**Appendix: Study Description, Question Wording, and Coding**

**Description of 2017 Black Voter Project (BVP) Pilot Study**

The data collected are from an online questionnaire administered by Survey Sample International (SSI), which is a nonpartisan, survey research center with access to mobile panels for market and academic research. The survey was administered online based on randomly selected email addresses from a list of panel respondents who identify as African American or black. An online questionnaire was fielded from March–April 2017 to a total 511 African American respondents. The survey had an average interview length of 18.5 minutes. with an incident rate (completes/completes+screened) of 76.5%. The survey was stratified across age, education, and gender, with respondents evenly distributed across the states of Georgia, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, North Carolina, Virginia, and California.

**Variable Coding and Wording**

*Dependent Variables*

Vote in 2016 Election:

Voting in the 2016 general election was measured by: “Did you vote in the 2016 general election in November?” Coded either 0 or 1, where voter = 1.

Vote Confidence in 2018 Midterm-Election:

A respondent’s confidence in their vote in the upcoming 2018-midterm elections was measured by: “Do you plan to vote in the 2018-midterm elections?” Respondents could express whether they were confident, felt it was likely, were not sure, or did not plan to vote in the 2018-midterms. Coded either 0 or 1, where confident voters in 2018 = 1.

Political Action Beyond Voting:

Political action was measured using the six following items, each coded on a dichotomous (0-1) scale where participation in each act in the last 12 months corresponds to the value of 1:

(1) “Signed a petition?” Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Yes = 1.

(2) “Boycotted, or deliberately bought, certain products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons?”

Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Yes = 1.

(3) “Took part in a demonstration?”

Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Yes = 1.

(4) “Attended a political meeting?”

Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Yes = 1.

(5) “Contacted, or attempted to contact, a politician or civil servant to express your views?”

Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Yes = 1.

(6) “Donated money or raised funds for a social or political activity?”

Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Yes = 1.

*Predictors*

Approval of Colin Kaepernick’s Protest Movement:

Approval for Colin Kaepernick’s protest movement was measured by this question: “Based on what you have heard, do you approve or disapprove of Colin Kaepernick’s and other NFL players national anthem protests?” To isolate blacks who expressed the most support for Kaepernick and preserve as much variance as possible in a measure with little disagreement, approval of Kaepernick was coded on a two-point scale (0-1), where high values correspond to strong approval of Colin Kaepernick’s protest.

Strength of Black Lives Matter Movement Identity:

This question asked how much a respondent identified with the Black Lives Matter movement: “How closely do you identify with the Black Lives Matter movement?”

Recoded on a three-point scale (0-1) such that higher values corresponded to respondents who identified extremely closely with the BLM movement.

Political Interest:

Political Interest was measured by this question: “In general, how interested are you in news about what’s going in government or politics: extremely interested, very interested, slightly interested, or not interested at all?” Responses were recoded on a three-point scale (0-1), with low, medium, and high levels of interest. High levels of political interest = 1.

Political Knowledge:

Political knowledge is indexed by the following items and was transformed into an average score scaled from 0-1:

(1) “Do you know who has the final responsibility to decide whether or not a law is constitutional?” Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Supreme Court = 1.

(2) “Do you happen to know what job or political office is held by Michael Pence? Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Vice President = 1.

(3) “Which political party currently has the most seats in the House of Representatives in Washington, DC”? Recoded onto a dichotomous variable where Republicans = 1.

Reliability: α= .65; Highly knowledgeable = 1.

Approval of Barack Obama:

Approval for Barack Obama was measured by a feeling thermometer from 0 to 10, where 10 = very favorable opinions.

Linked Fate or Group Consciousness:

Linked fate or group consciousness measured respondents’ answers to the following: “Do you think that what happens generally to African Americans will have something to do with what happens in your life?” Responses were coded on a four-point scale, where higher values correspond to less group consciousness.

Age:

Question asked for the year a respondent was born, and remained linear such that higher values correspond to younger individuals.

South:

Southern region was based on the state of residence for each respondent. Coded either 0 or 1, where GA, NC, and VA = 1.

Gender:

This question determined the respondent’s gender. It was coded either 0 or 1, where female = 1.

Education:

This question determined the respondent’s highest level of education: “What is the highest level of education you completed?” Recoded on 0-1 scale, with three categories where college degree and beyond = 1.

Party ID:

This question determined the respondent’s party identification: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?” Coded into three different variables on a two-point scale (0-1), where for each dummy variable Democrat = 1, Republican = 1, and Independent/other = 1.

Ideology:

This question determined the respondent’s political ideology: “When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Liberal, a Conservative, a Moderate, or haven't you thought much about this?” Three dummy variables were created on two-point scales (0-1) for different ideologies, where Liberal = 1, Moderate = 1, and Conservative = 1 for each individual variable.

Church attendance:

This question asked how often a respondent attended religious services. It was coded on a six-point scale, where higher values correspond to less church attendance.

Marital status:

This question determined the respondent’s marital status. It was coded either 0 or 1, where married = 1.

Home ownership:

This question asked whether or not a respondent owned his or her home. It was coded either 0 or 1, where home owners = 1.

Income:

This question measured the household income of the respondent: “What was your total combined household income in 2007 before taxes.” Income was separated into four dichotomous variables, including a measurement for respondents who refused to provide income information, so that a significant number of respondents would not be excluded from the models. Each was coded on a two-point scale (0-1), where lowest level was less than 40K (excluded category), and highest level of income was >80K.

Political Mistrust:

This question asked respondents: “How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?” It was coded on a four-point scale, where higher values correspond to less political trust.

**Table A1.** Predicting Traditional Political Engagement

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Vote 2016 | Vote 2016 (II) | Vote 2018 Confidence | Vote 2018 Confidence (II) |
| BLM ID (Strong) | 0.50\* | 1.01\* | 0.31\* | 0.21 |
|  | (0.225) | (0.402) | (0.120) | (0.304) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly Approve of Kaepernick | 0.28 | 0.83 | 0.14 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.437) | (0.577) | (0.229) | (0.405) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Knowledge | 0.40 | 0.53 | 1.47\* | 1.44\* |
|  | (0.434) | (0.502) | (0.344) | (0.364) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.58\* | 0.58\* | 0.74\* | 0.74\* |
|  | (0.213) | (0.216) | (0.285) | (0.286) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Approve of Obama | 0.20\* | 0.21\* | 0.12\* | 0.12\* |
|  | (0.079) | (0.080) | (0.031) | (0.031) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Linked Fate (Weak) | 0.24 | 0.21 | 0.07 | 0.08 |
|  | (0.231) | (0.223) | (0.120) | (0.119) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.04\* | -0.03\* | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.010) | (0.009) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| South | -0.22\* | -0.21 | -0.42\* | -0.43\* |
|  | (0.124) | (0.142) | (0.200) | (0.201) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Female | 0.63 | 0.65 | 0.22 | 0.22 |
|  | (0.535) | (0.536) | (0.267) | (0.265) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| College Educated | 1.48\* | 1.50\* | 0.32\* | 0.32\* |
|  | (0.265) | (0.253) | (0.156) | (0.161) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 1.28 | 1.34 | 1.63 | 1.64 |
|  | (0.832) | (0.827) | (1.126) | (1.105) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Indep/Other | -0.36\* | -0.37\* | -0.45 | -0.45 |
|  | (0.205) | (0.212) | (0.447) | (0.446) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Ideology (Conservative) | 0.01 | -0.02 | 0.05 | 0.06 |
|  | (0.148) | (0.131) | (0.099) | (0.095) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Church Attendance | -0.01 | -0.03 | -0.11 | -0.10 |
|  | (0.143) | (0.149) | (0.070) | (0.067) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Married | -0.22 | -0.29 | 0.26 | 0.27 |
|  | (0.384) | (0.415) | (0.262) | (0.264) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Own Home | 0.44 | 0.45 | -0.04 | -0.04 |
|  | (0.281) | (0.278) | (0.255) | (0.259) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Income Missing | -1.87\* | -1.97\* | 0.13 | 0.15 |
|  | (0.920) | (0.901) | (1.103) | (1.111) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Mid Income (40–80K) | -0.24 | -0.27 | 0.05 | 0.06 |
|  | (0.496) | (0.503) | (0.215) | (0.221) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| High Income (80–150K) | -0.27 | -0.22 | 0.94\* | 0.93\* |
|  | (0.492) | (0.407) | (0.404) | (0.413) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Mistrust | -0.19 | -0.19 | 0.07 | 0.07 |
|  | (0.259) | (0.247) | (0.259) | (0.259) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| BLM x Kaep Approval |  | -0.41\* |  | 0.09 |
|  |  | (0.231) |  | (0.185) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 71.30\* | 65.11\* | -6.99 | -5.75 |
|  | (14.842) | (14.818) | (20.118) | (18.088) |
| *N* | 333 | 333 | 333 | 333 |
| *% Predic. Correctly* | 85.9 | 87.1 | 74.2 | 74.2 |

Standard errors in parentheses; logistical regression; \* *p* < 0.05, one-tailed.

**Table A2.** Predicting Nontraditional Political Engagement (in the last 12 Months)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Petition | Boycott | Demonstrate | Meeting | Contact | Donate |
| BLM ID (Strong) | 0.21 | 0.07 | -0.09 | 0.01 | 0.31\* | 0.37 |
|  | (0.170) | (0.263) | (0.418) | (0.204) | (0.032) | (0.246) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly Approve Kaep | 0.67\* | 1.53\* | 1.69\* | 0.88\* | 0.90\* | 0.34 |
|  | (0.238) | (0.270) | (0.524) | (0.270) | (0.354) | (0.371) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Knowledge | 0.87\* | 0.72 | -0.45 | -0.03 | 0.33 | 0.35 |
|  | (0.513) | (0.561) | (0.528) | (0.679) | (0.568) | (0.569) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.84\* | 0.70\* | 0.24 | 0.79\* | 0.78\* | 0.33 |
|  | (0.131) | (0.170) | (0.277) | (0.332) | (0.333) | (0.228) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approve of Obama | 0.07\* | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.02 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.035) | (0.062) | (0.049) | (0.086) | (0.041) | (0.071) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Linked Fate (Weak) | -0.27 | -0.31 | -0.35 | 0.22 | 0.16 | -0.43\* |
|  | (0.174) | (0.266) | (0.387) | (0.255) | (0.222) | (0.150) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.05\* | 0.02\* | -0.01 | 0.02\* |
|  | (0.010) | (0.012) | (0.016) | (0.013) | (0.010) | (0.011) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | -0.77\* | -0.45 | -1.24\* | -0.06 | -0.87\* | -0.67\* |
|  | (0.274) | (0.367) | (0.442) | (0.377) | (0.255) | (0.273) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Female | -0.22 | 0.35 | -0.65\* | -0.42\* | -0.47 | -0.30 |
|  | (0.336) | (0.347) | (0.178) | (0.201) | (0.519) | (0.408) |
| College Educated | 0.78\* | 1.08\* | 0.86\* | 0.43\* | 1.11\* | -0.08 |
|  | (0.229) | (0.202) | (0.302) | (0.258) | (0.330) | (0.471) |
| Republican | 0.13 | 1.23 | 1.23\* | 0.92 | 0.71 | 0.80 |
|  | (0.340) | (0.792) | (0.675) | (0.822) | (0.721) | (0.875) |
| Indep/Other | 0.22 | 0.40 | -0.36 | 0.26 | -0.07 | 0.32 |
|  | (0.313) | (0.285) | (0.734) | (0.389) | (0.259) | (0.229) |
| Ideology (Conservative) | -0.17\* | -0.16\* | -0.19 | -0.16 | -0.12 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.085) | (0.084) | (0.194) | (0.176) | (0.148) | (0.159) |
| Church Attendance | -0.16 | 0.16\* | -0.18 | -0.13 | 0.02 | -0.12\* |
|  | (0.111) | (0.064) | (0.138) | (0.126) | (0.143) | (0.041) |
| Married | 0.09 | -0.15 | 0.71 | 0.58 | -0.11 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.347) | (0.251) | (0.457) | (0.414) | (0.619) | (0.243) |
| Own Home | 0.13 | 0.28\* | -0.62 | 0.75\* | -0.09 | 0.39 |
|  | (0.236) | (0.136) | (0.398) | (0.262) | (0.341) | (0.436) |
| Income Missing | 1.00 | 0.66 | *Omitted* | *Omitted* | 0.71 | -0.68 |
|  | (0.940) | (0.930) | (0.497) | (0.787) |
| Mid Income (40–80K) | 0.22 | 0.91\* | 2.16\* | -0.05 | 0.19 | 0.60 |
|  | (0.211) | (0.190) | (0.375) | (0.387) | (0.549) | (0.521) |
| High Income (80–150K) | 0.00 | 0.78\* | 1.98\* | -0.24 | 0.42 | 0.69 |
|  | (0.415) | (0.245) | (0.590) | (0.406) | (0.634) | (0.525) |
| Political Mistrust | -0.09 | -0.55\* | -0.78\* | -0.58\* | -0.25 | -0.37\* |
|  | (0.239) | (0.171) | (0.255) | (0.073) | (0.213) | (0.216) |
| Constant | -6.01 | -28.98 | -94.43\* | -45.58\* | 13.11 | -45.21\* |
|  | (19.543) | (23.554) | (30.180) | (25.179) | (20.839) | (23.430) |
| *N* | 333 | 333 | 318 | 318 | 333 | 333 |
| *% Predic. Correctly* | 71.8 | 80.8 | 89.6 | 84.0 | 79.9 | 79.9 |

Standard errors in parentheses; logistical regression; \* *p* < 0.05, one-tailed test.

**Table A3.** Predicting Nontraditional Political Engagement (in the last 12 months)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Petition | Boycott | Demonstrate | Meeting | Contact | Donate |
| BLM ID (Strong) | -0.28 | -0.42 | -0.31 | -0.48 | -0.15 | -0.32 |
|  | (0.187) | (0.616) | (0.432) | (0.468) | (0.307) | (0.406) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Strongly Approve Kaep | 0.03 | 1.03\* | 1.47\* | 0.28 | 0.33 | -0.61\* |
|  | (0.549) | (0.494) | (0.545) | (0.297) | (0.725) | (0.362) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Knowledge | 0.80 | 0.66 | -0.47 | -0.06 | 0.28 | 0.28 |
|  | (0.523) | (0.569) | (0.531) | (0.638) | (0.532) | (0.558) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Interest | 0.86\* | 0.69\* | 0.24 | 0.79\* | 0.79\* | 0.35 |
|  | (0.136) | (0.173) | (0.280) | (0.349) | (0.339) | (0.241) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Approve of Obama | 0.07\* | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.02 | 0.05 |
|  | (0.036) | (0.065) | (0.052) | (0.087) | (0.046) | (0.070) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Linked Fate (Weak) | -0.25 | -0.29 | -0.35 | 0.25 | 0.18 | -0.41\* |
|  | (0.179) | (0.259) | (0.385) | (0.256) | (0.228) | (0.137) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.05\* | 0.02 | -0.01 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.010) | (0.012) | (0.016) | (0.013) | (0.010) | (0.012) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | -0.76\* | -0.42 | -1.21\* | -0.01 | -0.83\* | -0.63\* |
|  | (0.270) | (0.362) | (0.443) | (0.383) | (0.256) | (0.275) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| BLM ID x Kaep Approval | 0.40\* | 0.35 | 0.15\* | 0.40\* | 0.36 | 0.56\* |
|  | (0.213) | (0.338) | (0.061) | (0.220) | (0.254) | (0.215) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Female | -0.26 | 0.34 | -0.66\* | -0.48\* | -0.49 | -0.33 |
|  | (0.364) | (0.341) | (0.169) | (0.206) | (0.498) | (0.410) |
| College Educated | 0.80\* | 1.08\* | 0.86\* | 0.45\* | 1.12\* | -0.08 |
|  | (0.223) | (0.209) | (0.297) | (0.241) | (0.333) | (0.458) |
| Republican | 0.12 | 1.20 | 1.23\* | 0.95 | 0.73 | 0.78 |
|  | (0.366) | (0.806) | (0.669) | (0.802) | (0.731) | (0.880) |
| Indep/Other | 0.22 | 0.38 | -0.35 | 0.27 | -0.06 | 0.33 |
|  | (0.330) | (0.291) | (0.734) | (0.397) | (0.279) | (0.214) |
| Ideology (Conservative) | -0.16\* | -0.15\* | -0.19 | -0.14 | -0.11 | -0.06 |
|  | (0.078) | (0.083) | (0.194) | (0.180) | (0.147) | (0.156) |
| Church Attendance | -0.15 | 0.17\* | -0.18 | -0.12 | 0.03 | -0.11\* |
|  | (0.110) | (0.068) | (0.138) | (0.122) | (0.147) | (0.045) |
| Married | 0.13 | -0.12 | 0.71 | 0.63 | -0.07 | 0.34 |
|  | (0.366) | (0.250) | (0.470) | (0.424) | (0.649) | (0.257) |
| Own Home | 0.11 | 0.26\* | -0.70\* | 0.70\* | -0.11 | 0.38 |
|  | (0.236) | (0.128) | (0.417) | (0.235) | (0.319) | (0.431) |
| Income Missing | 1.03 | 0.68 | *Omitted* | *Omitted* | 0.70 | -0.63 |
|  | (0.977) | (0.928) | (0.492) | (0.839) |
| Mid Income (40–80K) | 0.21 | 0.90\* | 2.15\* | -0.05 | 0.17 | 0.63 |
|  | (0.231) | (0.195) | (0.374) | (0.401) | (0.543) | (0.539) |
| High Income (80–150K) | 0.01 | 0.76\* | 1.94\* | -0.24 | 0.40 | 0.70 |
|  | (0.433) | (0.244) | (0.608) | (0.405) | (0.643) | (0.540) |
| Political Mistrust | -0.08 | -0.55\* | -0.78\* | -0.59\* | -0.24 | -0.38\* |
|  | (0.247) | (0.170) | (0.259) | (0.085) | (0.225) | (0.220) |
| Constant | -0.41 | -24.38 | -92.00\* | -41.23\* | 18.01 | -39.48 |
|  | (20.924) | (25.287) | (29.628) | (24.348) | (20.803) | (24.490) |
| *N* | 333 | 333 | 318 | 318 | 333 | 333 |
| *% Predic. Correctly* | 72.1 | 80.5 | 89.6 | 83.6 | 79.6 | 79.6 |

Standard errors in parentheses; logistical regression; \* *p* < 0.05, one-tailed test.