

# **Who Are Black Lives Matter Activists? Niche Realization in a Multimovement Environment**

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**Online Appendix**

## Online Appendix A. Demographics and identities by participation in Black Lives Matter.

Variable	BLM Activists	Non-BLM Activists	Difference of Means	Probit Analysis on BLM = 1 / 0	Percent Imputed
	Mean (Std. Dev.)		T-Statistic	Coefficient (Std. Err.)	
<b>Independent variable</b>					
<i>Race/ethnicity is Black=1</i>	0.141 (0.342)	0.078 (0.262)	5.74 *	0.428 * (0.082)	4.36%
<i>Race/ethnicity is Latino/a=1</i>	0.095 (0.288)	0.056 (0.224)	4.22 *	0.338 * (0.101)	4.36%
<i>Race/ethnicity is Asian/Pacific Islander =1</i>	0.052 (0.216)	0.049 (0.211)	0.32	--0.017 (0.117)	4.36%
<i>Race/ethnicity is Other=1</i>	0.047 (0.209)	0.005 (0.181)	1.57	0.343 * (0.137)	4.36%
<i>Sex/gender is Female=1</i>	0.687 (0.450)	0.612 (0.476)	4.16 *	--0.000 (0.056)	5.34%
<i>Age in years</i>	39.084 (16.181)	44.303 (16.902)	8.07 *	--0.012 * (0.002)	6.78%
<i>Educational level</i> (1=Less than high school to 6=Graduate / professional)	4.625 (1.304)	4.525 (1.422)	1.85	0.037 (0.022)	4.66%
<i>Income</i> (thousands of dollars)	77.594 (74.705)	97.183 (90.870)	6.64 *	--0.001 * (0.000)	10.43%
<i>Distance traveled</i> (log of miles)	3.941 (2.132)	4.517 (1.927)	7.49 *	--0.043 * (0.013)	9.02%
<i>Ideology</i> (1=Far right to 9=Far left)	7.780 (1.378)	6.489 (2.294)	16.10 *	0.116 * (0.019)	8.87%
<i>Partisan identification folded</i> (0=Nonpartisan to 3=Strong partisan)	2.086 (1.005)	2.032 (1.020)	1.37	--0.073 * (0.027)	13.75%
<i>Member of organization=1</i>	0.604 (0.483)	0.434 (0.490)	8.97 *	0.337 * (0.057)	2.92%
<i>Activist identity</i> (1=Not part of identity to 4=Core to identity)	3.186 (0.846)	2.694 (0.942)	13.78 *	0.254 * (0.031)	4.11%
<i>Activist networks</i> (1=Knew few people to 3=Knew many people)	1.894 (0.711)	1.752 (0.218)	5.15 *	0.115 * (0.037)	5.92%
<i>Conservative event=1</i>				--1.009 * (0.159)	0.00%
<i>Months since January 2017</i>				0.012 * (0.004)	0.00%
<i>Constant</i>				--1.859 * (0.206)	
Sample Size	937	2,322		3,259	
Log likelihood				--1,623	
Likelihood ratio $\chi^2$				662.67 *	

Note: \*  $p \leq 0.05$ . Missing values were imputed using complete-case imputation. Standard errors were clustered by event when estimating significance levels.

## Online Appendix B. Differences in attitudes and political involvement among Washington, DC protesters.

Dependent variable	Intersectional Activism	Social media use	Democratic satisfaction Coefficient (Std. Err.)	Political violence	Anger
<b>Independent variable</b>					
<i>Black Lives Matter</i> =1	0.266 *	0.190 *	--0.290 *	0.409 *	0.152 *
	(0.085)	(0.053)	(0.047)	(0.054)	(0.050)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Black</i> =1	0.185	0.049	0.035	0.121	--0.080
	(0.146)	(0.075)	(0.067)	(0.078)	(0.072)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Latino/a</i> =1	0.242	0.041	0.084	0.123	--0.082
	(0.160)	(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.092)	(0.085)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Asian/Pacific Islander</i> =1	--0.178	--0.016	0.036	0.046	--0.090
	(0.148)	(0.097)	(0.089)	(0.106)	(0.093)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Other</i> =1	--0.194	--0.105	--0.198	0.237	--0.104
	(0.182)	(0.123)	(0.103)	(0.123)	(0.111)
<i>Sex/gender is Female</i> =1	0.313 *	0.055	0.013	--0.360 *	0.222 *
	(0.074)	(0.047)	(0.041)	(0.051)	(0.043)
<i>Age in years</i>	--0.007 *	--0.016 *	0.003 *	--0.014 *	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
<i>Educational level</i> (1=Less than high school to 6=Graduate / professional)	--0.015	0.006	0.007	0.011	--0.000
	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.017)
<i>Income</i> (thousands of dollars)	--0.000	0.000	0.001 *	--0.001 *	--0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.003)
<i>Distance traveled</i> (log of miles)	0.023	0.011	--0.025 *	--0.001	--0.006
	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.011)
<i>Ideology</i> (1=Far right to 9=Far left)	0.166 *	0.030 *	--0.087 *	0.084 *	0.081 *
	(0.028)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)
<i>Partisan identification folded</i> (0=Nonpartisan to 3=Strong partisan)	0.028	0.057 *	0.078 *	--0.015	0.034
	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.021)
<i>Member of organization</i> =1	0.074	0.221 *	--0.054	0.186 *	0.043
	(0.079)	(0.047)	(0.042)	(0.052)	(0.045)
<i>Activist identity</i> (1=Not part of identity to 4=Core to identity)	0.191 *	0.127 *	--0.089 *	0.127 *	0.133 *
	(0.041)	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.024)
<i>Activist networks</i> (1=Knew few people to 3=Knew many people)	--0.070 *	0.026	0.028	--0.018	--0.043
	(0.048)	(0.028)	(0.025)	(0.032)	(0.028)
<i>Conservative event</i> =1	--0.197	0.245 *	0.437 *	-0.287 *	--0.358 *
	(0.174)	(0.086)	(0.076)	(0.106)	(0.082)
<i>Months since January 2017</i>	--0.020	--0.001	--0.015 *	0.001	0.001
	(0.013)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Mean of the dependent variable	4.342	4.463	2.219	1.397	3.962
Std. dev. of the dependent variable	(0.928)	(2.906)	(2.210)	(1.400)	(3.971)
Sample Size	1,246	2,963	3,479	3,375	2,957
Log likelihood	--1,205	--4,627	--3,852	--2,534	--3,686
Likelihood ratio $\chi^2$ (df=17)	247.69 *	251.59 *	529.12 *	483.37 *	399.67 *

Note: \*  $p \leq 0.05$ . Coefficients were generated using an Ordered Probit estimator. Missing values of the independent variables were estimated using complete-case imputation.

### Online Appendix C. Analysis of geographic cleavages at the March for Racial Justice.

Dependent variable	Intersectional Activism	Social media use	Democratic satisfaction Coefficient (Std. Err.)	Political violence	Anger
<b>Independent variable</b>					
<i>Washington, DC=1, 0 otherwise</i>	N/A &	0.093 (0.117)	0.252 * (0.115)	--0.217 (0.125)	--0.048 (0.124)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Black=1</i>		--0.465 * (0.159)	0.022 (0.164)	0.694 * (0.165)	--0.131 (0.168)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Latino/a=1</i>		--0.188 (0.201)	--0.087 (0.196)	0.108 (0.260)	--0.262 (0.259)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Asian/Pacific Islander =1</i>		--0.197 (0.218)	--0.044 (0.192)	0.614 * (0.210)	--0.156 (0.220)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Other=1</i>		--0.369 (0.189)	--0.319 (0.200)	0.011 (0.235)	0.445 (0.246)
<i>Sex/gender is Female=1</i>		0.032 (0.117)	0.186 (0.118)	--0.174 (0.124)	0.237 (0.124)
<i>Age in years</i>		--0.007 (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	--0.010 * (0.005)	--0.000 (0.005)
<i>Educational level (1=Less than high school to 6=Graduate / professional)</i>		0.015 (0.048)	0.041 (0.048)	--0.063 (0.050)	0.018 (0.055)
<i>Income (thousands of dollars)</i>		--0.001 (0.001)	--0.001 (0.001)	--0.001 (0.001)	--0.000 (0.001)
<i>Distance traveled (log of miles)</i>		0.008 (0.035)	--0.028 (0.035)	0.007 (0.034)	--0.035 (0.036)
<i>Ideology (1=Far right to 9=Far left)</i>		0.059 (0.058)	--0.291 * (0.062)	0.256 * (0.071)	0.180 * (0.054)
<i>Partisan identification folded (0=Nonpartisan to 3=Strong partisan)</i>		--0.015 (0.058)	0.164 * (0.058)	--0.067 (0.056)	0.102 (0.059)
<i>Member of organization=1</i>		0.085 (0.116)	0.114 (0.112)	0.156 (0.130)	--0.126 (0.123)
<i>Activist identity (1=Not part of identity to 4=Core to identity)</i>		0.164 * (0.078)	--0.140 (0.079)	0.117 (0.085)	0.220 * (0.088)
<i>Activist networks (1=Knew few people to 3=Knew many people)</i>		0.013 (0.085)	--0.100 (0.081)	0.176 * (0.089)	0.131 (0.088)
Mean of the dependent variable		4.891	1.991	1.765	4.254
Std. dev. of the dependent variable		(2.677)	(0.750)	(1.042)	(0.873)
Sample Size		460	458	442	412
F Statistic		2.32 *	3.95 *	4.43 *	3.69 *
F degrees of freedom		15, 441	15, 439	15, 423	15, 393

Note: \* p ≤ 0.05. & Data on intersectional activism were not available for the MFRJ. Coefficients were generated using an Ordered Probit estimator. Missing values of the independent variables were estimated using complete-case imputation.

## Online Appendix D. Analysis of allies versus core activists in Black Lives Matter.

<b>Dependent variable</b>	<i>Intersectional Activism</i>	<i>Social media use</i>	<i>Democratic satisfaction</i> Coefficient (Std. Err.)	<i>Political violence</i>	<i>Anger</i>
<b>Independent variable</b>					
<i>BLM ally</i> =1, core activist=0	--0.473 (0.243)	--0.085 (0.115)	--0.073 (0.103)	0.036 (0.118)	0.129 (0.118)
<i>Sex/gender is Female</i> =1	0.221 (0.153)	--0.012 (0.087)	0.193 * (0.087)	--0.416 * (0.091)	0.194 * (0.087)
<i>Age in years</i>	--0.006 (0.004)	--0.014 * (0.003)	0.006 * (0.003)	--0.021 * (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
<i>Educational level</i> (1=Less than high school to 6=Graduate / professional)	--0.170 (0.055)	0.016 (0.033)	--0.030 (0.033)	--0.009 (0.035)	--0.029 (0.036)
<i>Income</i> (thousands of dollars)	--0.000 (0.001)	--0.000 (0.001)	0.001 * (0.001)	--0.001 (0.001)	--0.000 (0.001)
<i>Distance traveled</i> (log of miles)	--0.005 (0.034)	0.004 (0.020)	--0.035 (0.019)	0.006 (0.020)	0.034 (0.019)
<i>Ideology</i> (1=Far right to 9=Far left)	0.210 * (0.063)	0.052 (0.030)	--0.113 * (0.034)	0.128 * (0.036)	0.104 * (0.034)
<i>Partisan identification folded</i> (0=Nonpartisan to 3=Strong partisan)	0.076 (0.064)	0.060 (0.042)	0.142 * (0.040)	--0.080 * (0.040)	0.095 * (0.042)
<i>Member of organization</i> =1	0.154 (0.149)	0.126 (0.092)	--0.057 (0.086)	0.205 * (0.089)	0.052 (0.091)
<i>Activist identity</i> (1=Not part of identity to 4=Core to identity)	0.190 * (0.087)	0.107 * (0.051)	--0.162 * (0.053)	0.095 (0.052)	0.157 * (0.051)
<i>Activist networks</i> (1=Knew few people to 3=Knew many people)	--0.080 (0.104)	0.057 (0.056)	--0.066 (0.055)	0.031 (0.058)	0.005 (0.057)
<i>Months since January 2017</i>	--0.052 * (0.024)	--0.007 (0.006)	--0.020 * (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)
Mean of the dependent variable	4.461	5.159	1.928	1.733	4.199
Std. dev. of the dependent variable	(0.735)	(2.591)	(0.763)	(1.027)	(0.899)
Sample Size	393	912	912	891	813
F Statistic	3.12 *	4.40 *	6.34 *	7.94 *	4.63 *
F degrees of freedom	12, 373	12, 884	12, 884	12, 863	12, 785

*Note:* \* p ≤ 0.05. Coefficients were generated using an Ordered Probit estimator. Missing values of the independent variables were estimated using complete-case imputation.

## Online Appendix E. Analysis of cleavages based on activists' backgrounds.

<b>Dependent variable</b>	<i>Intersectional Activism</i>	<i>Social media use</i>	<i>Democratic satisfaction</i> Coefficient (Std. Err.)	<i>Political violence</i>	<i>Anger</i>
<b>Independent variable</b>					
<i>BLM, Civil Rights, or other Black Identity activism as first activism=1, 0 otherwise</i>	0.101 (0.215)	--0.085 (0.117)	--0.167 (0.108)	--0.133 (0.127)	--0.020 (0.108)
<i>Race/ethnicity is Black=1</i>	0.441 (0.244)	0.099 (0.115)	0.099 (0.102)	--0.015 (0.119)	--0.126 (0.119)
<i>Sex/gender is Female=1</i>	0.219 (0.153)	0.013 (0.087)	0.195 * (0.087)	--0.413 * (0.090)	0.195 * (0.087)
<i>Age in years</i>	--0.006 (0.004)	--0.014 * (0.003)	0.006 * (0.003)	--0.021 * (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
<i>Educational level</i> (1=Less than high school to 6=Graduate / professional)	--0.017 (0.055)	0.016 (0.034)	--0.030 (0.033)	--0.009 (0.036)	--0.029 (0.036)
<i>Income</i> (thousands of dollars)	--0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 * (0.001)	--0.001 (0.001)	--0.000 (0.001)
<i>Distance traveled</i> (log of miles)	--0.007 (0.034)	0.004 (0.020)	--0.034 (0.019)	0.006 (0.020)	0.034 (0.019)
<i>Ideology</i> (1=Far right to 9=Far left)	0.210 * (0.063)	0.050 (0.031)	--0.116 * (0.034)	0.127 * (0.036)	0.104 * (0.034)
<i>Partisan identification folded</i> (0=Nonpartisan to 3=Strong partisan)	0.075 (0.064)	0.059 (0.042)	0.142 * (0.040)	--0.080 * (0.040)	0.095 * (0.042)
<i>Member of organization=1</i>	0.160 (0.151)	0.123 (0.092)	--0.065 (0.086)	0.198 * (0.089)	0.051 (0.090)
<i>Activist identity</i> (1=Not part of identity to 4=Core to identity)	0.189 * (0.087)	0.107 * (0.051)	--0.162 * (0.053)	0.948 (0.052)	0.157 * (0.051)
<i>Activist networks</i> (1=Knew few people to 3=Knew many people)	--0.079 (0.104)	0.058 (0.056)	--0.067 (0.055)	0.030 (0.058)	0.005 (0.057)
<i>Months since January 2017</i>	--0.052 * (0.024)	--0.006 (0.006)	--0.020 * (0.006)	0.010 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)
Mean of the dependent variable	4.461	5.159	1.928	1.733	4.199
Std. dev. of the dependent variable	(0.735)	(2.591)	(0.763)	(1.027)	(0.899)
Sample Size	393	912	912	891	813
F Statistic	2.86 *	4.13 *	5.96 *	7.34 *	4.26 *
F degrees of freedom	13, 372	13, 883	13, 883	13, 862	13, 784

Note: \*  $p \leq 0.05$ . Coefficients were generated using an Ordered Probit estimator. Missing values of the independent variables were estimated using complete-case imputation.