

Appendix to Group Consciousness, Organizational Membership and Dis- trict Choice: Evidence from the Afro- Colombian Reserved Seats

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Additional Tables

Turnout in Districts for Reserved Seats

Data from Belgium was gathered from the Federal Public Services Home Affairs and population data from StatBel and CEIC. Data from Bolivia was collected from the Organo Electoral Plurinacional and census data. Data from Colombia was gathered from the Consejo Nacional Electoral, the Misión de Observación Electoral report and interpolated with census data. Data from Croatia was extracted from the Državno Izborni Povjerenstvo and population data from The Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography website. Data from Niger was collected from the Cour Constitutionnelle and population data from the Institut National de la Statistique. Data from Serbia was gathered from the Republic Electoral Commission and the Serbian Radio Television. Data from Slovenia was collected from the Državna Volilna Komisija (State Election Commission) and population data from Eurydice according to the 2002 census. Data from Venezuela was extracted from the Consejo Nacional Electoral and population data from the 2011 census.

Table A1: Turnout in Districts for Reserved Seats

Country	Election	Population for Reserved Seats	Minority Population (%)	Turnout Reserved seats
Belgium	2014	Valonia (Francophones)	0.320	0.876
Belgium	2014	Flemish	0.574	0.892
Belgium	2019	Valonia (Francophones)	0.318	0.863
Belgium	2019	Flemish	0.576	0.897
Bolivia	2019	Indigenous	0.418	0.488
Bolivia	2020	Indigenous	0.418	0.535
Colombia	2014	Indigenous	0.034	0.009
Colombia	2014	Indigenous	0.034	0.139
Colombia	2014	Afro-descendents	0.108	0.083
Colombia	2018	Indigenous	0.044	0.014
Colombia	2018	Indigenous	0.044	0.487
Colombia	2018	Afro-descendents	0.093	0.185
Colombia	2022	Indigenous	0.044	0.010
Colombia	2022	Indigenous	0.044	0.188
Colombia	2022	Afro-descendents	0.093	0.165
Croatia	2016	National Minorities	0.020	0.181
Croatia	2016	Other European Minorities	0.005	0.259
Croatia	2016	Czech Republic and Eslovenia	0.004	0.235
Croatia	2016	Italy	0.004	0.204
Croatia	2016	Hungary	0.003	0.522
Croatia	2016	Serbia	0.032	0.141
Croatia	2020	National Minoriteis	0.020	0.999
Croatia	2020	Other European Minorities	0.005	1.000
Croatia	2020	Czech Republic and Eslovenia	0.004	1.000
Croatia	2020	Italy	0.004	0.999
Croatia	2020	Hungary	0.003	1.000
Croatia	2020	Serbia	0.032	0.999
New Zealand	2017	Maori	0.155	0.667
New Zealand	2020	Maori	0.174	0.691
Niger	2016	Bilma	0.001	0.723
Niger	2016	Bermo	0.003	0.589
Niger	2016	Banibangou	0.004	0.602
Niger	2016	BankilarÃ©	0.005	0.567
Niger	2016	N'Gourti	0.003	0.789
Niger	2016	Tassara	0.001	0.663
Niger	2016	Tesker	0.002	0.536
Niger	2016	Makalondi	0.004	0.707
Niger	2020	Bilma	0.001	0.640
Niger	2020	Bermo	0.003	0.917
Niger	2020	Banibangou	0.004	0.639
Niger	2020	BankilarÃ©	0.005	0.590
Niger	2020	N'Gourti	0.003	0.752
Niger	2020	Tassara	0.001	0.982
Niger	2020	Tesker	0.002	0.796
Niger	2020	Makalondi	0.004	0.577
Serbia	2016	Ethnic Minority Parties		0.028
Serbia	2022	Ethnic Minority Parties		0.025
Slovenia	2014	Italy	0.001	0.310
Slovenia	2014	Hungary	0.003	0.390
Slovenia	2022	Italy	0.001	0.699
Slovenia	2022	Hungary	0.003	0.653

Descriptive Statistics

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	1,200	32.16	10.72	18	100
Married	1,200	0.22	0.41	0	1
Finished high school	1,195	0.97	0.16	0.00	1.00
Female	1,200	0.58	0.49	0	1
Income	1,137	5.93	2.58	1.00	11.00
Member Community Council	1,200	0.56	0.50	0	1
Member Ethnic Organization	1,200	0.48	0.50	0	1
Historical Discrimination	1,170	0.63	0.48	0.00	1.00
Black people treated worse than Whites	1,168	0.60	0.49	0.00	1.00
Suffered racial discrimination	1,171	0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00
Linked Fate measure	1,088	0.57	0.50	0.00	1.00
Self-Identification is important	1,200	0.51	0.50	0	1
Bad District Reps	1,083	0.21	0.41	0.00	1.00
Trust Ethnic Orgs	1,181	4.46	2.79	1.00	10.00
Trust Ethnic Reps	1,159	5.90	2.66	1.00	10.00

Table A3: OLS Results

	Voted in Ethnic District (2018)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Historical Discrimination (Polar power)	0.027 (0.033)					
Linked Fate (Group Identification)		0.096*** (0.032)				
Afro treated Worse (Individual vs System)			0.045 (0.032)			
Ethnic Organization				0.229*** (0.031)		
Community council					0.168*** (0.031)	
Self identification						0.064** (0.030)
Age	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)
Female	0.020 (0.032)	0.021 (0.033)	0.027 (0.032)	0.049 (0.031)	0.044 (0.031)	0.018 (0.032)
Finished high school	0.069 (0.094)	0.072 (0.090)	0.049 (0.096)	0.091 (0.089)	0.089 (0.085)	0.090 (0.086)
Married	0.213*** (0.039)	0.212*** (0.040)	0.205*** (0.039)	0.172*** (0.038)	0.186*** (0.039)	0.209*** (0.039)
Income	0.021*** (0.006)	0.025*** (0.006)	0.021*** (0.006)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.021*** (0.006)	0.020*** (0.006)
Dept. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. Obs	1023	969	1022	1048	1048	1048
R Squared	0.06	0.081	0.062	0.109	0.086	0.064

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: The present table illustrates the results of an OLS regression explaining the correlation between voting in the Black District in 2018 and each of our measures of discrimination and group consciousness. The controls include age, gender, having no education, being married, and a respondent's income. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis. ⁺p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

Table A4: Estimates for the subgroup differences for the Group Consciousness variables

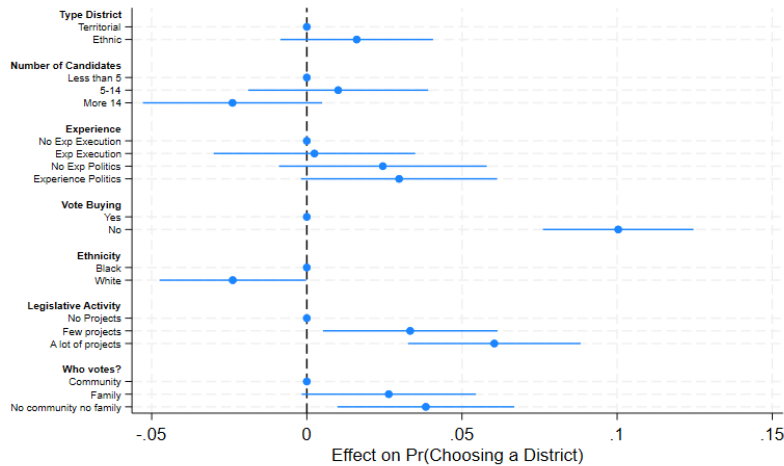
	CAMCE difference	MM difference Chose Afro	MM difference Chose territorial
Historical Discrimination (Polar Power)	0.1234*** (0.028)	0.049*** (0.017)	-0.0497*** (0.0176)
Linked Fate (Group Identification)	0.1211*** (0.027)	0.052*** (0.017)	-0.0537*** (0.0177)
Afro Colombians treated worst (Individual vs System)	0.085*** (0.028)	0.037*** (0.017)	-0.0379*** 0.0173
Member Ethnic Organisations	0.0146 (0.0279)	0.0025 (0.0166)	-0.0029 (0.0168)
Members Community Councils	0.0120 (0.0280)	-0.0044 (0.0167)	0.0046 (0.0169)

Note: The present table illustrates the results of difference in means tests for both the CAMCEs and the Marginal means of the ethnic district attribute in the conjoint analysis. Standard errors are in parenthesis. $^+p < 0.10$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Additional Graphs

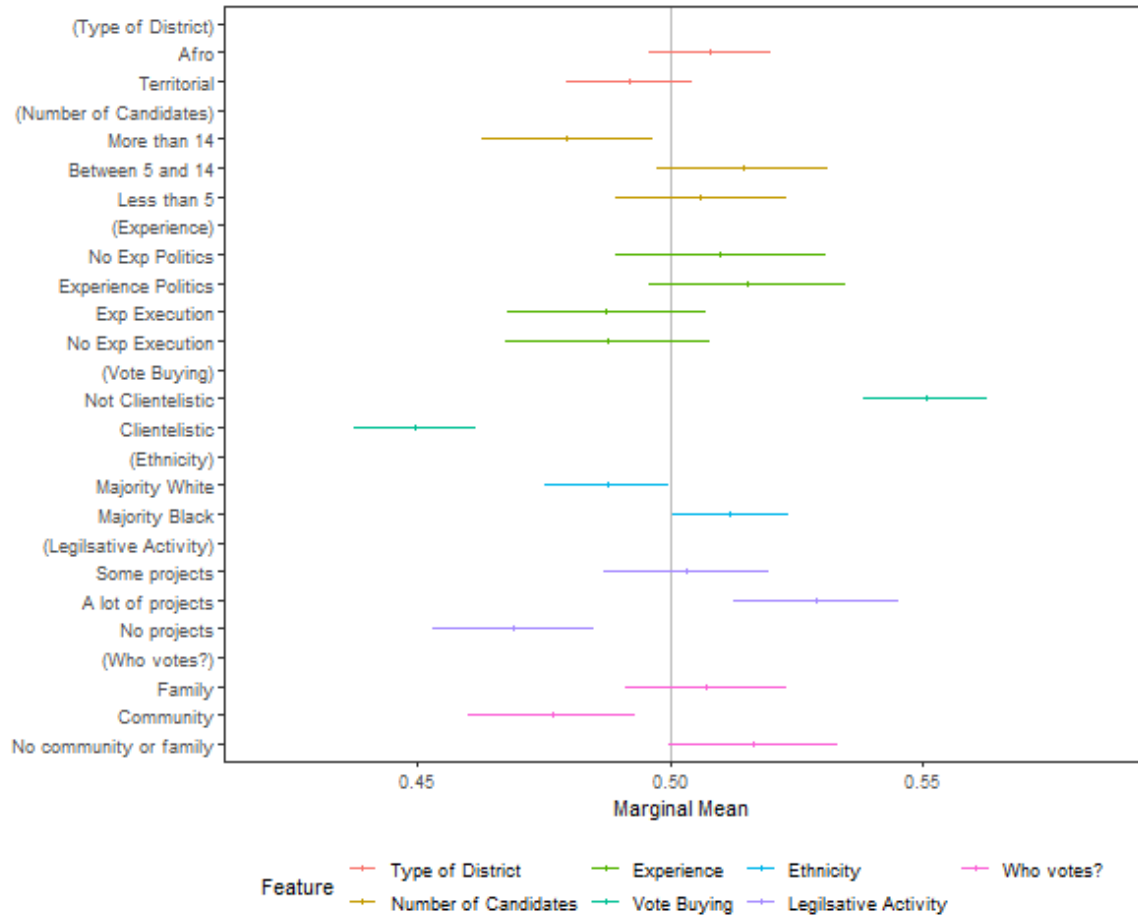
Overall Conjoint Results

Figure A1: Overall Conjoint Results



Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

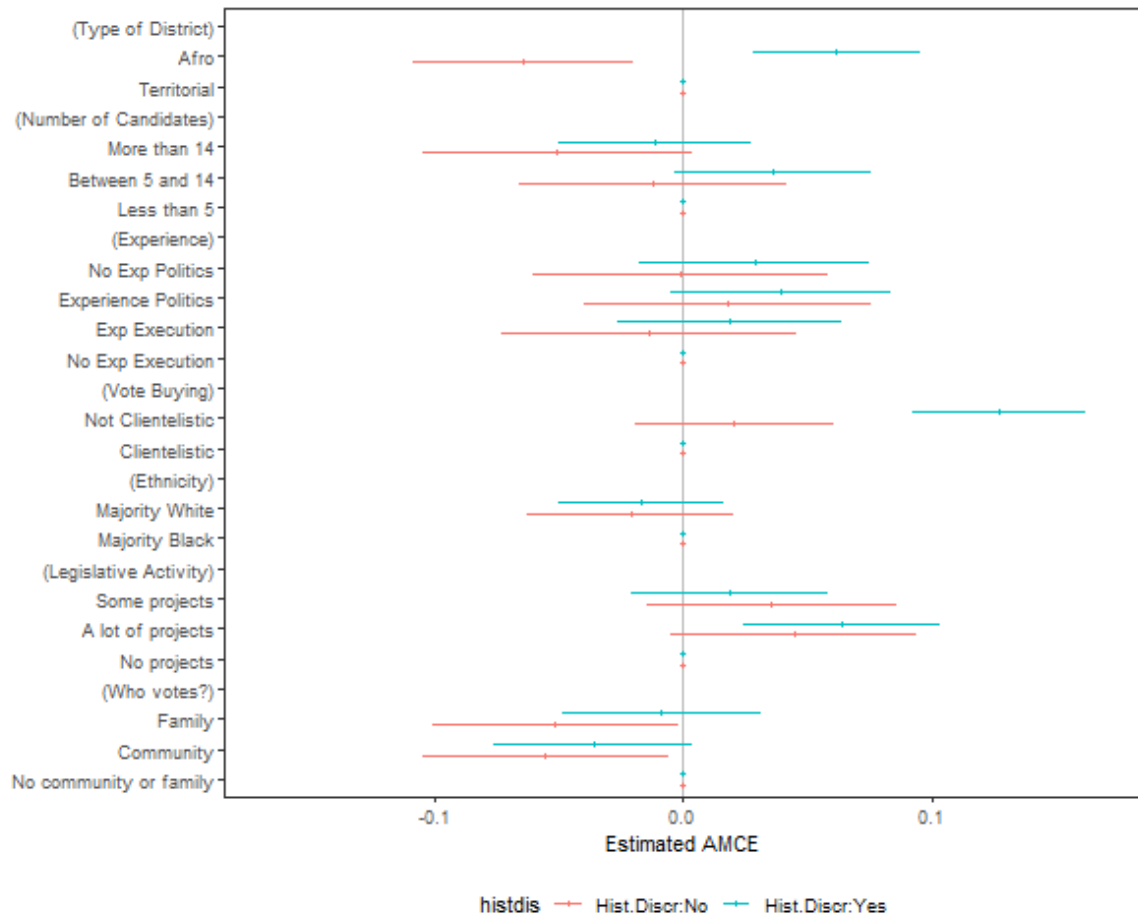
Figure A2: Marginal Means for Main Analysis



Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

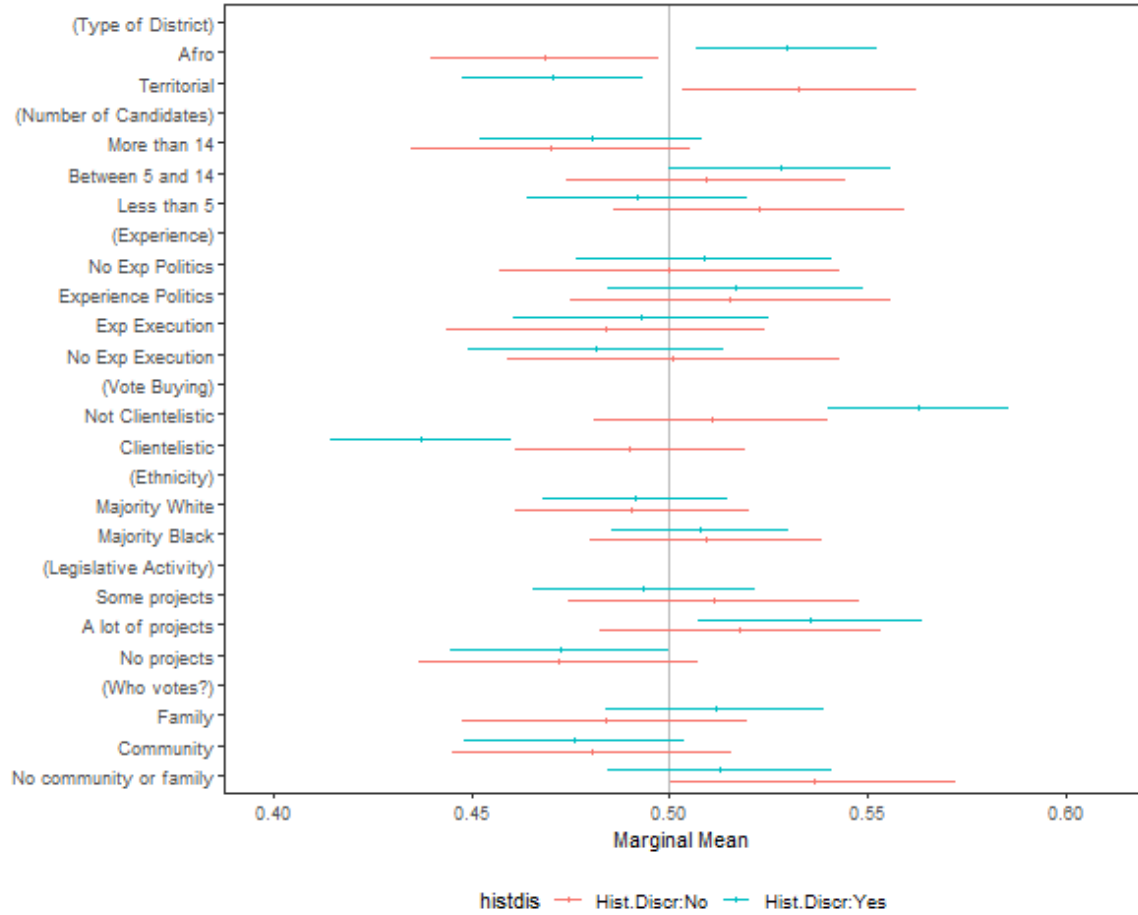
Results for the full set of Conjoint attributes

Figure A3: Conjoint Results for Historical Discrimination (Polar Power)



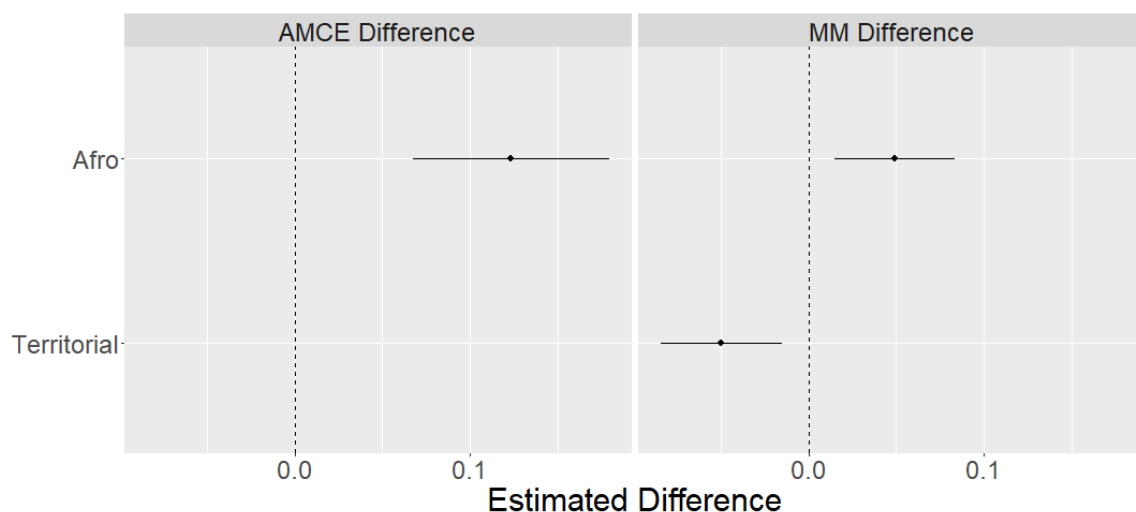
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects for respondents who believe there has been a historical discrimination against Afrocolombians and those who did not. Historical discrimination was coded as one if a respondent answered that they agreed or agreed a lot with the fact that centuries of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make harder for Afrocolombians to get a job that allow them exit poverty. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A4: Marginal Means by Historical Discrimination (Polar Power)



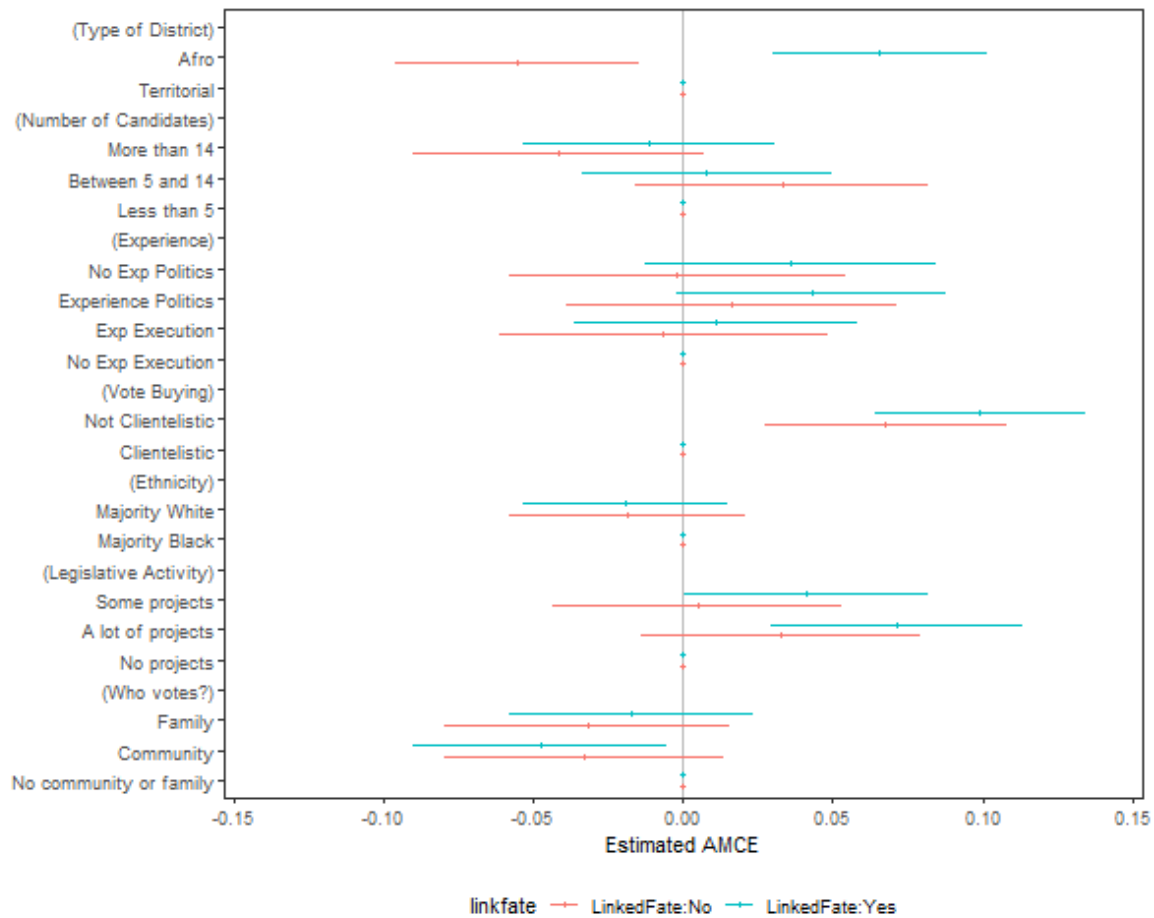
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component for respondents who believe there has been a historical discrimination against Afrocolombians and those who did not. Historical discrimination was coded as one if a respondent answered that they agreed or agreed a lot with the fact that centuries of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make harder for Afrocolombians to get a job that allow them exit poverty. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A5: Differences between AMCEs and MMs for Historical Discrimination (Polar Power)



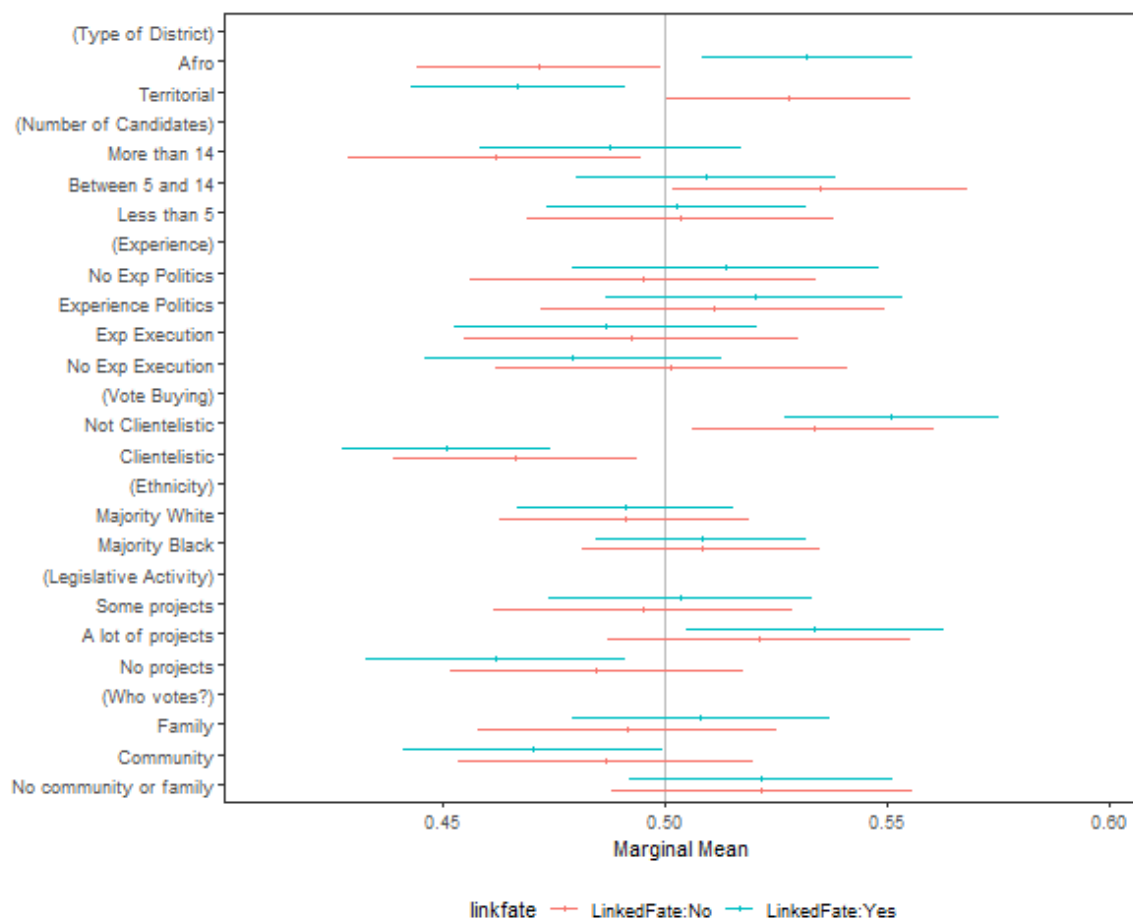
Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences for respondents who believe there has been a historical discrimination against Afrocolombians and those who did not. Historical discrimination was coded as one if a respondent answered that they agreed or agreed a lot with the fact that centuries of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make harder for Afrocolombians to get a job that allow them exit poverty. The solid grey lines marks a difference of zero which means the no differences across groups. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A6: Conjoint Results for Linked Fate (Group Identification)



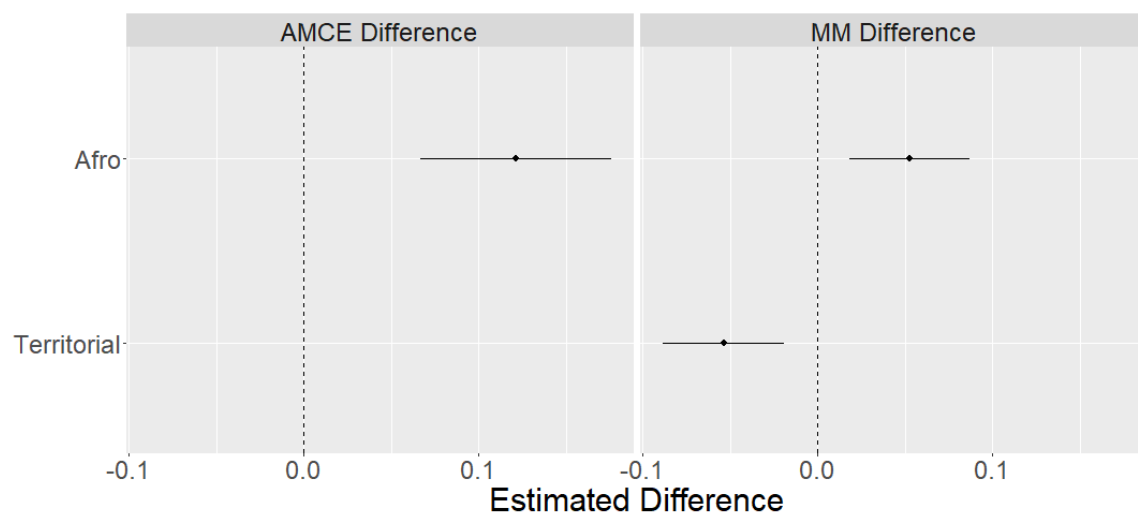
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects by respondents' belief in linked fate. Linked fate was coded as 1 if respondents agreed that their lives are affected by what generally happens to other Afrocolombians. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A7: Marginal Means by Linked Fate (Group Identification)



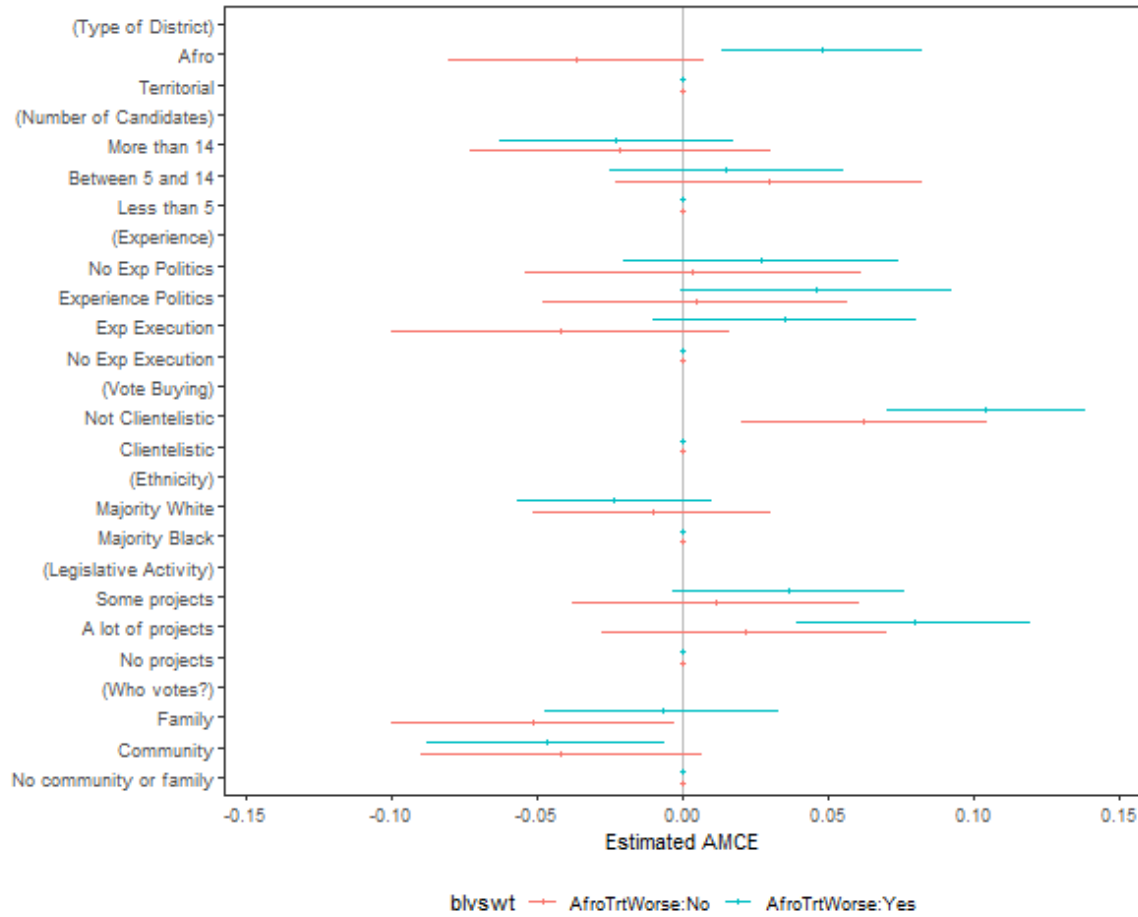
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component by respondents' belief in linked fate. Linked fate was coded as 1 if respondents agreed that their lives are affected by what generally happens to other Afrocolombians. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A8: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by Linked Fate (Group Identification)



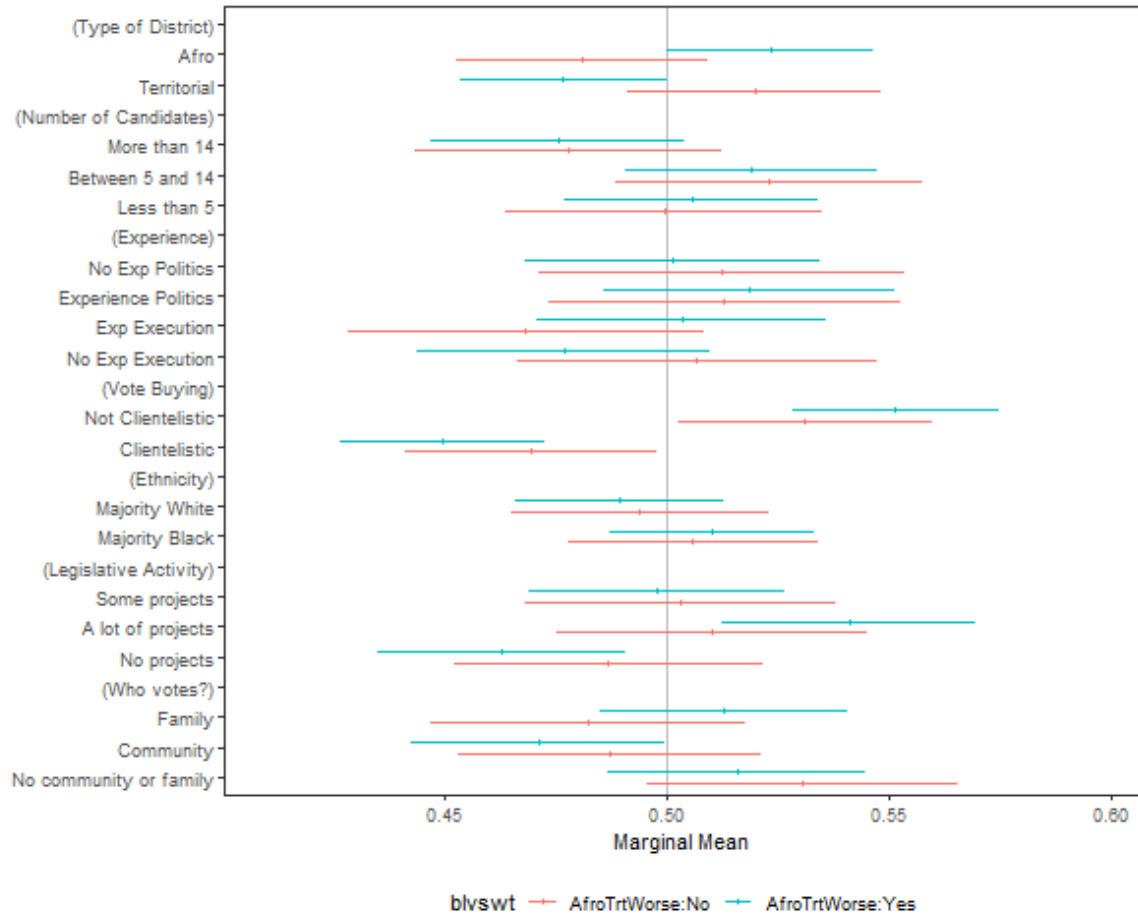
Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences by respondents' belief in linked fate. Linked fate was coded as 1 if respondents agreed that their lives are affected by what generally happens to other Afrocolombians. The solid grey lines marks a difference of zero which means the no differences across groups. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A9: Conjoint Results by beliefs that Afrocolombians being treated worse than whites (Individual vs System)



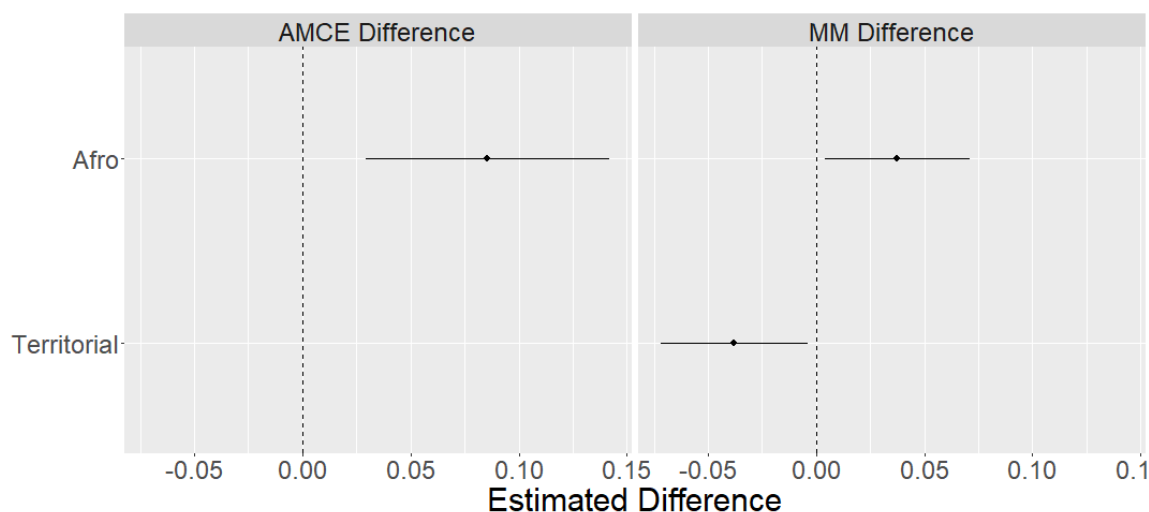
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects for respondents who believe Afrocolombians are treated worse than whites and those who did not. We asked respondents to answer how much they would agree that in Colombia black individuals are treated worse than white people. We coded all those who "agreed" or "agreed a lot" as 1 and the rest as 0 for the present sub group analysis. The solid gray line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A10: Marginal Means by beliefs that Afrocolombians being treated worse than whites (Individual vs System)



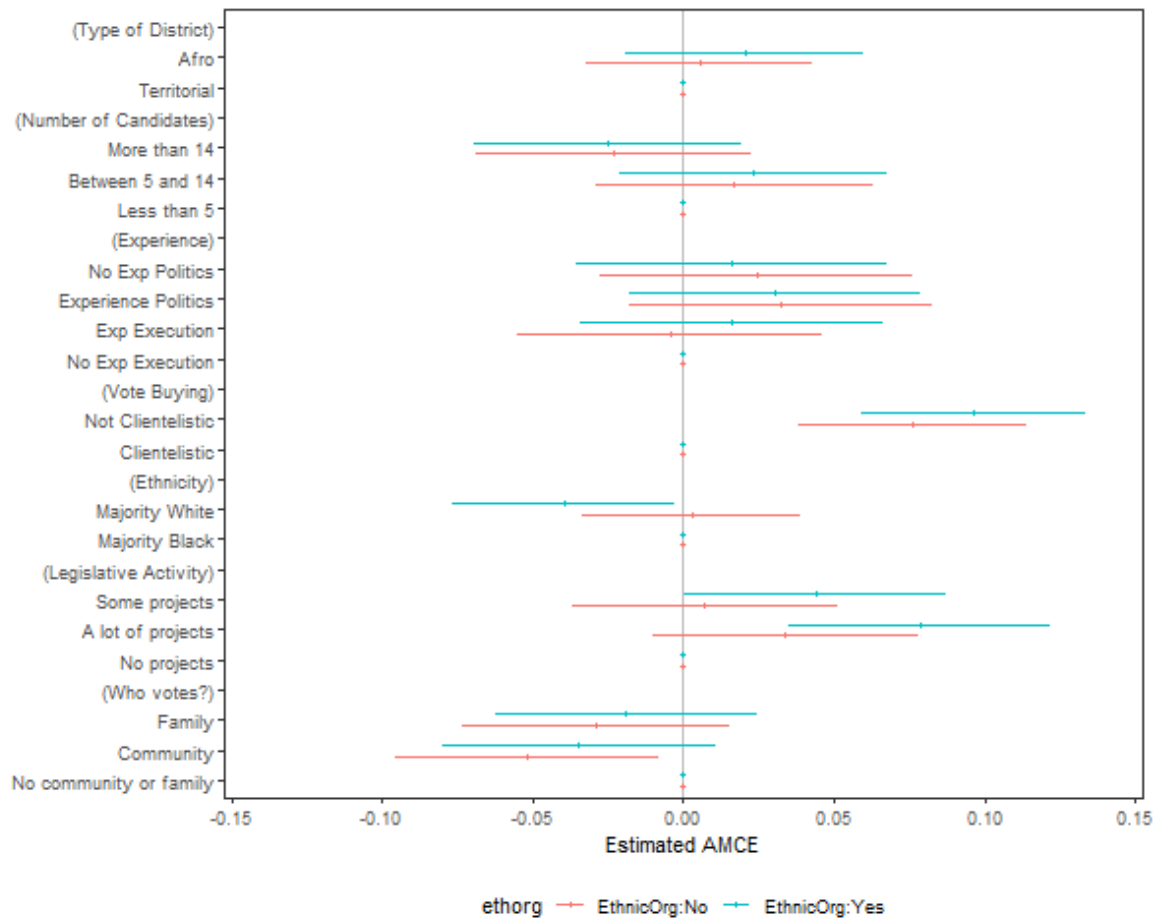
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component by respondents' belief that Afrocolombians are treated worse than whites. We asked respondents to answer how much they would agree that in Colombia black individuals are treated worse than white people. We coded all those who "agreed" or "agreed a lot" as 1 and the rest as 0 for the present sub group analysis. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A11: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by beliefs that Afrocolombians being treated worse than whites (Individual vs System)



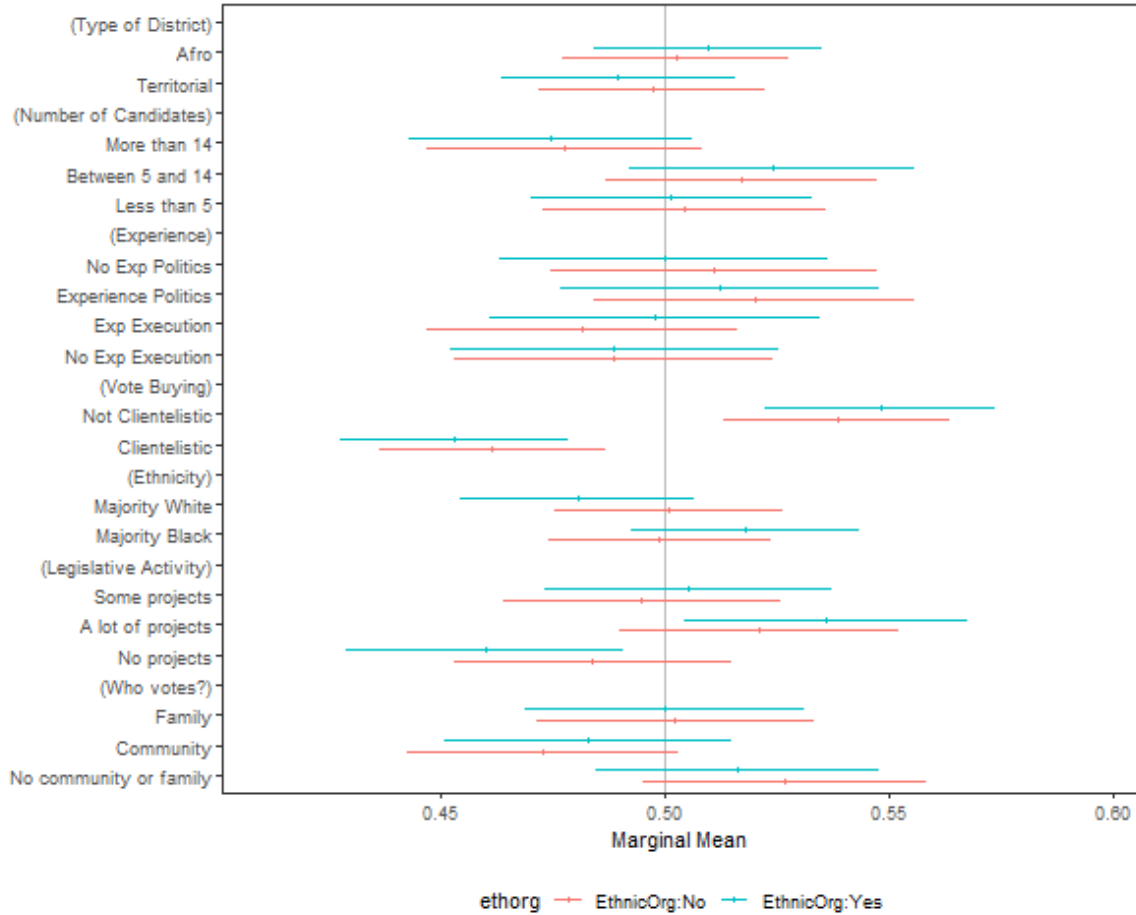
Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences by respondents' belief that Afrocolombians are treated worse than whites. We asked respondents to answer how much they would agree that in Colombia black individuals are treated worse than white people. We coded all those who "agreed" or "agreed a lot" as 1 and the rest as 0 for the present sub group analysis. The Right panel presents the differences between the AMCEs for each subgroup and the left panel the difference between marginal means. The solid grey lines marks a difference of zero which means the no differences across groups. Lines around the estimates are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A12: Conjoint Results for Membership of an Ethnic Organization



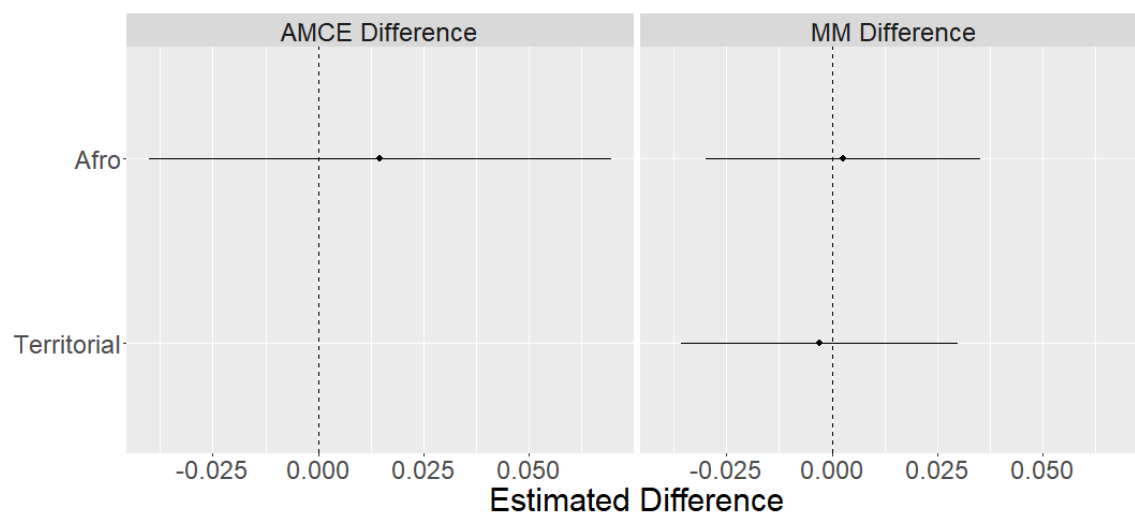
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects for respondents who belong to an ethnic organization and those who did not. Belonging to an ethnic organization was coded as 1 if the respondent attended a meeting at least once or twice a year. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A13: Marginal Means by membership to Ethnic Organizations



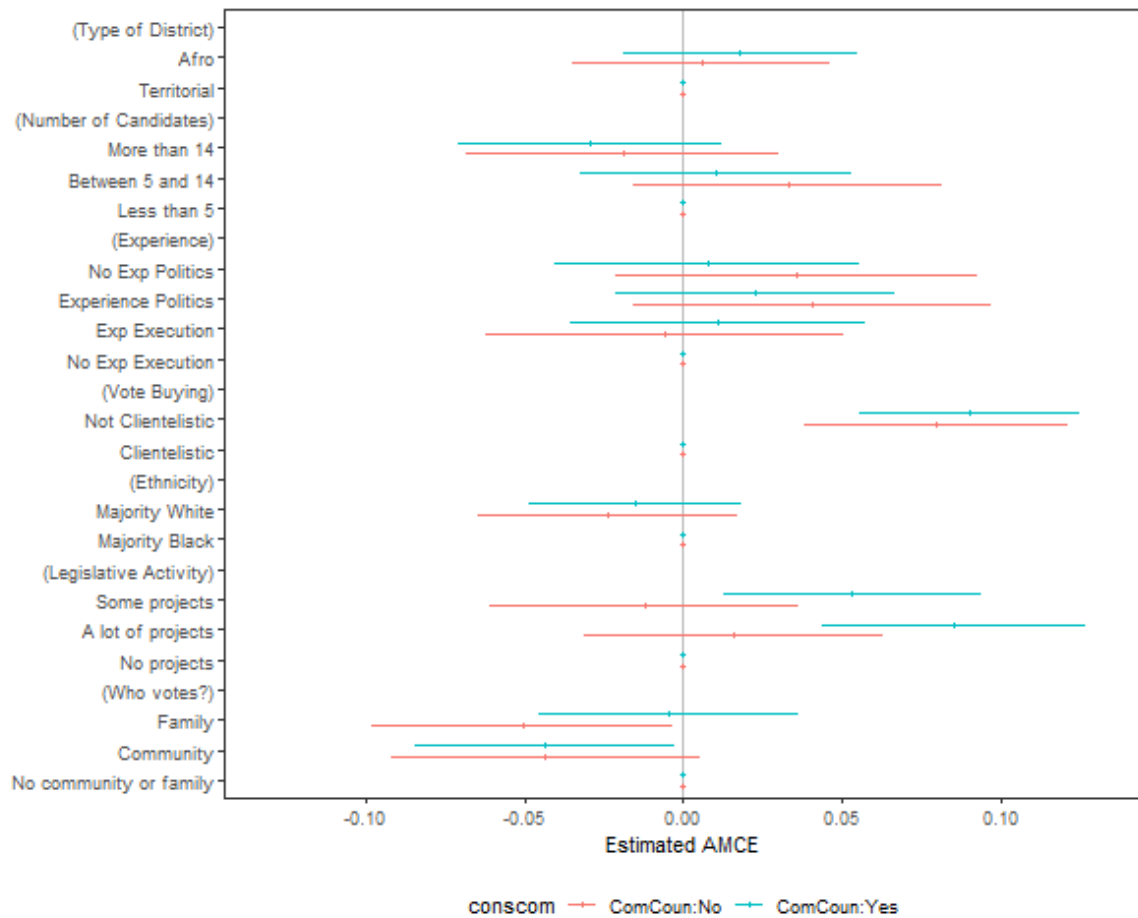
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component by respondents who belong to an ethnic organization and those who did not. Belonging to an ethnic organization was coded as 1 if the respondent attended a meeting at least once or twice a year. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A14: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by Membership to an Ethnic Organization



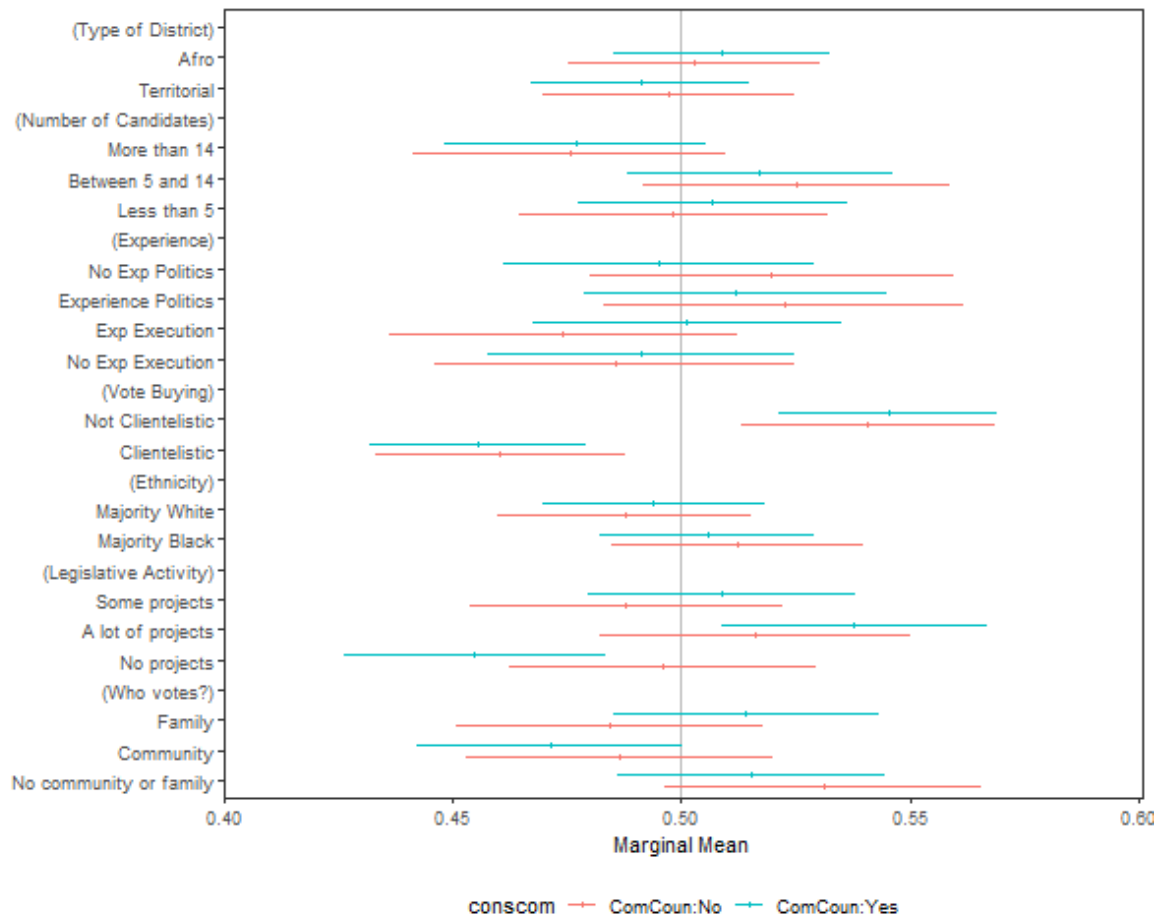
Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences for respondents who belong to an ethnic organization and those who did not. Belonging to an ethnic organization was coded as 1 if the respondent attended a meeting at least once or twice a year. The Right panel presents the differences between the AMCEs for each subgroup and the left panel the difference between marginal means. Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A15: Conjoint Results for Membership of a Community Council



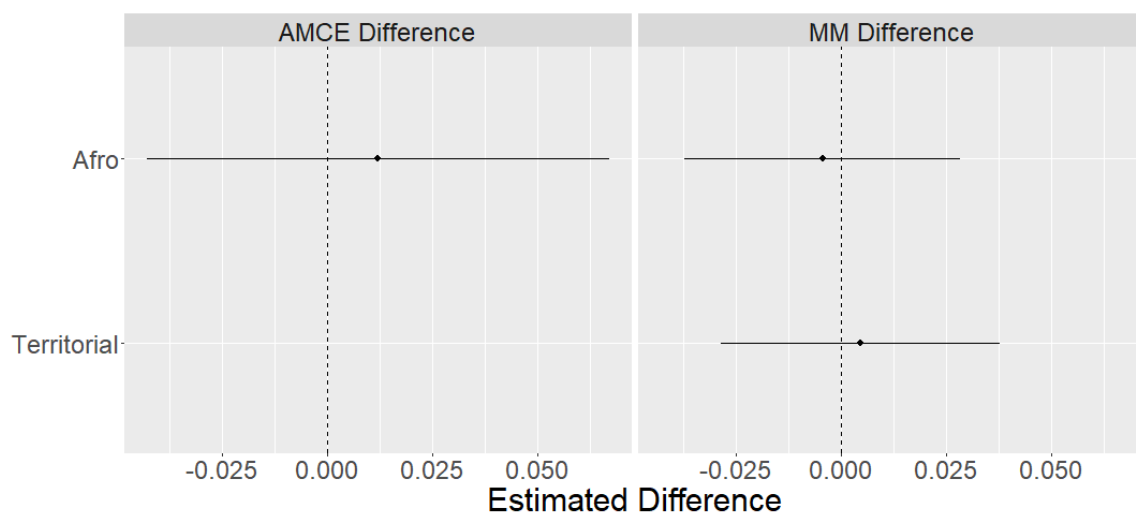
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects for respondents who belong to a community council and those who did not. Belonging to a community council was coded as 1 if the respondent attended a meeting at least once or twice a year. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A16: Marginal Means by membership to a Community Council



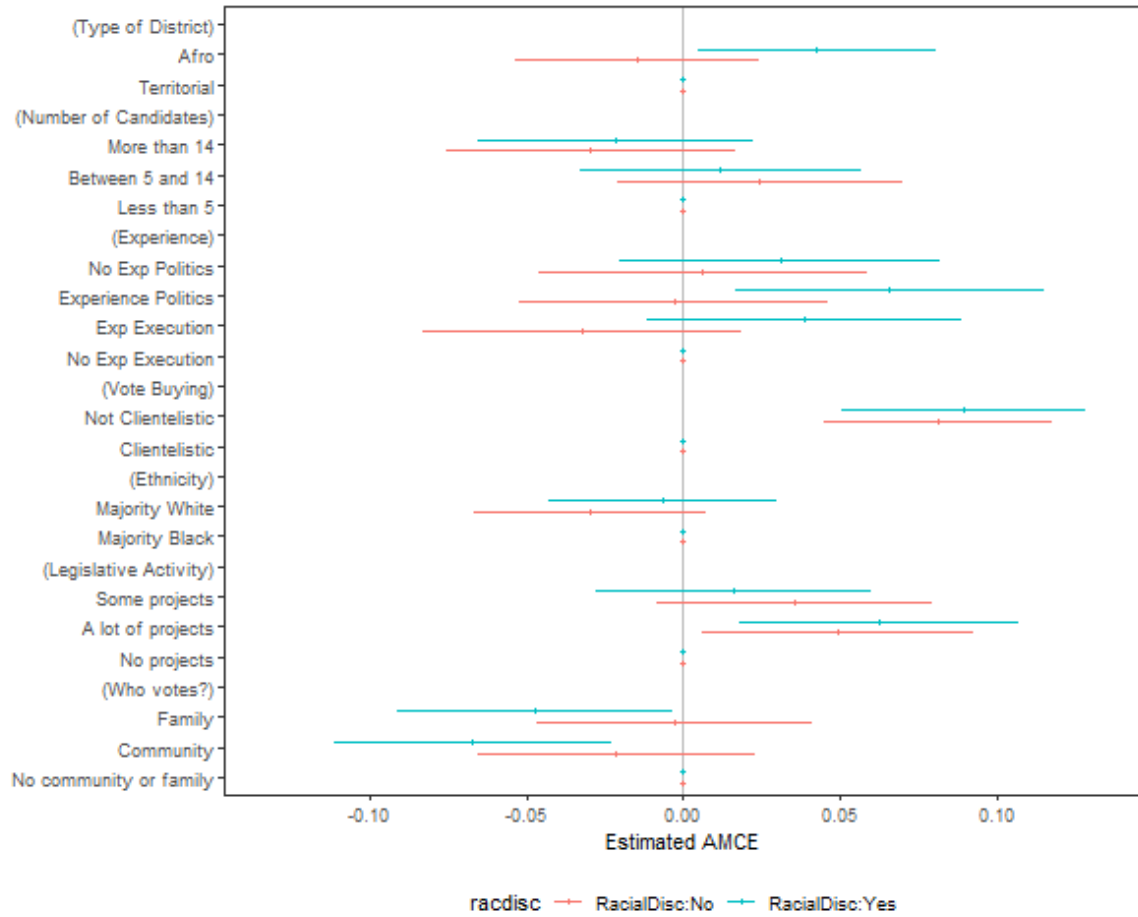
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component by respondents who belong to a community council and those who did not. Belonging to a community council was coded as 1 if the respondent attended a meeting at least once or twice a year. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A17: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by Membership to a Community Council



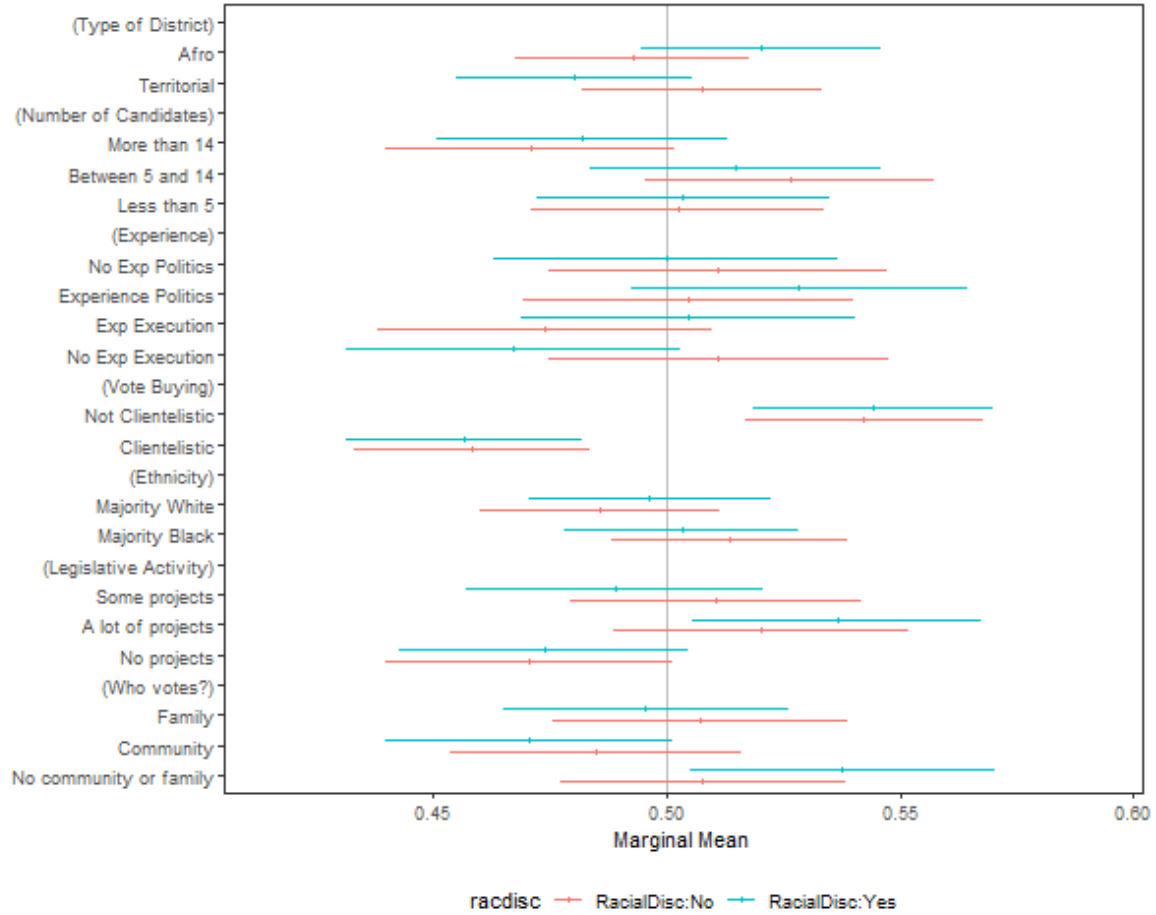
Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences for respondents who belong to a community council and those who did not. Belonging to a community council was coded as 1 if the respondent attended a meeting at least once or twice a year. The Right panel presents the differences between the AMCEs for each subgroup and the left panel the difference between marginal means. Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A18: Conjoint Results by experiences of Racial Discrimination



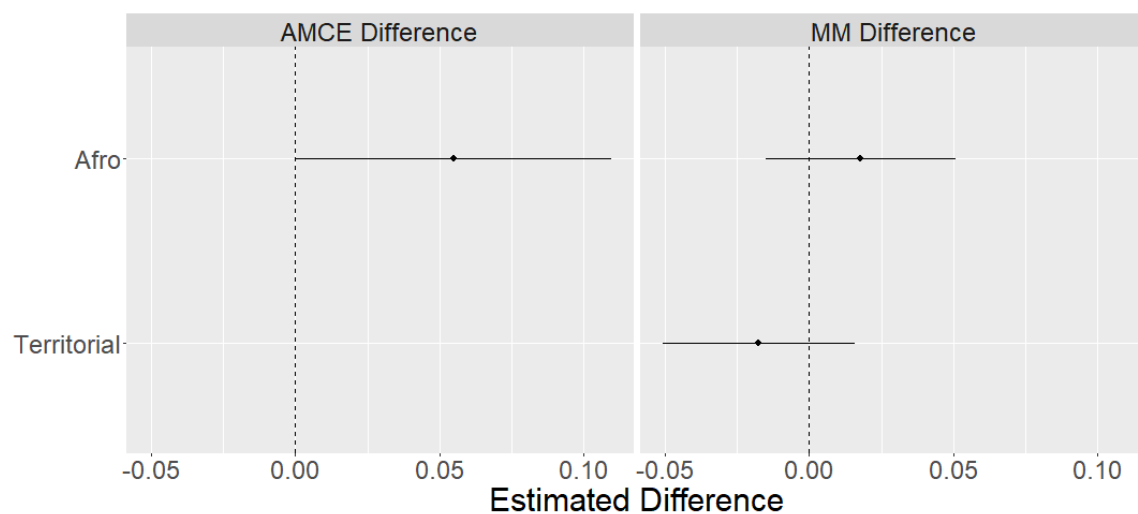
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects for respondents who experienced racial discrimination and those who did not. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A19: Marginal Means by experiences of Racial Discrimination



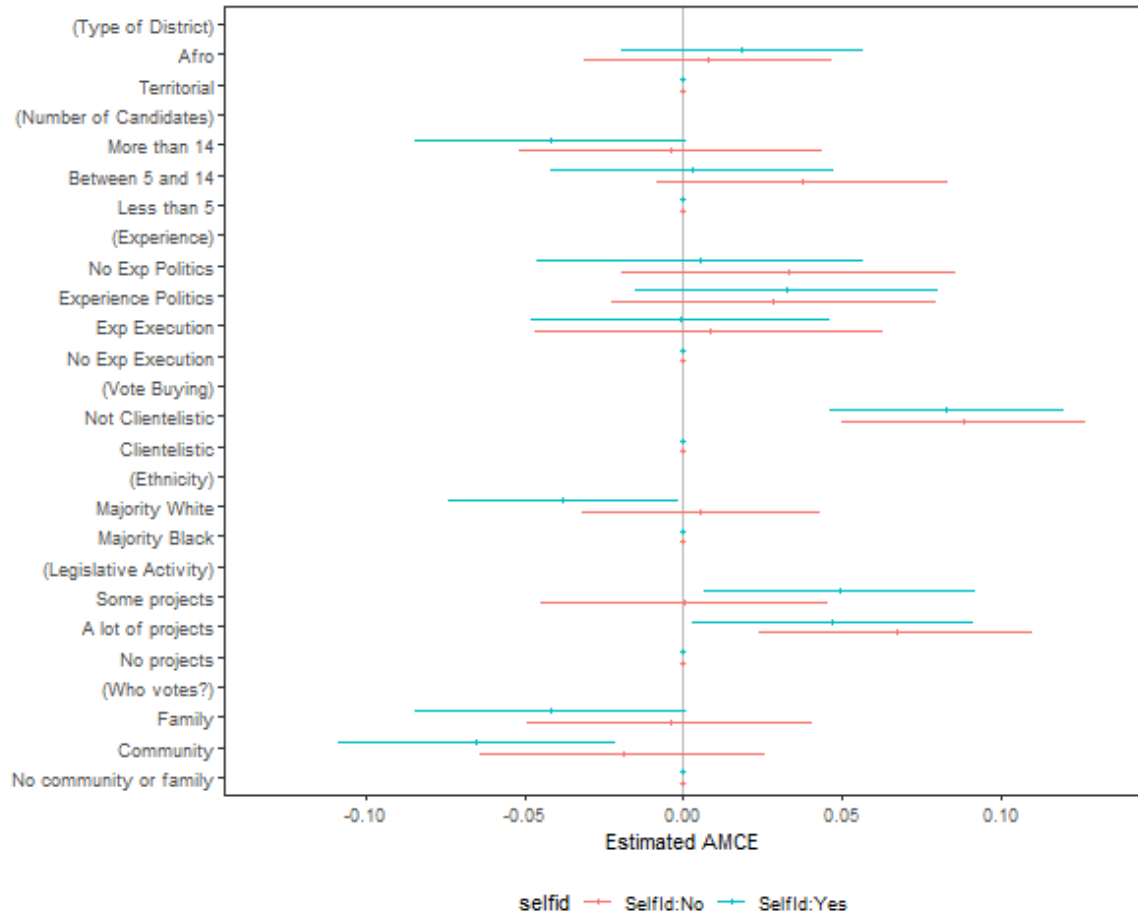
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component by respondents who experienced racial discrimination and those who did not. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A20: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by experiences of Racial Discrimination



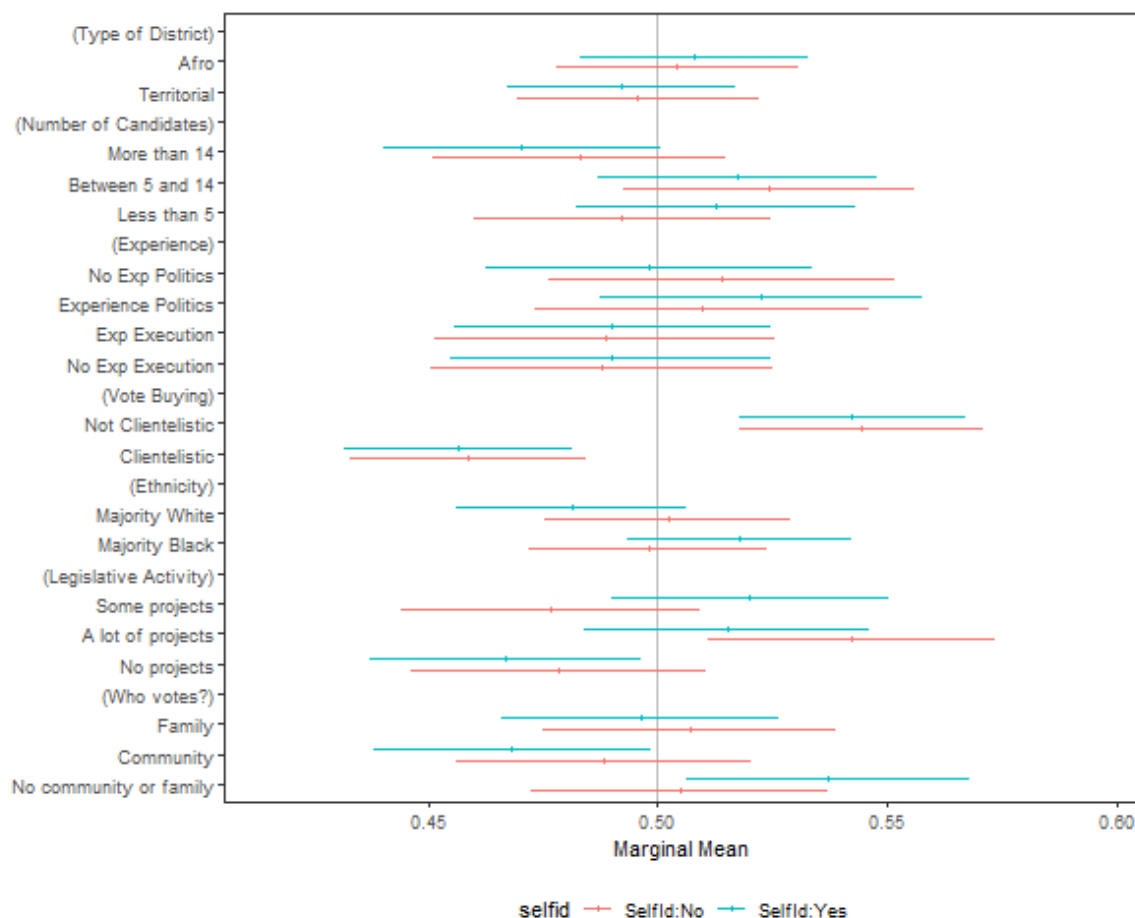
Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences for respondents who experienced racial discrimination and those who did not. The Right panel presents the differences between the AMCEs for each subgroup and the left panel the difference between marginal means. Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A21: Conjoint Results by importance of self-identification



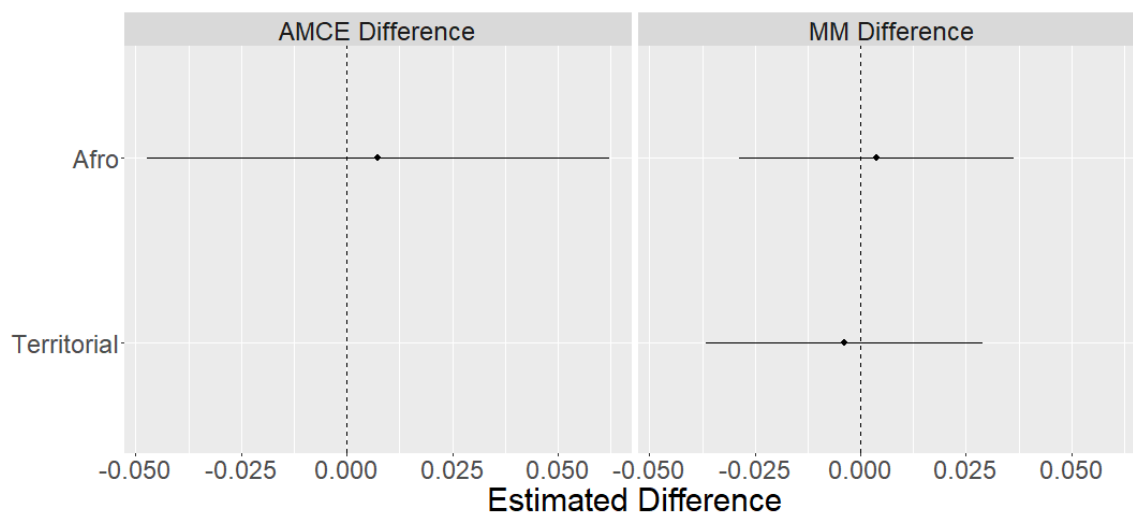
Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects for respondents who thought being Afro-Colombian is important or extremely important to their own identity. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level.

Figure A22: Marginal Means by importance of self-identification



Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component by respondents who thought being Afro-Colombian is important or extremely important to their own identity. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

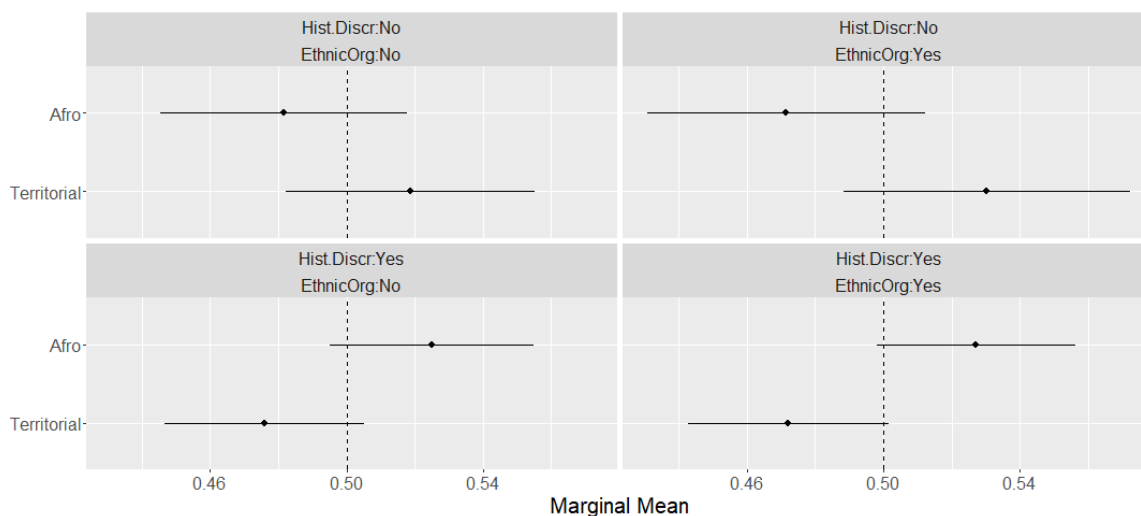
Figure A23: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by importance of self-identification



Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences for respondents who thought being Afro-Colombian is important or extremely important to their own identity. The Right panel presents the differences between the AMCEs for each subgroup and the left panel the difference between marginal means. Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

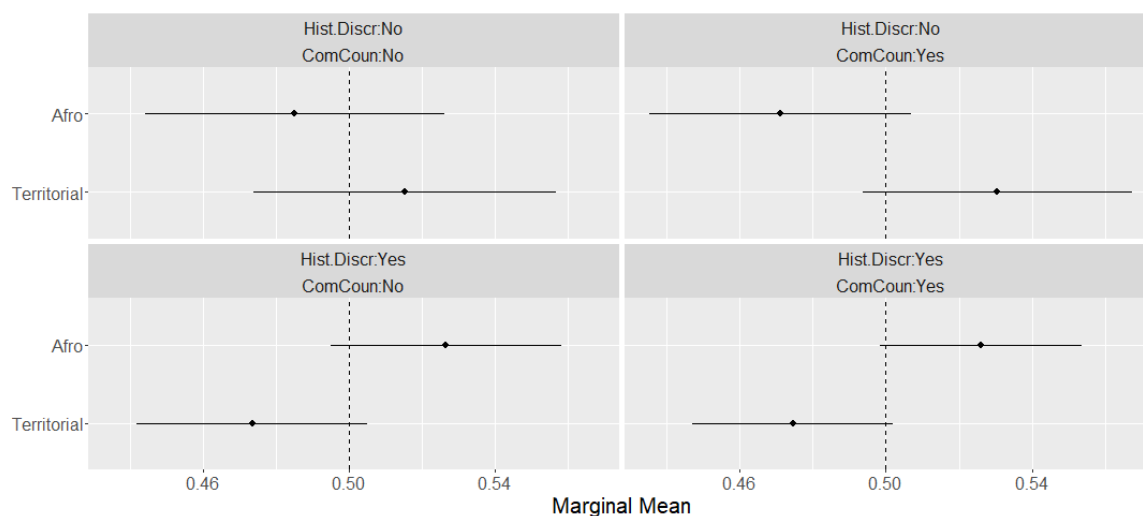
Interaction Effects

Figure A24: MMs for the interaction between Historical Discrimination (polar power) and Membership in an Ethnic Organization



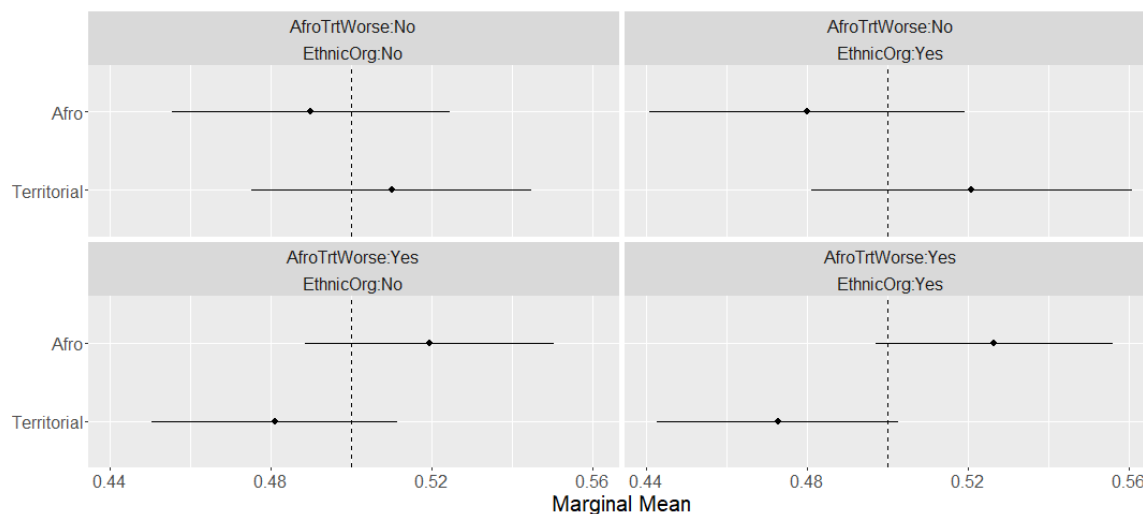
Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A25: MMs for the interaction between Historical Discrimination (polar power) and Membership to a Community Council



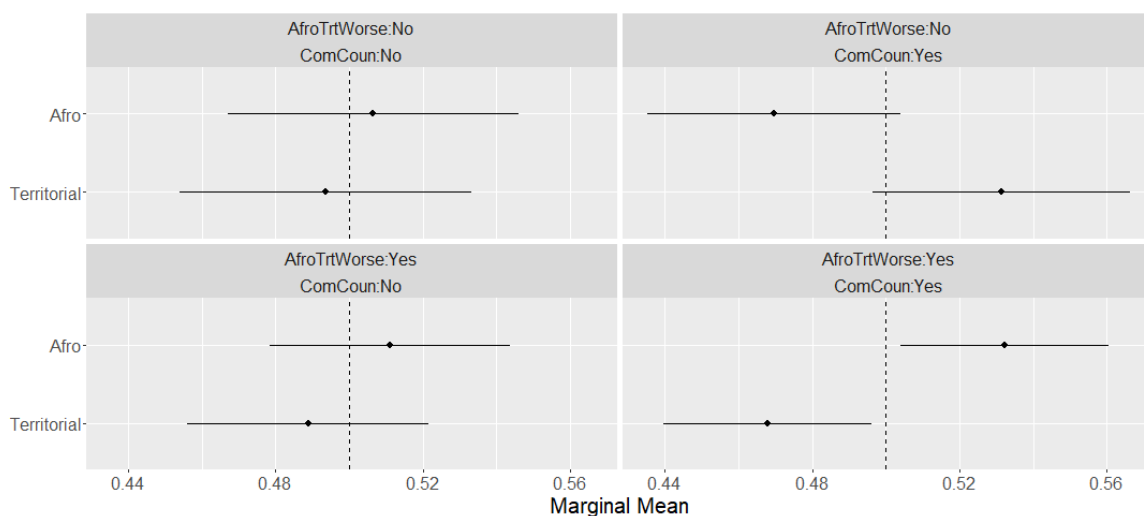
Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A26: MMs for the interaction between Black Treated Worse (Individual vs system) and Membership in an Ethnic Organization



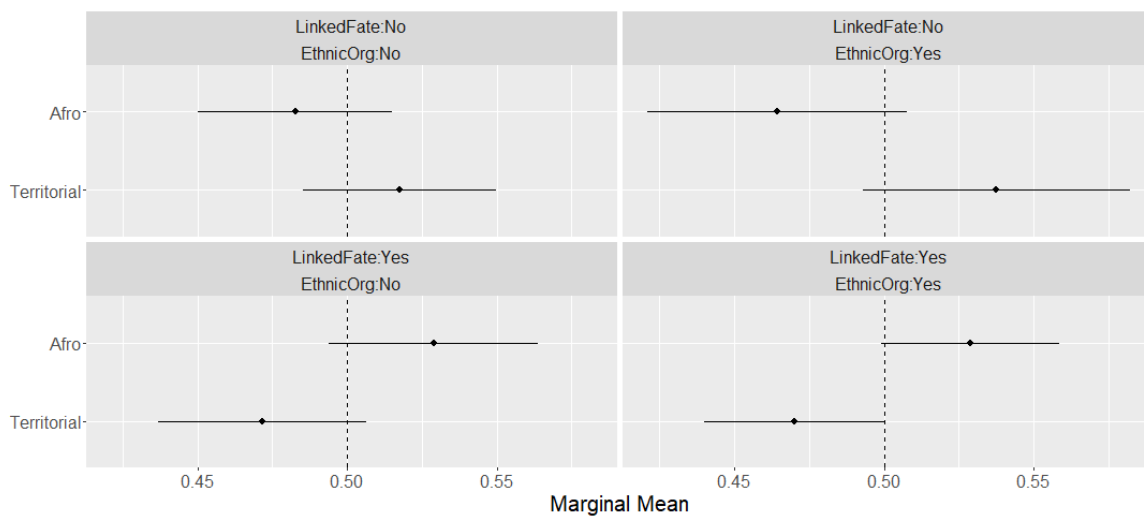
Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A27: MMs for the interaction between Black Treated Worse (Individual vs system) and Membership to a Community Council



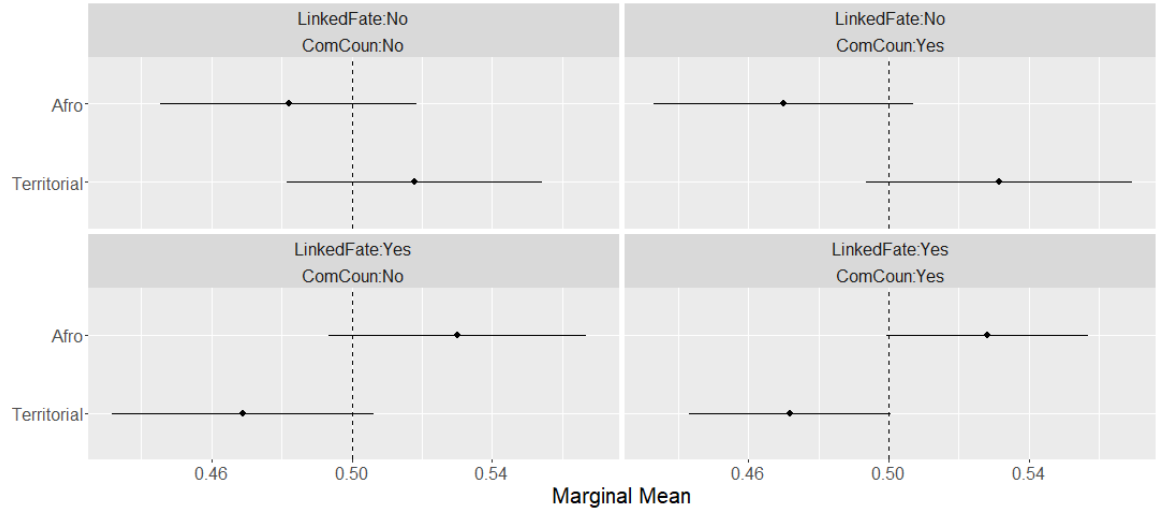
Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A28: MMs for the interaction between Linked Fate (Group Identification) and Membership in an Ethnic Organization



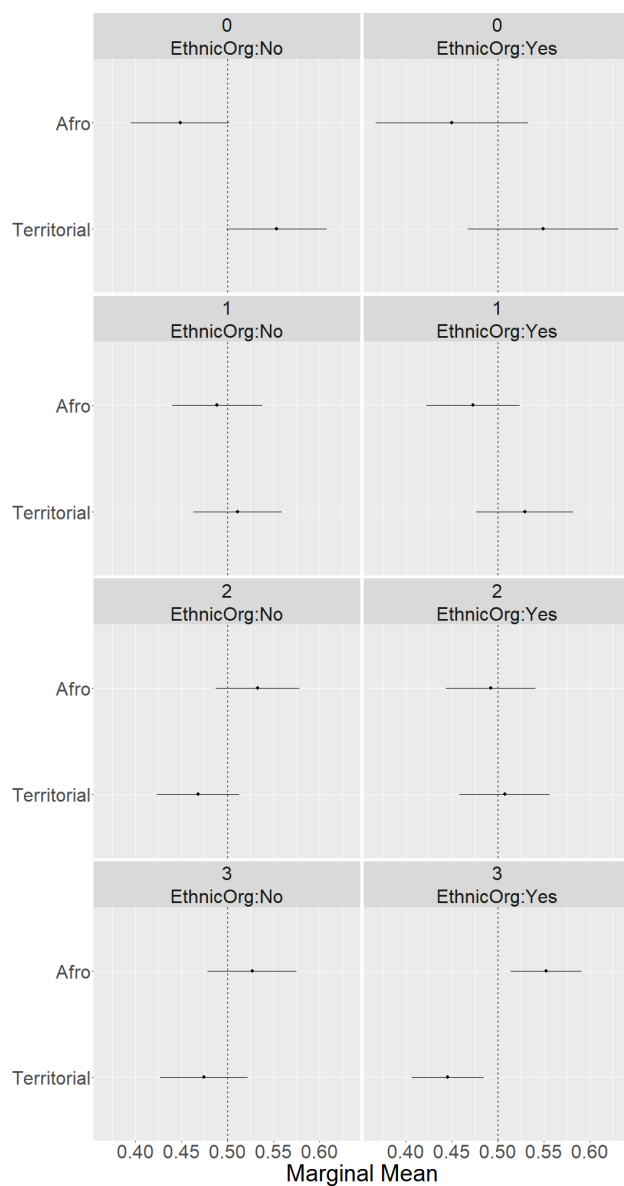
Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A29: MMs for the interaction between Linked Fate (Group Identification) and Membership to a Community Council



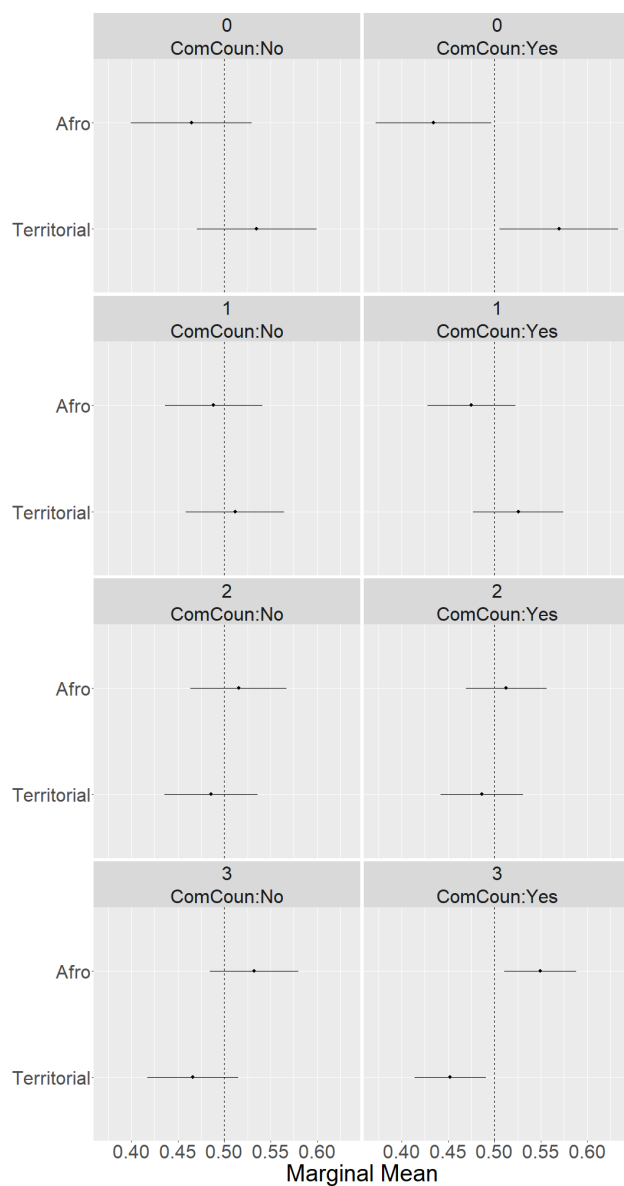
Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A30: MMs for the interaction between the Group Consciousness Index and Membership in an Ethnic Organization



Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

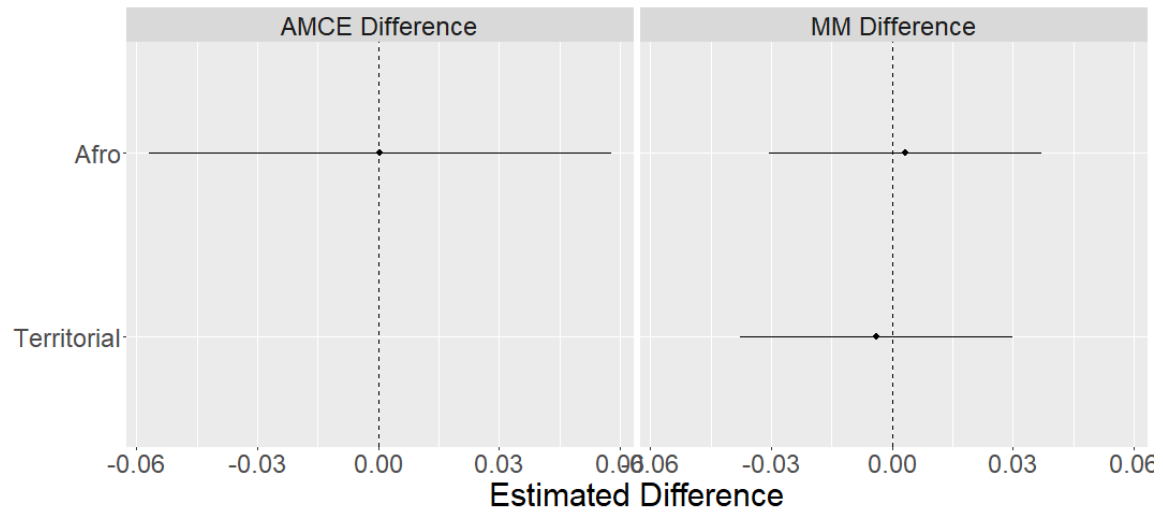
Figure A31: MMs for the interaction between the Group Consciousness Index and Membership to a Community Council



Note: Estimates shown are for the marginal means (MM). Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Departmental differences

Figure A32: Differences between AMCEs and MMs by individuals living in Departments with a high black population



Note: Estimates are for the AMCE and MM differences for respondents who live in a department where more than 26% of the population is black and those who did not. The Right panel presents the differences between the AMCEs for each subgroup and the left panel the difference between marginal means. Lines around the estimands are 95% confidence intervals.

Table A5: Measures of Group Consciousness in Territories with High Black population

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Historical Discrimination	Linked Fate	Afro treated Worse
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Black Territory	0.004 (0.030)	-0.058* (0.032)	0.033 (0.030)
Age	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.004** (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)
Female	0.070** (0.030)	0.053* (0.032)	0.004 (0.030)
Finished high school	0.088 (0.097)	-0.078 (0.093)	0.288*** (0.091)
Married	0.015 (0.036)	0.111*** (0.038)	0.035 (0.036)
Income	0.015*** (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)
Constant	0.496*** (0.116)	0.727*** (0.113)	0.200* (0.108)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: The present table illustrates the results of an OLS regression explaining the correlation between each of our measures of group consciousness and an indicator variable of people living in territories with a high Black population. The controls include age, gender, having no education, being married, and a respondent's income. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. ⁺ $p < 0.10$, $^*p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Relevant Survey Questions

This Appendix contains the questions and prompts used in the experiments of the present paper.

For the following statements, could you please indicate how much you agree or disagree to each of them?

1. In Colombia people of African descent are treated worse than white people.
 - (a) Strongly disagree
 - (b) Disagree
 - (c) Neither agree nor disagree
 - (d) Agree
 - (e) Strongly Agree
 - (f) Don't Know
2. There is discrimination against blacks and Afro-descendants in Colombia
 - (a) Strongly disagree
 - (b) Disagree
 - (c) Neither agree nor disagree
 - (d) Agree
 - (e) Strongly Agree
 - (f) Don't Know
3. Centuries of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Afro-Colombians to get a job that allows them to overcome poverty
 - (a) Strongly disagree
 - (b) Disagree
 - (c) Neither agree nor disagree
 - (d) Agree
 - (e) Strongly Agree
 - (f) Don't Know
4. Have you suffered experiences of racial discrimination in Colombia?
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No
5. Do you think that your life is affected by what generally happens to Afro-Colombians?

- (a) Yes
 - (b) No
6. (Conjoint Prompt) Deciding which district to cast your vote in is not always an easy decision, as there can be many factors to consider. In this section, please consider that you are considering voting in one of the districts described below. Each one has its own characteristics. There may be things you like or dislike about both districts, in the end you have to choose to vote in one of them knowing only the features we listed. Which district would you choose? Even if you're not completely sure, choose one.
7. (Conjoint Question) Which district would you choose?
- (a) District A
 - (b) District B

Research Protocol: Interviews

The research was guided by an attempt to maintain the utmost research ethics, including compliance with the Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research as adopted by the APSA Council in 2020. The project was conducted with IRB approval 2021-II-7. This document provides the details of our field research.

Due to the constraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the interviews were primarily conducted via video call and over the phone, with one of them conducted in person. The interviews were semi-structured to allow the subject to discuss their specific experiences and were conducted in Spanish. The interviews were conducted by one of the lead researchers, we informed subjects about our research interests and the interviewees were previously sent an informed consent with an explanation of the objectives of the study. Likewise, they were told that their answers would be confidential, so they will not be associated or linked with their name or contact information. In addition, people had three options to accept participation in the interviews: sign the physical informed consent, send an email agreeing to participate, or send a text or WhatsApp message to one of the main researchers agreeing to participate in the interview. We obtained their consent before starting the interview, and all the interviewees agreed to be recorded. The interviews focused on the following topics: information about the organization, Afro-Colombian political participation, racial identification and discrimination, and perception of the legislative results in the ethnic district. Interviews were conducted through phone calls, video calls, or in person. The profile of the interviews and the guide questionnaire for them are presented below.

The criteria for the selection of the people to interview were leaders of organizations that have endorsed candidacies for the ethnic district, leaders of organizations that work to improve the living conditions of Afro-Colombian communities but do not necessarily have political participation and people who have participated as representatives in the ethnic district. Using the electoral results available at the National Registry, those organizations that obtained the seat, and/or have participated in more than one election, and/or those that obtained high votes, were prioritized. Only organizations that appear registered as Community Councils / Base Organizations of the Ministry of the Interior or in the Directory of Associations, Associations, and other Interest Groups of the Colombian Foreign Ministry were taken into account. It was decided to prioritize those that operate in Valle del Cauca, Bolívar, Antioquia, Chocó, and Bogotá.

The contact information of the organizations, movements, parties and representatives was obtained through the Internet using various sources such as the Directory of Associations, Associations and Other Interest Groups published by the Colombian Foreign Ministry, the Consultation Councils page Community / Base Organizations of the Ministry of the Interior, Page of the House of Representatives, Directory of Colombia Informa Colombia, official pages of parties, movements, and organizations, and through social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Among the interviewees are legal representatives of Afro-Colombian community councils, leaders of organizations that work for the rights of Afro-Colombians, leaders of organizations that have endorsed

candidates for the ethnic district for Afro-descendants, former candidates, former representatives and representatives of the ethnic district.

Table A6: Sample of Interviewees

Id	Gender	Ex-congress representative	Type of organization	Location	Date	Mode	Interview Time
1	Male	No	Ethnic organization	Alejandría, Bolívar	Nov 10, 2021	Telephone	23:04
2	Male	No	Ethnic organization	Bogotá, Bogotá	Nov 11, 2021	Telephone	31:52
3	Male	No	Ethnic organization	Murindó, Antioquia	Nov 16, 2021	Telephone	18:43
4	Male	No	Ethnic organization	Medellín, Antioquia	Nov 18, 2021	Telephone	23:42
5	Male	No	Community Council	Ginebra, Valle del Cauca	Nov 19, 2021	In Person	53:58
6	Female	No	Ethnic organization	Buenaventura, Valle del Cauca	Nov 23, 2021	Video Call	49:00
7	Female	Yes	Ethnic organization	Quibdó, Chocó	Nov 26, 2021	Video Call	41:31
8	Male	No	Ethnic organization	Bogotá, Bogotá	Dec 2, 2021	Telephone	32:13
9	Male	No	Community Council	López de Micay, Cauca	Dec 18, 2021	Telephone	25:59
10	Male	No	Ethnic organization	Buenaventura, Valle del Cauca	Dec 21, 2021	Telephone	27:22
11	Male	Yes	Ethnic organization	Bogotá, Bogotá	Dec 22, 2021	Video Call	45:00

Interview Questionnaire

Basic Info

1. Do you belong to any Afro-descendant organization? Which? In which city and department is it located? when it was created?
2. Has the organization participated in electoral processes or endorsed candidates to participate in the special constituency for blacks?
3. If the previous answer was yes. So, in what years did you participate in the constituency? Which candidates did you endorse? How did you do in the electoral process? How do you choose the candidates? Do people in the organization support those candidates? How do they get that support?

Pol Participation

4. Do you consider that Afro-Colombians vote in the special constituency for blacks? Why do you think that Afro-Colombians participate or not in the constituency?
5. Do you think that Afro-Colombians vote in congressional elections? Because?

6. Do you think that Afro-Colombians prefer to vote in the black constituency or in the territorial constituency? Why?
7. Why do you think that the blank vote is presented in the black constituency?
8. Did you vote in the black constituency in 2018? For any candidate, organization, or blank? Why?
9. What type of candidates do people and communities of African descent support?
10. Do you consider that there are Afro-descendant leaders who impact the electoral decisions of Afro-Colombians? Which is it? Why?
11. Do you consider that Afro-Colombian organizations influence the electoral decisions of Afro-Colombians? As? Why?
12. Do you think that Afro-Colombians are more related to some political parties?
13. Do you consider that political parties influence the electoral decisions of Afro-Colombians? As? Because?

Racial Id

14. What do you think are the elements that lead Afro-Colombians to vote or not in the special constituency for blacks?
15. Do you consider that identity or group consciousness influences the electoral decisions of Afro-Colombians?
16. Do you consider that racial identification affects the electoral decisions of Afro-Colombians?
17. Do you consider that the perception or experience of discrimination affects the political participation of Afro-Colombians?

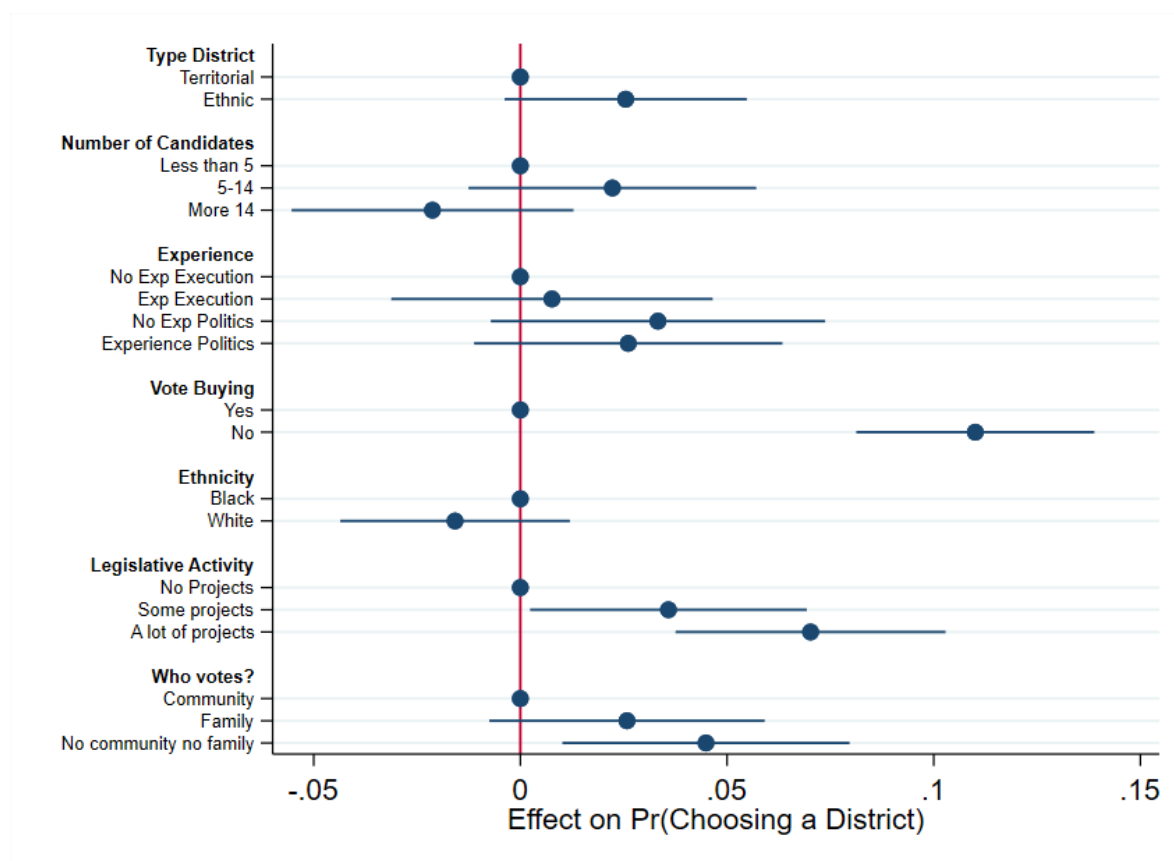
Legislative Res

18. Do you think that people feel represented by the special constituency for blacks?
19. Despite the criticism that the constituency has received, many people continue to vote in this district. Why do you think this situation occurs?
20. What do you think is the perception of Afro-Colombians regarding the legislative results of the black constituency and the legislative performance of black congressmen?

Robustness Checks

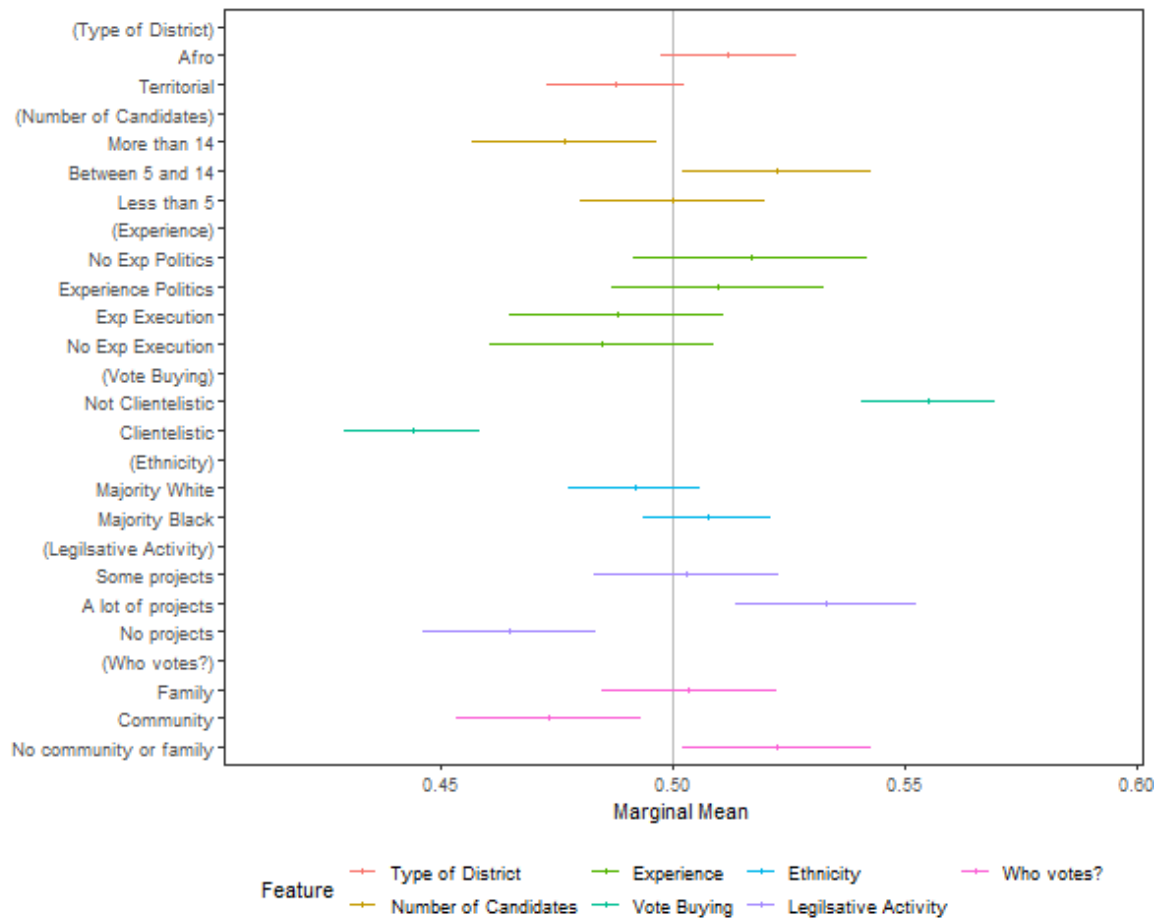
Conjoint Attention Check

Figure A33: Robustness checks: Overall Conjoint Results



Note: Estimates are for the Average Marginal Component Effects. The solid red line marks an effect of zero. Coefficient plots estimated with 95% confidence intervals and errors were clustered at the respondent level. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

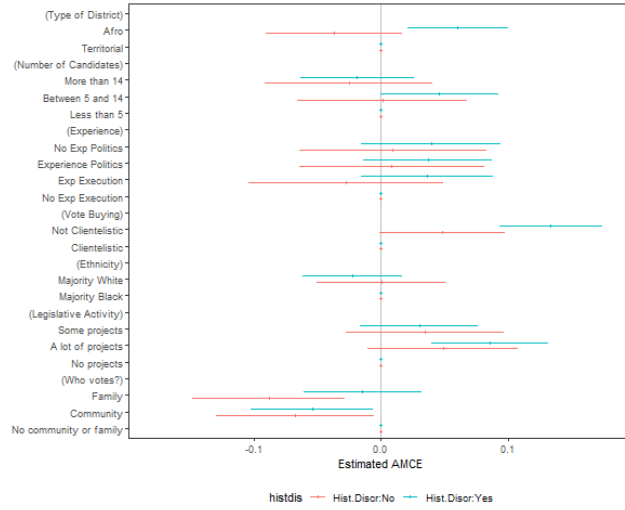
Figure A34: Robustness check: Marginal Means for Main Analysis



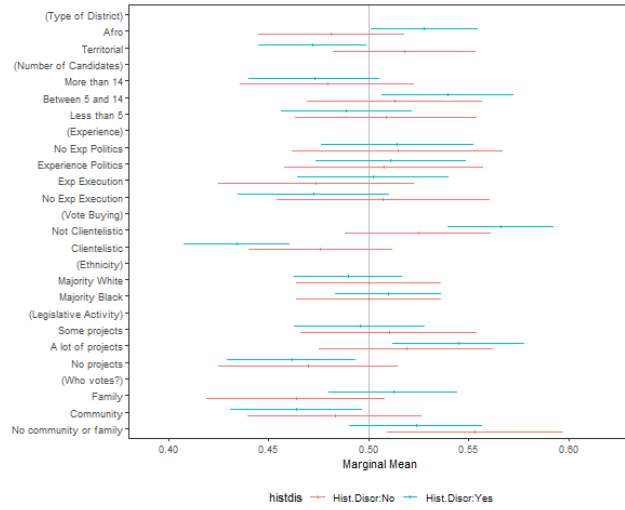
Note: Estimates are for the marginal means of each component. The solid grey line marks a marginal mean of 0.5 which means the component has a 50% baseline probability of selection in the conjoint. Means above 0.5 indicate attribute values that increase the chance of selection. Lines around the marginal means are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A35: Robustness checks for Historical Discrimination (Polar Power)

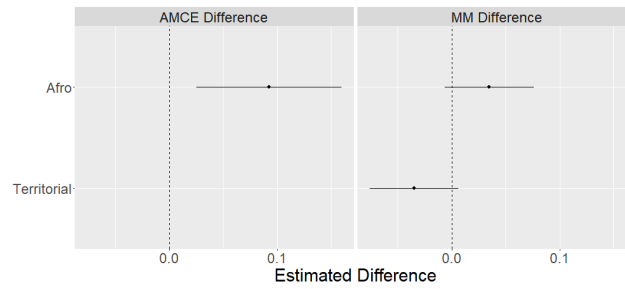
(a) CAMCE Historical Discrimination



(b) MM for Historical Discrimination



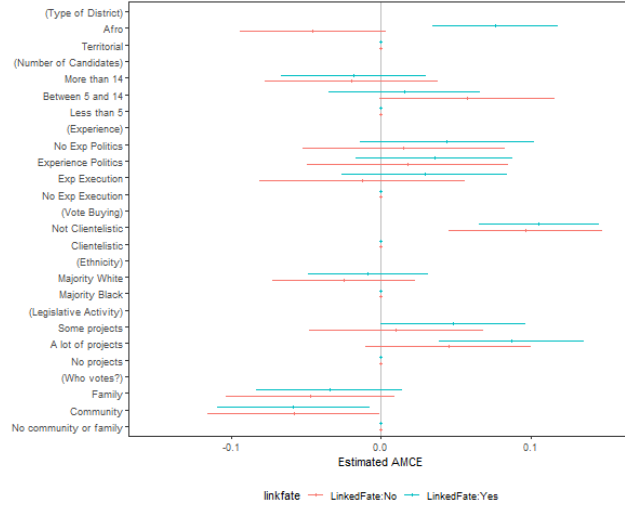
(c) Estimate Differences for Historical Discrimination



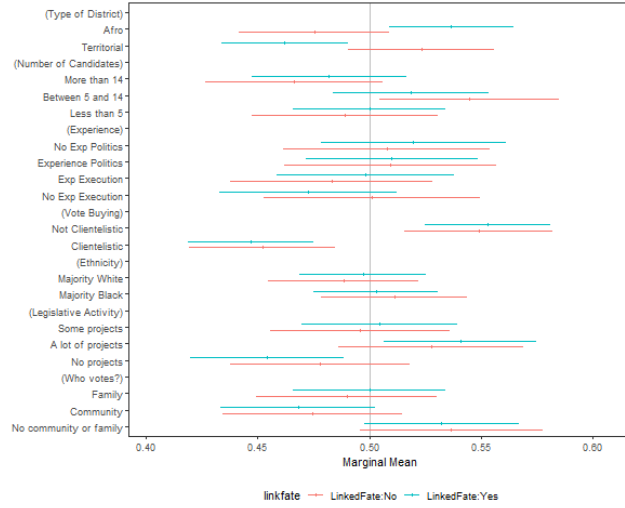
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A36: Robustness checks for Linked Fate (Group Identification)

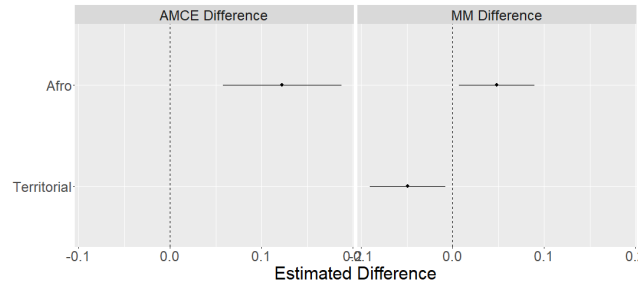
(a) CAMCE for Linked Fate



(b) MM for Linked Fate



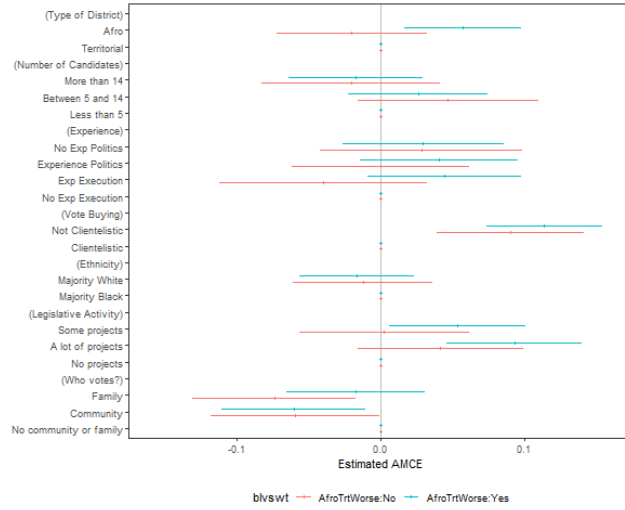
(c) Estimate Differences for Linked Fate



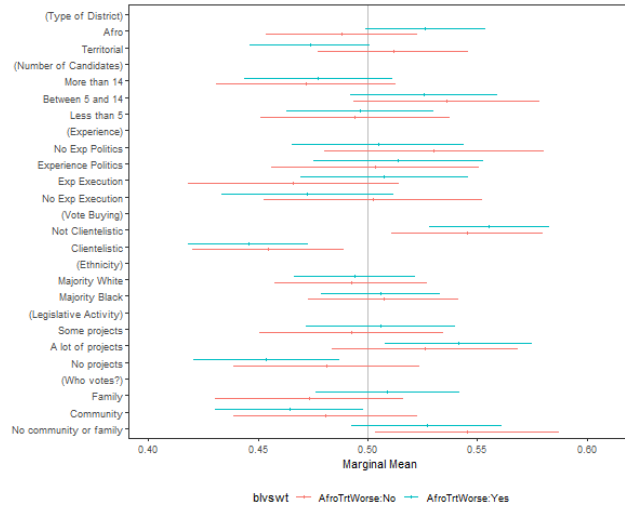
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A37: Robustness checks for Afro-treated worse (Individual vs System)

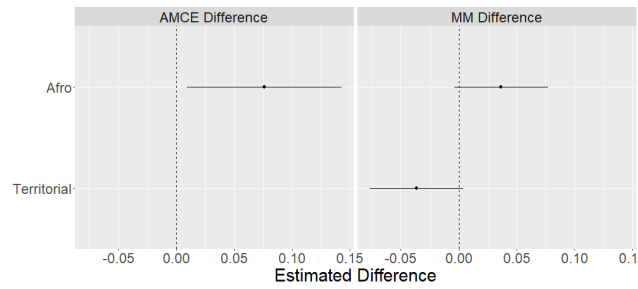
(a) CAMCE by Linked Fate



(b) MM by Linked Fate



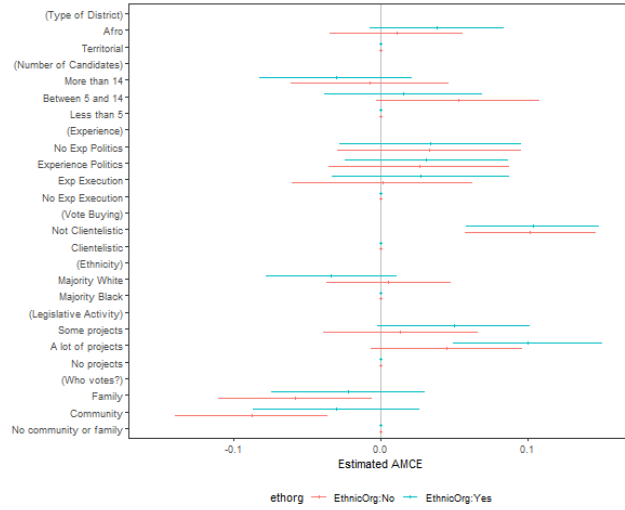
(c) Estimate Differences by Linked Fate



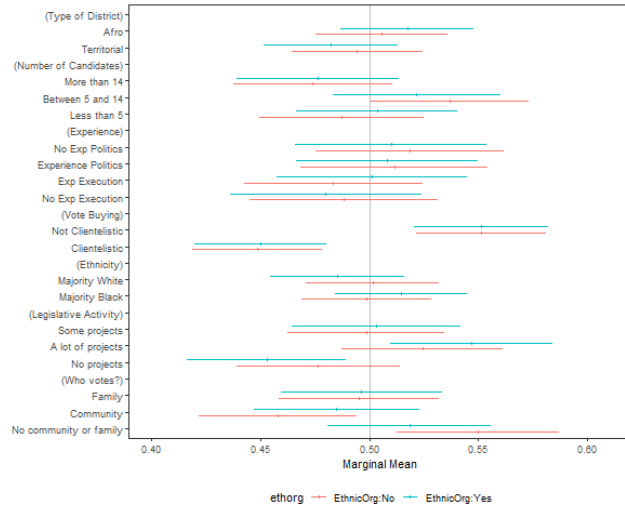
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A38: Robustness checks for Ethnic Organizations

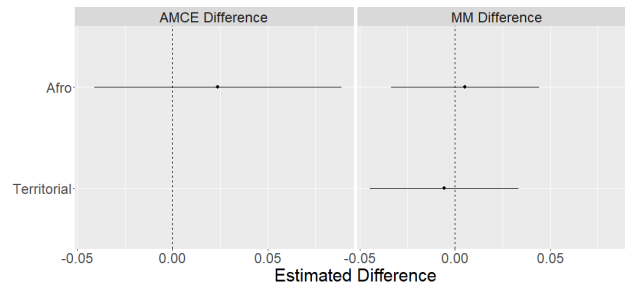
(a) CAMCE by participation to Ethnic Organizations



(b) MM by participation to Ethnic Organizations



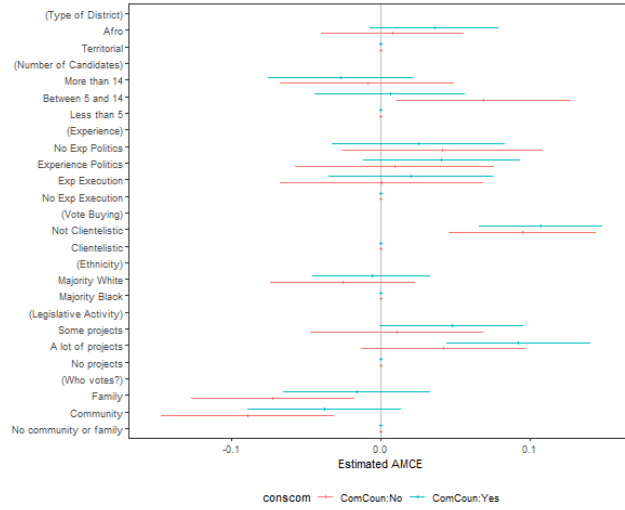
(c) Estimate Differences by participation to Ethnic Organizations



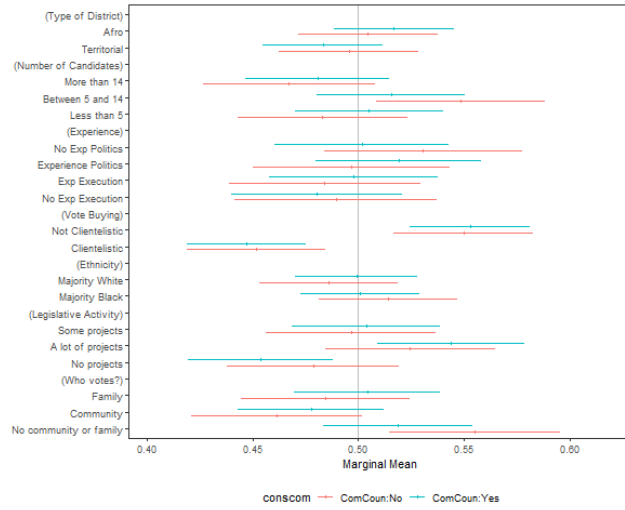
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A39: Robustness checks by participation on Community Councils

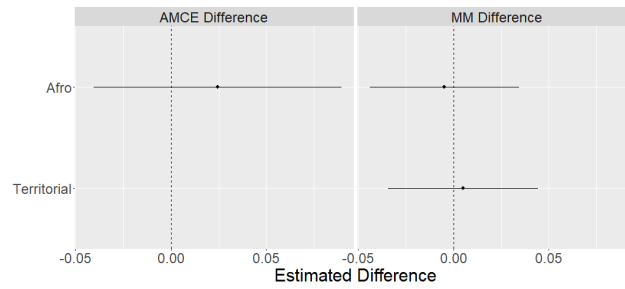
(a) CAMCE by participation to Community Councils



(b) MM by participation to Community Councils



(c) Estimate Differences by participation to Community Councils

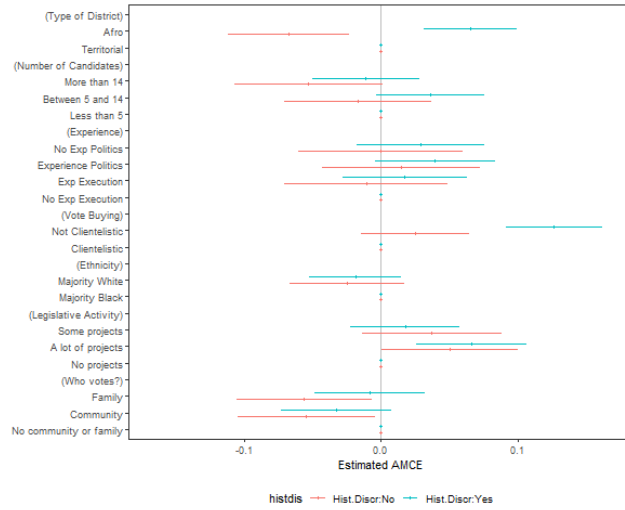


Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

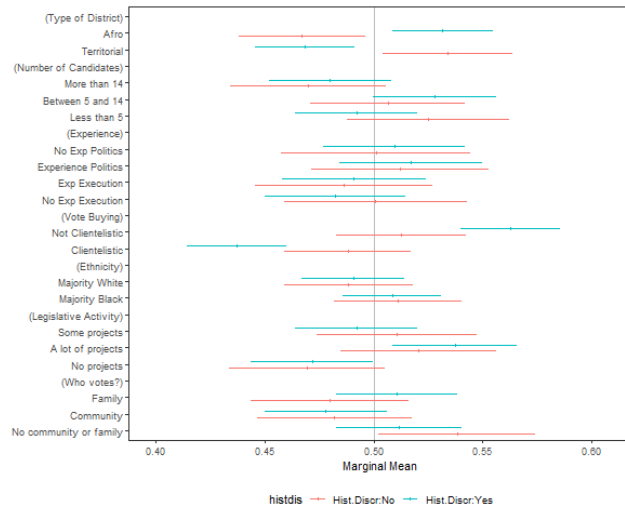
Concentration Screening

Figure A40: Robustness checks for Historical Discrimination (Polar Power)

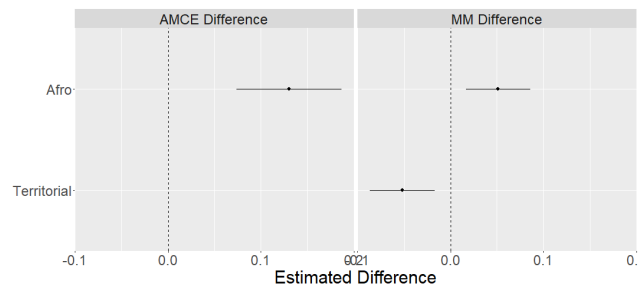
(a) CAMCE Historical Discrimination



(b) MM for Historical Discrimination



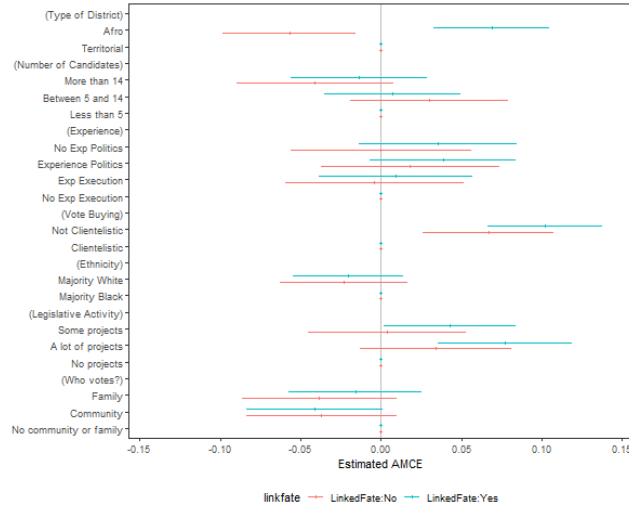
(c) Estimate Differences for Historical Discrimination



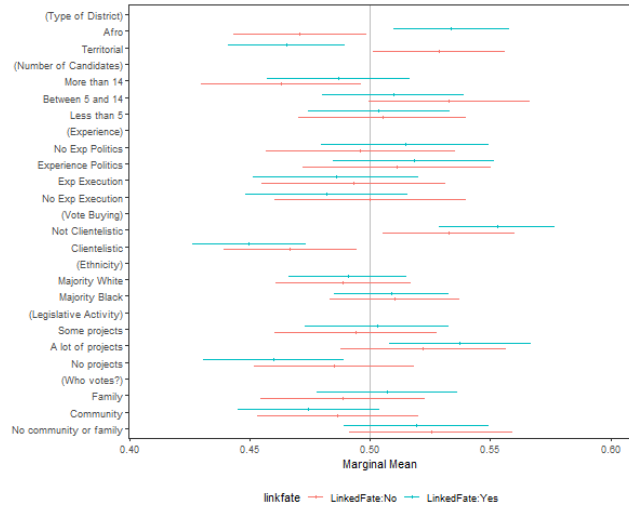
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A41: Robustness checks for Linked Fate (Group Identification)

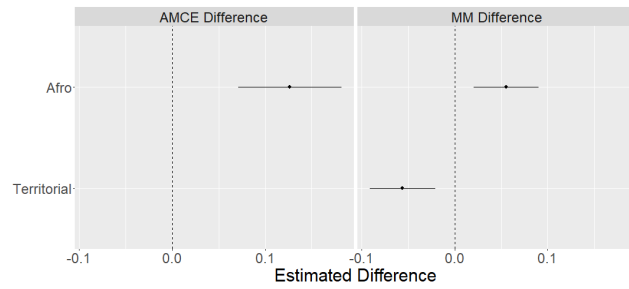
(a) CAMCE for Linked Fate



(b) MM for Linked Fate



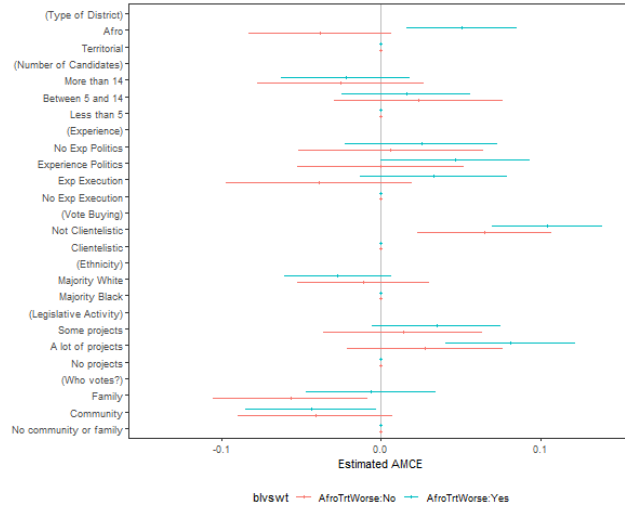
(c) Estimate Differences for Linked Fate



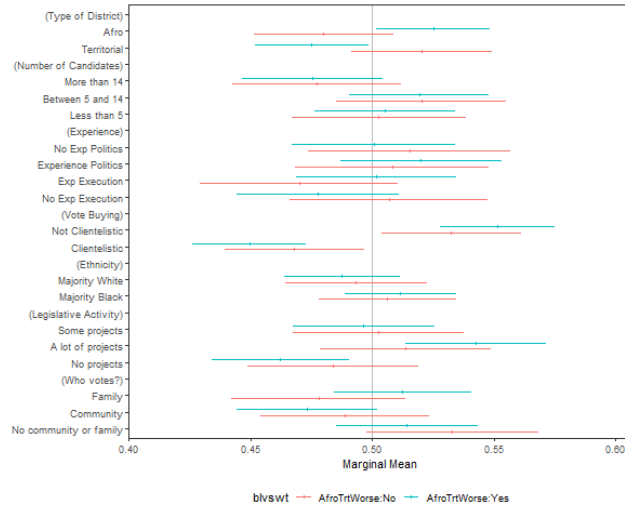
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A42: Robustness checks for Afro-treated worst (Individual vs System)

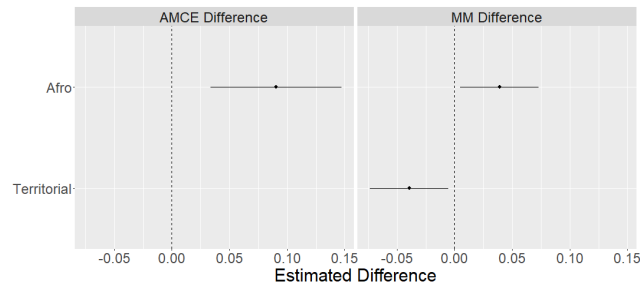
(a) CAMCE by Linked Fate



(b) MM by Linked Fate



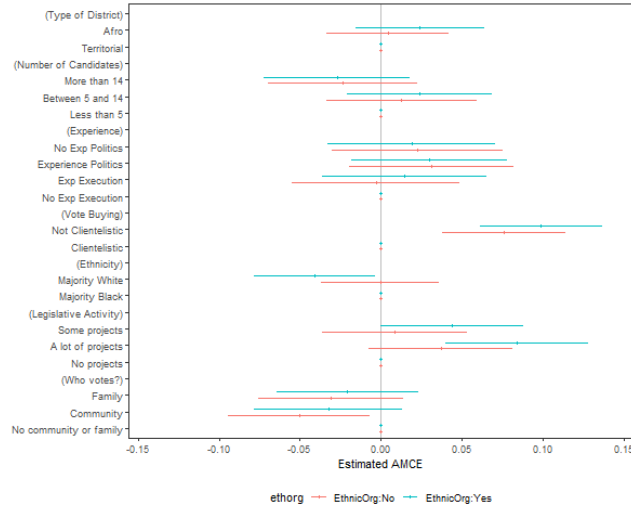
(c) Estimate Differences by Linked Fate



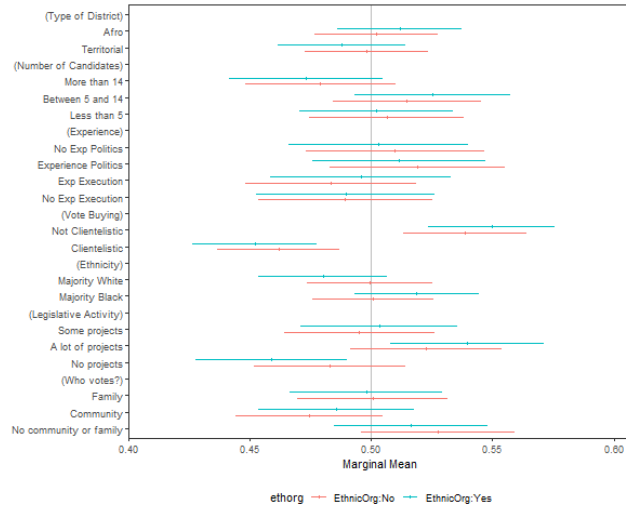
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A43: Robustness checks for Ethnic Organizations

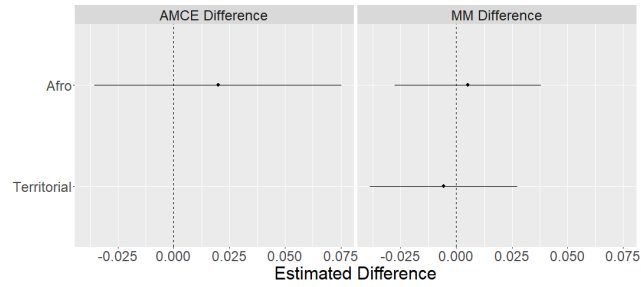
(a) CAMCE by participation to Ethnic Organizations



(b) MM by participation to Ethnic Organizations



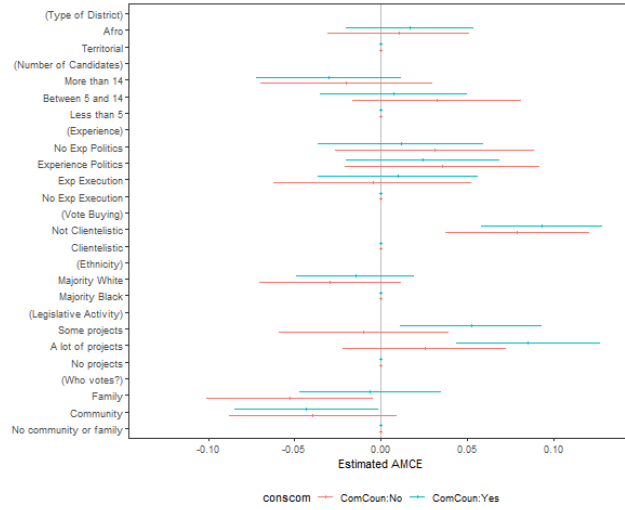
(c) Estimate Differences by participation to Ethnic Organizations



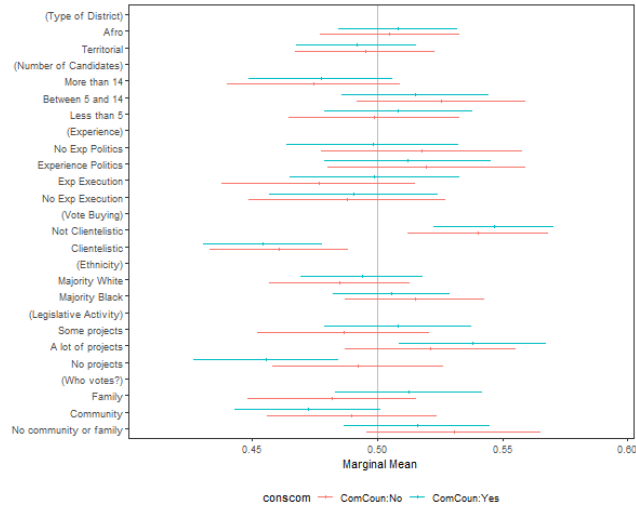
Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.

Figure A44: Robustness checks by participation on Community Councils

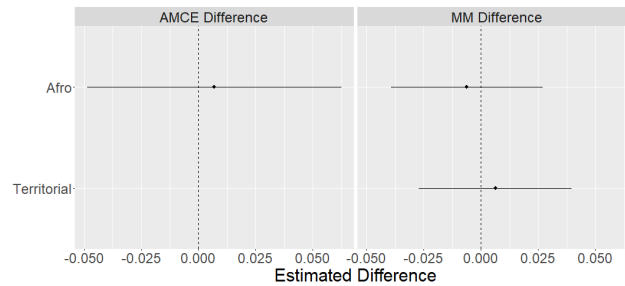
(a) CAMCE by participation to Community Councils



(b) MM by participation to Community Councils



(c) Estimate Differences by participation to Community Councils



Note: Estimates are for the Conditional Average Component Effects and the Average Marginal Component Effects. The sample used here contains only individuals who passed the conjoint attention check.