

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

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Section 1.1: Tabular Results of Figures in Manuscript

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
	Campaign Activity								
	1984	1988	1992	1996	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020
RGC	0.200*** (0.053)	0.305*** (0.113)	0.053 (0.047)	0.124*** (0.042)	0.105 (0.070)	0.216*** (0.050)	0.186*** (0.036)	-0.051 (0.059)	0.157*** (0.046)
Income	0.099*** (0.028)	0.064 (0.048)	0.096*** (0.027)	0.024 (0.026)	0.096 (0.059)	0.069** (0.033)	0.061*** (0.023)	-0.016 (0.039)	0.157 (0.046)
Female	-0.025 (0.016)	-0.013 (0.027)	-0.047*** (0.016)	-0.016 (0.013)	0.027 (0.027)	0.002 (0.016)	0.006 (0.012)	0.013 (0.020)	-0.010 (0.014)
Political Interest	0.317*** (0.029)	0.260*** (0.057)	0.121*** (0.016)	0.139*** (0.018)	0.051 (0.040)	0.185*** (0.026)	0.188*** (0.023)	0.171*** (0.033)	0.125*** (0.021)
Education	0.134*** (0.038)	0.114* (0.060)	0.166*** (0.063)	0.174*** (0.041)	-0.043 (0.071)	0.127*** (0.037)	0.054** (0.023)	0.016 (0.064)	0.140*** (0.026)
Age	0.001 (0.0005)	0.0002 (0.001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.001** (0.0004)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001* (0.0005)	0.002*** (0.0004)	-0.0001 (0.001)	0.001*** (0.000)
Religiosity	-0.043* (0.023)	-0.078* (0.041)	0.053*** (0.020)	0.046* (0.024)	0.064 (0.040)	0.038* (0.022)	0.019 (0.016)	0.025 (0.026)	0.004 (0.022)
Constant	-0.107** (0.045)	-0.086 (0.085)	0.106** (0.047)	-0.082** (0.038)	-0.021 (0.070)	-0.195*** (0.044)	-0.161*** (0.032)	0.142** (0.060)	-0.133*** (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<0.01

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

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

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

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

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	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)
<i>Note:</i>				* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

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

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	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<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

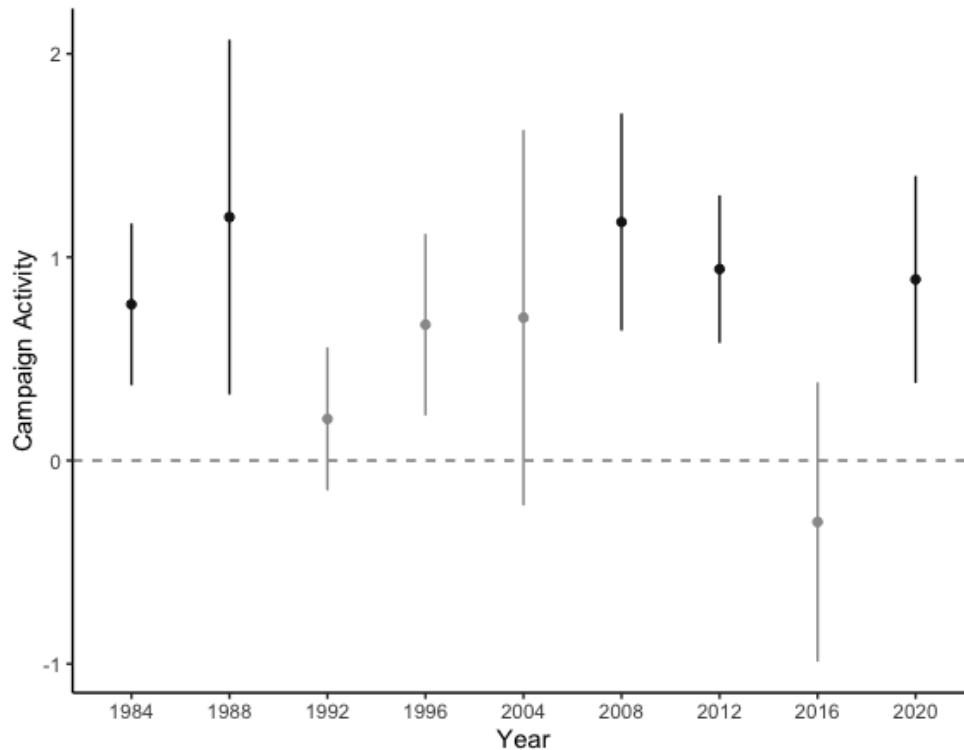


Figure A.1 Predicted effect of RGC with standardized political participation variable
 Note: Dark colored estimates/confidence intervals represent years that feature a viable Black candidate. More lightly shaded estimates/confidence intervals represent years that did not feature a viable Black candidate.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

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>									
	Standardized Campaign Activity									
	1984	1988	1992	1996	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020	
RGC	0.768*** (0.203)	1.197*** (0.443)	0.205 (0.179)	0.668*** (0.227)	0.703 (0.467)	1.173*** (0.272)	0.941*** (0.185)	-0.302 (0.349)	0.891*** (0.259)	
Income	0.380*** (0.107)	0.251 (0.187)	0.368*** (0.104)	0.131 (0.139)	0.644 (0.392)	0.376** (0.181)	0.307*** (0.114)	-0.094 (0.228)	0.131 (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 Interest	1.214***	1.020***	0.464***	0.752***	0.339	1.001***	0.951***	1.004***	0.709***
	(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***	-	-2.345***	-2.102***	-0.475	-1.920***
	(0.173)	(0.334)	(0.179)	(0.204)	1.406***	(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 < 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

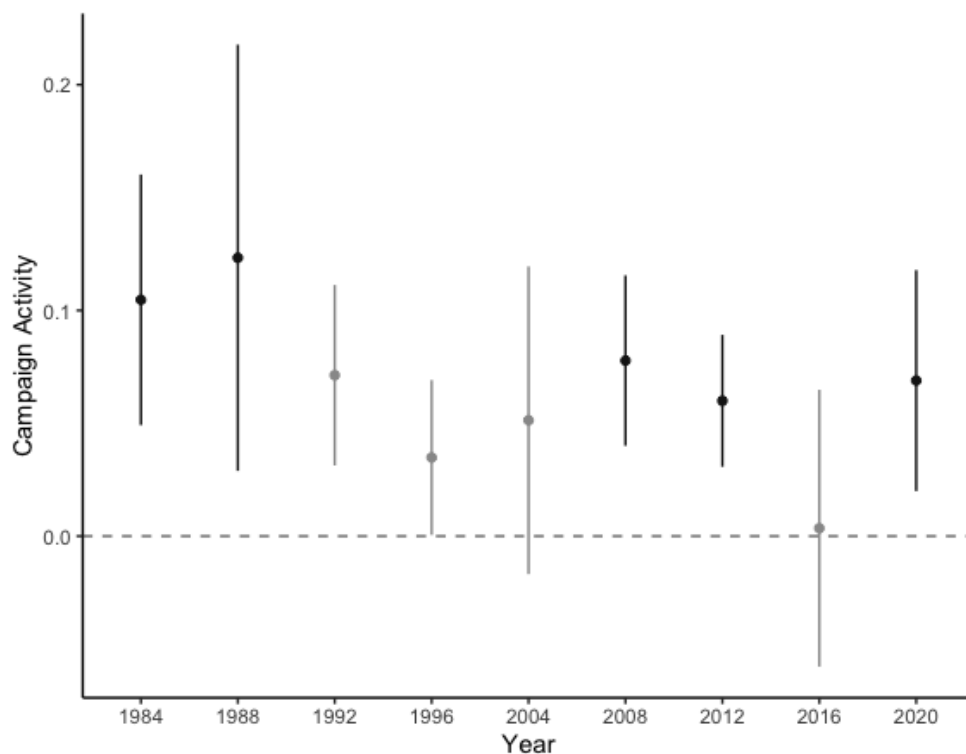


Figure A.2: Predicted Effect of Linked Fate on Campaign Activity Participation

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 Fate	0.105*** (0.028)	0.123** (0.048)	0.071*** (0.020)	0.035** (0.017)	0.051 (0.034)	0.078*** (0.019)	0.060*** (0.015)	0.003 (0.031)	0.069*** (0.025)
Income	0.099*** (0.029)	0.079 (0.049)	0.090*** (0.028)	0.033 (0.026)	0.097 (0.061)	0.064* (0.034)	0.066*** (0.023)	-0.022 (0.039)	0.027 (0.024)
Female	-0.010 (0.017)	0.003 (0.029)	-0.045*** (0.016)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.015 (0.028)	0.008 (0.016)	0.013 (0.012)	0.012 (0.020)	-0.008 (0.014)
Political Interest	0.324*** (0.031)	0.249*** (0.060)	0.114*** (0.016)	0.155*** (0.018)	0.053 (0.041)	0.195*** (0.026)	0.201*** (0.023)	0.163*** (0.033)	0.134*** (0.021)
Education	0.123*** (0.039)	0.107* (0.064)	0.135** (0.065)	0.172*** (0.041)	-0.041 (0.072)	0.123*** (0.038)	0.049** (0.023)	0.006 (0.064)	0.147*** (0.026)
Age	0.0005 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.001)	0.0002* (0.0001)	0.001** (0.0004)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.0004)	-0.0001 (0.001)	0.001** (0.0004)
Religiosity	-0.043* (0.020)	-0.086** (0.030)	0.059*** (0.015)	0.045* (0.020)	0.065 (0.030)	0.039* (0.020)	0.025 (0.020)	0.025 (0.020)	0.003 (0.020)

	(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 < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

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/Table A.7 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: Experimental Treatments



Figure A.3: Race-neutral Voter Registration Organization (Control Condition)



Figure A.4: Black Voter Registration Organization (Treatment)

Section 1.6: 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.9: 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
<i>(**) indicates significant differences</i>		

Table A.10: 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
<i>(**) indicates significant differences</i>		

Table A.11: Balance Check, Time Experiment

Section 1.7: 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.12: 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.13: Time/Effort Contribution Experiment Organization Supportiveness and Organizational Feedback by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Section 1.8: RGC contribution effects by pre-post delay or not

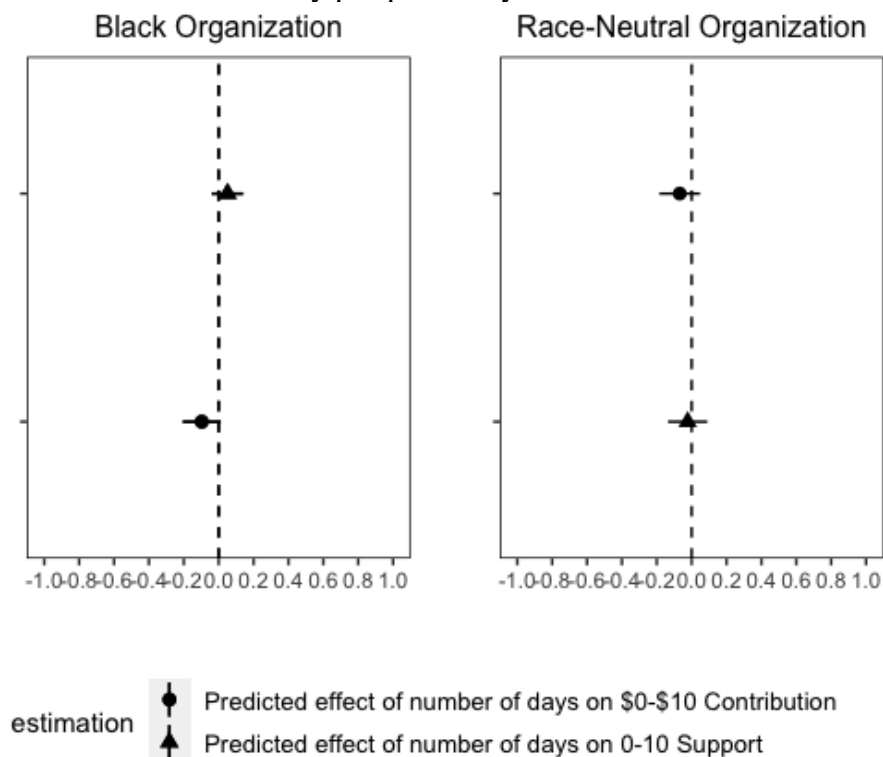


Figure A.5 Relationship between number of days pre to post and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Note: Dark colored estimates represent respondents randomized to see the Black organization. More lightly shaded estimates represent respondents randomized to see the race-neutral

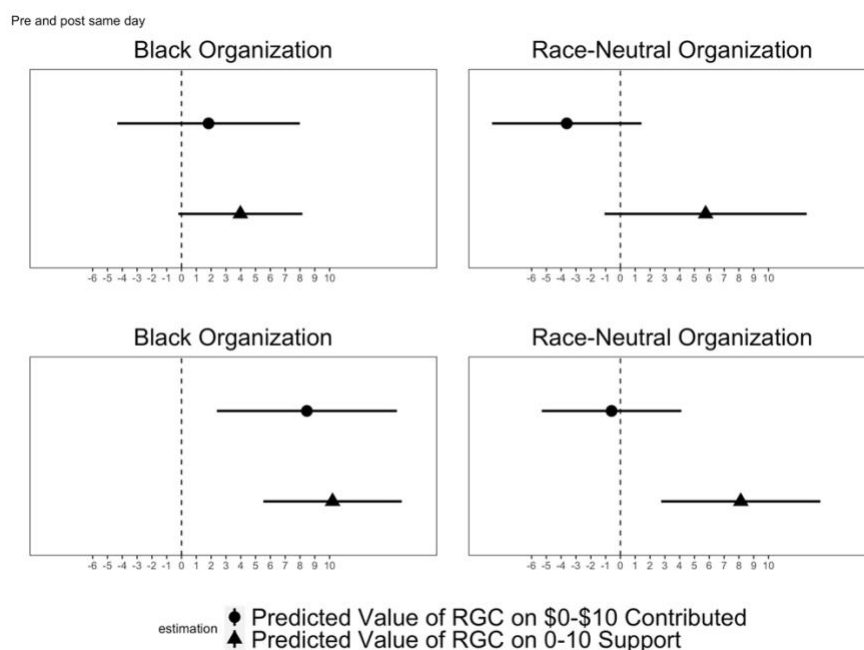
organization. The estimates at the top represent respondents giving \$0-\$10, while the estimates at the bottom represent respondent support. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
Number of Days	0.051 (0.046)	-0.097* (0.055)	-0.023 (0.057)	-0.068 (0.059)
Constant	7.386*** (0.169)	3.667*** (0.205)	6.474*** (0.190)	2.779*** (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<0.01

Table A.14: Relationship between number or days pre to post and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment



At least 4 days between pre and post

Figure A.6 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.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	3.975* (2.085)	1.825 (3.068)	5.753* (3.394)	-3.623 (2.510)
Constant	5.193*** (1.353)	2.336 (1.991)	2.759 (2.370)	4.481** (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<0.01

Table A.15: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment by no delay between RGC and measurement and contribution task

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	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 < 0.05
 ** p < 0.01
 *** p < 0.001

Table A.16: 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 1.9: 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.17: Organization Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment and Survey Platform

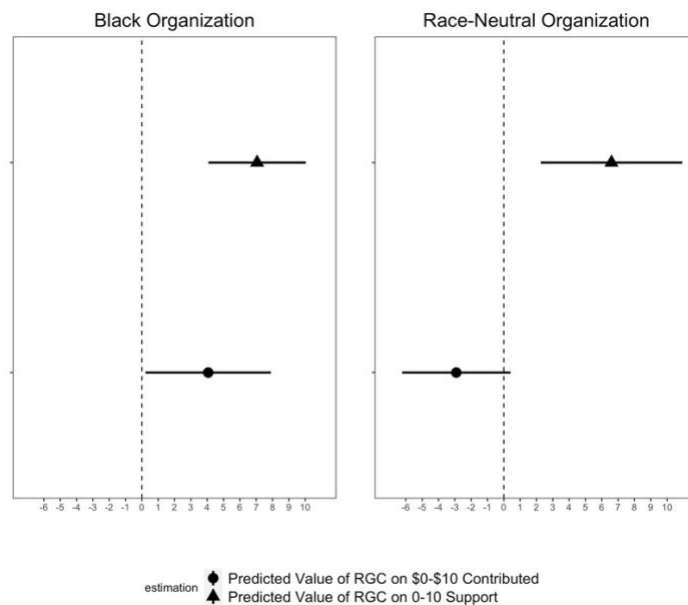


Figure A.7: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Mturk Respondents.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	7.056*** (1.502)	4.061* (2.096)	6.595*** (2.180)	-2.909* (1.670)
Constant	3.249*** (1.000)	0.466 (1.395)	2.050 (1.502)	4.004*** (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 < 0.05
** p < 0.01
*** p < 0.001

Table A.18: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Mturk Respondents.

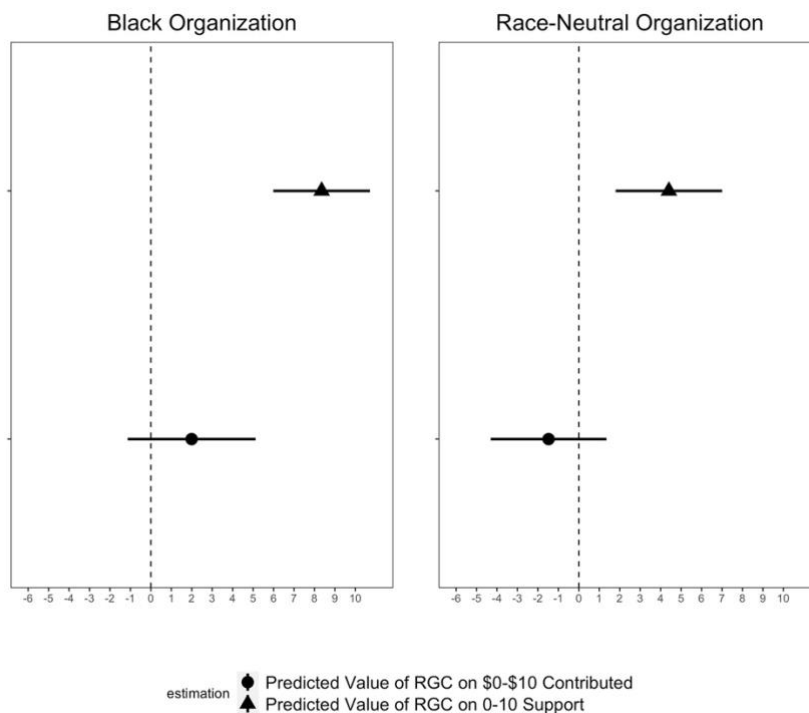


Figure A.8: Relationship between RGC and Organizational Supportiveness and Organizational Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment on Lucid Respondents.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Black Organization Support	Black Organization Contribution	Race Neutral Organization Support	Race Neutral Organization Contribution
RGC	8.351*** (1.200)	1.992 (1.587)	4.405*** (1.320)	-1.479 (1.554)
Constant	2.050*** (0.773)	2.496** (1.022)	3.555*** (0.886)	3.966*** (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)
<i>Note:</i>			* p ** p *** p < 0.01	

Table A.19: 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.17 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.12. Figure A.7/Table A.18 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.8/Table A.19 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 1.10: Lowess plots in contribution and time experiments

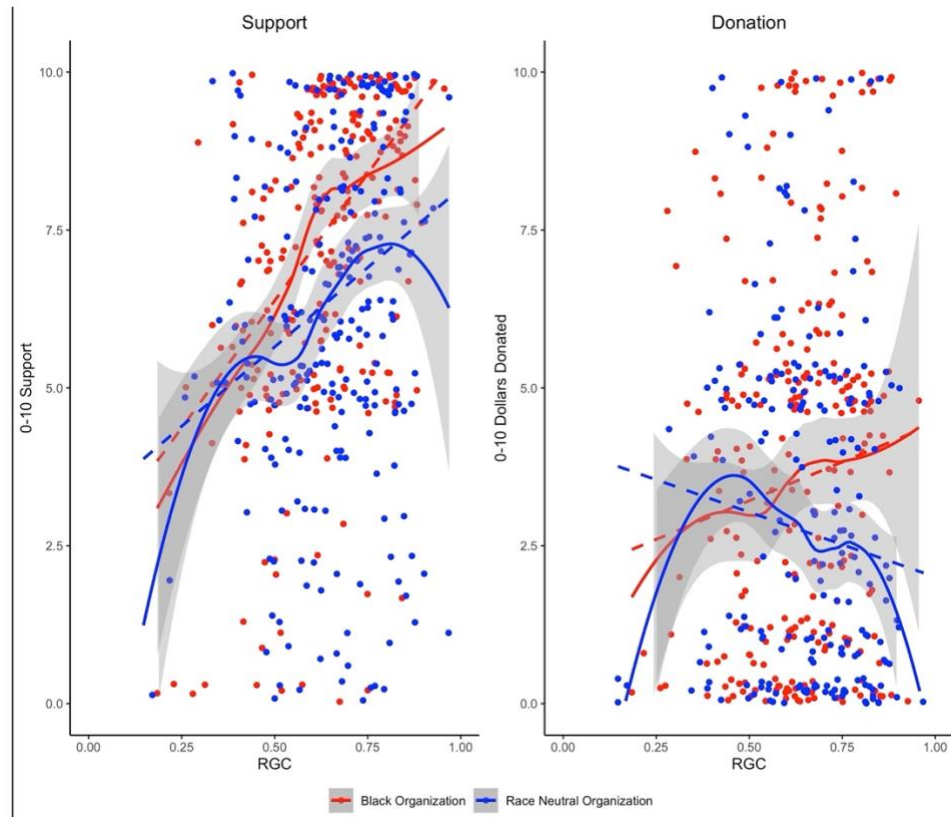


Figure A.9: Linear and Lowess Estimates of the Relationship between RGC and Organization Supportiveness and Organizational Feedback Given by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Note: Figure A.9 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.

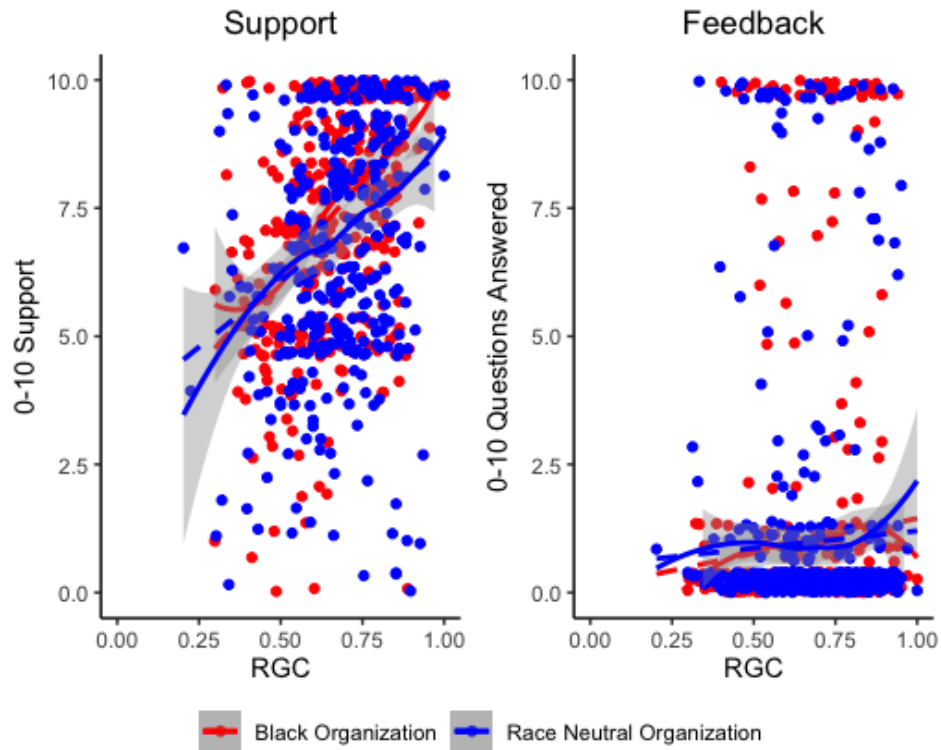


Figure A.10: Linear and Lowess Estimates of the Relationship between RGC and Organization Supportiveness and Contribution by Racial Empowerment Treatment

Note: Figure A.10 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 1.11: 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
Time Experiment	RGC (Mean Centered)	1.96
	Gender	1.02
	Income	1.03
	Experimental Condition	1.00
	RGC (Mean Centered) X Experimental Condition	1.84

Table A.20: Variance Inflation Factor Experiments

Note: Table A.20 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 1.12: 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 (1.251)	-2.053 (1.255)	-1.972 (1.252)	-2.750** (1.264)
Black Organization	-2.127* (1.162)	-2.070* (1.168)	1.010*** (0.275)	1.048*** (0.274)
Mturk Respondent	-0.699** (0.344)		-0.690** (0.347)	
Number of Days Since Survey Wave 1	-0.038 (0.048)		-0.038 (0.048)	
Respondent Income	0.516 (0.613)		0.524 (0.614)	

RGC x Black Organization	4.603*** (1.749)	4.503** (1.758)	4.575*** (1.754)	4.603*** (1.775)
Women			0.072 (0.287)	
Constant	4.137*** (0.854)	4.059*** (0.850)	2.665*** (0.562)	2.579*** (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 < 0.1
** p < 0.05
*** p < 0.01

Table A.21: Regression Results, Interaction Term for Contribution Study

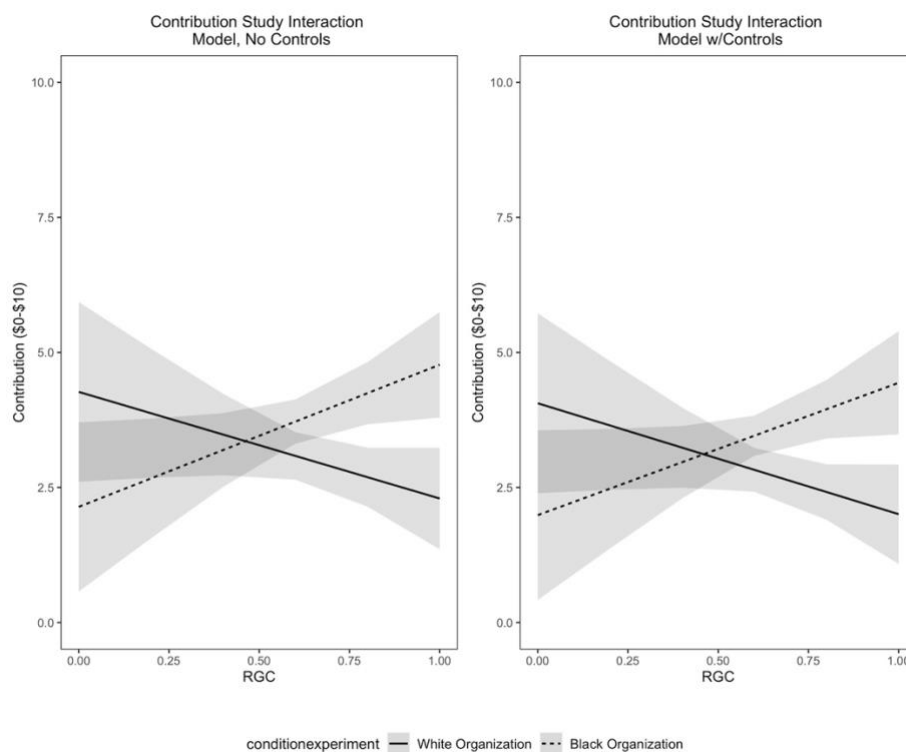


Figure A.11: Interaction Plot of RGC and Condition, Contribution Experiment

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.21.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	# 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 (0.604)	0.880 (0.609)
Black Organization	-0.660 (0.606)	0.002 (0.129)	-0.068 (0.129)
Income Scale	-0.166 (0.274)	-0.138 (0.275)	
RGC:Blackorganization	0.964 (0.865)		
Female		0.137 (0.140)	
RGC (Mean Centered): Black Organization		0.918 (0.866)	0.587 (0.872)
Constant	0.651 (0.426)	0.951*** (0.157)	1.059*** (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)
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Note:

* p < 0.05
** p < 0.01
*** p < 0.001

Table A.22: 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.

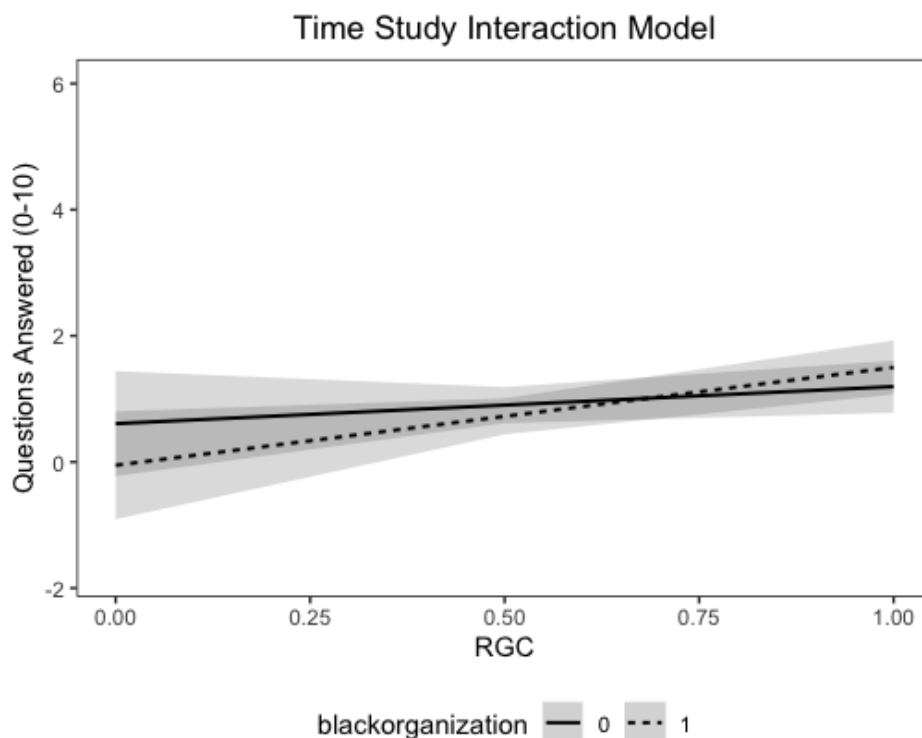


Figure A.12: Interaction Plot of RGC and Condition, Time Experiment

Note: We add interaction effects between experimental condition and RGC. 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.22.