Supplementary Information for Willing but Unable: Reassessing the Relationship between Racial Group Consciousness and Black Political Participation

Jasmine Carrera Smith, Jared Clemons, Arvind Krishnamurthy, Miguel Martinez, Leann McLaren, Ismail White

December 7, 2022

Section 1.1: Tabular Results of Figures in Manuscript……..2
Section 1.2: Predicted Effect of RGC with Standardized Dependent Variable……...5
Section 1.3: Estimates with Consistent RGC Measures Each Year……..7
Section 1.4: Testing for Multicollinearity in Observational Data…….8
Section 1.5: Estimating Interaction Effects in Observational Data……....10
Section 1.6: Experimental Treatments……...17
Section 1.7: Descriptive Statistics of Experimental Samples……...17
Section 1.8: Experiment Baseline Results……..18
Section 1.9: RGC contribution effects by pre-post delay or not……..19
Section 1.10: RGC Contribution Study Effects by Lucid and Mturk…….22
Section 1.11: Lowess plots in contribution and time experiments……...26
Section 1.12: Factor Analysis of Contribution and Time Experiments……..32
Section 1.13: Testing for Multicollinearity in Contribution and Time Experiments……28
Section 1.14: Interaction Effect Regressions with Controls in Contribution and Time Experiments……..33

Section 1.1: Tabular Results of Figures in Manuscript

	Dependent variable:								
	Campaign Activity								
	1984	1988	1992	1996	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
RGC	0.200***	0.305***	0.053	0.124***	0.105	0.216***	0.186***	-0.051	0.157***
	(0.053)	(0.113)	(0.047)	(0.042)	(0.070)	(0.050)	(0.036)	(0.059)	(0.046)
Income	0.099***	0.064	0.096***	0.024	0.096	0.069**	0.061***	-0.016	0.157
	(0.028)	(0.048)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.059)	(0.033)	(0.023)	(0.039)	(0.046)
Female	-0.025	-0.013	-0.047***	-0.016	0.027	0.002	0.006	0.013	-0.010
	(0.016)	(0.027)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.027)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.014)
Political	0.317***	0.260***	0.121***	0.139***	0.051	0.185***	0.188***	0.171***	0.125***
Interest	(0.029)	(0.057)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.040)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.021)
Education	0.134***	0.114*	0.166***	0.174***	-0.043	0.127***	0.054**	0.016	0.140***
	(0.038)	(0.060)	(0.063)	(0.041)	(0.071)	(0.037)	(0.023)	(0.064)	(0.026)
Age	0.001	0.0002	0.0001	0.001**	0.001	0.001*	0.002***	-0.0001	0.001***
	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.0001)	(0.0004)	(0.001)	(0.0005)	(0.0004)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Religiosity	-0.043*	-0.078*	0.053***	0.046*	0.064	0.038*	0.019	0.025	0.004
	(0.023)	(0.041)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.040)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.026)	(0.022)
Constant	-0.107**	-0.086	0.106**	-0.082**	-0.021	-0.195***	-0.161***	0.142**	-0.133***
	(0.045)	(0.085)	(0.047)	(0.038)	(0.070)	(0.044)	(0.032)	(0.060)	(0.043)
Observations	842	328	1,094	789	140	476	995	307	593
R^2	0.259	0.181	0.110	0.176	0.098	0.257	0.201	0.090	0.202
Adjusted R^2	0.253	0.163	0.104	0.169	0.050	0.246	0.195	0.069	0.192
Residual Std. Error	0.226 (df = 834)	0.233 (df = 320)	0.248 (df = 1086)	0.171 (df = 781)	0.146 (df = 132)	0.162 (df = 468)	0.178 (df = 987)	0.162 (df = 299)	0.158 (df=585)
F Statistic	41.650*** (df = 7; 834)	10.071*** (df = 7; 320)	19.142*** (df = 7; 1086)	23.872*** (df = 7; 781)	2.042* (df = 7; 132)	23.176*** (df = 7; 468)	35.400*** (df = 7; 987)	4.219*** (df = 7; 299)	21.158*** (df=7; 585)

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

Table A.1: Predicted effect of RGC with controls, Tabular Results for Figure 1

	Dependent variable:	
	Turnout	Donate
RGC	1.213***	0.012
	(0.311)	(0.347)
Black Candidate Years	0.020	-1.536***
	(0.295)	(0.350)
RGC:Black Candidate Years	0.196	2.011***
	(0.408)	(0.461)
Constant	0.448*	-1.600***
	(0.231)	(0.264)
Observations	5,339	5,339
Log Likelihood	-2,639.322	-2,342.881
Akaike Inf. Crit.	5,286.643	4,693.761
Note:		*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.2: Predicted Probability of RGC and Turnout/Campaign Contributions, Conditional on Relevance of Campaign, Tabular Results for Figure 2

	Dependent variable:	
	Donate	
	Non-Black Candidate Years	Black Candidate Years
RGC	-0.767	1.434**
	(0.550)	(0.602)
High Income	-0.117	0.501
	(0.534)	(0.529)
RGC:High Income	1.020	0.812
	(0.714)	(0.703)
Constant	-1.413***	-3.450***
	(0.401)	(0.452)
Observations	2,235	3,104
Log Likelihood	-1,000.308	-1,276.812
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,008.615	2,561.624
Note:		*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.3: Predicted Probability of RGC and Campaign Contributions, Conditional on Income, Tabular Results for Figure 3

	Dependent variable:			
	Non-Racial Organization Support	Black Organization Support	Non-Racial Organization Dollars Donated	Black Organization Dollars Donated
Racial Group	5.034***	7.964***	-1.889	2.610**
Consciousness	(1.131)	(0.950)	(1.198)	(1.273)
MTurk	-0.044	0.367	-0.916**	-0.701*
	(0.376)	(0.307)	(0.398)	(0.411)
Constant	3.145***	2.292***	4.234***	2.109**
Observations	278	302	278	302
R^2	0.067	0.198	0.029	0.022
Adjusted R^2	0.061	0.192	0.022	0.015
Residual Std. Error	2.892 (df = 275)	2.475 (df = 299)	3.066 (df = 275)	3.318 (df = 299)
F Statistic	9.922*** (df = 2; 275)	36.824*** (df = 2; 299)	4.116** (df = 2; 275)	3.314** (df = 2; 299)
Note:				*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.4: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment, Tabular Results for Figure 4

	Dependent variable:			
	Non-Racial Organization Support	Black Organization Support	Non-Racial Organization Questions Answered	Black Organization Questions Answered
Racial Group	5.139***	7.242***	1.126	2.989**
Consciousness	(0.853)	(0.715)	(1.191)	(1.243)
Constant	3.505***	2.602***	1.237	-0.034
	(0.600)	(0.499)	(0.837)	(0.867)
Observations	404	417	404	417
R^2	0.083	0.198	0.002	0.014
Adjusted R^2	0.080	0.196	-0.0003	0.011
Residual Std. Error	2.618 (df = 402)	2.139 (df = 415)	3.654 (df = 402)	3.715 (df = 415)

F Statistic	36.256*** (df = 1; 402)	102.489*** (df = 1; 415)	0.894 (df = 1; 402)	5.788** (df = 1; 415)

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

Table A.5: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Feedback by Racial Empowerment Treatment, Tabular Results for Figure 5

Section 1.2: Predicted Effect of RGC with Standardized Dependent Variable

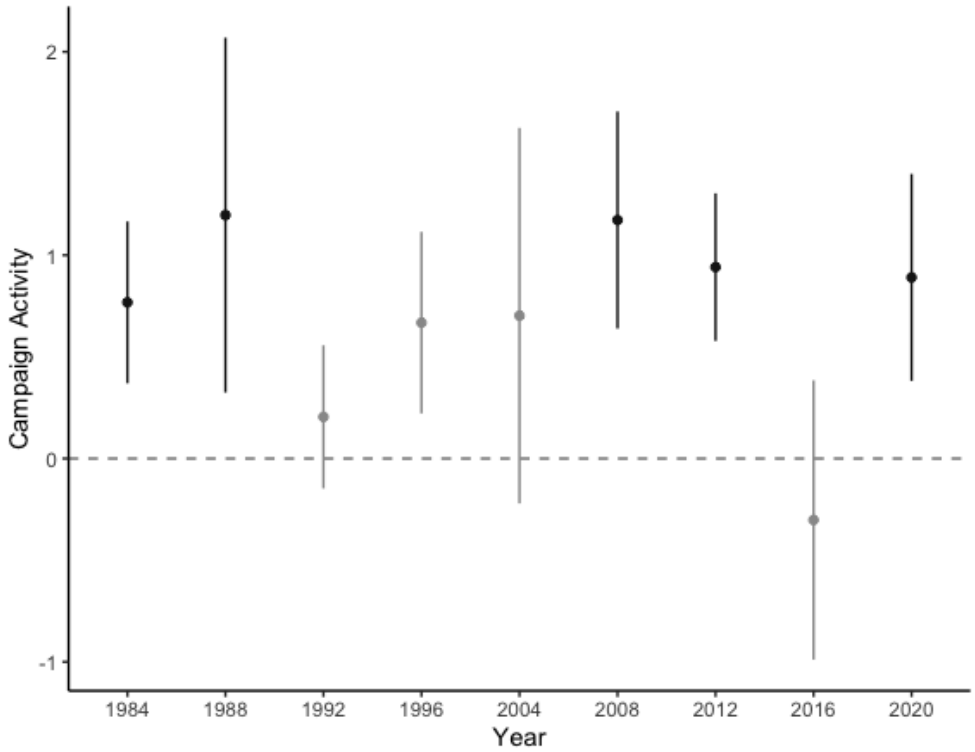

Figure A.1 Predicted effect of RGC with standardized political participation variable
Note: Dark colored estimates/confidence intervals represent years that feature a viable Black candidate. More lightly shaded estimates/confidence intervals represent years that did not feature a viable Black candidate. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

	Dependent variable:								
	Standardized Campaign Activity								
	1984	1988	1992	1996	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
RGC	0.768***	1.197***	0.205	0.668***	0.703	1.173***	0.941***	-0.302	0.891***
	(0.203)	(0.443)	(0.179)	(0.227)	(0.467)	(0.272)	(0.185)	(0.349)	(0.259)
Income	0.380***	0.251	0.368***	0.131	0.644	0.376**	0.307***	-0.094	0.131
	(0.107)	(0.187)	(0.104)	(0.139)	(0.392)	(0.181)	(0.114)	(0.228)	(0.135)
Female	-0.094	-0.051	-0.180***	-0.088	0.180	0.011	0.030	0.075	-0.059

	(0.063)	(0.107)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.182)	(0.084)	(0.059)	(0.118)	(0.079)
Political	1.214***	1.020***	0.464***	0.752***	0.339	1.001***	0.951***	1.004***	0.709***
Interest	(0.110)	(0.223)	(0.061)	(0.097)	(0.266)	(0.140)	(0.115)	(0.194)	(0.121)
Education	0.514***	0.448*	0.639***	0.940***	-0.285	0.691***	0.272**	0.091	0.797***
	(0.145)	(0.235)	(0.242)	(0.219)	(0.474)	(0.202)	(0.115)	(0.378)	(0.148)
Age	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.005**	0.004	0.005*	0.011***	-0.001	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.0004)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Religiosity	-0.165*	-0.307*	0.203***	0.250*	0.425	0.206*	0.094	0.147	0.024
	(0.088)	(0.159)	(0.077)	(0.127)	(0.267)	(0.121)	(0.079)	(0.155)	(0.126)
Constant	-1.669***	-1.683***	-0.930***	-1.632***	-1.406***	-2.345***	-2.102***	-0.475	-1.920***
	(0.173)	(0.334)	(0.179)	(0.204)	(0.470)	(0.239)	(0.161)	(0.351)	(0.243)
Observations	842	328	1,094	789	140	476	995	307	593
R^2	0.259	0.181	0.110	0.176	0.098	0.257	0.201	0.090	0.202
Adjusted R^2	0.253	0.163	0.104	0.169	0.050	0.246	0.195	0.069	0.192
Residual Std. Error	0.866 (df = 834)	0.913 (df = 320)	0.953 (df = 1086)	0.922 (df = 781)	0.975 (df = 132)	0.880 (df = 468)	0.900 (df = 987)	0.950 (df = 299)	0.900 (df = 585)
F Statistic	41.650*** (df = 7; 834)	10.071*** (df = 7; 320)	19.142*** (df = 7; 1086)	23.872*** (df = 7; 781)	2.042* (df = 7; 132)	23.176*** (df = 7; 468)	35.400*** (df = 7; 987)	4.219*** (df = 7; 299)	21.158*** (df = 7; 585)

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

Table A.6 Predicted effect of RGC with standardized political participation variable

The dependent variable, political participation, has a different number of activities in each year. To account for the bias this may cause, we weight the model in which the dependent variable is the proportion of activities each respondent engaged in. To weight this variable, we divided the proportion measure by its own standard deviation to account for the different activities going into the proportion across different models. The coefficients can be interpreted as standard deviation differences in our RGC on political participation.

As can be seen when comparing Figure A.1 with Figure 1 in the paper, and Table A.6 with Table A.1 in the appendix, RGC only increases in coefficient size and remains significant in 1984,1988, 1996, and 2012. In 2008 there is a decrease in coefficient size, but the statistical significance remains. The effect of RGC on political participation remains in 2016, 2004, and 1992 remains not significant, but coefficients increase in size. Important note here is that across all studies p values are unchanged.

Section 1.3: Estimates with Consistent RGC Measures Each Year

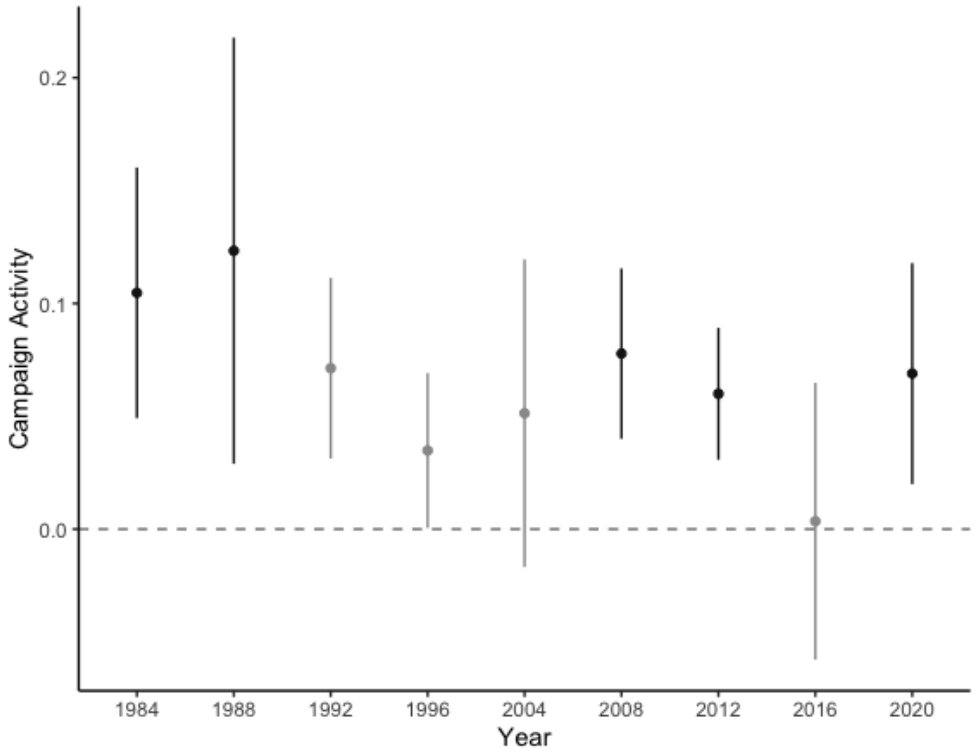

Figure A.2: Predicted Effect of Linked Fate on Campaign Activity Participation

Note: Dark colored estimates/confidence intervals represent years that feature a viable Black candidate. More lightly shaded estimates/confidence intervals represent years that did not feature a viable Black candidate. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

	Dependent variable:								
	Campaign Activity								
	1984	1988	1992	1996	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
Black Linked	0.105***	0.123**	0.071***	0.035**	0.051	0.078***	0.060***	0.003	0.069***
Fate	(0.028)	(0.048)	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.034)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.031)	(0.025)
Income	0.099***	0.079	0.090***	0.033	0.097	0.064*	0.066***	-0.022	0.027
	(0.029)	(0.049)	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.061)	(0.034)	(0.023)	(0.039)	(0.024)
Female	-0.010	0.003	-0.045***	-0.015	0.015	0.008	0.013	0.012	-0.008
	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.028)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.014)
Political	0.324***	0.249***	0.114***	0.155***	0.053	0.195***	0.201***	0.163***	0.134***
Interest	(0.031)	(0.060)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.041)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.021)
Education	0.123***	0.107*	0.135**	0.172***	-0.041	0.123***	0.049**	0.006	0.147***
	(0.039)	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.041)	(0.072)	(0.038)	(0.023)	(0.064)	(0.026)

Age	0.0005	-0.0002	0.0002*	0.001**	0.001	0.001**	0.002***	-0.0001	0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0001)	(0.0004)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0004)	(0.001)	(0.0004)
Religiosity	-0.043*	-0.086**	0.059***	0.045*	0.065	0.039*	0.025	0.025	0.003
	(0.024)	(0.042)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.042)	(0.023)	(0.016)	(0.027)	(0.022)
Constant	-0.040	0.053	0.114***	-0.019	0.030	-0.088***	-0.082***	0.110**	-0.064**
	(0.041)	(0.069)	(0.037)	(0.028)	(0.060)	(0.033)	(0.025)	(0.049)	(0.032)
Observations	778	307	1,053	754	133	463	971	304	585
R^2	0.252	0.179	0.118	0.179	0.094	0.258	0.197	0.085	0.201
Adjusted R^2	0.245	0.160	0.112	0.171	0.044	0.247	0.192	0.063	0.191
Residual Std. Error	0.227 (df = 770)	0.235 (df = 299)	0.247 (df = 1045)	0.170 (df = 746)	0.147 (df = 125)	0.163 (df = 455)	0.179 (df = 963)	0.162 (df = 296)	0.159 (df = 577)
F Statistic	37.012*** (df = 7; 770)	9.339*** (df = 7; 299)	20.031*** (df = 7; 1045)	23.183*** (df = 7; 746)	1.862* (df = 7; 125)	22.609*** (df = 7; 455)	33.855***(df = 7; 963)	3.921*** (df = 7; 296)	20.687***(df = 7; 577)

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

Table A.7: Predicted Effect of Linked Fate on Campaign Activity Participation

One difficulty with the cross-sectional survey analysis we use in the manuscript (see figures 1 through 3 in the manuscript) is that each national survey contains different sets of racial group consciousness survey items. Across the nine surveys spanning 36 years, we only find a single common set of racial group consciousness survey items – the linked fate measure. In the manuscript, we present our preferred racial group consciousness operationalization, where we use all these items under the belief these are measuring the same latent construct. Under this logic, aggregating across multiple measures of the same concept improves reliability, as we note in the manuscript (Ansolabehere, Rodden, and Snyder Jr 2008).

In Figure A.2/Table A.7 we present the same model specifications used in the manuscript but with only the linked fate measure. This is done to address the problem of using multiple and inconsistent measures to operationalize racial group consciousness. Importantly, it is worth noting here that linked fate has substantial limits. As Gay, Hochschild and White (2016) note, the linked fate survey items do not behave as most theorists expect them to, often inconsistently displaying connection with other political ideological or behavioral measures. For this reason, our preferred specification is the multiple measure approach we present in the manuscript. Figure A.2 shows that the results mirror the ones presented in the paper.

Section 1.4: Testing for Multicollinearity in Observational Data

Here we present analysis to determine if multicollinearity is an issue for regression models specified in the observational survey analysis. In addition, we do not substantively interpret multicollinearity among interaction terms in the regression models specified for the observational survey analysis presented here since interaction terms will be definitionally

multicollinear with constituent terms, but their multicollinearity does not affect the p-value for the interaction term (see Allison 1999).

Survey	Variable	VIF
1984 NBES	Political Attention	1.13
	Gender	1.07
	Income	1.37
	Education	1.52
	Age	1.20
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.13
	Religiosity	1.05
1988 NBES	Political Attention	1.16
	Gender	1.10
	Income	1.57
	Education	1.63
	Age	1.25
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.21
	Religiosity	1.05
1993 NBES	Political Attention	1.07
	Gender	1.04
	Income	1.10
	Education	1.10
	Age	1.00
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.02
	Religiosity	1.02
1996 NBES	Political Attention	1.16
	Gender	1.07
	Income	1.27
	Education	1.31
	Age	1.13
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.07
	Religiosity	1.04
2004 ANES	Political Attention	1.14
	Gender	1.21
	Income	1.45
	Education	1.53
	Age	1.10
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.07
	Religiosity	1.17
2008 ANES	Political Attention	1.09
	Gender	1.06
	Income	1.26
	Education	1.38
	Age	1.10
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.08
	Religiosity	1.13
2012 ANES	Political Attention	1.14
	Gender	1.05
	Income	1.21

	Education	1.18
	Age	1.11
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.07
	Religiosity	1.09
2016 ANES	Political Attention	1.09
	Gender	1.10
	Income	1.39
	Education	1.38
	Age	1.12
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.14
	Religiosity	1.09
2020 ANES	Political Attention	1.18
	Gender	1.05
	Income	1.26
	Education	1.26
	Age	1.16
	Racial Group Consciousness	1.08
	Religiosity	1.09

Table A.8: Variance Inflation Factor by Survey Wave

Section 1.5: Estimating Interaction Effects in Observational Data

The cross-sectional survey analysis of ANES, NES and NPS data outlined between pages 19 and 25 of the manuscript rely on interaction effects. Specifically, we show that effect of racial group consciousness on voting and donating to political candidates is conditional on both the racial group relevance of participation and resources available to individuals. We operationalize racial group relevance by measuring whether a Black candidate ran for president in this year and operationalize resources by measuring respondent income.

Importantly, figures 2 and 3 in the manuscript are not marginal effects plots. Instead, they are the predicted values from linear regressions. These predicted values estimate the relationship between racial group consciousness and turnout or campaign donations separately based on whether the respondent is high or low income and whether the campaign has a Black candidate or not. These estimates do not formally test the significance of interaction terms in our regression models. We formally test these estimates here and present the results below.

In addition, to verify the robustness of the results presented in the manuscript, we follow the recommendations of Hainmuller, Mummolo and Xu (2018). In doing so, we test three central assumptions of multiplicative interaction models. First, we test the common support of our data to determine if severe extrapolation is a problem for model specifications. Second, we test functional form assumptions of our model specifications to determine whether a linear model is appropriate. Finally, we test for statistically different marginal effects at high and low levels of our moderating variable, racial group consciousness. The full results of these analyses are presented below.

Common Support (Model Extrapolation)

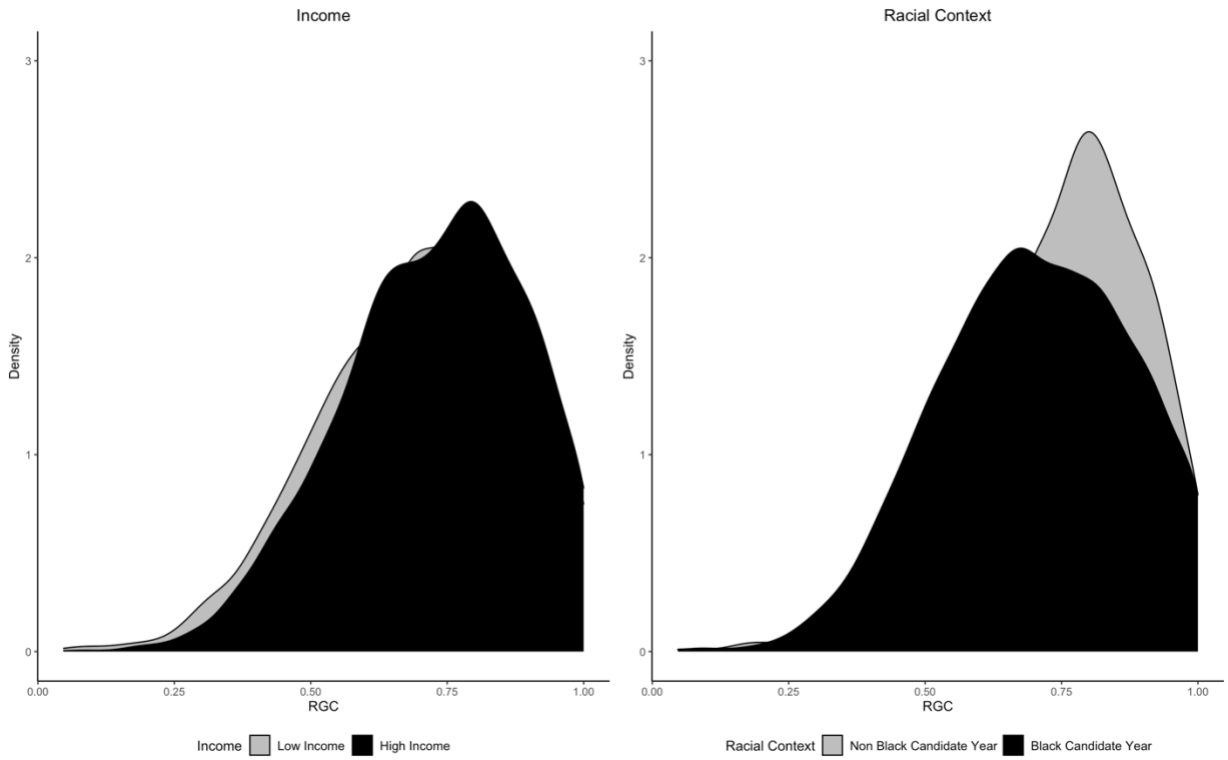

Figure A.3: Density Plot of Racial Group Consciousness by Income/Racial Context

To look at the amount of common support, we first present a density plot of the distribution of racial group consciousness (ranging from 0 to 1) across each value of the interaction terms of income and candidate race. This figure makes clear that the values of racial group consciousness span nearly the full range, suggesting limited reasons for concern regarding common support. In line with the recommendations of Hainmuller, Mummolo and Xu (2018) we also formally test the common support of our interaction models by estimating the L-Kurtosis values of our key moderator of racial group consciousness.

RGC has an L-kurtosis value of 0.0868 which is between a normal and uniform distribution. Visual inspection of the distribution of racial group consciousness does suggest that there is limited common support for rgc values below 0.25. RGC is scaled from 0 to 1, and there are only 29 respondents with rgc values less than 0.25. For this reason, we suggest our effects are best interpreted between 0.25 and 1, where strong common support exists. However, the skew does not constitute what HXM (2018) call severe extrapolation, based on the L-kurtosis and kurtosis values.

Functional Form (Linearity Assumption)

In line with Hainmuller, Xu and Mummolo (2018) we test for possible non-linearity in the marginal effects of our interaction term on our dependent variables using two estimation procedures. First, we present kernel smoothing estimated plots that replicate figures 2 and 3. These kernel smoothing estimators are semiparametric and allow values to vary freely across the range of our independent variable, permitting researchers to identify the appropriate model form.

These plots are included below in Figures A.4 and A.5. Across both sets of models, we find some evidence of non-linearity. This non-linearity is more substantial in models with donations, rather than voter turnout as the dependent variable. The reason for this non-linearity is primarily individuals in the middle tercile of racial group consciousness values (0.6 to 0.8). Individuals in this middle tercile generally have similarly large effects as those in the highest tercile of racial group consciousness. This makes for a large increase in the marginal effect of the interaction term moving from lower values of racial group consciousness to middle tercile values, with little increase between middle tercile and high tercile values of racial group consciousness. Broadly, however, we still suggest that linear functional form is appropriate for estimation, as these differences are not substantial enough to warrant changes in our results or interpretation.

Linear estimates of these models in tabular form can be found in Tables A.2 and Table A.3. These are the tables that correspond to Figures 2 and 3 in the manuscript. As mentioned above though, these figures relax the linearity assumption of linear models. Similar to the loess plots presented in Section 1.11 for the contribution and time experiments, these interflex results do not produce coefficients and so cannot be represented in a table. Instead, we look at the predicted values and plot them visually in Figures A.4 and A.5.

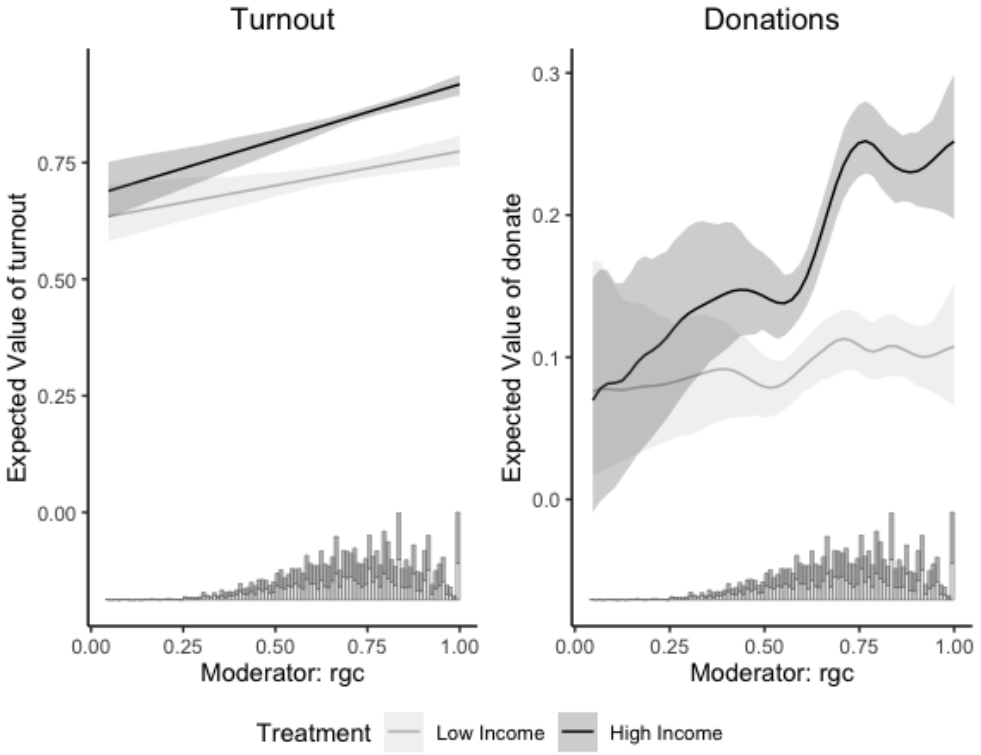

Figure A.4: Marginal Effect of Income on Turnout/Donations, Moderated by RGC Using Kernel Smoothing Estimated Interaction Models with Income and RGC

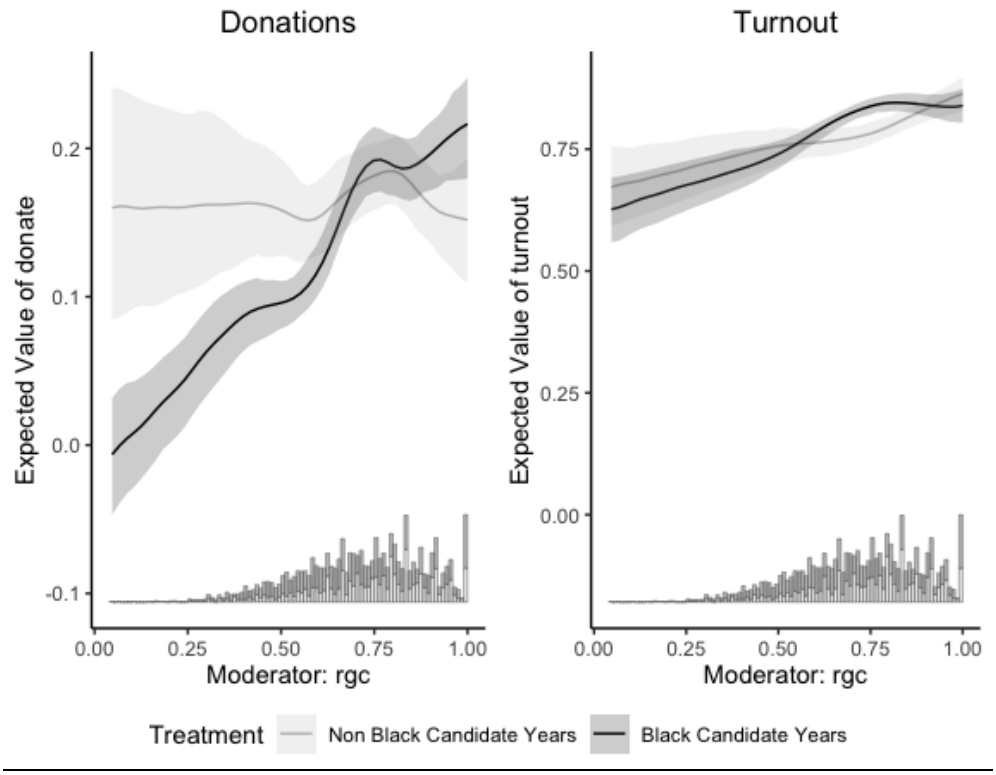

Figure A.5: Marginal Effect of Non-Black Candidate Years/Black Candidate Years on Turnout, Moderated by RGC Using Kernel Smoothing Estimated Interaction Models

Statistically Different Marginal Effects

For Figures A.4-A.7, lines represent the estimate while the area shade around the lines represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 2 and Figure 3 of the manuscript do not estimate marginal effects. Instead, they present predicted probability plots for each value of the interaction term. Here, we present marginal effects plots. In line with Hainmuller, Xu and Mummolo (2018) we estimate the marginal effects plot using a binning estimator. We use three bins, with the estimator located at the low, medium and high levels of our moderator variable, racial group consciousness.

We test whether the conditional marginal effects from the binning estimator are significant by testing whether the marginal-effect estimate from the binning estimator at the median value in the low tercile is statistically different from the effect estimate at the median of the high tercile of the moderator ($p<0.05$, two-tailed). Consistent with the results presented in the manuscript, we find that there are significant differences in donating likelihood during Black candidate elections and when respondents have high income. Similarly, as we describe in the manuscript, we find no significant differences in voting likelihood during Black candidate election years or among high- and low-income individuals. The full results of this estimation are present in table A.7, which estimates the significance of differences in coefficients for high tercile and low tercile rgc respondents across all dependent variables and interaction terms.

The right panel of Figure A.6 corresponds to the first row of Table A.7. The left panel of Figure A.6 corresponds to the second row of Table A.7. The right panel of Figure A.7 corresponds to the third row of Table A.7. Finally, the left panel of Figure A.7 corresponds to the fourth row of Table A.7.

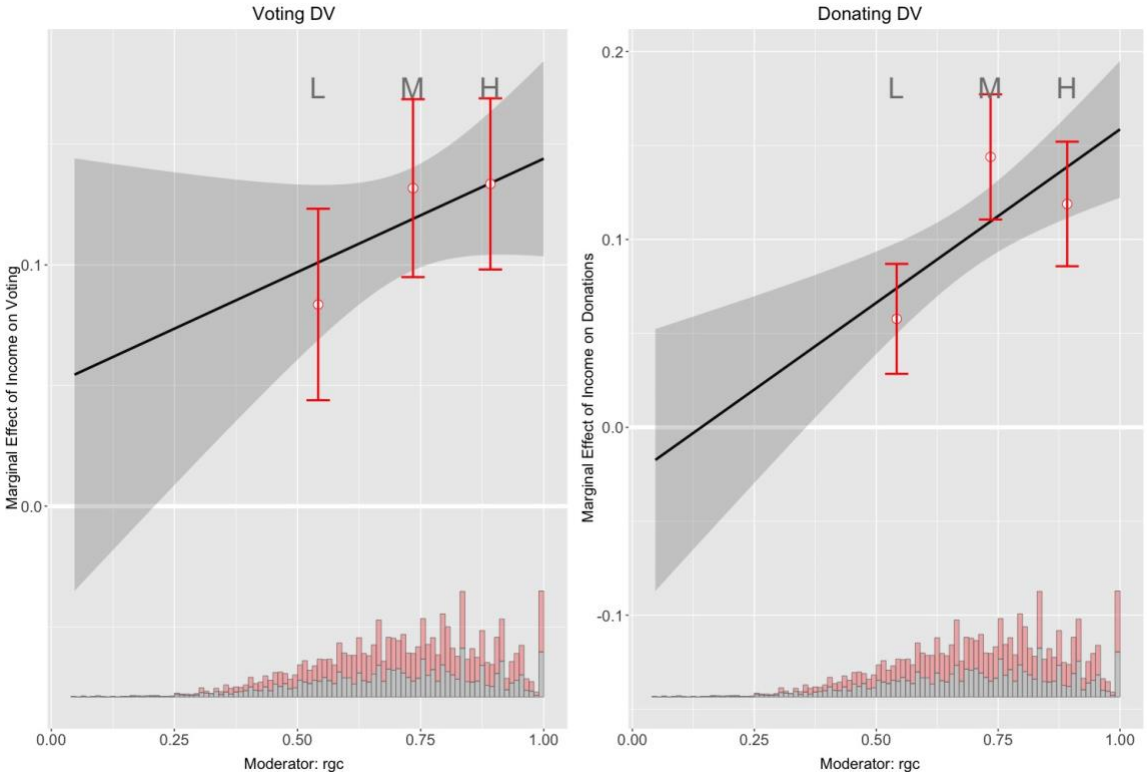

Figure A.6: Binning Estimated Interaction Models with Income and RGC

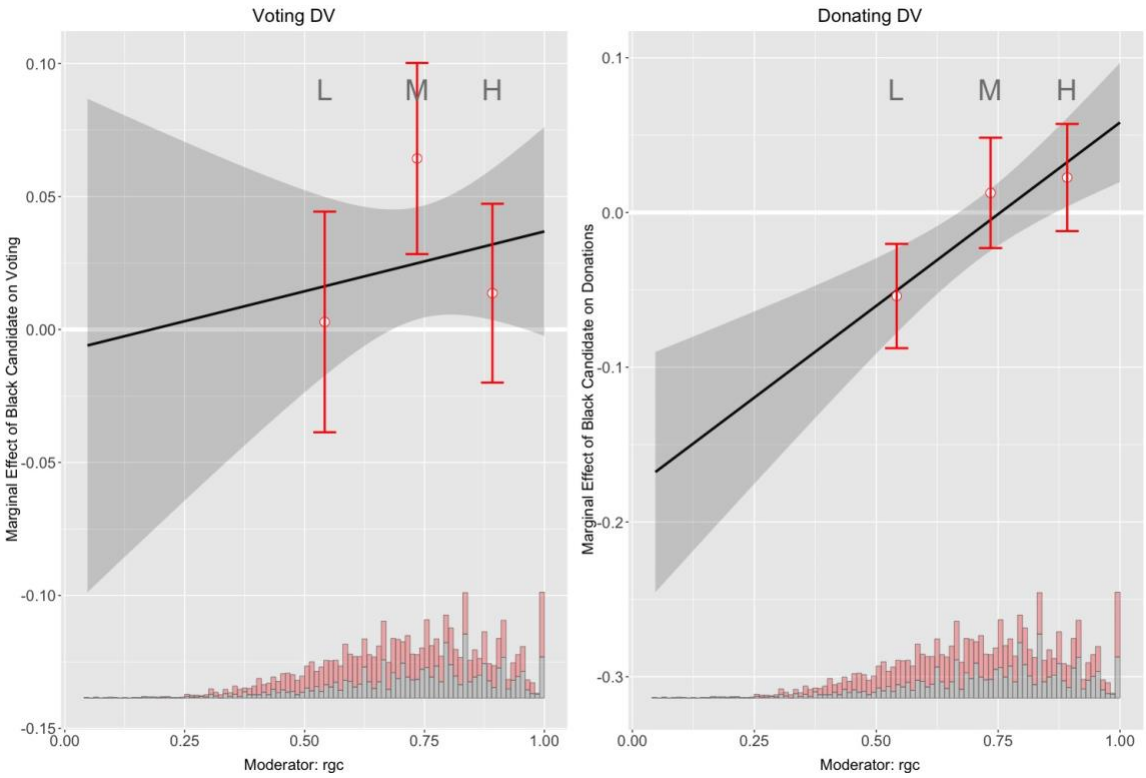

Figure A.7: Binning Estimated Interaction Models with Black Candidate and RGC

Interaction Term	Dependent Variable	Coefficient Estimate (p-value)	95% Confidence Interval
Racial Group Consciousness X Income	Donating Likelihood	8 percentage point increase (p-value of 0.002) **	[0.03, 0.13]
Racial Group Consciousness X Income	Voting Likelihood	2 percentage point increase (p-value of 0.4348)	[-0.03, 0.07]
Racial Group Consciousness X Black Candidate Year	Donating Likelihood	9 percentage point increase (p-value of 0.0003) **	[0.04, 0.14]
Racial Group Consciousness X Black Candidate Year	Voting Likelihood	0 percentage point increase (p-value of 0.9572)	[-0.05, 0.05]

Table A.9: Marginal Effect of Interaction Term (High Tercile Coefficient Minus Low Tercile Coefficient)

Triple Interaction Estimation

Figure 3 of the manuscript presents a triple interaction between racial group consciousness, candidate race and individual income. However, figure 3 does not present the marginal effect of this triple interaction term on donation likelihood. We present the explicit estimates of the triple interaction below, in Table A.8. These results suggest that the triple interaction term of Black Candidate Year, Income and Racial Group Consciousness is not statistically significant.

	Dependent variable:
	Donate
Black Candidate Year	-0.175***
	(0.065)
Above Median Income	-0.008
	(0.072)
RGC	-0.085
	(0.067)
Black Candidate Year*	-0.041
High Income	(0.090)
Black Candidate Year*RGC	0.188**
	(0.088)
High Income*RGC	0.127
	(0.095)
Black Candidate Year*	0.125
High Income*RGC	(0.122)
Constant	0.185***
	(0.050)
Observations	5,339
R^2	0.033
Adjusted R^2	0.031
Residual Std. Error	0.363 (df = 5331)
F Statistic	25.785*** (df = 7; 5331)
Note:	*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.10: Triple Interaction Regression

Section 1.6: Experimental Treatments

PROJECT VOTE

Project Vote: Project Vote is a national, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization founded on the belief that an organized, diverse electorate is the key to a better America. Project Vote's mission is to build an electorate that accurately represents the diversity of this nation's citizenry, and to ensure that every eligible citizen can register, vote, and cast a ballot that counts. In recent years, Project Vote has mostly focused on improving voter registration.

Figure A.8: Race-neutral Voter Registration Organization (Control Condition)

THE NATIONAL Coalition on Black Civic Participation

The National Coalition on Black Civic Participation: The National Coalition on Black Civic Participation is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to increasing civic engagement and voter participation in Black communities. Through educational programs and leadership training, the Coalition works to expand, strengthen and empower our communities to make voting and civic participation a cultural responsibility and tradition.

Figure A.9: Black Voter Registration Organization (Treatment)

Section 1.7: Descriptive Statistics of Experimental Samples

	Contribution Experiment	Time Experiment
Median Age	34 yr old	35 yr old
% Female	67.93%	68.20%
% Democrat	75.55%	74.66%
Median Ideology	Moderate	Moderate
Median Education	Some College	Some College
Median Income	$30-39k	$30-39k
N	580	815

Table A.11: Descriptive Statistics of Experimental Samples

	Treatment (Black Org)	Control (No Race Org)
Median Age	34 yr old	33 yr old
% Female	67.88%	68.20%
% Democrat	74.83%	76.25%
Median Ideology	Moderate	Moderate

Median Education	Some College	Some College
Median Income	$30-39k	$30-39k
N	302	278
(**) indicates significant differences		

Table A.12: Balance Check, Contribution Experiment

	Treatment (Black Org)	Control (No Race Org)
Median Age	34 yr old	35 yr old
% Female	67.63%	69.01%
% Democrat*(**)*	78.02%	72.07%
Median Ideology	Moderate	Moderate
Median Education	Some College	Some College
Median Income	$30-39k	$30-39k
N	414	401
(**) indicates significant differences		

Table A.13: Balance Check, Time Experiment

Section 1.8: Experiment Baseline Results

	Black Org.	Race Neutral Org.	Difference
Support for Voter Org. (0-10)	7.45 [7.15 – 7.80]	6.45 [6.05 – 6.81]	1.00*
Amount Given to Voter Org. ($0-$10)	$3.54 [$3.08 - $3.87]	$2.71 [$2.26 - $3.04]	$.83*
N	283	308	

*p<.05. **At least somewhat likely to give.

Table A.14: Monetary Contribution/Support Experiment Organization Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment

	Black Org.	Race Neutral Org.	Difference
Support for Voter Org. (0-10)	7.54 [7.31 – 7.77]	7.03 [6.77 – 7.30]	.51*
Number of Questions Answered (0-10)	1.02 [0.82 – 1.21]	.99 [.80 – 1.18]	.03
N	417	404	

+ p<.1 **At least moderately likely to take part.

Table A.15: Time/Effort Contribution Experiment Organization Supportiveness and Organizational Feedback by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Section 1.9: RGC contribution effects by pre-post delay or not

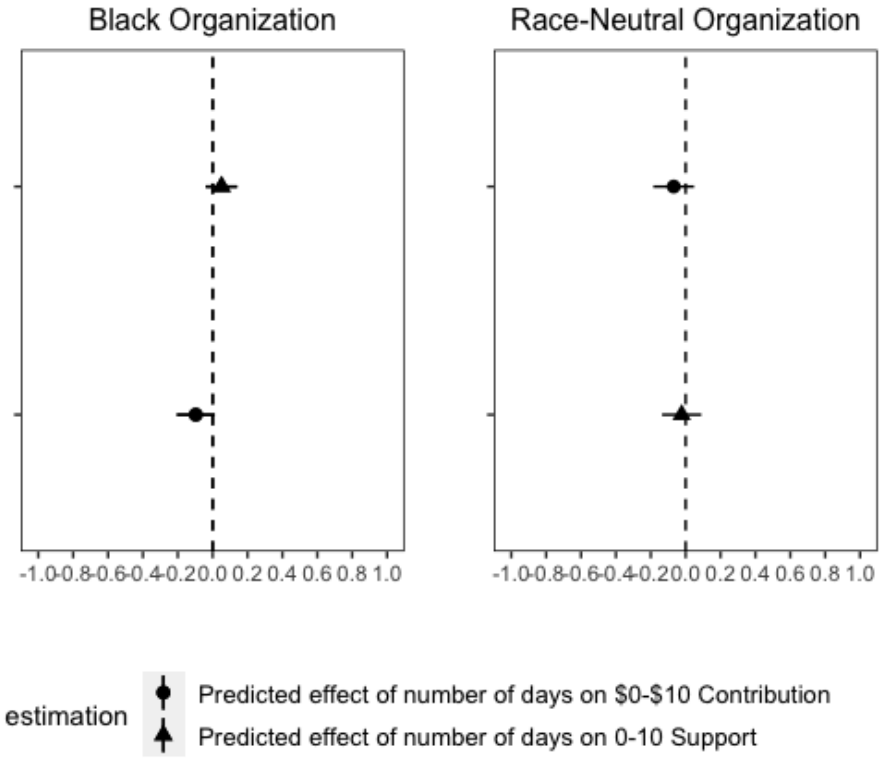

Figure A.10 Relationship between number or days pre to post and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Note: Dark colored estimates represent respondents randomized to see the Black organization. More lightly shaded estimates represent respondents randomized to see the race-neutral organization. The estimates at the top represent respondents giving $0-$10, while the estimates at the bottom represent respondent support. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

	Dependent variable:			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
Number of Days	0.051	-0.097*	-0.023	-0.068
	(0.046)	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.059)
Constant	7.386***	3.667***	6.474***	2.779***
	(0.169)	(0.205)	(0.190)	(0.197)
Observations	302	302	278	278
R^2	0.004	0.010	0.001	0.005

Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.007	-0.003	0.001
Residual Std. Error	2.753 (df = 300)	3.332 (df = 300)	2.989 (df = 276)	3.098 (df = 276)
F Statistic	1.240 (df = 1; 300)	3.045* (df = 1; 300)	0.157 (df = 1; 276)	1.330 (df = 1; 276)
Note:				*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.16: Relationship between number or days pre to post and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment

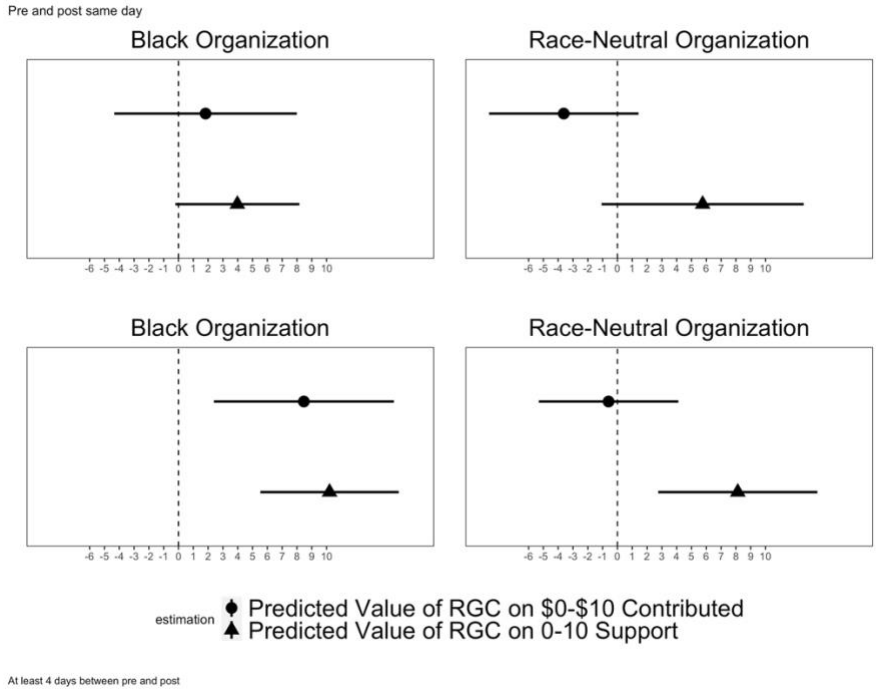

Figure A.11 Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment by whether there was a delay between RGC measurement and contribution task

Note: We built into the design of this study a four-day (at least) delay between the pre (measurement of RGC) and post-test (support/contribution task) measures. The purpose of this delay was to account for response effects that could potentially result from answering RGC not long before taking part in the support/contribution task. The delay applied only to Mturk respondents (~12% of sample). The results of this test suggest that, had we given more respondents, more time between pre and post the effect of RGC on contributions to the Black organization may have been stronger. Note that because these results are only for Mturk respondents there is not a one to one relationship with the results presented here and those of figure 4. By design, all of the Lucid respondents completed the pre and post on the same day.

	Dependent variable:

	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	3.975*	1.825	5.753*	-3.623
	(2.085)	(3.068)	(3.394)	(2.510)
Constant	5.193***	2.336	2.759	4.481**
	(1.353)	(1.991)	(2.370)	(1.753)
Observations	51	51	50	50
R^2	0.069	0.007	0.056	0.042
Adjusted R^2	0.050	-0.013	0.037	0.022
Residual Std. Error	2.182 (df = 49)	3.211 (df = 49)	3.266 (df = 48)	2.415 (df = 48)
F Statistic	3.634* (df = 1; 49)	0.354 (df = 1; 49)	2.874* (df = 1; 48)	2.084 (df = 1; 48)
Note:				*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.17: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment by no delay between RGC and measurement and contribution task

	Dependent variable:			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	10.197***	8.464***	8.126***	-0.599
	(2.305)	(2.997)	(2.620)	(2.297)
Constant	1.224	-2.813	1.064	2.426
	(1.562)	(2.031)	(1.767)	(1.549)
Observations	38	38	29	29
R^2	0.352	0.181	0.263	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.334	0.159	0.235	-0.034
Residual Std. Error	2.056 (df = 36)	2.673 (df = 36)	2.330 (df = 27)	2.043 (df = 27)
F Statistic	19.568*** (df = 1; 36)	7.976*** (df = 1; 36)	9.621*** (df = 1; 27)	0.068 (df = 1; 27)
Note:				*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.18: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment by at least four days between RGC and measurement and contribution task

Section 1.10 RGC Contribution Study Effects by Lucid and Mturk

	Black Org.	Race Neutral Org.	Difference
Mturk	$3.10	$2.05	$1.05*
Lucid	$3.74	$3.00	$0.74*

Table A.19: Organization Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment and Survey Platform

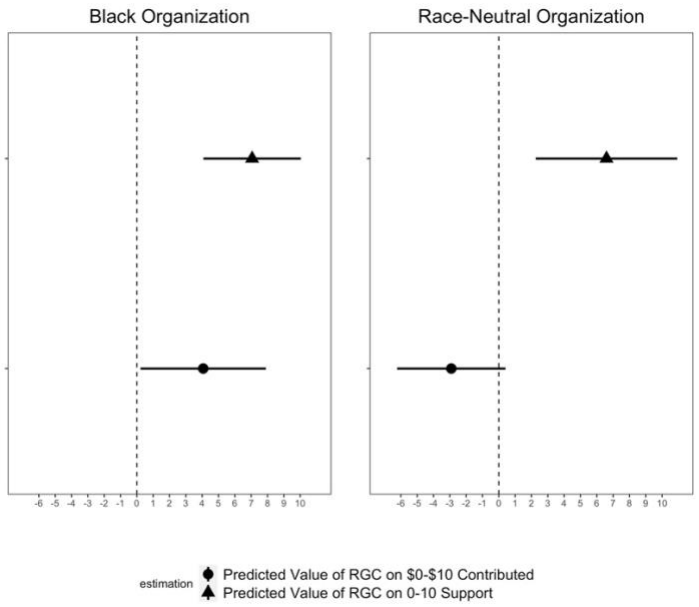

Figure A.12: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Mturk Respondents.

	Dependent variable:			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	7.056^{***}	4.061^{*}	6.595^{***}	-2.909^{*}
	(1.502)	(2.096)	(2.180)	(1.670)
Constant	3.249^{***}	0.466	2.050	4.004^{***}
	(1.000)	(1.395)	(1.502)	(1.150)
Observations	96	96	86	86
R^2	0.190	0.038	0.098	0.035
Adjusted R^2	0.181	0.028	0.088	0.023
Residual Std. Error	2.140 (df = 94)	2.985 (df = 94)	2.988 (df = 84)	2.288 (df = 84)
F Statistic	22.059^{***} (df = 1; 94)	3.755^{*} (df = 1; 94)	9.157^{***} (df = 1; 84)	3.035^{*} (df = 1; 84)
Note:				*p**p***p<0.01

Note: $^{*}p^{**}p^{***}p<0.01$

Table A.20: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Mturk Respondents.

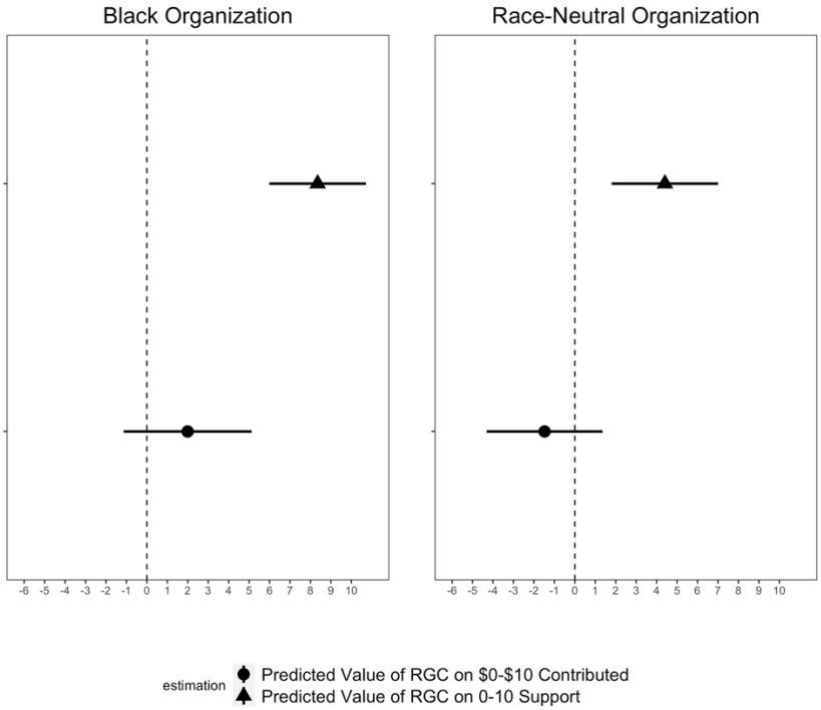

Figure A.13: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Lucid Respondents.

	Dependent variable:			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	8.351^{***}	1.992	4.405^{***}	-1.479
	(1.200)	(1.587)	(1.320)	(1.554)
Constant	2.050^{***}	2.496^{**}	3.555^{***}	3.966^{***}
	(0.773)	(1.022)	(0.886)	(1.044)
Observations	206	206	192	192
R^2	0.192	0.008	0.055	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.188	0.003	0.050	-0.0005
Residual Std. Error	2.619 (df = 204)	3.464 (df = 204)	2.851 (df = 190)	3.357 (df = 190)
F Statistic	48.454^{***} (df = 1; 204)	1.575 (df = 1; 204)	11.135^{***} (df = 1; 190)	0.905 (df = 1; 190)

Note: $^{*}p^{**}p^{***}p<0.01$

Note: $^{*}p$ $^{**}p$ $^{***}p<0.01$

Table A.21: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Lucid Respondents.

Note: We recruited participants in the contribution study from both Lucid and Mturk. The purpose of this design was to account for effects by the survey platform. The results of Table A.19 show that both Mturk and Lucid respondents are significantly more likely to donate to the Black organization than the race-neutral organization. This mirrors the results in Table A.14. Figure A.12/Table A.20 displays the results organizational supportiveness and contribution by racial empowerment treatment on Mturk respondents. Results show that RGC predicts support of and contribution to the Black organization, but only predicts support of but not contribution to the race neutral organization. Figure A.13/Table A.21 presents the same results on Lucid respondents. Here, RGC only predicts support for the Black and the race neutral organization but does not predict contribution to either organization. Results from the Mturk respondents align with the results presented in the paper in Figure 4.

Although we can only speculate as to why Mturk respondents are driving the effect of RGC on contribution compared to Lucid, this result may be due to the difference in structure of Lucid and Mturk. Mturk is unique in its structure of having workers go through a specific criterion to be able to "work" as well as achieving a certain amount of "HITs" completed. This difference in performance may affect how respondents are paid. (Burnham, Le, and Piedmont 2018; Buhrmester, Kwang, and Gosling 2016 Buhrmester, Talaifar and Gosling 2018). Additionally, we reimbursed respondents that chose to keep the money in the contribution study differently on Mturk and Lucid. We provided Amazon gift cards to Lucid respondents, while we provided bonuses to Mturk respondents. Additional income via Amazon gift cards are not common on Lucid, while Mturk bonuses are common. This difference in payment, and the uniqueness on Lucid vs. Mturk, may also be driving the difference in results.

Section 1.11: Lowess plots in contribution and time experiments

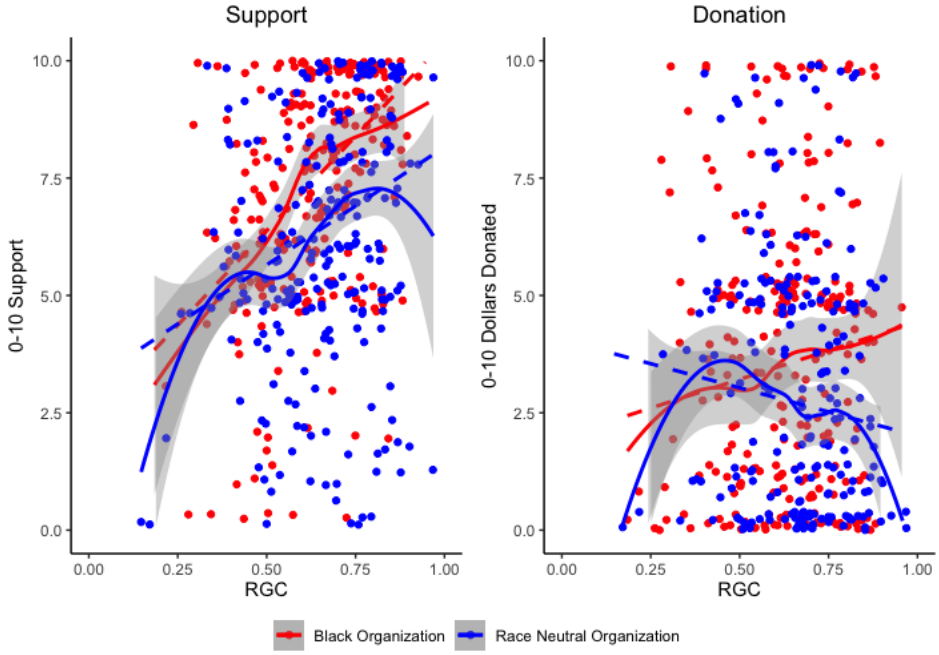

Figure A.14: Linear and Lowess Estimates of the Relationship between RGC and Organization Supportiveness and Organizational Feedback Given by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Note: Figure A.14 presents the two-way scatter plot of the relationship between RGC and support (left) and contributing (right) by treatment in the contribution experiment. Here we present both the linear fit line (dashed) and Lowess (solid) fit line (to account for nonlinearity). We do not present this figure in tabular form like we do the rest of the figures throughout the appendix because local regression from which the lowess estimate stems from does not produce coefficients. Instead, we look at the predicted values and plot them visually.

As we can see, given the distribution of RGC, most of the change occurs at above the midpoint on the RGC scale. At low to medium levels of RGC, both support for and contribution to the Black and or race-neutral organizations are indistinguishable. As we move higher on the RGC scale, however, we see much more divergence. At the highest point on the RGC scale we see, on average, significantly greater stated support for the Black organization and much more willingness to contribute to the Black organization relative to the race-neutral organization.

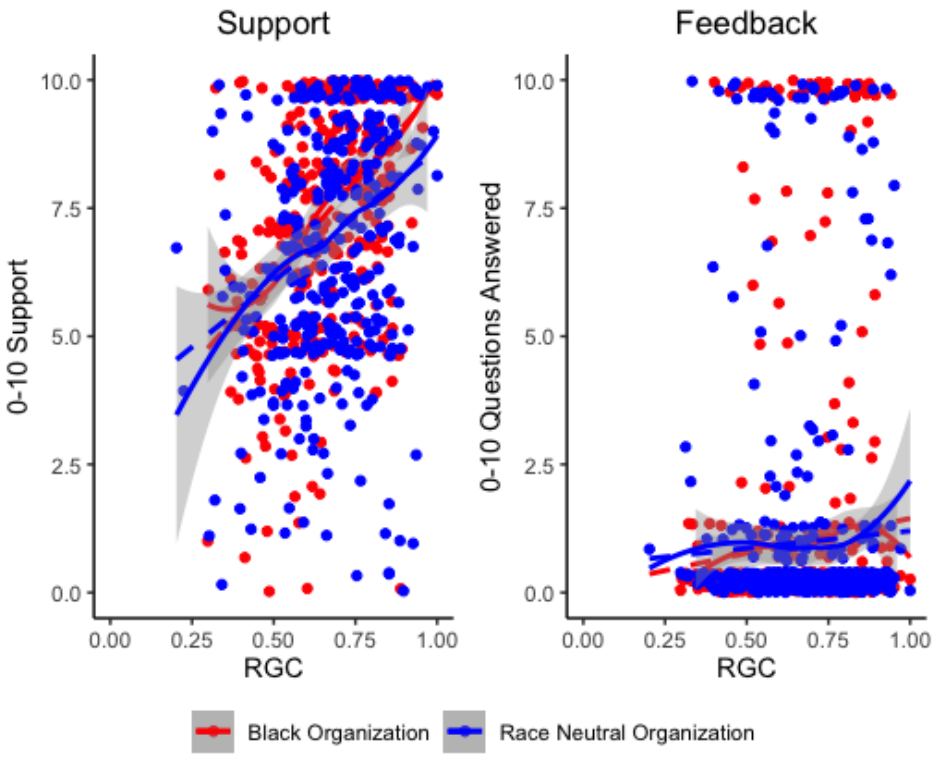

Figure A.15: Linear and Lowess Estimates of the Relationship between RGC and Organization Supportiveness and Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Note: Figure A.15 presents the two-way scatter plot linear fit and Lowess fit of the relationship between RGC and support (left) and feedback (right) by treatment in the time experiment. We do not present this figure in tabular form like we do the rest of the figures throughout the appendix because local regression from which the lowess estimate stems from does not produce coefficients. Instead, we look at the predicted values and plot them visually.

What seems clear from the feedback panel is that, despite what we saw in the coefficient plots, there is not much of a difference in the relationship between RGC and feedback across the treatment conditions. Whatever difference there is seems to be driven by Black Americans low in RGC being somewhat less willing to provide feedback to the Black organization. The problem with this observation, however, is that there are so few Black Americans in this category we cannot be very confident that this observation is meaningful.

Section 1.12: Factor Analysis of Time Experiment and Contribution Experiment

In this section, we conduct factor analysis to determine the relationship between individual survey items included in the time and contribution experiments that are ultimately combined to create the single omnibus racial group consciousness measure used for analysis. We only conduct factor analysis on the time and contribution experiment racial group consciousness items because in some years the ANES, NBES and NBPS only include a limited number of survey items to conduct factor analysis on. On the other hand, the time and contribution

experiment each have 17 items included allowing for a robust test of the relationship between different RGC items.

We conduct four sets of analysis here to demonstrate the relationship between individual RGC items. First, we present a correlation matrix that displays the individual pairwise correlations between each RGC item included in the time and contribution experiments. These figures can be seen in Figure A.16 and Figure A.17. Next, we present the individual PCA Analysis Results with 3 Factors, Varimax Rotation and Standardized Loadings for the time and contribution experiments. Each individual factor loading describes how much the individual item contributes (weights) to the given principal component. These results can be found in tables A.24 and A.25. Finally, based on the latent factors we identify from the PCA analysis, we conduct regressions where we interact the individual factors with the experimental condition to determine which factors are substantially driving our results.

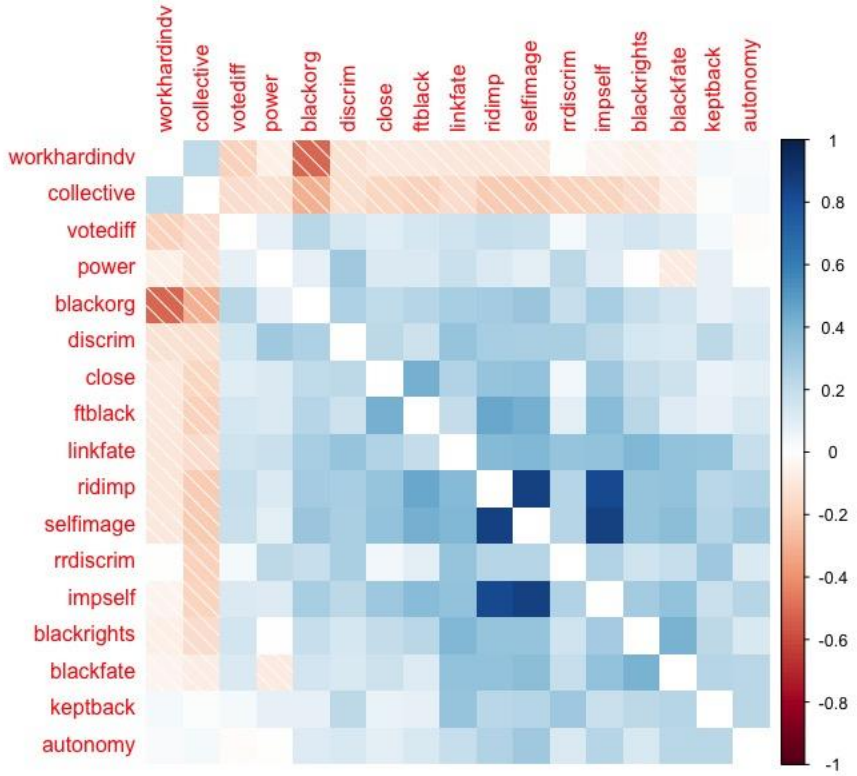

Figure A.16: Correlation Plot of all Individual RGC Measures, Contribution Experiment

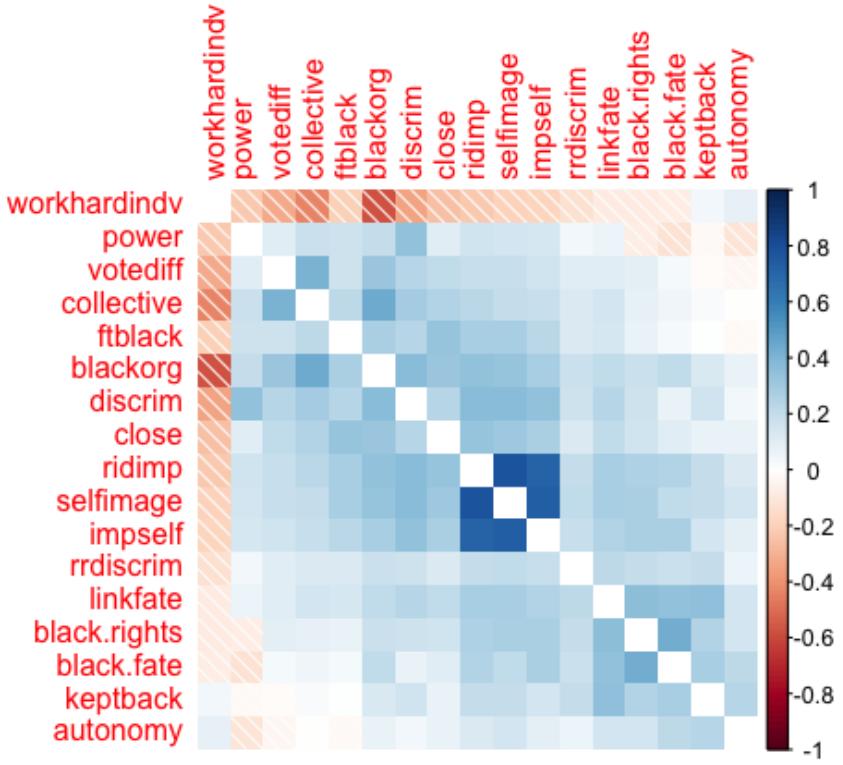

Figure A.17: Correlation Plot of all Individual RGC Measures, Time Experiment

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Racial ID Importance	0.85	0.19	0.16
Racial Self Image	0.87	0.18	0.16
Racial ID Self-Importance	0.85	0.12	0.13
Black Common Fate	0.50	0.30	0.10
Racial Autonomy	0.39	0.26	0.21
Feeling Therm Black	0.56	-0.06	0.32
Racial Closeness	0.47	-0.01	0.32
Personal Discrimination	0.12	0.56	0.32
Racial Resentment Discrimination	0.10	0.69	0.08
Kept Back by Race	0.20	0.65	-0.19

Racial Power	-0.11	0.44	0.33
Collective Action	-0.13	-0.09	0.56
Efficacy Voting	0.14	0.05	0.45
Support Black Organizations	0.22	0.18	0.69
Support Black Rights	0.45	0.30	0.05
Blacks Need to Work Hard	0.04	0.01	-0.71
Black Linked Fate	0.36	0.60	0.16

Table A.22: PCA Analysis Results, 3 Factors, Varimax Rotation, Standardized Loadings (Contribution Study)

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Racial ID Importance	0.85	0.15	0.24
Racial Self Image	0.86	0.12	0.24
Racial ID Self-Importance	0.83	0.08	0.22
Black Common Fate	0.08	0.05	0.72
Racial Autonomy	0.04	-0.12	0.49
Feeling Therm Black	0.39	0.35	-0.05
Racial Closeness	0.35	0.39	0.14
Personal Discrimination	0.42	0.47	0.09
Racial Resentment Discrimination	0.12	0.21	0.38
Kept Back by Race	0.09	-0.02	0.63
Racial Power	0.32	0.34	-0.30
Collective Action	0.08	0.73	0.05
Efficacy Voting	0.06	0.63	0.02
Support Black Organizations	0.20	0.72	0.21
Support Black Rights	0.13	0.10	0.67

Blacks Need to Work Hard	-0.09	-0.77	0.02

Table A.23: PCA Analysis Results, 3 Factors, Varimax Rotation, Standardized Loadings (Time Study)

Note: Based upon this analysis we identify a few pieces of important information that help contextualize the results presented in the manuscript. First, we find that factor loadings for individual items are nearly identical across the time and contribution experiments. These studies are conducted on entirely independent samples, indicating that there is some relative consistency in the way these items relate to one another. Second, we find that three consistent latent factors emerge. We choose three factors because the latent factors emerging in the PCA with three factors rather than four or five appear to share more conceptual commonalities and the "elbow" of the scree plot appears to be around three factors. Certainly, though it is possible that four or five factors may be an appropriate analytic choice. Third we find that with three factors the items loading onto each latent factor that do appear to share some conceptual commonalities. In both the time and contribution study we find an "*affective closeness*" factor (factor 1 in both PCA's), a "*discrimination and shared fate"* factor (factor 2 in contribution PCA and factor 3 in time PCA) and a *"belief in collective action"* factor (factor 3 in contribution PCA and factor 2 in time PCA).

The *affective closeness* factor includes the racial identity importance, racial self-image, closeness to racial group and feeling thermometer towards Blacks items. The *discrimination and shared fate* factor include the black common fate, racial autonomy, personal discrimination, black linked fate, racial resentment discrimination, Black people should support Black rights and Black people are kept back by race items. Finally, the *belief in collective action* factor includes the efficacy, racial power, belief in collective action, Black people should support Black organizations and (reverse coded) Black people need to work hard to better themselves items. These items were each summed and averaged to create a 0-1 measure for each respondent's score on these latent factors.

	Dependent variable:		
	Dollars Contributed		
	(Affect Factor)	(Common Fate Factor)	(Collective Action Factor)
Affective Identity	-1.583*		
	(0.893)		
Common Fate & Discrimination		-1.166	
		(0.904)	
Collective Action			0.139
			(1.132)
Black Org	-1.106	-0.743	-0.848
	(0.999)	(0.864)	(0.901)
mturk	-0.656*	-0.641*	-0.683**
	(0.340)	(0.342)	(0.340)

totnumday	-0.036	-0.037	-0.046
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Affect ID X Black Org	2.517**		
	(1.243)		
Common Fate X Black Org		2.426*	
		(1.248)	
Collective Act X Black Org			3.266**
			(1.646)
Constant	4.185***	3.733***	2.892***
	(0.732)	(0.640)	(0.638)
Control for Survey Mode	X	X	X
Control for Days	X	X	X
Observations	580	580	580
R^2	0.037	0.036	0.044
Adjusted R^2	0.029	0.028	0.035
Residual Std. Error (df = 574)	3.206	3.207	3.195
F Statistic (df = 5; 574)	4.444***	4.340***	5.252***
Note:		*p**p***p<0.01	

Table A.24: Regression By Factors Identified in Factor Regression, Contribution Experiment

Note: Table A.17 provides the results from the regression analysis of each individual factor interacted with experimental condition in the contribution study. The dependent variable is giving (in dollars) to the voter mobilization study. Here, we find that the *affective closeness* factor is a significant driver of giving while the *discrimination and shared fate* and *belief in collective action* factor are not a statistically significant driver of giving.

	Dependent variable:		
	Questions Answered		
	Affect Factor	Common Fate Factor	Collective Action Factor
Affective Identity	0.145		
	(0.458)		
Common Fate and Discrimination		0.284	
		(0.402)	
Collective Action			0.572

			(0.533)
Black Organization	-0.382	-0.382	-0.438
	(0.526)	(0.396)	(0.510)
Affective Identity:Black Organization	0.496		
	(0.655)		
Common Fate and Discrimination:Black Organization		0.579	
		(0.572)	
Collective Action:Black Organization			0.678
			(0.777)
Constant	0.891**	0.820***	0.643*
	(0.372)	(0.278)	(0.349)
Observations	821	821	821
R^2	0.002	0.006	0.007
Adjusted R^2	-0.001	0.002	0.004
Residual Std. Error (df = 817)	1.848	1.845	1.843
F Statistic (df = 3; 817)	0.660	1.656	2.016
Note:			*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.25: Regression By Factors Identified in Factor Regression, Time Experiment

Note: Table A.18 provides the results from the regression analysis of each individual factor interacted with experimental condition in the time study. The dependent variable is number of questions answered for each voter mobilization organization. Here, we do not find that any of the three factors are significant drivers of question answering among survey respondents.

Section 1.13: Testing for Multicollinearity in Contribution and Time Experiments

Survey	Variable	VIF
Contribution Experiment	RGC (Mean Centered)	2.09
	Experimental Condition	1.00
	Income	1.04
	MTURK	1.47
	Gender	1.03
	RGC (Mean Centered) X Experimental Condition	2.08
	RGC (Mean Centered)	1.96
	Gender	1.02
	Income	1.03
	Experimental Condition	1.00

Time Experiment	RGC (Mean Centered) X Experimental Condition	1.84

Table A.26: Variance Inflation Factor Experiments

Note: Table A.26 presents the variance inflation factors for the models used in the contribution and time experiments presented in the manuscript with mean-centered racial group consciousness measures. We choose to mean center RGC and the experimental condition because past work suggests that mean centering causes no harm to resulting inferences (McClelland, Irwin, Disatnik and Sivan 2017, Astivia and Kroc 2019) and helps to ensure our results are not driven by model collinearity. The VIF never rises above 2.09, which is below accepted thresholds for multicollinearity. This suggests that multicollinearity is not an issue for our analysis.

Section 1.14 Interaction Effect Regressions with Controls in Experiments

	Dependent variable:			
	Dollars Donated (0-10)			
	(Controls)	(No Controls)	(Controls for Gender)	(Re-Weighted)
Racial Group Consciousness	-1.973	-2.053	-1.972	-2.750**
	(1.251)	(1.255)	(1.252)	(1.264)
Black Organization	-2.127*	-2.070*	1.010***	1.048***
	(1.162)	(1.168)	(0.275)	(0.274)
Mturk Respondent	-0.699**		-0.690**	
	(0.344)		(0.347)	
Number of Days Since Survey Wave 1	-0.038		-0.038	
	(0.048)		(0.048)	
Respondent Income	0.502		0.502	
	(0.613)		(0.615)	
RGC x Black Organization	4.603***	4.503**	4.575***	4.603***
	(1.749)	(1.758)	(1.754)	(1.775)
Women			0.072	

			(0.287)	
Constant	4.137***	4.059***	2.665***	2.579***
	(0.854)	(0.850)	(0.562)	(0.193)
Observations	580	580	576	576
R^2	0.043	0.028	0.043	0.031
Adjusted R^2	0.033	0.023	0.031	0.026
Weights to make Men-Women Equal in Sample				X
F Statistic	4.297*** (df = 6; 573)	5.463*** (df = 3; 576)	3.686*** (df = 7; 572)	6.063*** (df = 3; 575)
Note:				*p**p***p<0.01

Table A.27: Regression Results, Interaction Term for Contribution Study

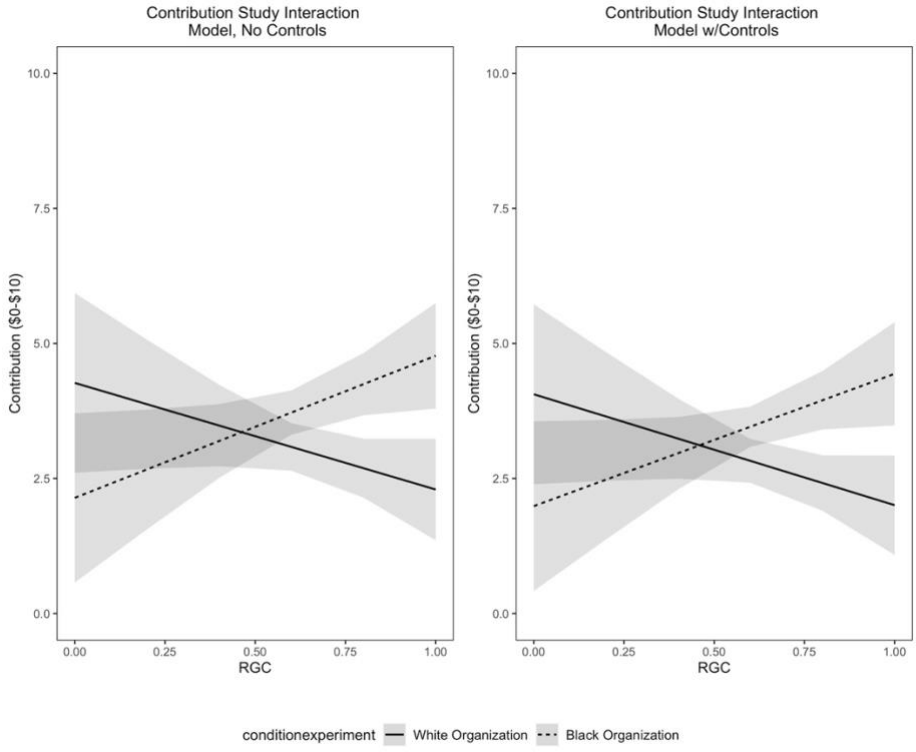

Figure A.18: Interaction Plot of RGC and Condition, Contribution Experiment

Note: We add interaction effects between experimental condition and RGC. We present results both with and without controls for the number of days between waves of the study, survey medium (MTURK or LUCID), and income. We find that the interaction between racial group

consciousness and experimental condition is statistically and substantively significant. The table corresponding to this figure can be found in Table A.27.

	Dependent variable:		
	# Questions Answered		
	Interaction Regression	Interaction Regression with RGC Mean Centered & Control for Gender	Interaction Regression ReWeighted for Gender
RGC	0.588		
	(0.604)		
RGC (Mean Centered)		0.574	0.880
		(0.604)	(0.609)
Black Organization	-0.660	0.002	-0.068
	(0.606)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Income Scale	-0.166	-0.138	
	(0.274)	(0.275)	
RGC:Blackorganization	0.964		
	(0.865)		
Female		0.137	
		(0.140)	
RGC (Mean Centered): Black Organization		0.918	0.587
		(0.866)	(0.872)
Constant	0.651	0.951***	1.059***
	(0.426)	(0.157)	(0.092)
Observations	817	817	821
R^2	0.009	0.010	0.010
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.004	0.006
Residual Std. Error	1.846 (df = 812)	1.846 (df = 811)	2.473 (df = 817)
F Statistic	1.782 (df = 4; 812)	1.618 (df = 5; 811)	2.621** (df = 3; 817)

Note: *p**p***p<0.01

Table A.28: Interaction Regression Results, Time Study with RGC Mean Centered and Controls for Gender and Income

Note: Because our sample is disproportionately women, we include analysis in this section that control for gender and re-weight our regressions to be equivalent to 50% women and 50% men. The re-weighting and inclusion of gender as a control does not alter the statistical significance of any variables from our previous model specifications. Additionally, we find there are not statistically significant differences in the way Black men and Black women responded to our experiments.

We also include a control for income because, even though we attempt to equalize capacity to participate, we recognize that there are reasons to be concerned about the role that pre-existing income levels of our survey respondents play in respondent decisions to donate money. The inclusion of respondent income does not change results.

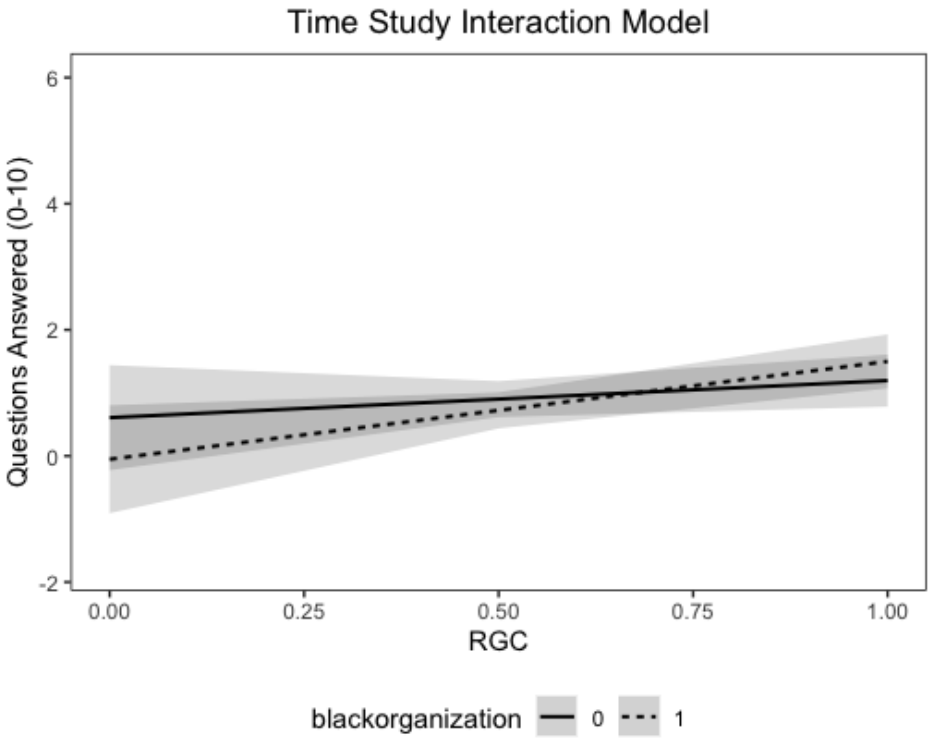

Figure A.19: Interaction Plot of RGC and Condition, Time Experiment

Note: We add interaction effects between experimental condition and RGC. Additionally, the results for the interaction term are not statistically significant, though the direction of the coefficient is positive. This finding fits with the results described in the manuscript, where the results for the time study are less robust than the contribution study. The table corresponding to this figure can be found in Table A.28.

References

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2008. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review*, 215–32.

Austin, Sharon D. Wright, Richard T. Middleton, and Rachel Yon. 2012. "The Effect of Racial Group Consciousness on the Political Participation of African Americans and Black Ethnics in Miami-Dade County, Florida." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (3): 629–41.

Burnham, M.J., Le, Y.K. and Piedmont, R.L. 2018. "Who is Mturk? Personal characteristics and sample consistency of these online workers." Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 21(9-10), 934-944.

Buhrmester, M., Kwang, T. and Gosling, S.D. 2011. "Amazon's Mechanical Turk: A New Source of Inexpensive, Yet High-Quality Data?." Perspectives on Psychological Science, 6(1), 3-5.

Buhrmester, M.D., Talaifar, S. and Gosling, S.D. 2018. "An evaluation of Amazon's Mechanical Turk, its rapid rise, and its effective use." Perspectives on Psychological Science, 13(2), 49-154.

Calhoun-Brown, Allison. 1996. "African American churches and political mobilization: The psychological impact of organizational resources." *The Journal of Politics* 58, no. 4: 935-953.

Chong, Dennis, and Reuel Rogers. 2005. "Racial Solidarity and Political Participation." *Political Behavior* 27 (4): 347–74.

Davenport, Lauren, Annie Franco, and Shanto Iyengar. 2021 "Multiracial Identity and Political Preferences." *Journal of Politics*.

Ellison, Christopher G., and Bruce London. 1992. "The Social and Political Participation of Black Americans: Compensatory and Ethnic Community Perspectives Revisited." *Social Forces* 70 (3): 681–701.

Gay, Claudine, Jennifer L. Hochschild, and Ariel White. 2016. "Americans' Belief in Linked Fate: Does the Measure Capture the Concept?" *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2015.3.

Gurin, Patricia, Arthur H. Miller, and Gerald Gurin. 1980. "Stratum identification and consciousness." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 30-47.

Johnston, Ron, Kelvyn Jones, and David Manley. 2018"Confounding and collinearity in regression analysis: a cautionary tale and an alternative procedure, illustrated by studies of British voting behaviour." *Quality & quantity* 52, no. 4: 1957-1976.

Leighley, Jan E., and Arnold Vedlitz. 1999. “Race, Ethnicity, and Political Participation: Competing Models and Contrasting Explanations.” *The Journal of Politics* 61 (4): 1092–1114.

Mansfield, Edward R., and Billy P. Helms. 1982. "Detecting multicollinearity." *The American Statistician* 36, no. 3a: 158-160.

Marsh, Wayde ZC, and Ricardo Ramírez. 2019. "Unlinking fate? Discrimination, group-consciousness, and political participation among Latinos and whites." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7, no. 3: 625-641.

McClelland, Gary H., Julie R. Irwin, David Disatnik, and Liron Sivan. (2017). "Multicollinearity is a red herring in the search for moderator variables: A guide to interpreting moderated multiple regression models and a critique of Iacobucci, Schneider, Popovich, and Bakamitsos (2016)." *Behavior Research Methods* 49, no. 1: 394-402.

Miller, Arthur H., Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin, and Oksana Malanchuk. 1981. “Group Consciousness and Political Participation.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 494–511.

Olvera Astivia, Oscar L., and Edward Kroc. "Centering in multiple regression does not always reduce multicollinearity: How to tell when your estimates will not benefit from centering." *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 79, no. 5 (2019): 813-826.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006a. “The role of group consciousness in political participation among Latinos in the United States.” *American Politics Research* 34 (4):427-450.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006b. "The role of group consciousness in Latino public opinion." *Political Research Quarterly* 59, no. 3: 435-446.

Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Edward D. Vargas. 2016. “Taking a Closer Look at Group Identity: The Link between Theory and Measurement of Group Consciousness and Linked Fate.” *Political Research Quarterly* 69 (1): 160–74.

Shingles, R.D., 1981. Black consciousness and political participation: The missing link. *American Political Science Review*, *75*(1) 76-91.

Stokes, Atiya Kai. 2003. "Latino group consciousness and political participation." *American Politics Research* 31, no. 4 : 361-378.

Tate, Katherine. 1991. “Black Political Participation in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections.” *The American Political Science Review* 85 (4): 1159–76. https://doi.org/10.2307/1963940.

Verba, Sidney, and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. University of Chicago Press.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry Brady, and Norman H. Nie. 1993. “Race, Ethnicity and Political Resources: Participation in the United States.” *British Journal of Political Science,* 453–97.

Smith, Candis Watts. 2013. "Ethnicity and the role of group consciousness: a comparison between African Americans and Black immigrants." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, no. 2 : 199-220.

Wilcox, Clyde, and Leopoldo Gomez. 1990. “Religion, Group Identification, and Politics among American Blacks.” *Sociological Analysis* 51 (3): 271–85.