Conditional Cash Transfers, Resources, and Political Participation in Latin America

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**Appendix** 

Variables from the 2014 Mexican Survey Data

\*Note: many survey questions are taken or adapted from the 2012 LAPOP survey

Voting: An additive index of whether the respondent has registered to vote, voted in the last presidential election, voted in the last state legislative election, and voted in the last municipal election. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is

rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: 3.14; SD: 1.29)

Camp Activism: An additive index of whether the respondent has tried to convince others to vote, participated in an electoral campaign in the last presidential election, and attended meetings for a political party or movement in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one

(Mean: .29; SD: .45)

Cont Publ Officials: An additive index of whether the respondent has contacted a member of the legislature, contacted a local politician, contacted a state official or agency, contacted a public program official, asked for help from or presented a petition to a government official in the last twelve months, and signed a petition in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one

(Mean: 1.03; SD: 1.43)

Comm Activism: An additive index of whether the respondent has attended a municipal meeting or session in the past twelve months, contributed to help resolve a community problem in the past twelve months, attended meetings for a community improvement group in the past twelve months, and attended neighborhood committee meetings in the past twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .47; SD: .63)

Civ Soc Engage: An additive index of how often the respondent has attended meetings for a religious organization in the last twelve months, a school organization in the last twelve months, a health organization in the last twelve months, and any other organization in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .88; SD: .70)

Protest: An additive index of whether the respondent has participated in a protest or demonstration in the past twelve months, and whether the respondent has participated in a blockade in the past twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .12; SD: .41).

CCT: a dichotomous variable for whether someone in the household participates in the Oportunidades program: 1=CCT participant, 0= Not a CCT participant (Mean: .30; SD: .46)

UCT: a dichotomous variable for whether someone in the household participates in the Programa de Apoyo Alimentario (PAL) program: 1=UCT participant, 0= Not a UCT participant (Mean: .10; SD: .30)

*Income:* Adding up the income from all household members that work, the range of monthly household income out of 8 categories (Mean: 3.35; SD: 1.16)

Wealth Index: this variable is measured using a household living standard index. Out of a total of twelve household items, the additive index counts the number of items in the respondent's house. The household items include cooking materials, refrigerator, land telephone, cellphone, car, washing machine, microwave, video cassette or DVD player, 3 or more rooms in the house, bathroom, computer, and internet (Mean: 4.28; SD: 2.40).

Employed: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is currently employed.

1=employed, 0=not employed (Mean: .51; SD: .50)

Education: highest level of education completed (Mean: 4.13; SD: 1.85).

Age: the natural log of the respondent's age in years (Mean: 3.66; SD: .38)

*Female*: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is female. 1=female, 0=male (Mean: .51; SD: .50).

*Married*: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is currently married. 1=yes, 0=no (Mean: .75; SD: .43)

*Children*: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent has children. 1=yes, 0=no (Mean: .73; SD: .44)

*Religiosity*: how often the respondent attends religious services: 1=never or almost never, 2=once or twice a year, 3=once a month, 4=once a week, 5=more than once a week (Mean: 3.28; SD: .97)

Partisanship (any party): a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent sympathizes with any political party (Mean: .31; SD: .46)

Partisanship (PRI): a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent sympathizes with the Partido Revolucionario Institucional or PRI political party (Mean: .20; SD: .40)

Partisanship (PAN): a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent sympathizes with the Partido Acción Nacional or PAN political party (Mean: .08; SD: .27)

President Vote Choice (PRI): a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent voted for the PRI political party in the last presidential election (Mean: .70; SD: .46)

President Vote Choice (PAN): a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent voted for the PAN political party in the last presidential election (Mean: .21; SD: .41)

*Population:* the total population in the respondent's locality in 2010. This variable is standardized in the models (Mean: 7405; SD: 2955)

*Poverty:* the number of households without potable water, sewerage, or electricity in the respondent's locality divided by the total number of households in the respondent's locality in 2010 (Mean: .27; SD: .29)

Education: the total number of people with education beyond secondary school in the respondent's locality in 2010. This variable is standardized in the models (Mean: 1067; SD: 600) Attended a Meeting and Participated in the Discussion: How often the respondent has attended meetings and participated in the discussions in the past year, thinking only of their experiences at work, in social programs, or in other nonpolitical activities. 0= never, 1= one or two times a year, 2= one or two times a month, and 3= once a week (Mean: .43; SD: .72).

Organized a Meeting or Set Up an Appointment: How often the respondent has organized a meeting or set up an appointment in the past year, thinking only of their experiences at work, in social programs, or in other nonpolitical activities. 0= never, 1= one or two times a year, 2= one or two times a month, and 3= once a week (Mean: .30; SD: .58).

Wrote a Letter or Filled Out Forms: How often the respondent has written a letter or filled out forms in the past year, thinking only of their experiences at work, in social programs, or in other nonpolitical activities. 0= never, 1= one or two times a year, 2= one or two times a month, and 3= once a week (Mean: .26; SD: .55).

Asked Someone to Clarify Information: How often the respondent has asked someone questions or for clarifications regarding some information in the past year, thinking only of their experiences at work, in social programs, or in other nonpolitical activities. 0= never, 1= one or two times a year, 2= one or two times a month, and 3= once a week (Mean: .28; SD: .55).

Civic Skills Index: An additive index of the four survey questions on civic skills, with each question rescaled to have a maximum value of one and equal weight in the index (Mean: .42; SD: .58).

Govt Interested in You: Respondent's assessment of whether those who govern the country are interested in what people like her think. 0=strongly disagree, 1= somewhat disagree, 2=neither agree nor disagree, 3=somewhat agree, and 4=strongly agree. (Mean: 1.66; SD: 1.19)

Vote Matters: Respondent's assessment of whether the vote influences what happens in the country. 0=strongly disagree, 1= somewhat disagree, 2=neither agree nor disagree, 3=somewhat agree, and 4=strongly agree. (Mean: 1.98; SD: 1.12)

*Understand Political Issues*: Respondent's assessment of whether she understands important political issues well. 0=strongly disagree, 1= somewhat disagree, 2=neither agree nor disagree, 3=somewhat agree, and 4=strongly agree. (Mean: 1.78; SD: .99)

*Informed about Loc Govt*: Respondent's assessment of whether she is better informed about local government than the majority of other people in her community. 0=strongly disagree, 1=

somewhat disagree, 2=neither agree nor disagree, 3=somewhat agree, and 4=strongly agree. (Mean: 1.65; SD: .97)

Ability to Help Com Group: Respondent's assessment about whether she lacks the ability to help a community improvement group. 0=strongly disagree, 1= somewhat disagree, 2=neither agree nor disagree, 3=somewhat agree, and 4=strongly agree. Rescaled so that larger values indicate more ability. (Mean: 2.43; SD: 1.00)

*Interest in Politics*: Respondent's assessment of her level of interest in politics. 0=none, 1= a little, 2=some, 3=a lot. (Mean: 1.21; SD: .80)

Registered to Vote: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is registered to vote. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .94; SD: .23)

*Voted in Last Presidential Election*: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent voted in the last presidential election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .75; SD: .44)

*Voted in Last State Legislative Election:* Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent voted in the last state legislative election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .70; SD: .46)

*Voted in Last Municipal Election*: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent voted in the last municipal election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .74; SD: .44)

Tried to Convince Others to Vote: Respondent's assessment of the frequency that she/he has tried to convince others to vote for a party or candidate in elections. 0=never, 1=rarely, 2=sometimes, 3=often (Mean: .46; SD: .74)

Participated in Electoral Campaign in Last Election: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent worked for a party or candidate in the last presidential election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .07; SD: .25)

Attended Meetings for a Political Party: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a political party or political movement in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .21; SD: .50)

Contacted Member of the Legislature: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted a member of the legislature in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .14; SD: .35)

Contacted Local Politician: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted a local politician such as a municipal president or council member in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .24; SD: .43)

Contacted State Official or Agency: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted an official or office of the state in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .15; SD: .36)

Contacted Public Program Official: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted an Oportunidades program official or some other program official in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .22; SD: .42)

Presented Petition to Govt Official: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent asked for help or presented a petition to a government office, official, or politician in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .13; SD: .34)

Signed Petition: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent signed a petition in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .17; SD: .37)

Attended Municipal Session: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent attended a municipal meeting or session in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .13; SD: .33)

Helped Resolve Community Problem: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he has helped to resolve a problem in the community or neighborhood in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .41; SD: .68)

Attended Meetings for a Community Improvement Group: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a community improvement group in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .32; SD: .61)

Attended Neighborhood Committee Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a neighborhood committee in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .30; SD: .59)

Attended Religious Organization Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a religious organization in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: 1.28; SD: 1.20)

Attended School Organization Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a school organization for parents in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .75; SD: .89)

Attended Health Organization Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for an organization dedicated to health in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .44; SD: .74)

Attended Meetings for Any Other Organization: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for any other organization or civic association in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .17; SD: .45)

Participated in a Protest: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent participated in a demonstration or protest in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .06; SD: .23)

Participated in a Blockade: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent participated in a blockade in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .06; SD: .24)

Electoral Political Participation: Additive index of all activities from the Voting Index and the Campaign Activism Index. Each activity is rescaled so it has equal weight in the index and a maximum value of one (Mean: 3.28; SD: 1.53)

Non-Electoral Political Participation: Additive index of all activities from the Contacting Public Officials, Community Activism, Civil Society Engagement, and Protest Indices. Each activity is rescaled so it has equal weight in the index and a maximum value of one (Mean: 2.60; SD: 2.39) Contact Public Officials (alternative measure): An additive index of whether the respondent has contacted a member of the legislature, contacted a local politician, asked for help from or presented a petition to a government official in the last twelve months, and signed a petition in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .67; SD: .99) Community Activism (alternative measure): An additive index of whether the respondent has attended a municipal meeting or session in the past twelve months and attended neighborhood committee meetings in the past twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .23; SD: .40)

Civil Society Engage (alternative measure): An additive index of how often the respondent has attended meetings for a religious organization in the last twelve months and any other organization in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .48; SD: .44)

Civic Skills Index (alternative measure): An additive index of two of the survey questions on civic skills (organized a meeting or set up an appointment, and asked someone to clarify information), with each question rescaled to have a maximum value of one and equal weight in the index (Mean: .10; SD: .16)

## Variables from the 2012 LAPOP Survey Data

*Voting*: An additive index of whether the respondent has registered to vote, voted in the last presidential election, and would vote in the current presidential election. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: 2.55; SD: .80)

Campaign Activism: An additive index of whether the respondent has tried to convince others to vote, participated in an electoral campaign in the last presidential election, and attended meetings for a political party or movement. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .32; SD: .55)

Contacting Public Officials: An additive index of whether the respondent has contacted a member of the legislature, contacted a local politician, contacted a state official or agency, asked for help from or presented a petition to a government official in the last twelve months, and signed a petition in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .48; SD: .91)

Community Activism: An additive index of whether the respondent has attended a municipal meeting or session in the past twelve months, contributed to help resolve a community problem in the past twelve months, attended meetings for a community improvement group, and organized with neighbors against crime in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .56; SD: .77)

Civil Society Engagement: An additive index of how often the respondent attends meetings for a religious organization, a school organization, a professional organization, and a sports group. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .82; SD: .71)

Protest: An additive index of whether the respondent has participated in a protest or demonstration in the past twelve months, and whether the respondent has participated in a blockade in the past twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .09; SD: .36).

CCT: a dichotomous variable for whether someone in the household participates in the CCT program: 1=CCT participant, 0= Not a CCT participant (Mean: .18; SD: .38)

UCT: a dichotomous variable for whether someone in the household receives government assistance each month in the form of money or products, and whether the household is below the poverty line. To determine which households are below the poverty line, I first identified the

percentage living in poverty (measured as living on less than \$3.10 a day) in each country

according to 2011 World Bank data (povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/region/LAC). Then, for each country, I compared the percentage living in poverty with the income distribution from the corresponding LAPOP survey, and I selected the survey respondents from the lowest set of income categories that cumulatively did not exceed the poverty percentage in that country. CCT beneficiaries are recoded so that they do not count as UCT beneficiaries: 1=UCT participant, 0= Not a UCT participant (Mean: .02; SD: .14)

*Income:* the range of monthly household income for the respondent, including income from remittances and all adults and children in the house that work, out of 16 possible categories (Mean: 7.80; SD: 4.07)

Wealth Index: this variable is measured using a household living standard index. Out of a total of fifteen household items, the additive index counts the number of items in the respondent's house. The household items include a TV, refrigerator, land telephone, cellphone, car, washer, microwave, motorcycle, potable water, bathroom, computer, internet, flat screen TV, and sewerage (Mean: 8.69; SD: 3.15).

Education: the number of years of schooling for the respondent (Mean: 9.76; SD: 4.26).

Age: the natural log of the respondent's age in years (Mean: 3.64; SD: .40)

*Female*: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is female. 1=female, 0=male (Mean: .52; SD: .50).

*Children*: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent has children. 1=yes, 0=no (Mean .73; SD: .44).

*Religiosity*: how often the respondent attends religious services: 1=never or almost never, 2=once or twice a year, 3=once a month, 4=once a week, 5=more than once a week (Mean: 2.90; SD= 1.40).

*Population*: a dichotomous variable for whether the respondent lives in an urban area, using the census definition in each country. 1=urban, 0=not urban (Mean: .76; SD: .42).

Registered to Vote: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent is registered to vote. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .92; SD: .27)

*Voted in Last Presidential Election*: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent voted in the last presidential election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .78; SD: .42)

Would Vote in Current Presidential Election: Dichotomous variable for whether respondent would vote in current presidential election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .84; SD: .37)

Tried to Convince Others to Vote: Respondent's assessment of the frequency that she/he has tried to convince others to vote for a party or candidate in elections. 0=never, 1=rarely, 2=sometimes, 3=often (Mean: .55; SD: .91)

Participated in Electoral Campaign in Last Election: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent worked for a party or candidate in the last presidential election. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .08; SD: .27)

Attended Meetings for a Political Party: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a political party or political movement in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .17; SD: .55)

Contacted Member of the Legislature: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted a member of the legislature in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .05; SD: .21) Contacted Local Politician: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted a local politician in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .12; SD: .33)

Contacted State Official: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent contacted an official or office of the state in order to ask for help. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .08; SD: .28)

Presented Petition: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent asked for help or presented a petition to a government office, official, or politician in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .12; SD: .33)

Signed Petition: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent signed a petition in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .10; SD: .30)

Attended Municipal Session: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent attended a municipal meeting or session in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .09; SD: .28)

Helped Resolve Community Problem: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he has helped to resolve a problem in the community or neighborhood in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .50; SD: .82)

Attended Meetings for a Community Improvement Group: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a community improvement group in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .35; SD: .75)

Organized with Neighbors Against Crime: Dichotomous variable for whether respondent organized with neighbors against crime in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .19; SD: .40)

Attended Religious Organization Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a religious organization in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: 1.22; SD: 1.28)

Attended School Organization Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a school organization for parents in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .61; SD: .90)

Attended Professional Organization Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a professional organization in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .18; SD: .57)

Attended Sports Group Meetings: Respondent's assessment of how often she/he attended meetings for a sports group in the past year. 0=never, 1=1-2 times a year, 2=1-2 times a month, 3=once a week (Mean: .44; SD: .94)

Participated in Protest: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent participated in a demonstration or protest in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .07; SD: .26)

Participated in Blockade: Dichotomous variable for whether the respondent participated in a blockade in the past year. 0=no, 1=yes (Mean: .02; SD: .15)

Electoral Political Participation: Additive index of all activities from the Voting Index and the Campaign Activism Index. Each activity is rescaled so it has equal weight in the index and a maximum value of one (Mean: 2.89; SD: 1.04)

Non-Electoral Political Participation: Additive index of all activities from the Contacting Public Officials, Community Activism, Civil Society Engagement, and Protest Indices. Each activity is rescaled so it has equal weight in the index and a maximum value of one (Mean: 1.93; SD: 1.83) Contact Public Officials (alternative measure): An additive index of whether the respondent has contacted a member of the legislature, contacted a local politician, asked for help from or presented a petition to a government official in the last twelve months, and signed a petition in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .39; SD: .77)

Community Activism (alternative measure): An additive index of whether the respondent has attended a municipal meeting or session in the past twelve months and organized with neighbors against crime in the past twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .28; SD: .51)

Civil Society Engage (alternative measure): An additive index of how often the respondent has attended meetings for a religious organization, professional organization, and sports group in the last twelve months. When necessary, survey question responses are rescaled so that larger values indicate more political participation. Also, if a survey question has multiple response categories, then it is rescaled to have a maximum value of one (Mean: .61; SD: .59)

Table A1: Baseline Characteristics of New CCT Beneficiaries and Nonbeneficiaries (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	New CCT Beneficiaries (mean)	Nonbeneficiaries (mean)	Difference in Means
Income	3.105	3.375	-0.270
Wealth Index	4.146	4.405	-0.259
Employed	0.463	0.509	-0.046
Education	3.854	4.302	-0.448
Age	38.000	41.952	-3.952
Female	0.610	0.500	0.110
Married	0.780	0.733	0.047
Religiosity	3.590	3.250	0.340
Partisanship (any party)	0.317	0.301	0.016
Partisanship (PRI)	0.171	0.194	-0.023
Partisanship (PAN)	0.098	0.083	0.015
President Vote Choice (PRI)	0.731	0.685	0.046
President Vote Choice (PAN)	0.269	0.210	0.059
Population (locality)	7710.512	7732.690	-22.178
Observations (total): 827			

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: T-tests, Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney tests, Chi-square tests, and Fisher's exact tests are used in this analysis. The group means and the difference in group means are presented for illustration purposes; the corresponding test determines significance for each variable. New program beneficiaries are defined as program recipients with less than one year of participation in the program.

Table A2: Baseline Characteristics of New CCT and New UCT Beneficiaries (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	New CCT Beneficiaries (mean)	New UCT Beneficiaries (mean)	Difference in Means
Income	3.105	2.955	0.150
Wealth Index	4.146	3.840	0.306
Employed	0.463	0.400	0.063
Education	3.854	3.760	0.094
Age	38.000	39.240	-1.240
Female	0.610	0.560	0.050
Married	0.780	0.760	0.020
Religiosity	3.590	3.080	0.510
Partisanship (any party)	0.317	0.280	0.037
Partisanship (PRI)	0.171	0.240	-0.069
Partisanship (PAN)	0.098	0.040	0.058
President Vote Choice (PRI)	0.731	0.929	-0.198
President Vote Choice (PAN)	0.269	0.071	0.198
Population (locality)	7710.512	7397.360	313.152
Observations (total): 66			

<sup>\*</sup>p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: T-tests, Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney tests, Chi-square tests, and Fisher's exact tests are used in this analysis. The group means and the difference in group means are presented for illustration purposes; the corresponding test determines significance for each variable. New program beneficiaries are defined as program recipients with less than one year of participation in the program.

Table A3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the Political Participation Indices (2014 Survey Data from Mexico)

	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contacting Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engagement
RMSEA	.00	.00	.03	.02	.08
CFI	1.00	1.00	.92	.99	.90
N	1093	1126	1128	1125	1126

*Notes*: The two variables in the protest index (participation in a protest and participation in a blockade) are not able to be assessed using confirmatory factor analysis, because all respondents who participated in a blockade also participated in a protest.

Table A4: Multilevel Models of Voting (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Registered to Vote	Voted in Last Presidential Election	Voted in Last State Legislative Election	Voted in last Municipal Election
Individual Variable	es			
CCT	0.581	0.218	0.233	0.363*
UCT	0.653	0.459*	0.509*	0.509*
Income	0.304**	0.097	0.064	0.098
Education	0.093	0.052	0.021	0.003
Age	2.821***	1.900***	1.675***	1.634***
Female	0.913***	0.055	-0.064	0.062
Children	-0.618	0.313	0.103	0.071
Religiosity	0.070	0.027	-0.109	0.011
Locality Variables				
Population	0.583***	0.040	-0.183	-0.057
Poverty	-0.680	-1.020***	-0.367	-0.941**
Education	-0.697***	-0.067	0.112	0.051
N (individual)	954	945	932	938
N (locality)	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup>p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A5: Multilevel Models of Campaign Activism (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

(1) (2) (3) Participated in

		Participated in	
	Tried to	Electoral	Attended
	Convince	Campaign in	Meetings for a
	Others to Vote	Last Election	Political Party
Individual Variables			
CCT	0.010	-0.685*	0.038
UCT	-0.028	0.154	-0.026
Income	0.094***	0.413***	0.025*
Education	0.004	0.058	-0.005
Age	0.133*	0.571	0.019
Female	0.103**	-0.485*	-0.026
Children	0.084	0.114	-0.002
Religiosity	-0.049*	0.073	0.015
Locality Variables			
Population	0.077*	0.783*	-0.024
Poverty	0.141	0.300	0.021
Education	-0.082*	-1.065**	-0.027
N (individual)	953	955	955
N (locality)	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3
*- · 10 **- · 05 ***-	. 01		

<sup>\*</sup>p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Note*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models and random-intercept multilevel linear regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A6: Multilevel Models of Contacting Public Officials (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)

	Contacted Member of the Legislature	Contacted Local Politician	Contacted State Official or Agency	Contacted Public Program Official	Presented Petition to Govt Official	Signed Petition
Individual Variables						
CCT	0.528**	0.514***	0.256	0.359*	-0.038	0.110
UCT	0.446	0.337	0.214	0.339	-0.191	0.040
Income	0.056	0.082	0.111	0.079	-0.052	0.115
Education	-0.021	-0.067	0.057	0.016	0.006	-0.093
Age	-0.189	0.018	0.425	0.019	0.582*	0.103
Female	-0.014	0.136	0.220	0.448***	0.175	-0.029
Children	0.236	0.208	0.347	0.255	0.465*	0.542**
Religiosity	0.020	-0.085	-0.261**	-0.112	0.015	-0.064
Locality Variables						
Population	0.304	0.213	-0.219	-0.127	-0.122	0.096
Poverty	-1.777*	-0.847	-0.461	0.318	0.581	-0.787*
Education	-0.700	-0.321	0.115	-0.133	0.173	-0.171
N (individual)	956	958	956	956	958	955
N (locality)	20	20	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3	3	3

\* p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Note: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A7: Multilevel Models of Community Activism (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

(1) (2) (3) (4)

	Attended Municipal Session	Helped Resolve Community Problem	Attended Meetings for a Community Improvement Group	Attended Neighborhood Committee Meetings
Individual Variables				
CCT	0.351	0.023	0.140***	0.090**
UCT	0.077	0.008	0.032	-0.065
Income	0.060	-0.003	0.035**	0.014
Education	-0.005	0.019	-0.024*	0.001
Age	0.239	0.061	0.017	-0.018
Female	0.076	-0.022	-0.008	-0.053
Children	0.068	0.123**	0.078	0.114**
Religiosity	0.082	-0.027	0.016	0.031
Locality Variables				
Population	0.016	-0.016	-0.041	-0.049
Poverty	0.651	0.314*	0.266	0.351*
Education	0.058	0.047	0.030	0.031
N (individual)	957	953	956	952
N (locality)	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models and random-intercept multilevel linear regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A8: Multilevel Models of Civil Society Engagement (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

(3) (4) (1) (2) Attended **Attended Attended** Attended Religious **Meetings for School** Health **Organization Organization Organization Any Other Meetings Meetings Meetings Organization** Individual Variables **CCT** 0.056 0.106 0.317\*\*\* 0.069\*\* **UCT** -0.089 0.078 0.029 0.010 Income -0.022 -0.001 0.010 0.004 Education 0.004 0.007 0.000 0.000 Age 0.160 -0.263\*\*\* 0.042 -0.041Female 0.029 0.158\*\*\* 0.203\*\*\* -0.115\*\*\* Children 0.159\* 0.360\*\*\* 0.164\*\*\* 0.067\* Religiosity 0.400\*\*\* 0.080\*\*\* 0.017 0.011 Locality Variables Population -0.148 0.045 0.068 0.012 **Poverty** 0.045 -0.0770.058 -0.004Education 0.016 -0.088\* -0.054 -0.027N (individual) 958 952 954 952 20 20 N (locality) 20 20 N (municipality) 3 3 3

Notes: Random-intercept multilevel linear regression models are used in this analysis.

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Table A9: Multilevel Models of Protest (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2) Participated
	Participated in a Protest	in a Blockade
Individual Variables		
CCT	0.566*	0.171
UCT	-0.076	-0.451
Income	0.104	-0.002
Education	-0.055	-0.066
Age	0.609	0.097
Female	0.128	0.152
Children	0.185	-0.351
Religiosity	-0.100	-0.702***
Locality Variables		
Population	0.350	-0.142
Poverty	-2.070	-1.953
Education	-0.417	-0.397
N (individual)	956	958
N (locality)	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A10: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)
	Electoral Political Participation	Non-electoral Political Participation
Individual Variables		
CCT	0.233*	0.582***
UCT	0.231	0.046
Income	0.087*	0.132*
Education	0.016	-0.016
Age	1.176***	0.120
Female	0.133	0.266*
Children	-0.052	0.587***
Religiosity	-0.063	0.094
Locality Variables		
Population	0.059	-0.111
Poverty	-0.315	0.238
Education	-0.126	-0.126
N (individual)	722	923
N (locality)	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel linear models are used in this analysis.

Table A11: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Contact Public Officials (alternative measure)	Community Activism (alternative measure)	Civil Society Engage (alternative measure)
Individual Variables			
CCT	0.173**	0.071**	0.048
UCT	0.072	-0.026	-0.024
Income	0.033	0.010	-0.006
Education	-0.028	0.001	0.003
Age	0.040	0.024	0.050
Female	0.035	-0.005	-0.026
Children	0.161**	0.044	0.074**
Religiosity	-0.015	0.019	0.137***
Locality Variables			
Population	0.042	-0.040	-0.047
Poverty	-0.369**	0.257	0.024
Education	-0.078	0.022	-0.005
N (individual)	953	951	952
N (locality)	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3
* - 10 ** - 05 **		-	

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Some political activities are not included in the political participation indices in order to create alternative measures of the dependent variables. Random-intercept multilevel linear models are used in this analysis.

Table A12:Tests of Variance Between Higher-Level Units (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	Likelihood-	
	Ratio Test	
	Statistic	P-value
Voting	14.37	0.001
Campaign Activism	12.72	0.002
Contact Public Officials	31.47	0.000
Community Activism	40.79	0.000
Civil Society Engage	36.82	0.000
Protest	15.91	0.000

*Notes*: Likelihood-ratio tests are used for the hypothesis tests in this analysis. The tests analyze variance at the locality and municipality levels.

Table A13: Linear Regression Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contact Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engage	Protest
Individual Varia	bles				0 0	
CCT	0.122	0.006	0.263*	0.139***	0.195**	0.052**
UCT	0.340***	-0.010	0.155	-0.018	0.005	-0.020
Income	0.070***	0.067***	0.056	0.020	-0.002	0.002
Education	0.012	0.009	-0.023	-0.002	0.008	-0.004
Age	1.043***	0.122**	0.066	0.053	-0.014	0.041
Female	0.069	-0.002	0.155**	-0.016	0.095***	0.016
Children	0.011	0.033	0.156	0.108**	0.236***	-0.019
Religiosity	-0.020	-0.002	-0.067	0.017	0.169***	-0.046
N (individual)	916	947	949	944	946	956

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Ordinary least squares linear regression models with clustered standard errors are used in this analysis. Dummy variables for municipalities and localities are included in the models.

Table A14: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contact Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engage	Protest
Individual Variables						_
CCT	0.153*	-0.013	0.268***	0.126***	0.176***	0.037
UCT	0.304**	-0.004	0.107	-0.005	0.028	-0.019
Wealth Index	0.034**	0.013**	0.001	0.007	0.007	0.003
Education	0.011	0.017*	-0.011	-0.007	0.005	-0.009
Age	1.044***	0.110**	0.088	0.011	-0.044	0.021
Female	0.028	-0.012	0.085	-0.010	0.087**	0.005
Children	0.076	0.046	0.198*	0.126***	0.230***	-0.024
Religiosity	-0.014	0.003	-0.057	0.016	0.178***	-0.038***
Locality Variables						
Population	0.018	0.028	-0.042	-0.054	-0.014	0.002
Poverty	-0.522***	0.127	-0.179	0.462**	0.017	-0.078
Education	-0.080	-0.050	-0.054	0.042	-0.057	-0.032
N (individual)	1010	1043	1047	1042	1043	1054
N (locality)	20	20	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Notes: Random-intercept multilevel linear models are used in this analysis.

Table A15: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contact Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engage	Protest
Individual Variables	S					
CCT	0.245***	0.032	0.333***	0.101**	0.129***	0.110***
UCT	0.356***	0.010	0.226	-0.008	-0.004	0.016
Income	0.061*	0.067***	0.062	0.022	0.000	0.003
Education	0.024	0.007	-0.021	-0.004	0.004	-0.003
Age	1.096***	0.109**	0.089	0.050	-0.021	0.042
Female	0.051	-0.003	0.130	-0.016	0.090**	0.013
Children	0.060	0.028	0.203*	0.117**	0.267***	-0.025
Religiosity	-0.016	-0.002	-0.061	0.017	0.171***	-0.046***
Locality Variables						
Population	0.006	0.035	-0.057	-0.064	-0.021	-0.002
Poverty	-0.548***	0.130	-0.219	0.451*	0.026	-0.082
Education	-0.059	-0.054	-0.051	0.051	-0.049	-0.027
N (individual)	916	947	949	944	946	956
N (locality)	20	20	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: The CCT participation variable includes current and former CCT beneficiaries. Random-intercept multilevel linear models are used in this analysis.

Table A16: Linear Regression Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

2 ((())						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contact Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society	Protest
Individual Variab		ACUVISIII	Officials	Activisiii	Engage	Trotest
marviduai variab	ies					
CCT	0.160	0.003	0.454**	0.136**	0.242**	0.071**
Male	-0.046	0.000	-0.039	0.014	-0.067*	-0.004
CCT*Male	-0.080	0.006	-0.396*	0.006	-0.097	-0.040
UCT	0.341***	-0.010	0.160	-0.019	0.007	-0.020
Income	0.069***	0.067***	0.053	0.020	-0.003	0.001
Education	0.012	0.009	-0.021	-0.002	0.008	-0.004
Age	1.044***	0.122**	0.067	0.053	-0.013	0.041
Children	0.012	0.033	0.162	0.108**	0.237***	-0.019
Religiosity	-0.018	-0.002	-0.062	0.017	0.171***	-0.045
N (individual)	916	947	949	944	946	956

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Ordinary least squares linear regression models with clustered standard errors are used in this analysis. Dummy variables for municipalities and localities are included in the models.

Table A17: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contact Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engage	Protest
Individual Variable	es					
CCT	0.133	0.003	0.075	0.134**	0.145**	0.027
Female	0.019	0.001	0.019	-0.016	0.065	0.004
CCT*Female	0.105	-0.015	0.369*	-0.002	0.081	0.030
UCT	0.304**	-0.008	0.158	-0.012	-0.002	-0.024
Income	0.063*	0.068***	0.061	0.022	-0.000	0.004
Education	0.021	0.005	-0.024	-0.003	0.006	-0.006
Age	1.082***	0.104**	0.070	0.048	-0.021	0.031
Children	0.063	0.033	0.210*	0.109**	0.255***	-0.016
Religiosity	-0.015	-0.002	-0.056	0.016	0.170***	-0.045***
Locality Variables						
Population	0.011	0.034	-0.048	-0.056	-0.012	-0.000
Poverty	-0.534***	0.138	-0.237	0.444*	0.005	-0.075
Education	-0.067	-0.055	-0.060	0.048	-0.053	-0.031
N (individual)	916	947	949	944	946	956
N (locality)	20	20	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Notes: Random-intercept multilevel linear models are used in this analysis.

Table A18: Multilevel Models of Civic Skills (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Organized a Meeting or Set Up an Appointment	Asked Someone to Clarify Information	Civic Skills Index (alternative measure)
Individual Variables			
CCT	0.115***	0.140***	0.042***
UCT	0.086	0.021	0.019
Income	0.045***	0.053***	0.016***
Education	0.004	0.007	0.002
Age	-0.007	-0.019	-0.001
Female	0.087**	-0.017	0.012
Children	0.026	-0.009	0.001
Religiosity	-0.010	0.007	-0.001
Locality Variables			
Population	-0.014	0.034	0.000
Poverty	0.196	0.049	0.048
Education	-0.003	-0.024	-0.005
N (individual)	949	947	942
N (locality)	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Some civic skills are not included in the civic skills index in order to create an alternative measure of this dependent variable. Random-intercept multilevel linear models are used in this analysis.

Table A19: Tests of Variance Between Higher-Level Units (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	Likelihood- Ratio Test		
	Statistic	P-value	
Attended a Meeting and Participated in the Discussion	9.28	0.010	
Organized a Meeting or Set Up an Appointment	16.92	0.000	
Wrote a Letter or Filled Out Forms	26.37	0.000	
Asked Someone to Clarify Information	0.98	0.613	
Civic Skills Index	13.08	0.001	

*Notes*: Likelihood-ratio tests are used for the hypothesis tests in this analysis. The tests analyze variance at the locality and municipality levels.

Table A20: Linear Regression Models of Civic Skills (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)
	Asked Someone to Clarify Information
Individual Variables	
CCT	0.145***
UCT	0.030
Income	0.051***
Education	0.005
Age	-0.029
Female	-0.015
Children	-0.013
Religiosity	0.008
N (individual)	947

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Ordinary least squares linear regression models are used in this analysis. No dummy variables are included in the models.

Table A21: Linear Regression Models of Civic Skills (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Attended a		Wrote a		
	Meeting and	Organized a	Letter or	Asked	<b>.</b>
	Participated in the	Meeting or	Filled	Someone to	Civic Skills
	Discussion	Set Up an Appointment	Out Forms	Clarify Information	Index
Individual Variab	les				
CCT	0.357***	0.116**	0.138***	0.138***	0.251***
UCT	0.213**	0.085	0.002	0.028	0.122*
Income	0.019	0.041*	0.034***	0.053***	0.046**
Education	-0.002	0.005	-0.000	0.009	0.003
Age	0.051	-0.006	-0.015	-0.002	0.008
Female	0.098*	0.088*	-0.004	-0.015	0.043
Children	0.007	0.017	0.034	-0.019	0.011
Religiosity	0.045***	-0.010	-0.001	0.006	0.013
N (individual)	949	949	947	947	936

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Ordinary least squares linear regression models with clustered standard errors are used in this analysis. Dummy variables for municipalities and localities are included in the models.

Table A22: Linear Regression Models of Civic Skills (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Attended a Meeting and Participated in the Discussion	Organized a Meeting or Set Up an Appointment	Wrote a Letter or Filled Out Forms	Asked Someone to Clarify Information	Civic Skills Index
Individual Varia	bles				
CCT	0.532***	0.184***	0.221***	0.188***	0.377***
Male	0.005	-0.047	0.054	0.045	0.031
CCT*Male	-0.359***	-0.141*	-0.170	-0.104	-0.256**
UCT	0.218**	0.087	0.005	0.029	0.126*
Income	0.016	0.041*	0.033***	0.052***	0.044**
Education	-0.000	0.006	0.001	0.010	0.005
Age	0.053	-0.005	-0.015	-0.002	0.008
Children	0.011	0.018	0.036	-0.018	0.014
Religiosity	0.050***	-0.008	0.001	0.008	0.017
N (individual)	949	949	947	947	936

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Ordinary least squares linear regression models with clustered standard errors are used in this analysis. Dummy variables for municipalities and localities are included in the models.

Table A23: Multilevel Models of Civic Skills (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Attended a		Wrote a		
	Meeting and	Organized a	Letter or	Asked	
	Participated	Meeting or	Filled	Someone to	Civic
	in the	Set Up an	Out	Clarify	Skills
	Discussion	Appointment	Forms	Information	Index
Individual Variables	8				
CCT	0.158**	0.038	0.043	0.082	0.106*
Female	0.010	0.043	-0.061	-0.050	-0.035
CCT*Female	0.363***	0.148*	0.180**	0.111	0.271***
UCT	0.224***	0.088	0.013	0.024	0.124**
Income	0.014	0.044***	0.039**	0.052***	0.050***
Education	-0.001	0.004	-0.002	0.007	0.000
Age	0.031	-0.007	-0.018	-0.020	-0.008
Children	-0.020	0.029	0.049	-0.008	0.025
Religiosity	0.048*	-0.008	0.002	0.009	0.019
Locality Variables					
Population	0.041	-0.014	0.011	0.033	0.031
Poverty	0.300***	0.180	0.041	0.041	0.155**
Education	-0.020	-0.002	-0.037	-0.023	-0.020
N (individual)	949	949	947	947	936
N (locality)	20	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Table A24: Multilevel Models of Political Attitudes (2014 Mexican Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Govt Interested in You (external political efficacy)	Vote Matters (external political efficacy)	Understand Political Issues (internal political efficacy)	Informed about Loc Govt (internal political efficacy)	Ability to Help Com Group (internal political efficacy)	Interest in Politics
Individual Variable	es					
CCT	0.079	0.045	-0.032	0.029	0.016	0.031
UCT	0.012	-0.180	-0.024	0.027	0.008	0.021
Income	-0.042	0.000	0.001	-0.005	0.040	-0.015
Education	-0.048*	0.007	0.008	0.035	0.064***	0.044**
Age	-0.025	-0.050	0.130	0.127	0.253**	0.131
Female	-0.096	0.033	-0.199***	-0.163**	-0.089	-0.225***
Children	0.195**	-0.025	0.260***	0.273***	-0.138*	-0.023
Religiosity	0.011	-0.061	0.040	0.052	-0.024	0.074***
Locality Variables						
Population	0.024	0.015	-0.067	-0.068	0.151**	-0.049
Poverty	-0.191	0.117	0.125	0.302**	-0.065	0.047
Education	-0.079	-0.053	0.122**	0.092	-0.161***	0.017
N (individual)	939	938	933	931	944	954
N (locality)	20	20	20	20	20	20
N (municipality)	3	3	3	3	3	3

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Table A25: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the Political Participation Indices (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contacting Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engagement
RMSEA	.00	.00	.03	.01	.07
CFI	1.00	1.00	.90	1.00	.70
N	11,446	13,232	13,424	13,287	13,428

*Notes*: The two variables in the protest index (participation in a protest and participation in a blockade) are not able to be assessed using confirmatory factor analysis, because all respondents who participated in a blockade also participated in a protest.

Table A26: Multilevel Models of Voting (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Registered	Voted in Last Presidential	Would Vote in Current Presidential
	to Vote	Election	Election
CCT	-0.073	0.084	0.205**
UCT	0.200	0.003	0.269
Income	0.038**	0.011	0.017
Education	0.069***	0.066***	0.040***
Age	2.044***	2.329***	0.429***
Female	-0.027	0.032	-0.024
Children	-0.012	0.326***	0.089
Religiosity	0.041	0.085***	0.143***
Population	-0.344**	-0.158*	-0.012
N (individual)	7832	7830	6781
N (municipality)	637	637	636
N (country)	9	9	9

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A27: Multilevel Models of Campaign Activism (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Tried to Convince Others to Vote	Participated in Electoral Campaign in Last Election	Attended Meetings for a Political Party
CCT	0.112***	0.661***	0.083***
UCT	0.126	-1.304	-0.025
Income	0.002	0.016	-0.001
Education	0.022***	0.057***	0.008***
Age	0.159***	0.396***	0.056***
Female	-0.142***	-0.374***	-0.089***
Children	0.048*	0.175	0.012
Religiosity	0.015*	0.084***	0.018***
Population	0.034	-0.180*	-0.031*
N (individual)	7793	7797	7811
N (municipality)	637	637	637
N (country)	9	9	9

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Notes: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models and random-intercept multilevel linear regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A28: Multilevel Models of Contacting Public Officials (2012 LAPOP Survey

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Contacted Member of the Legislature	Contacted Local Politician	Contacted State Official	Presented Petition	Signed Petition
CCT	0.119	0.314***	0.358***	0.388***	0.429***
UCT	0.612	-0.076	-0.177	-0.330	-1.217
Income	0.004	-0.047***	-0.022	-0.035***	0.036***
Education	0.031**	0.025**	0.049***	0.046***	0.091***
Age	0.520***	0.441***	0.223*	0.322***	0.267**
Female	-0.127	-0.137*	-0.147*	-0.038	-0.196**
Children	0.302**	0.268***	0.367***	0.311***	0.021
Religiosity	0.127***	0.141***	0.076**	0.074***	0.103***
Population	-0.285**	-0.407***	0.032	-0.167*	-0.065
N (individual)	7841	7845	7839	7831	7802
N (municipality)	637	637	637	637	637
N (country)	9	9	9	9	9

\* p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Notes: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A29: Multilevel Models of Community Activism (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Attended Municipal Session	Helped Resolve a Community Problem	Attended Meetings for a Community Improvement Group	Organized with Neighbors Against Crime
CCT	0.272***	-0.015	0.067***	-0.020
UCT	0.104	-0.081	-0.109	-0.905*
Income	-0.016	0.003	-0.001	-0.020**
Education	0.051***	0.024***	0.010***	0.028***
Age	0.419***	0.204***	0.189***	0.264***
Female	-0.331***	-0.107***	-0.072***	-0.212***
Children	0.273**	0.020	0.082***	0.324***
Religiosity	0.168***	0.058***	0.037***	0.132***
Population	-0.468***	-0.128***	-0.205***	0.019
N (individual)	7809	7761	7833	7841
N (municipality)	636	637	637	637
N (country)	9	9	9	9

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models and random-intercept multilevel linear regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A30: Multilevel Models of Civil Society Engagement (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Attended Religious Organization Meetings	Attended School Organization Meetings	Attended Professional Organization Meetings	Attended Sports Group Meetings
CCT	0.002	0.128***	0.049***	0.021
UCT	0.085	-0.128	-0.005	-0.020
Income	-0.002	-0.002	0.011***	0.009***
Education	0.006**	0.017***	0.018***	0.022***
Age	0.104***	-0.323***	0.080***	-0.299***
Female	0.069***	0.234***	-0.095***	-0.444***
Children	0.021	0.700***	0.057***	-0.052**
Religiosity	0.567***	0.055***	0.013***	0.042***
Population	-0.022	-0.116***	-0.122***	-0.031
N (individual)	7845	7837	7826	7792
N (municipality)	637	637	637	637
N (country)	9	9	9	9

\* p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Notes: Random-intercept multilevel linear regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A31: Multilevel Models of Protest (2012 LAPOP

Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)
	Participated in Protest	Participated in Blockade
CCT	0.383***	0.549***
UCT	0.496	1.290*
Income	0.009	-0.020
Education	0.105***	0.102***
Age	-0.111	-0.700***
Female	-0.240***	-0.219
Children	-0.144	-0.133
Religiosity	0.056*	0.010
Population	0.173	0.174
N (individual)	7826	7793
N (municipality)	637	637
N (country)	9	9

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Random-intercept multilevel logistic regression models are used in this analysis.

Table A32: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	(1)	(2)
	Electoral Political Participation	Non-electoral Political Participation
CCT	0.170***	0.283***
UCT	0.026	-0.234
Income	0.005	-0.001
Education	0.031***	0.070***
Age	0.562***	0.201***
Female	-0.104***	-0.250***
Children	0.089***	0.391***
Religiosity	0.047***	0.336***
Population	-0.049	-0.325***
N (individual)	6638	7417
N (municipality)	635	636
N (country)	9	9

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Table A33: Multilevel Models of Political Participation (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	(1) (2)		(3)	
	Contacting Public Officials (alternative measure)	Community Activism (alternative measure)	Civil Society Engage (alternative measure)	
CCT	0.126***	0.019	0.022	
UCT	-0.051	-0.093	0.008	
Income	-0.004	-0.004**	0.006***	
Education	0.017***	0.008***	0.015***	
Age	0.134***	0.070***	-0.040**	
Female	-0.041**	-0.057***	-0.154***	
Children	0.066***	0.062***	0.010	
Religiosity	0.036***	0.031***	0.206***	
Population	-0.079***	-0.041**	-0.052***	
N (individual)	7749	7789	7752	
N (municipality)	637	636	637	
N (country)	9	9	9	

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

Table A34: Tests of Variance Between Higher-Level Units (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

	Likelihood-				
	Ratio Test				
	Statistic	P-value			
Voting	992.19	0.000			
Campaign Activism	997.62	0.000			
Contacting Public					
Officials	321.08	0.000			
Community Activism	1075.16	0.000			
Civil Society Engage	1342.16	0.000			
Protest	246.65	0.000			

*Notes*: Likelihood-ratio tests are used for the hypothesis tests in this analysis. The tests analyze variance at the municipality and country levels.

Table A35: Linear Regression Models of Political Participation (2012 LAPOP Survey Data)

2 444)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voting	Campaign Activism	Contacting Public Officials	Community Activism	Civil Society Engage	Protest
CCT	0.026	0.140***	0.171**	0.037	0.067***	0.038***
UCT	0.015	0.004	-0.053	-0.155	-0.029	0.097
Income	0.003	0.000	-0.008**	-0.004	0.005**	0.000
Education	0.015**	0.015***	0.021***	0.020***	0.022***	0.008***
Age	0.435**	0.103**	0.148**	0.197***	-0.148***	-0.020
Female	0.004	-0.110**	-0.055	-0.118**	-0.073*	-0.022
Children	0.067**	0.028	0.092**	0.100**	0.247***	-0.016
Religiosity	0.029**	0.021**	0.047***	0.063***	0.227***	0.005
Population	-0.040	-0.017	-0.118**	-0.164***	-0.099***	0.006
N (individual)	6753	7701	7743	7673	7737	7793

<sup>\*</sup> p<.10, \*\*p<.05, \*\*\*p<.01

*Notes*: Ordinary least squares linear regression models with clustered standard errors are used in this analysis. Dummy variables for countries are included in the models.