schwedler

2006). As Schwedler (2006) highlights, women of Western descent are able to meet privately with both men and women in a professional capacity and are often seen as non-threatening; both of these unearned privileges typically result in increased access to information. I certainly benefited from my "third sex" status, particularly in the way of ease of access to interviewees. In addition to my "third sex" status, I also benefited from "third sect" status; my religious affiliation as a Christian afforded me a certain degree of neutrality and distance in a conflict space where the Jewish-Muslim cleavage is more salient than the Christian-Muslim or Christian-Jewish cleavages. Further, being a non-Israeli, non-Palestinian, foreigner competent in conversational Palestinian Arabic allowed me to traverse East and West Jerusalem with ease, which is yet another privilege in an ethnically divided and territorially contested space. However, my lack of fluency in Hebrew and Arabic also necessitated that I work with research assistants to conduct interviews with Arabic and Hebrew speaking interviewees, and to access certain types of data. As a Comparative Politics scholar trained in the positivist tradition, I sought a generalizable explanation for patterns of Palestinian engagement. This orientation differs from how a Middle East area specialist, historian, or social scientist trained in the interpretivist tradition would have approached research and data collection.

IRB Protocol Information

TABLE 4. IRB Protocol Information

Protocol Number	Institutional Review Board	Date of Approval	Protocol Status
21-10-6850	University of Notre Dame IRB	11/09/21	Exempt
21-10-6850 (Amendment)	University of Notre Dame IRB	01/24/22	Exempt
22-05-7252	University of Notre Dame IRB	07/27/22	Exempt
22-05-7252 (Amendment)	University of Notre Dame IRB	11/08/22	Exempt

E: VARIABLE DESCRIPTIONS

TABLE 5. Dependent Variables for Logistic Regressions

Dependent Variables	Computation
Primary and Secondary Education-Jerusalem Municipality School (respondent)	Binary (1/0) record of whether the respondent went to a Jerusalem Municipality School
Dispute Resolution	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports seeking dispute resolution assistance from Israeli police, courts, or community center.
Voting	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent has ever voted in a municipal election.
Police (visiting a station)	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent has ever visited a police station to report an issue or solve a problem.
Social Welfare/Economic Assistance	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent would seek social service assistance from Jerusalem municipality welfare offices or other social service providers within the municipality, or Israeli state social security or welfare offices
Transportation (Respondent uses Israeli buses or Israeli light rail)	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports using Israeli buses or light rail
Community Center	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports having ever visited a municipal community center
Sanitation	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports willingness to contact a municipal community center, the Israeli police, Israeli court system, or the sanitation offices of the municipality if they need to solve a problem related to sanitation conditions in their neighborhood.
Health (primary care)	Binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports that they would attend an Israeli clinic should they need to seek medical attention.
Parks (parks, playgrounds, community gardens, soccer fields)	Binary (0/1) record of whether respondent would visit a municipal park, soccer field, community garden, or playground if it existed in their neighborhood.

TABLE 6. Explanatory Variables for Logistic Regressions

Question: "I am now going to ask you about your perceptions of different service sectors in Jerusalem and whether you think using the services in that sector amounts to an act of "normalization" or *tatbiyye*. Answer "yes, it is normalization" or "no, it is not normalization" to the following list.

Explanatory Variable	**Computation**
Normalization Perception: Voting in the Israeli elections	Binary (Yes/No)
Normalization Perception: Going to an Israeli hospital or medical clinic	Binary (Yes/no)
Normalization Perception: Sending children to a school that uses the Israeli Bagrut curriculum	Binary (Yes/No)
Normalization Perception: Going to a municipal community center to access services provided there	Binary (Yes/No)
Normalization Perception: Having the Jerusalem municipality sanitation department pick up trash in your neighborhood	Binary (Yes/no)
Normalization Perception: Settling a dispute with a friend or neighbor using the Israeli court system	Binary (Yes/No)
Normalization Perception: Accepting economic relief or welfare from the Jerusalem municipality or the Israeli National Insurance Institute	Binary (Yes/no)
Normalization Perception: Going to and using a municipal park, soccer field, or playground	Binary (Yes/No)
Normalization Perception: Calling the Israeli police	Binary (Yes/No)
Normalization Perception: Using the Israeli buses or light rail	Binary (Yes/No)

TABLE 7. Control Variables and Alternative Explanations for Logistic Regressions

Control Variables and Alternative Explanations	Computation
State Responsiveness	An ordinal variable recording the respondent's level of satisfaction with the responsiveness of the municipality when a problem is identified and needs to be fixed (Satisfied/ Neutral/Not Satisfied)
Sex	A binary (0/1) record of whether a respondent presents as male or female, coded by the survey enumerator
Age	An ordinal variable of which age bracket an individual falls into (18-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-70, 70 and above)
Neighborhood	A nominal variable of the neighborhood of residence respondents belong to
Education level	An ordinal variable of the highest level of education of the respondent completed (No formal education; Elementary; Preparatory; Secondary; Mid-level diploma/professional or technical; BA; MA and above)
Political Apathy	An ordinal variable recording the extent to which respondents agree with the statement, "Politics is meaningless and rarely benefits people like me" (Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, Strongly Disagree).
Married	A binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports being married
Refugee status	A binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent is a registered refugee with UNRWA
Income	An ordinal variable recording the monthly take-home income range of the individual in New Israeli Shekels (Less than 2500 NIS, 2500-5000 NIS, 5000-7500 NIS, 7500-10000 NIS, 10000-12500 NIS, more than 15,000 NIS).
Prison	A binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports having spent time in an Israeli jail or prison
Party Affiliation	A binary (0/1) record of whether the respondent reports being affiliated with a political party
Religious Attendance	An ordinal variable recording the frequency with which individuals attend places of worship (Always, Most of the time, Sometimes, Rarely, Only on holidays, Never).

F: LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS WITHOUT THE POLITICAL APATHY VARIABLE

TABLE 8. Logistic Regressions without the Political Apathy Variable

	Dependent variable:									
	Police	Transport	Education	Healthcare	Community Center	Sanitation	Voting	Welfare Assistance	Parks	Dispute Res.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Normalization Perception	−0.261*	2.338***	−0.511***	1.114	1.107***	−1.128***	−0.678***	−1.640***	−1.602	0.349*
	(0.130)	(0.288)	(0.138)	(0.623)	(0.287)	(0.247)	(0.145)	(0.174)	(0.941)	(0.162)
State Responsiveness	−0.741***	−0.255*	−0.052	0.218	0.189	0.059	0.070	0.407***	−0.972	−0.194
	(0.105)	(0.115)	(0.095)	(0.243)	(0.135)	(0.180)	(0.106)	(0.105)	(0.670)	(0.121)
Sex	0.055	−0.378**	0.149	−0.166	−0.009	0.335	0.282*	−0.182	0.214	−0.507**
	(0.133)	(0.146)	(0.123)	(0.312)	(0.175)	(0.240)	(0.134)	(0.135)	(0.828)	(0.162)
Age	−0.032	−0.041	−0.168***	−0.046	0.095	0.197*	0.059	0.220***	−0.066	0.040
	(0.045)	(0.049)	(0.041)	(0.103)	(0.062)	(0.085)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.265)	(0.053)
Neighborhood	−0.028*	−0.038**	−0.033**	0.002	0.052**	0.046*	0.016	0.012	0.118	−0.050***
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.028)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.091)	(0.014)
Education Level	−0.388***	0.013	−0.193***	−0.200	−0.225**	0.364***	0.233***	0.412***	0.172	−0.348***
	(0.056)	(0.065)	(0.054)	(0.139)	(0.077)	(0.105)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.387)	(0.067)
Married	0.256	−0.417*	0.048	0.304	0.274	0.083	0.007	−0.286	1.129	−0.199
	(0.150)	(0.166)	(0.137)	(0.338)	(0.191)	(0.254)	(0.151)	(0.149)	(0.836)	(0.174)
Religious Attendance	−0.112	0.056	−0.034	0.088	−0.003	0.023	0.038	0.167**	−0.525	−0.107
	(0.058)	(0.066)	(0.055)	(0.130)	(0.074)	(0.107)	(0.060)	(0.059)	(0.479)	(0.069)
Income	0.278***	0.122	0.018	0.332*	0.044	−0.139	0.061	0.102	0.300	0.311***
	(0.062)	(0.067)	(0.056)	(0.143)	(0.080)	(0.106)	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.369)	(0.072)
Refugee Status	−0.181	0.480**	−0.297*	−0.096	0.784**	−0.273	0.119	0.272	1.008	0.041
	(0.172)	(0.184)	(0.151)	(0.378)	(0.262)	(0.273)	(0.165)	(0.169)	(1.165)	(0.200)
Prison	0.166	0.322	0.240	−0.222	0.232	−0.260	0.208	−0.151	−0.107	−0.044
	(0.147)	(0.166)	(0.137)	(0.342)	(0.211)	(0.241)	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.906)	(0.176)
Party	−0.172	−0.091	0.185	0.007	0.049	−0.345	−0.220	−0.281*	0.845	−0.302
	(0.130)	(0.143)	(0.120)	(0.307)	(0.174)	(0.226)	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.877)	(0.156)
Constant	2.266***	1.319*	2.133***	2.105	1.003	0.965	−2.498***	−3.543***	6.825	0.328
	(0.473)	(0.533)	(0.447)	(1.090)	(0.623)	(0.890)	(0.495)	(0.504)	(3.513)	(0.552)
Observations	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251	1,251
Log Likelihood	−720.524	−615.435	−818.074	−194.473	−468.862	−300.135	−712.732	−714.387	−36.508	−547.891
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,467.048	1,256.871	1,662.148	414.947	963.724	626.269	1,451.464	1,454.773	99.015	1,121.783

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

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