SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

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RACE, RESOURCES, and REPRESENTATION
Evidence from Brazilian Politicians

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Contents

A Overview

This appendix reports additional analyses, including those mentioned in the text. It is organized following the sections of the main paper. Please find a description of our data sources in the Data Appendix in section E.

B Measuring descriptive representation (Section 2)

B.1 Online Survey Sample

To recruit our coders, we worked with IBOPE, a well-known survey company in Brazil. IBOPE compensates participants in its online panel; respondents are allowed to take two surveys per week and one survey about the same subject every three months. However, each respondent was allowed to take our survey only once. IBOPE recruits participants in the panel in different ways: using their off-line samples, social media, banners in websites and lists of verified e-mail address from other survey partners. This is a non-random sample of Brazil's population; however, we applied class, gender, age, and region quotas to filter respondents.[1]

Our sample closely reflects the distribution of five characteristics in the Brazilian population, as measured in large national probability samples. Tables B.1 to B.5 compare the regional, racial, age, gender, and class distribution of our coders to Brazil's population between 18 and 65 years old.

[1]For class quotas, the *Critério Brasil* measure ranks individuals based on their access to consumption goods such as cars, fridges, and TVs, among others. Survey firms use this common measure to impute the class categories shown in table B.5 from the *Critério Brasil* measure.

Table B.1: Online Survey Sample: Regional Distribution of Coders

Region	Sample (%)	Brazil (%)
Center-West	6.91	11.07
Northeast	27.36	12.66
North	7.36	31.06
Southeast	42.18	15.20
South	16.18	30.01
Sample	1,100	248,932

Notes: Brazil estimates in the second column are taken from the *Pesquisa Nacional Amostral Domiciliar (PNAD)* survey of a national probability sample from 2007.

Table B.2: Online Survey Sample: Color Distribution of Coders

Race (IBGE)	Sample (%)	Brazil (%)
White	46.55	45.97
Brown	42.18	44.51
Black	7.18	8.66
Asian	2.45	0.49
Native	1.64	0.37
Sample	1,100	248,863

Notes: Brazil estimates in the second column are taken from the *Pesquisa Nacional Amostral Domiciliar* (PNAD) survey of a national probability sample from 2007.

Table B.3: Online Survey Sample: Age Distribution of Coders

Age groups	Sample (%)	Brazil (%)
18 to 24 years	20.13	20.79
25 to 34 years	30.01	26.69
35 to 44 years	23.11	22.81
45 to 54 years	18.08	17.99
55 to 64 years	8.67	11.72
Sample	1,073	246,700

Notes: Brazil estimates in the second column are taken from the *Pesquisa Nacional Amostral Domiciliar* (PNAD) survey of a national probability sample from 2007.

Table B.4: Online Survey Sample: Gender Distribution of Coders

Sex	Sample (%)	Brazil (%)
Female	46.27	51.89
Male	53.73	48.11
Sample	1,100	248,932

Brazil estimates in the second column are taken from the *Pesquisa Nacional Amostral Domiciliar* (PNAD) survey of a national probability sample from 2007.

Table B.5: Online Survey Sample: Class Distribution of Coders

Class	Sample (%)	2012 ABEP (%)
Class A	10.45	4.7
Class B	37.73	32.2
Class C	47.55	49.5
Class D/E	4.27	13.6
Sample	1,100	11,000

Notes: Classes A, B, C, D/E are commonly used as a measure of socioeconomic status in Brazil. It is based on a score of goods owned by the survey participant (such as television sets, refrigerators, computers, cars, phones, among others). It is commonly used instead of income measures because of difficulties with collecting reliable income information in survey questionnaires. Brazil estimates in the second column are taken from a survey by the *Associação Brasileira de Empresas de Pesquisa* (ABEP) from 2012.

B.2 Validity and Reliability Checks on Coding of Politicians' Race

Tables B.6 and B.7 show the percentage of respondents in the PESB survey who coded each picture in each of the racial categories (left columns) and the number of our coders who did so (right columns). Table B.6 uses the IBGE categories White, Black, and Brown, while Table B.7 allows only White or Black (but allows both "Other" and "Neither Black nor White" responses).

Table B.6: Validity Checks: PESB (IBGE)

PESB Photo (ID)	Black (%)	Brown (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	N PESB sample	Black (N)	Brown (N)	White (N)	Asian (N)	N coders
Pesb 1	0	5	95	0	2357	0	0	3	0	3
Pesb 2	8	88	4	1	2354	0	2	0	0	2
Pesb 3	8	86	5	1	2347	1	2	0	1	4
Pesb 4	96	3	1	0	2355	4	0	0	0	4
Pesb 5	96	3	1	0	2355	2	1	0	0	3
Pesb 6	1	74	24	1	2353	1	1	1	0	3
Pesb 7	1	14	85	0	2348	0	2	1	0	3
Pesb 8	1	12	86	0	2353	0	0	2	0	2

Table B.7: Validity Checks: PESB (Binary)

PESB Photo (ID)	Black (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	Neither Black nor White (%)	N PESB sample	Black (N)	White (N)	N coders (N)	
1	Pesb 1	1	99	0	0	2359	0	3	3
2	Pesb 2	59	37	2	1	2345	2	0	2
3	Pesb 3	59	38	1	1	2345	4	0	4
4	Pesb 4	99	1	0	0	2351	4	0	4
5	Pesb 5	98	1	0	0	2352	3	0	3
6	Pesb 6	26	72	1	1	2347	2	1	3
7	Pesb 7	3	96	1	0	2353	0	3	3
8	Pesb 8	2	97	1	0	2353	0	2	2

Table B.8: Politicians: Percent White and Non-white Using Different Race Measurements

Measurement	White	Non-white
Dichotomous IBGE (blackest mode)	39.40	60.60
Dichotomous IBGE (whitest mode)	54.81	45.19
Black or white (blackest mode)	70.22	29.78
Black or white (whitest mode)	78.19	21.81
Afro-descent (blackest mode)	59.24	40.76
Afro-descent (whitest mode)	71.60	28.40

Notes: The table shows the percentage of white candidates using various dichotomous measures. The "Dichotomous IBGE" measure creates a white/non-white dichotomy based on the five census categories; the "Black or white" measure is based on a question asking coders whether the politician is black (*preto*) or white (*branco*); the "Afro-descent" measure is based on a question asking coders whether the politician is of African descent. Here, the modal coding of each candidate's race is used; when there is a non-unique mode, ties are broken by taking the mode closest to the black category, including the black category if it is a mode (blackest mode) or the mode closest to the white category, including the white category if it is a mode (whitest mode). Number of candidates: 5,081.

Table B.9: Consistency of Codings: Percentage of Non-unique Modes by Race Measure

Measurements	Pct. non-unique modes
Afro-descent (dichotomous)	12.36
Black or white (dichotomous)	7.97
IBGE (5 categories)	20.55
Multiple (13 categories)	42.55
Number of candidates	5,081

Notes: The table shows the proportion of politicians' photographs for which our respondents' codings did not have a unique mode, for each of our race measures.

Candidate racial self-identification: 2014 elections

The Higher Electoral Tribunal (TSE) collected, for the first time in its history, racial classification measures for all candidates in the 2014 elections (presidency, governors, senators, federal, and state deputies). The race measure is supposed to be based on self-classification at the time candidates register their candidacy to political office.[2] For the subset of candidates in our sample that ran for any office in

[2]We do not have evidence that candidates themselves filled their application sheets at TSE; it could have been done by their staff.

Table B.12: Race of politicians: comparing self and other classifications (Dichotomized IBGE classification, blackest mode).

		Self classification	
		White (TSE)	Non-white (TSE)
Other classification	White	475	81
	Non-white	296	226

Notes: The "other classification" data was collected by Bueno & Dunning based on codings of politicians' photographs. The self-classification data was collected in 2014 by the TSE and we present it as a dichotomization of the IBGE measure used by the TSE. For the other classification, the blackest mode is used to break ties in cases of multiple modes.

Table B.13: Race of politicians: comparing self and other classifications (Dichotomized IBGE classification, whitest mode).

		Self classification	
		White (TSE)	Non-white (TSE)
Other classification	White	600	117
	Non-white	171	190

Notes: The "other classification" data was collected by Bueno & Dunning based on codings of politicians' photographs. The self-classification data was collected in 2014 by the TSE and we present it as a dichotomization of the IBGE measure used by the TSE. For the other classification, the whitest mode is used to break ties in cases of multiple modes.

Table B.14: Race of politicians: comparing self and other classifications (Full IBGE classification, blackest mode).

		Self classification				
		White (TSE)	Brown (TSE)	Black (TSE)	Asian (TSE)	Indigenous (TSE)
Other classification	White	471	76	5	3	1
	Brown	212	93	29	3	0
	Black	13	31	46	0	1
	Asian	51	11	1	4	0
	Indigenous	12	13	2	0	0

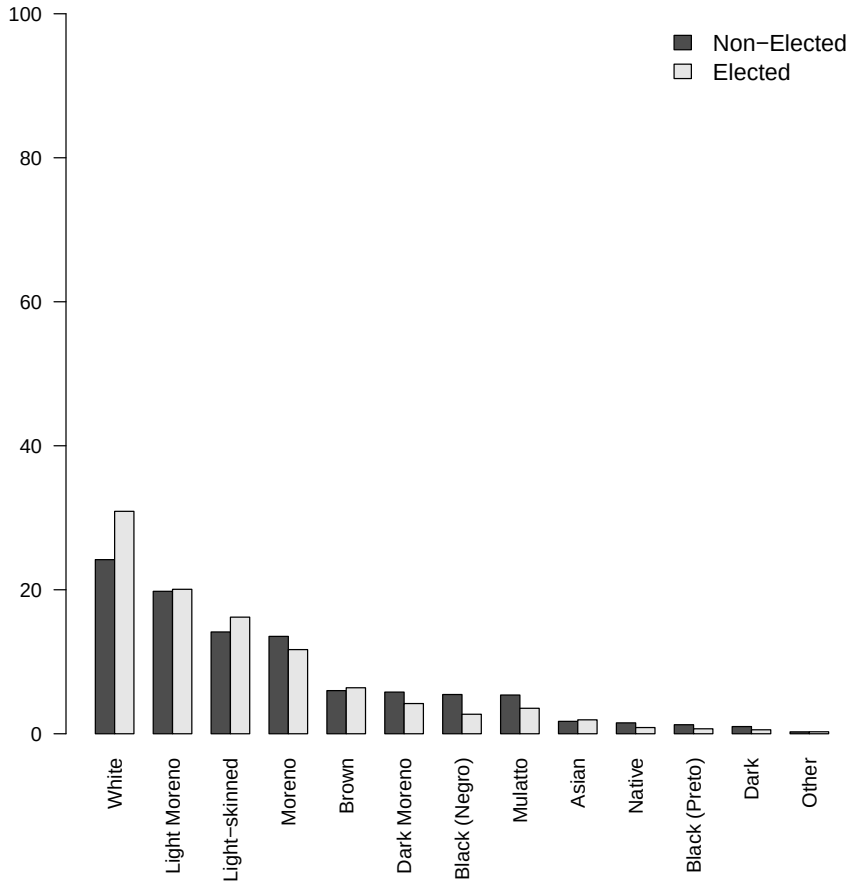
Notes: The "other classification" data was collected by Bueno & Dunning based on codings of politicians' photographs. The self-classification data was collected in 2014 by the TSE. For the other classification, the blackest mode is used to break ties in cases of multiple modes.

Table B.15: Race of politicians: comparing self and other classifications (Full IBGE classification, whitest mode).

		Self classification				
		White (TSE)	Brown (TSE)	Black (TSE)	Asian (TSE)	Indigenous (TSE)
Other classification	White	595	107	10	4	1
	Brown	152	90	33	3	1
	Black	2	20	40	0	0
	Asian	7	4	0	3	0
	Indigenous	3	3	0	0	0

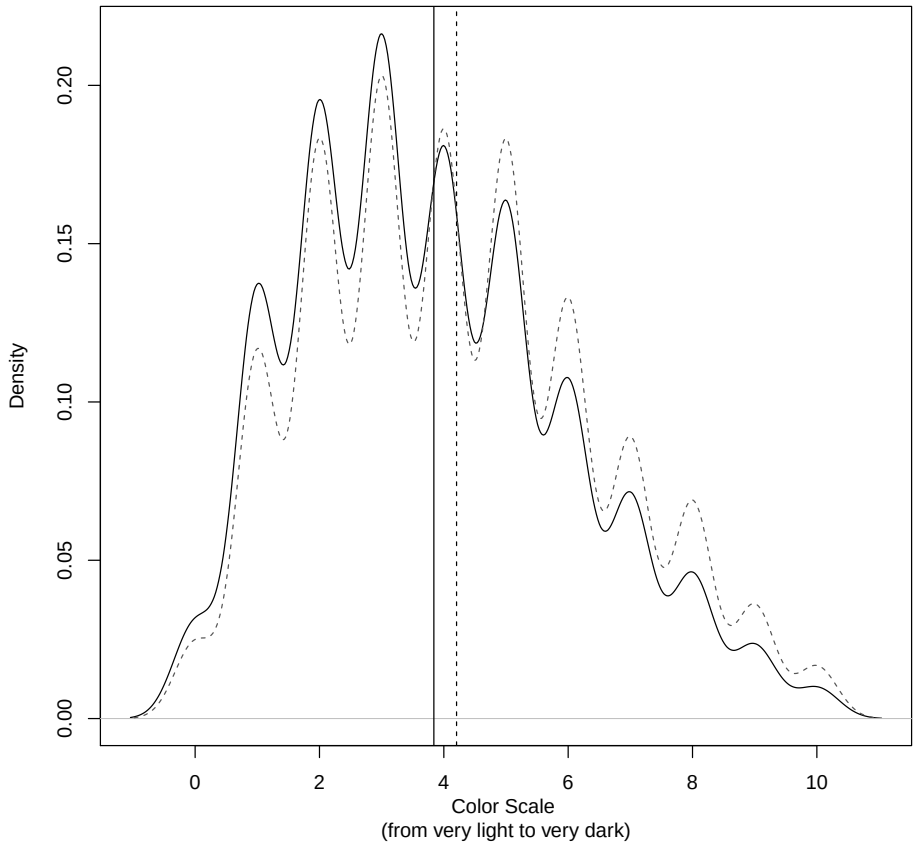
Notes: The "other classification" data was collected by Bueno & Dunning based on codings of politicians' photographs. The self-classification data was collected in 2014 by the TSE. For the other classification, the whitest mode is used to break ties in cases of multiple modes.

B.3 Additional Race Measures



Notes: The figure shows histograms for the racial distribution of our sample of politicians elected and non-elected in 2008 and 2010 using a race measure with 13 categories.

Figure B.1: Color Distribution: Multi-category measure (other classification)

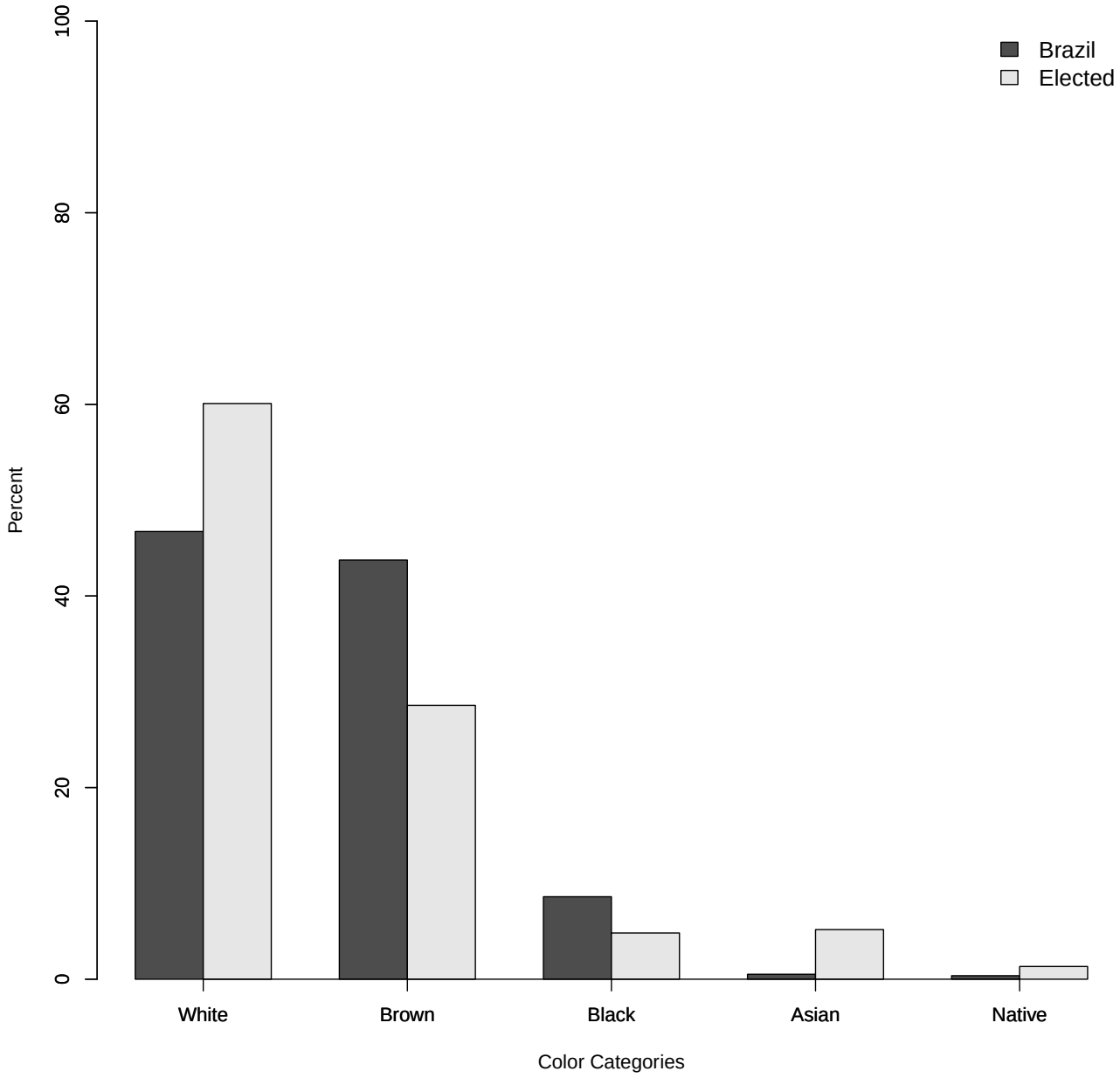


Notes: The figure shows density plots for the racial distribution of our sample of politicians elected and non-elected in 2008 and 2010 using a 0-10 color scale running from "very light" to "very dark" The vertical line represent the means for elected (at 3.8 points, solid) and non-elected (at 4.2, dotted) candidate.

Figure B.2: Color Distribution: Color Scale (other classification)

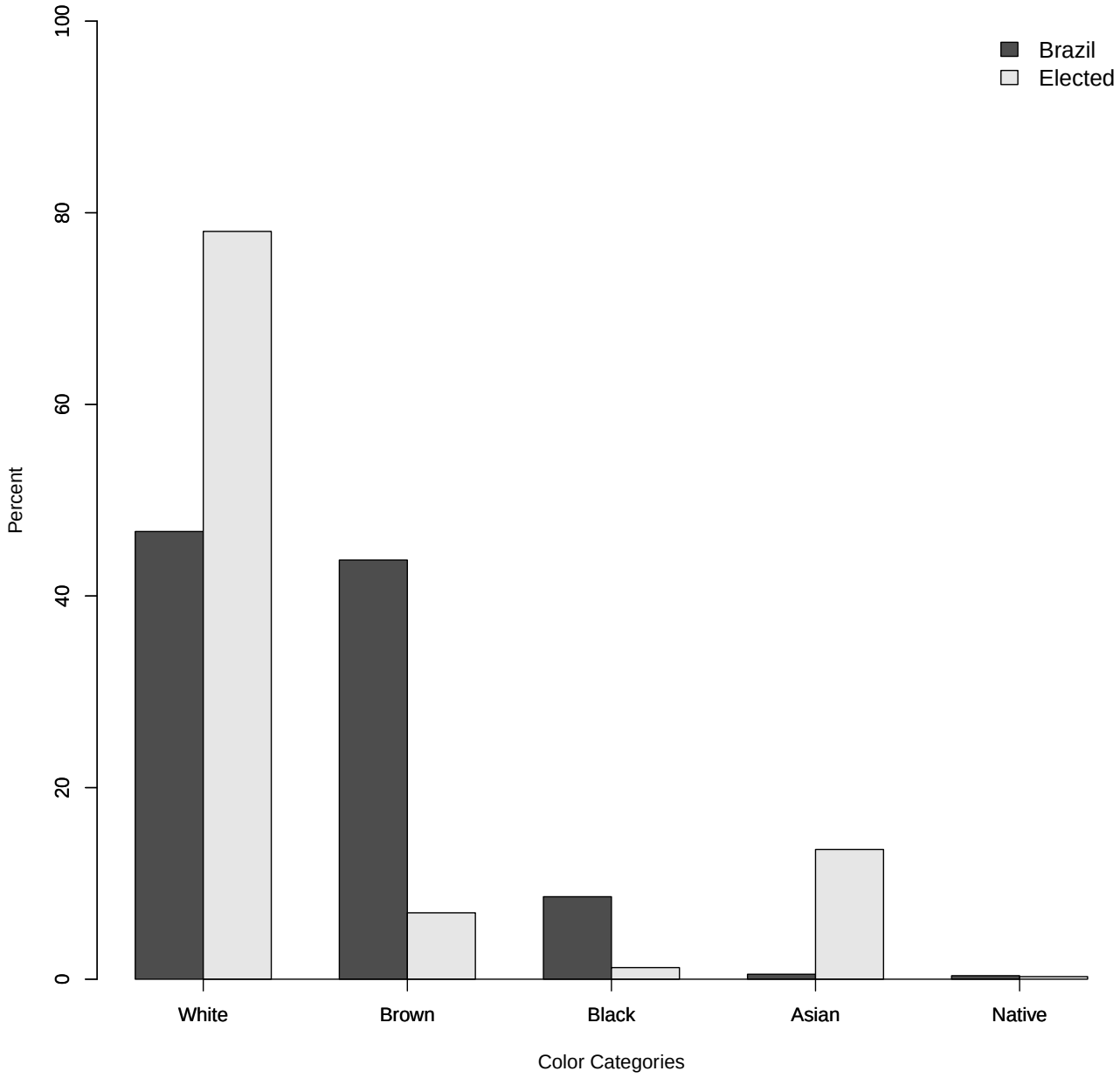
B.4 Descriptive Analyses

When appropriate, we weight the racial distribution of each district by the percentage of office-holders that come from the district. This allows us to abstract from features of the legislature (such as malapportionment) that may otherwise mask failures of descriptive representation in each state's delegation to the legislature.



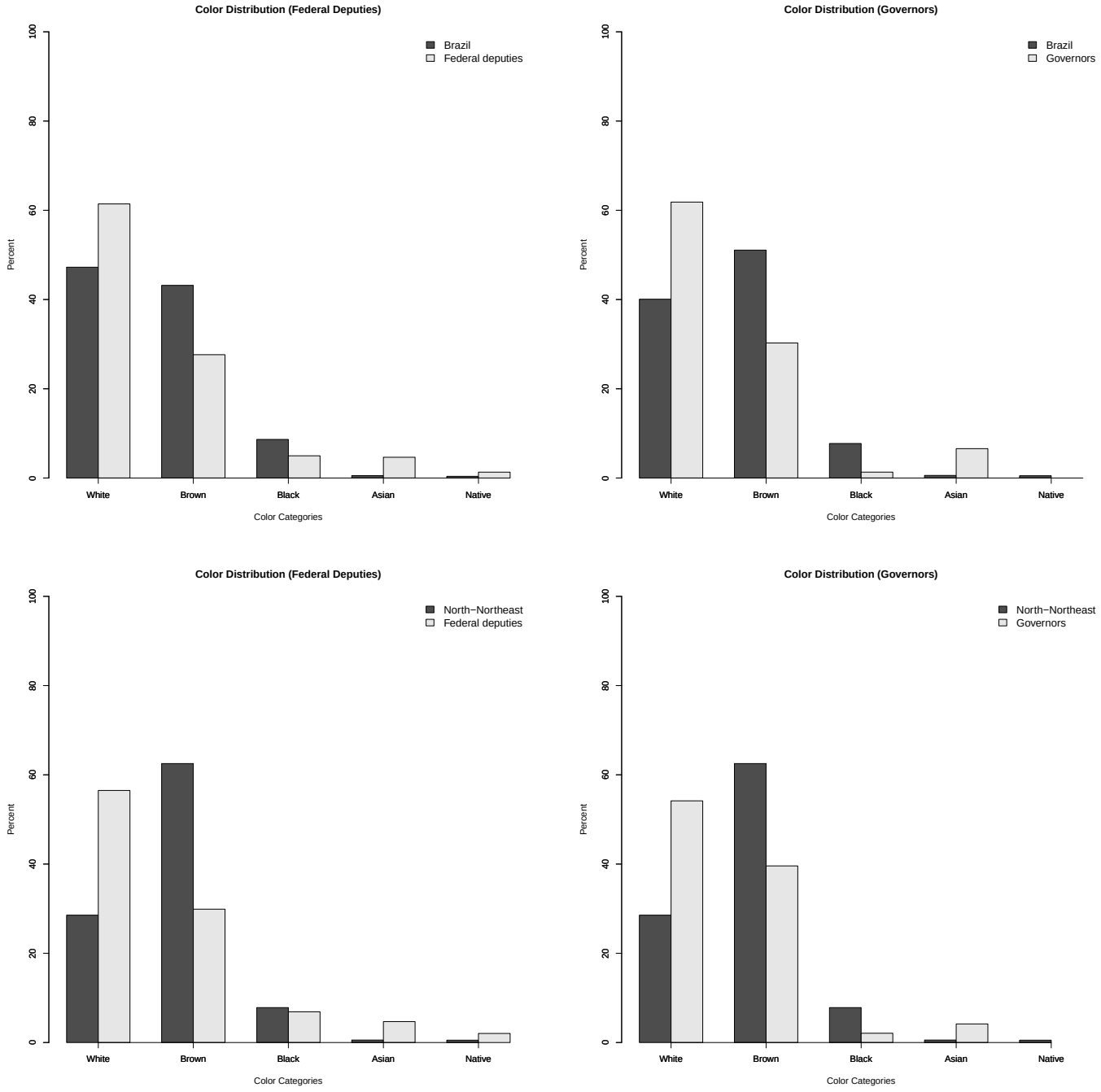
Notes: We use unweighted other-identified race of state and federal deputies, senators, and governors elected in 2010. We measure self-identified race of the population using PNAD data.

Figure B.3: Racial distribution of politicians, compared to Brazil's adult population (unweighted other classification).



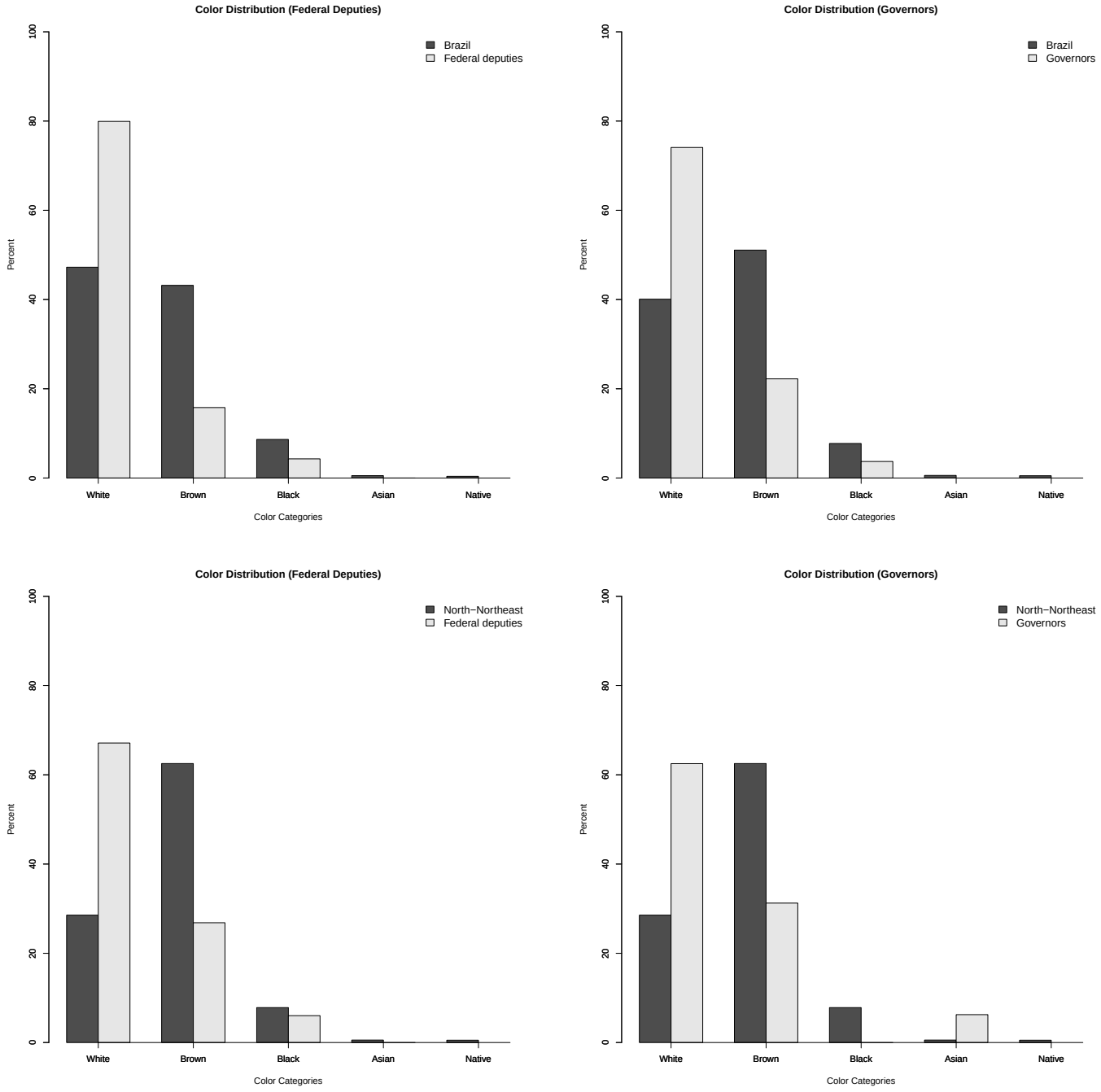
Notes: We use weighted other-identified race of state and federal deputies, senators, and governors elected in 2010. We measure self-identified race of the population using PNAD data.

Figure B.4: Racial distribution of politicians, compared to Brazil's adult population (weighted sample of coders, other classification).



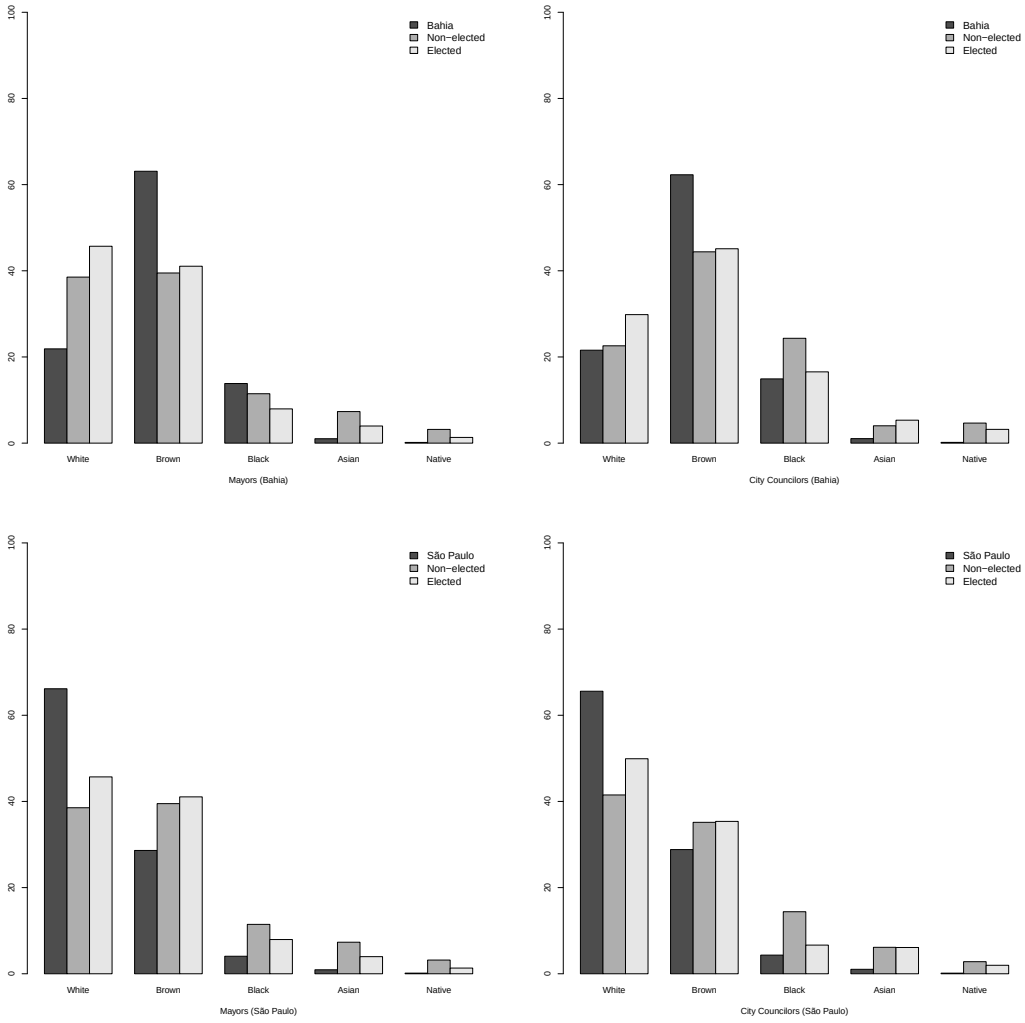
Notes: For the comparison of federal deputies to the population, we weight the population percentages by each state's proportion of federal deputies. We user other-classified data collected by Bueno & Dunning for the 2010 elections (unweighted sample of coders).

Figure B.5: Racial distribution of federal deputies (left panel) and governors (right panel), compared to Brazil's adult population as measured in the PNAD. The bottom row compares politicians and residents in North and Northeastern states (2010, other classification).



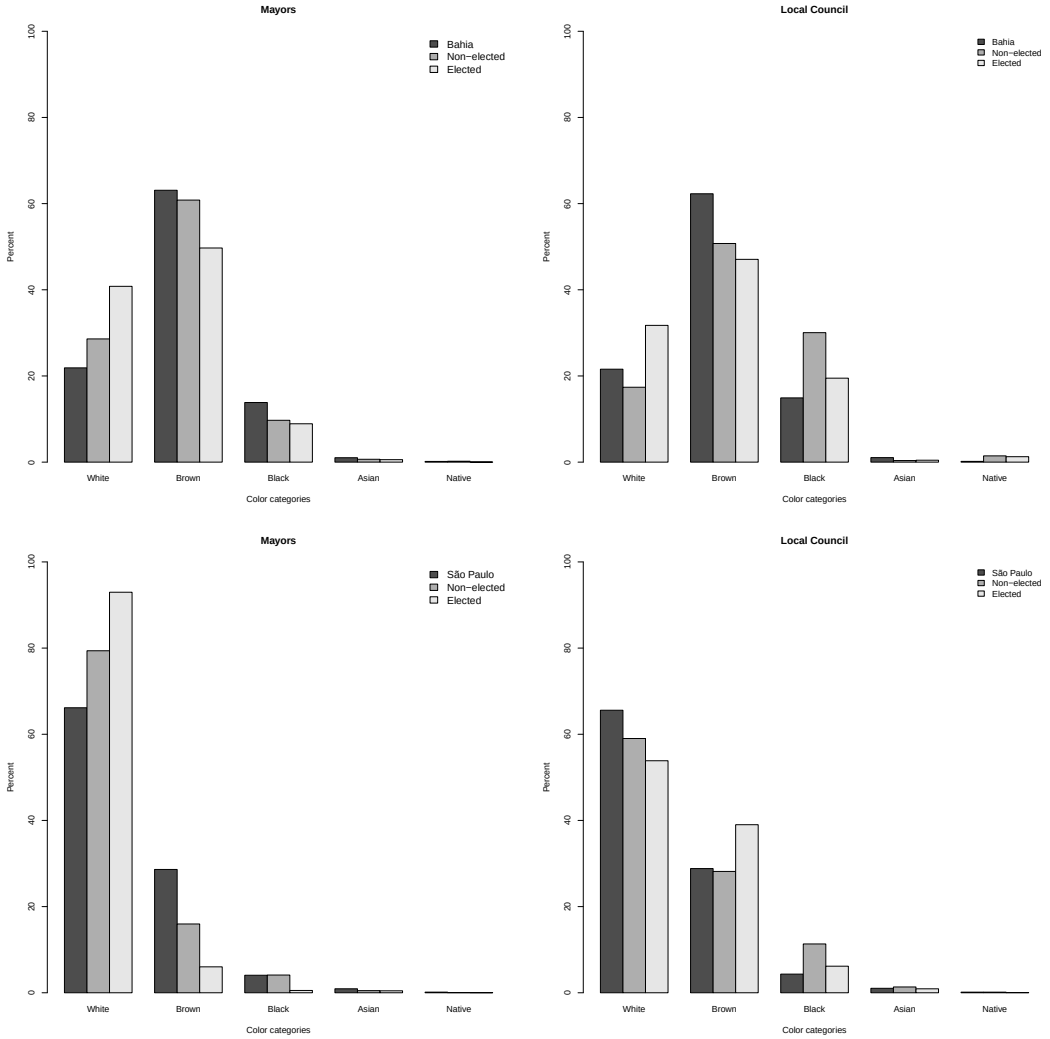
Notes: For the comparison of federal deputies to the population, we weight the population percentages by each state's proportion of federal deputies. We use self-classified data collected by the TSE in 2014.

Figure B.6: Racial distribution of federal deputies (left panel) and governors (right panel), compared to Brazil's adult population as measured in the PNAD. The bottom row compares politicians and residents in North and Northeastern states (2014, self classification).



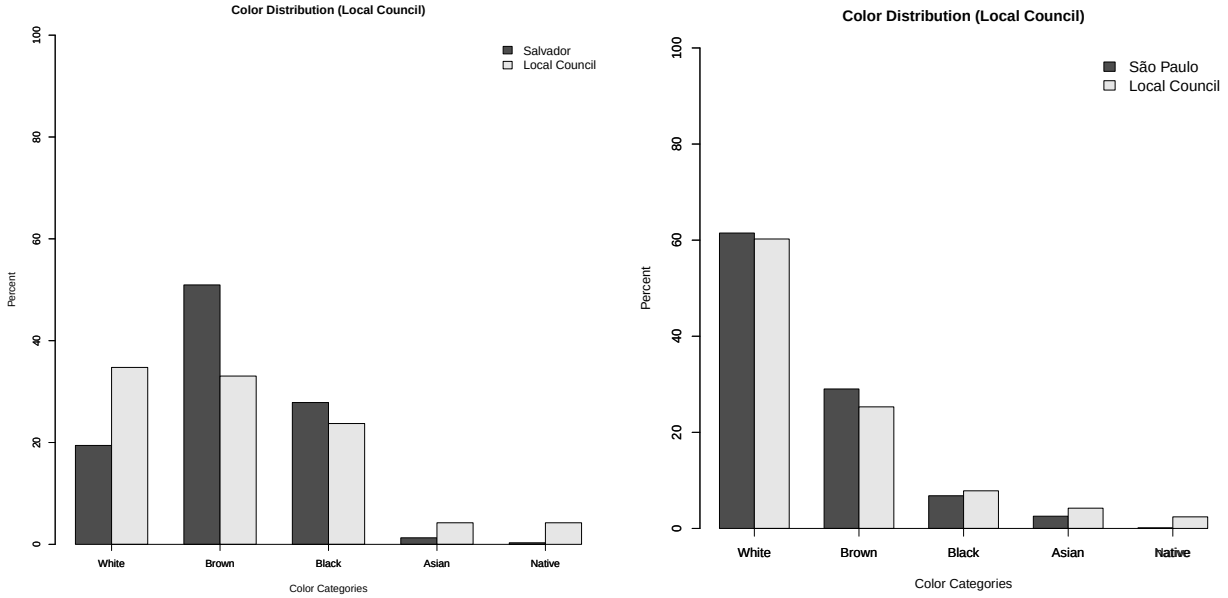
Notes: The figure presents the racial distributions of politicians and citizens in sampled municipalities in each state as measured by the census. We use other-classified data collected by Bueno & Dunning for the 2008 elections.

Figure B.7: Racial distribution of mayors and city councilors in states of Bahia and São Paulo, compared to population (2008 Elections, other classification).



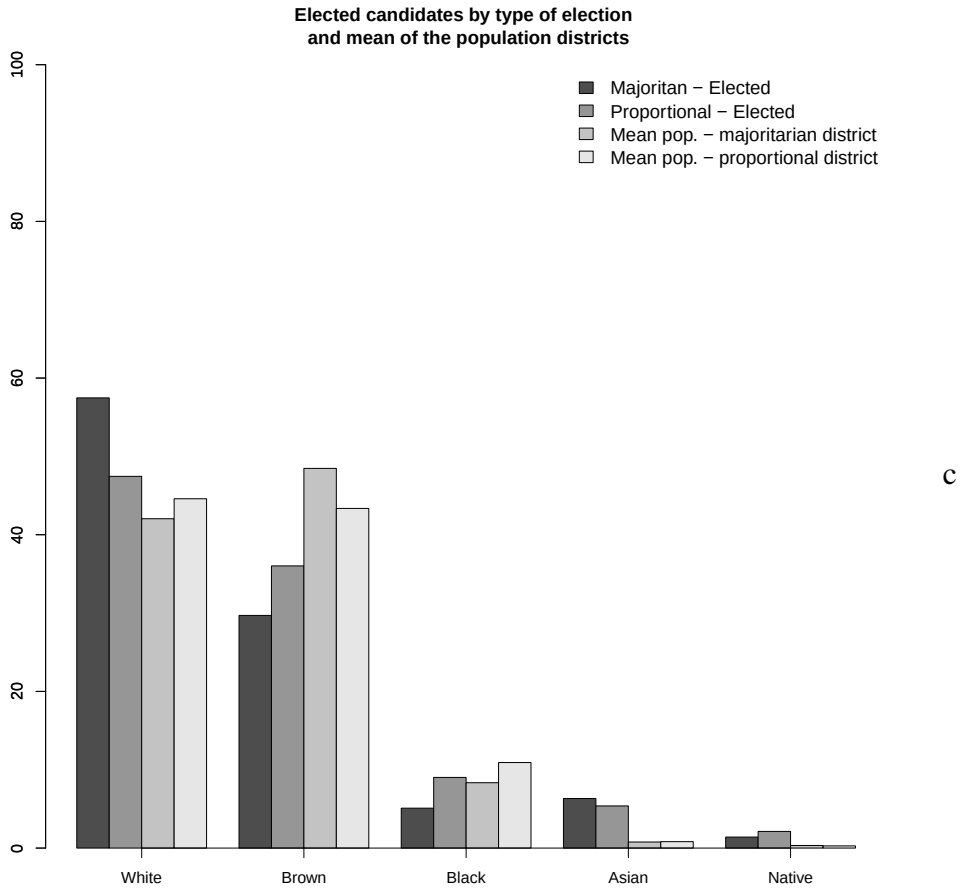
Notes: The figure presents the racial distributions of politicians and citizens in sampled municipalities in each state as measured in the census using the weighted sample of coders. We use other-classified data collected by Bueno & Dunning for the 2008 elections.

Figure B.8: Racial distribution of mayors and city councilors in states of Bahia and São Paulo, compared to population, weighted sample of coders (2008 Elections, other classification).



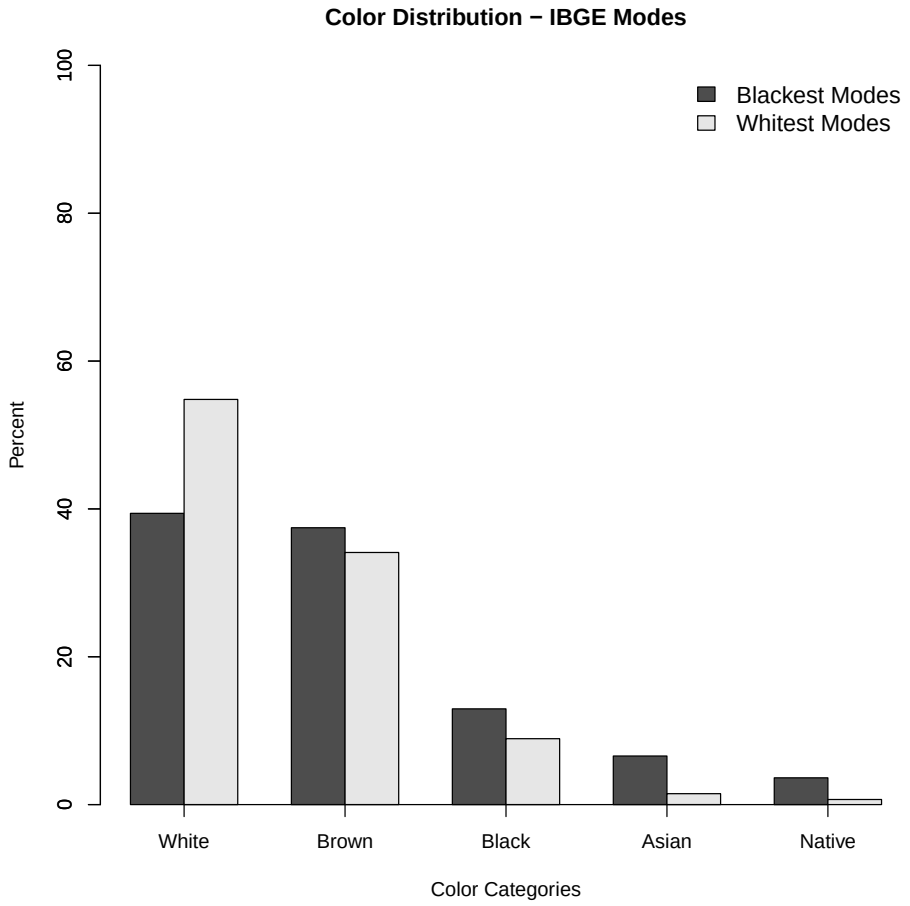
Notes: The figure presents the racial distributions of politicians and citizens in these municipalities as measured in the census. We use other-classified data collected by Bueno & Dunning for the 2008 elections (unweighted sample of coders).

Figure B.9: Racial Distribution of City Councilors in State Capitals of Bahia (left panel) and São Paulo (right panel), Compared to Population in each City (2008 Elections, other classification)



Notes: The figure shows histograms for the racial distribution of politicians elected through majoritarian or proportional electoral rules, compared to histograms for the racial distribution in the relevant jurisdictions for each type of office (each color corresponds to a different histogram). We measure self-identified race of the population using PNAD data.

Figure B.10: Racial Distribution of Elected Officials in Majoritarian and Proportional Elections, Compared to Population in each State (2008 and 2010 Elections, other classification)



Notes: The figure shows the distribution of race for all candidates using the IBGE categories, where the modal coding of each candidate's race is used; when there is a non-unique mode, ties are broken by taking the "blackest" mode (dark bars) or "whitest" mode (light bars).We measure self-identified race of the population using PNAD data.

Figure B.11: Color Distributions of all Candidates, Using Modes to Break Classification Ties (2008 and 2010 Elections, other classification)

C Assessing race-based preferences (Section 3)

C.1 Experimental Stimuli: Text of Videotaped Political Speeches

See authors' personal website for Portuguese version. The speech texts in this section are those delivered in Salvador, Bahia; the speeches used in Rio de Janeiro make modifications where appropriate (e.g., substituting "Rio de Janeiro" for "Salvador").

Text of speeches 1, 2, 3, and 4 (no race or class message)

Speech 1: White actors, wearing a suit
Speech 2: White actors, wearing t-shirt/working class clothes
Speech 3: Black actors, wearing a suit
Speech 4: Black actors, wearing t-shirt/working class clothes

[The text of the speech is read twice by each actor, once while wearing a suit, once while wearing a white T-shirt.]

My dear friends:

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: unemployment and a lack of good jobs, not because of a lack of interest or willingness to work, but because of a lack of opportunity; a health system that allows us to be threatened by epidemics and diseases, such as dengue; a school system that is not able to educate all of our sons and daughters; problems with our infrastructure; and of course, the poverty and frustration of so many. Our middle-class is too small, and even university graduates lack adequate employment opportunities. We all know that there is too much crime in our city, and too much corruption in our political system.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent city with a dignified past. Our country is diverse yet peaceful, and Salvador exemplifies this. Yet so much more can be done to improve the quality of our lives.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight for goals we all believe in: greater employment opportunities so people can help themselves, better education, improved infrastructure, less corruption, and greater care for sick mothers and children. I will work with the other members of the municipal council, our state and federal deputies and senators and our governor to ensure that Salvador receives the resources it needs the resources it deserves to fund education and health care. Economic development is key across all of Brazil, and it is equally important here in our Salvador. I will fight to improve our economy and sustain our healthy and peaceful democracy, and I will fight to improve the quality of life in our beautiful city. These are attainable goals, and I have the determination and skills to achieve them. So please allow me to humbly ask for your support and help. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

Text of Speech 5 – "Black/Poor" speech

[the text of the speech is to be read once by each black actor while wearing t-shirt/working class clothes]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras, though many of you will know me as Negão [Neguinho]. I have been a working person all of my life. I grew up in the popular neighborhoods of Salvador and completed my education here, up to middle school. I first worked as a taxi driver and a mechanic, and later, I was a political organizer and leader in the mechanics union for over 15 years. I know the struggles that ordinary people face in their daily lives, because I am part and parcel of the people [o povão].

Throughout my life, I have also been involved in many activities that benefit my Black [negro] brothers and sisters. For example, I have always struggled against racism and discrimination, and I have fought to make my brothers and sisters proud of their African heritage, which too often we do not valorize. In my chapter of the mechanics union, I organized a Front in Defense of Racial Equality. I have also received an award from the City of Salvador as a "friend of capoeira."

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of popular neighborhoods in Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: unemployment and a lack of jobs; a health system overrun with epidemics, such as dengue; a struggling public school system that is not able to educate all of our sons and daughters; too much violence in our communities; and of course, the poverty and frustration found among so many.

It is important to recognize that many of these problems are especially relevant for our black [negro] brothers and sisters. For example, did you know that 3 out of 4 violent deaths in the periphery of the city are black people? And did you know that on average, black male workers make less than 40 percent of white male workers, and that black women workers earn less than 60 percent of white male workers? Although we do not like to admit it, we have a problem with racism in Brazil, even in our city of Salvador with its dignified Afro-Brazilian heritage. You can see that the government does not do enough to invest in the most needy areas of the city, which are mainly made up of the black population. Blacks and browns [pretos e pardos] are more than 70 percent of the city of Salvador, and we are the majority in the favelas and popular neighborhoods in Salvador, yet we do not see enough black or brown in the faces of our municipal councilors [vereadores]. We have too few blacks [negros] occupying spaces of political power in this city.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent and beautiful city with a dignified Afro-Brazilian [negro] past. Yet the government can do so much more to improve our lives. Our struggle is against racism, intolerance, and social inequalities, and in defense of the interests of all common people. This cause deserves your vote.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight for the goals shared by the people [o povão]: greater employment opportunities, expanded access to education, public housing projects, care for sick mothers and children and of course, decreased poverty among our brothers and sisters. We need to struggle to defend opportunities for needy people and communities [comunidades carentes]. When I am a city councilor, I want to coordinate a program to increase work opportunities for black [negro] youth and to combat racism. We should also do more to promote the cultural resources that come from our proud Afro-Brazilian past. If you elect me, I will work to promote the spread of afro music and capoeira, and I will also support Hip-Hop events and other cultural programs for Afro-Brazilian youth. Finally, I will work with the other members of the municipal council, our state and federal deputies and senators and our governor to ensure that Salvador receives the resources it needs the resources it deserves from books to

medication to jobs. Economic development is key across all of Brazil and it is equally important here in our Salvador. I will fight to improve our economy and to sustain our healthy and peaceful democracy, and I will fight to improve the quality of life in our beautiful city.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination, skills, and experience as a political organizer necessary to achieve them. So please allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I will not let you down. I thank you for your attention and your support during this election. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

Text of speech 6 – "Black/Rich" speech

[the text of the speech is to be read once by each black actor while wearing a suit]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras. I am a Bahian lawyer and have also been a professor in a private middle school [profesor de ensino medio]. I graduated from the Federal University of Bahia [UFBA] here in Salvador and did my post-graduate education there as well. As many of you know, throughout my life I have worked with many non-governmental organizations to improve the quality of life in our neighborhoods and especially to improve the quality of schools in our city.

I have also been involved in many activities that specifically benefit our Black [negro]brothers and sisters. For example, I have always struggled against racism and discrimination in our universities; as a student leader, I organized a Front in Defense of Racial Equality. I have always fought to help my brothers and sisters accept [assumir] and be proud of their African cultural heritage, which too often we do not valorize.

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: lack of employment opportunities for university graduates; a middle-class that is still too small; inadequate numbers of specialized hospitals and too little in the way of modern medicine; the high costs of private middle schools, which are the best alternative for parents who want their children to gain admittance to prestigious universities; and crime that too often threatens our property and way of life. It is important for us to realize that many of these challenges are even greater for our black [negro] brothers and sisters. For example, did you know that in Brazil, blacks (negros) only make up 1.8% of university students, despite the recent policy of implementing quotas for university admissions? In addition, there is discrimination in the labor market. Blacks leave the university having grown intellectually, but when it's time for employment, the boss says, Bring your resume with a photo, and you know he would like to choose a blond with blue eyes. We also have too few blacks [negros] occupying spaces of political power in this city. Blacks and browns [pretos e pardos] are more than 70 percent of the population of the city of Salvador, yet we do not see enough black or brown [preto o pardo] in the faces of our municipal councilors [vereadores]. Although we do not like to admit it, we still have a problem with racism in Brazil, even in our city of Salvador with its dignified Afro-Brazilian heritage.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent city with a dignified Afro-Brazilian [negro] past. Yet so much more can be done to improve life in our beautiful city.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight to defend the middle-class and to expand

educational and employment opportunities for the people of Salvador. I want to increase the number of public hospitals and especially private clinics, where the best modern medicine is made available, and I want to improve access to private middle schools. I will work with the police to crack down on crime that too often threatens our property and our way of life. As an Afro-Brazilian, I will also defend quotas in public and private universities for blacks, and I will fight against racism and discrimination in the labor market. I would also like to see seats reserved for blacks in political parties, so that blacks can occupy more prominent spaces of political power in this city. Finally, those of us who are more educated also have a special responsibility to promote the cultural resources that stem from our proud Afro-Brazilian past. If you elect me, I will work to promote education about black history as well as all of the issues facing blacks in Brazil today.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination, skills, and education necessary to achieve them. So allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

Text of speech 7 – "White/Rich" speech

[the text of the speech is to be read once by each white actor, while wearing a suit]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras. I am a Bahian lawyer and have also been a professor in a private middle school [profesor de ensino medio]. I graduated from the Federal University of Bahia [UFBA] here in Salvador and did my post-graduate education there as well. As many of you know, throughout my life I have worked with many non-governmental organizations to improve the quality of life in our neighborhoods and especially to improve the quality of schools in our city.

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: lack of employment opportunities for university graduates; a middle-class that is still too small; inadequate numbers of specialized hospitals and too little in the way of modern medicine; the high costs of private middle schools, which are the best alternative for parents who want their children to gain admittance to prestigious universities; and crime that too often threatens our property and way of life. Our best and most talented citizens often do not have the opportunities or rewards that they should have, because a dysfunctional system limits their economic opportunities.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent and beautiful city. Yet so much more can be done to improve the quality of our lives.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight to defend the middle-class and to expand educational and employment opportunities for our children. I want to increase the number of private clinics, where the best modern medicine is made available, and I want to improve access to private middle schools. I will work with the police to crack down on crime that too often threatens our property and our way of life. I also want to defend a policy of merit in our schools and universities and in our labor markets and not a policy of cuotas or special privileges. The law should not differentiate between citizens; it should protect all Brazilians. We should reward people who conquer spaces with their intelligence and ambition, not with government favors.

I have the determination, skills and education necessary to achieve my goals. So allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

Text of speech 8 – "White/Poor" speech

[the text of the speech is to be read once by each white actor, while wearing t-shirt/working class clothes]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras. I have been a working person all of my life. I grew up in the popular neighborhoods of Salvador and completed my education here up to middle school. I first worked as a taxi driver and a mechanic, and later, I was a political organizer and leader in the mechanics' union for over 15 years. I know the struggles that ordinary people face in their daily lives, because I am part and parcel of the people [o povão].

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: unemployment and a lack of jobs; a health system overrun with epidemics, such as dengue; a struggling public school system that is not able to educate all of our sons and daughters; too much violence in our communities; and of course, the poverty and frustration found among so many. Although our country strives for equality, Salvador is still highly unequal. Why is it that some areas have their electricity cut daily while others do not? Why is it that some of our children can go to school regularly while others do not? Why are some men and women able to find stable jobs with the government or in the private sector while others are forced to migrate outside of Salvador, even outside of Brazil to find opportunities to work?

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent and beautiful city. Yet the government can do so much more to improve our lives. My struggle is against social inequalities, and in defense of the interests of all common people. This cause deserves your vote.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight for the goals shared by the people [o povão]: greater employment opportunities, expanded access to education, public housing projects, care for sick mothers and children and of course, decreased poverty among our brothers and sisters. We especially need to struggle to defend opportunities for needy people and communities [comunidades carentes]. I will work with the other members of the municipal council to ensure that our resources benefit the people who need them the most.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination, the skills, and the experience as a political organizer necessary to achieve them. I know what it means to be of the people [do povão], and I will never forget what it is that working families need from our government. So please allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them, because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

C.2 Survey experiment: Additional tests

Table C.1: Population Distribution by Race and Social Class (Whites and Non-Whites in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador)

	Rich (A/B)	Poor (C/D/E)
Salvador		
Whites (*brancos*)	13.9%	11.5%
Non-Whites (*pretos/pardos*)	19.2%	55.5%
Rio de Janeiro		
Whites (*brancos*)	36.7%	22.4%
Non-Whites (*pretos/pardos*)	15.1%	24.9%

Notes: The table shows the distribution by race and class of all whites and non-whites in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Data are from survey company Destaque. Here, for ease of presentation, "whites" include those who self-identified as white (*branco*) using the IBGE categories, while "non-whites" include those who self-identified as black (*preto*) or brown (*pardo*); elsewhere, we disaggregate the latter group. We measure social class as self-reported income using the the IBGE categories (A/B/C/D/E, where A are the richest and E are the poorest); here, citizens in category A or B are grouped as "rich," while categories C, D, and E are grouped as "poor." Percentages do not sum exactly to 100% due to rounding.

Table C.2: Effects of Politicians' Race and Class (Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Mean Evaluation
White politician	3.05
	(0.09)
Black politician	3.24
	(0.09)
Rich Politician	3.08
	(0.09)
Poor Politician	3.21
	(0.09)
Rich Politician	3.16
with "rich speech"	(0.13)
Poor Politician	3.28
with "poor speech"	(0.12)

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Standard errors are in parentheses. "Rich" politicians are wearing a suit, while "poor" politicians are wearing a white T-shirt. The "rich speech" and "poor speech" treatment conditions refer to speech versions that draw attention to the candidate's class background.

Table C.3: Effects of Shared Race and Class on Candidate Evaluations
(Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician from same class (C)	All subjects: 3.35 (0.13)	All subjects: 3.12 (0.12)	0.23 (0.17)
	No browns: 3.41 (0.15)	No browns: 3.17 (0.14)	0.23 (0.21)
Subject and politician from different class (D)	All subjects: 2.92 (0.12)	All subjects: 3.21 (0.12)	-0.29 (0.17)
	No browns: 2.76 (0.14)	No browns: 3.27 (0.15)	-0.51**(0.2)
C - D (all)	0.43**(0.17)	-0.09 (0.17)	
C - D (no browns)	0.64***(0.20)	-0.1 (0.21)	

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale. Standard errors are in parentheses.$^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$.

Table C.4: Effects of Shared Race and Class, White and Black Subjects
(Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician from same class (C)	White subjects: 3.16 (0.17)	White subjects 3.14 (0.16)	0.02 (0.24)
	Black subjects 4.00 (0.30)	Black respondents 3.27 (0.30)	0.73 (0.43)
Subject and politician from different class (D)	White subjects: 2.66 (0.17)	White subjects: 3.15 (0.17)	-0.49**(0.24)
	Black subjects: 3.00 (0.25)	Black subjects: 3.56 (0.30)	-0.56 (0.39)
C - D (white)	0.50**(0.24)	-0.01 (0.24)	
C - D (black)	1.00**(0.39)	-0.29 (0.43)	

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale. Standard errors are in parentheses.*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$

Table C.5: Effects of Shared Race and Class, Rich and Poor Subjects (Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician have the same class (C)	Rich respondents: 2.99 (0.18)	Rich respondents 2.64 (0.15)	0.35 (0.23)
	Poor respondents 3.70 (0.18)	Poor respondents 3.62 (0.17)	0.08 (0.25)
Subject and politician have different class (D)	Rich respondents: 2.7(0.15)	Rich respondents: 2.83 (0.17)	-0.13 (0.23)
	Poor respondents: 3.18 (0.19)	Poor respondents: 3.52 (0.17)	-0.34 (0.25)
C - D (Rich)	0.29 (0.23)	-0.19 (0.23)	
C - D (Poor)	0.52***(0.26)	0.1 (0.24)	

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Standard errors are in parentheses. "Rich" respondents are in A or B income categories, while "poor" respondents are in C, D, or E categories. Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale.*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$

Table C.6: Effects of Shared Perceived Race and Perceived Class (Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician have the same class (C)	3.26	3.31	-0.05
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.18)
Subject and politician have different class (D)	3.16	2.93	0.23
	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.17)
C - D	0.1	0.38^{***}	
	(0.2)	(0.15)	

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Standard errors are in parentheses. Here we use subject's perception of the candidate's race and class rather than the assigned race and class. Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale.$^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$

Table C.7: Effects of Shared Race and Class for Subjects who would be either uncomfortable or very uncomfortable marrying someone from a different race (Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician have the same class (C)	3.69	3.18	0.51
	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.61)
Subject and politician have different class (D)	2.88	2.87	0.01
	(0.49)	(0.43)	(0.65)
C - D	0.81	0.31	
	(0.65)	(0.61)	

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Standard errors are in parentheses. Here we use subject's perception of the candidate's race and class rather than the assigned race and class. Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale.$^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$

Table C.8: Effects of Shared Race and Class for Subjects who Believe Members of the Local Council Favor People of their Own Racial or Ethnic Group (Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

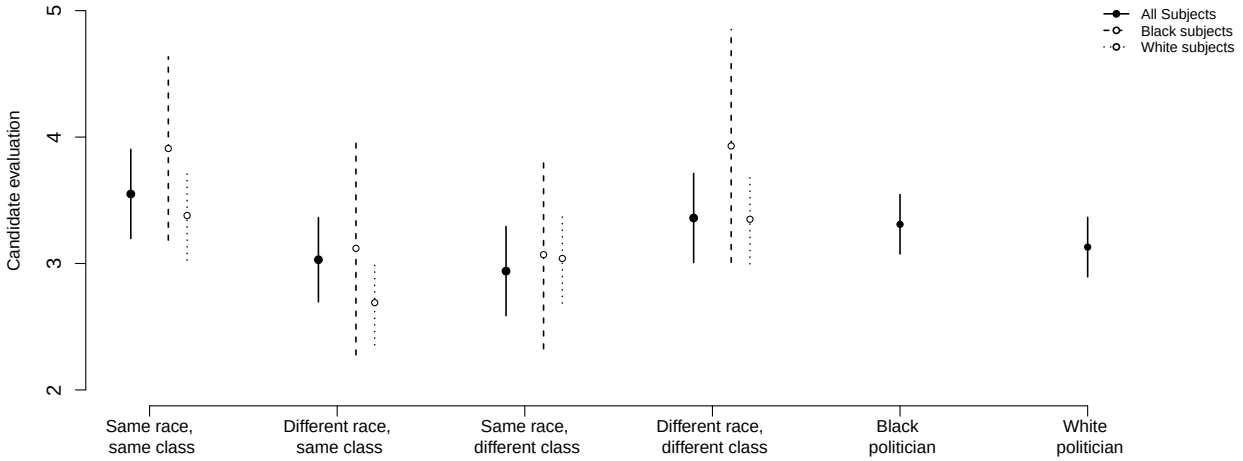
	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician have the same class (C)	3.32	2.85	0.47
	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.33)
Subject and politician have different class (D)	2.7	3.06	-0.36
	(0.22)	(0.2)	(0.29)
C - D	0.62	-0.21	
	(0.34)	(0.28)	

Notes: n=367. Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale. Standard errors are in parentheses.$^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$

Table C.9: Effects of Shared Race and Class, for Baseline and "Class and Race" Speeches (Mean Evaluations of Propensity to Vote for the Candidate)

	Subject and politician have the same race (A)	Subject and politician have different race (B)	A - B
Subject and politician have the same class (C)	Speech: 3.55 (0.18)	Speech: 3.03 (0.17)	0.52***(0.24)
	Baseline Speech: 3.12 (0.19)	Baseline Speech: 3.2 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.25)
	Pooled: 3.35 (0.13)	Pooled: 3.12 (0.12)	0.23 (0.17)
Subject and politician have different class (D)	Speech: 2.94 (0.18)	Speech: 3.36 (0.18)	-0.42 (0.25)
	Baseline Speech: 2.9 (0.16)	Baseline Speech: 3.06 (0.17)	-0.16 (0.23)
	Pooled: 2.92 (0.12)	Pooled: 3.21 (0.12)	-0.29 (0.17)
C - D (Speech)	0.61***(0.25)	-0.33 (0.25)	
C - D (Baseline Speech)	0.22 (0.25)	0.14 (0.23)	
C - D (Pooled)	0.43**(0.17)	-0.09 (0.17)	

Notes: Each cell of the table presents average answers to the question: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" Standard errors are in parentheses. "Speech" refers to respondents who saw the version of the speech that was designed to draw attention to the candidate's class and racial background, while "baseline speech" refers to respondents who did not see the version of the speech that was designed to draw attention to the candidate's class and racial background. "Pooled" refers to all subjects, exposed to either "speech" or "baseline speech," just as presented in Table C.4. Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale.$^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$



Notes: n=589. The figure only includes respondents exposed to the version of the speech that was designed to draw attention to the candidate's class and racial background. The figure depicts average responses to the question, "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" The "all subjects" category (black line) includes self-identified whites, blacks, and browns. Race of subjects is coded from self-reports using the census (IBGE) scale. Vertical lines indicate 95% confidence intervals based on normal approximations. Differences between evaluations of candidates in the same race and different race conditions are not statistically significant.

Figure C.1: Effects of candidates' race and class ("class and race" speech)

C.3 Additional analysis: candidate evaluation outcomes

We measured 19 candidate evaluation questions after subjects watched the videotaped speeches. These questions measured (from the bottom up, in the Figure C.2): (1) quality of speech, (2) the speech would make the subject vote for the candidate, (3) empathy, (4) intelligence, (5) trustworthiness, (6) competence, (7) impressiveness, (8) subject agrees with candidate's political ideas, (9) candidate has good reasons for running, (10) candidate is up for the challenge, (11) candidate would do a good job, (12) candidate would defend and fight for his ideals, (13) he worries about people like the subject, (14) he is concerned about the same issues as the subject, (15) if elected he would keep his promises, (16) if he broke his promises people like the subject would know, (17) people like the subject would be able to hold the candidate accountable if he broke his promises, (18) if elected he would provide more social benefits and welfare programs for people like the subject, (19) if elected people like the subject would be able to get a government job. See authors' websites for full questionnaire.

The Figure below presents the p-values for the difference of means, and discrete KS tests comparing evaluations for White and Black candidates, for all subjects, pooling across types of speech.

Figure C.2: Candidate Evaluation: White - Black Candidates

Note: Two-sided tests.

C.4 Perception of Race in the Survey Experiment

Table C.10: Sex and Perception of Race

	Expected (Black, Brown, White)	"Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White)	Expected (White and Non-White)	"Misclassification" (White and Non-White)
Male	0.64	0.36	0.76	0.24
Female	0.64	0.36	0.76	0.24

Notes: Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they misclassified), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did misclassified). "Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White):χ-squared = 0, df = 1, p-value = 1. "Misclassification" (White and Non-White): χ-squared < 0.001, df = 1, p-value = 1

Table C.11: Class and Perception of Race

	Expected (Black, Brown, White)	"Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White)	Expected (White and Non-White)	"Misclassification" (White and Non-White)
Class E	0.56	0.44	0.71	0.29
Class D	0.60	0.40	0.75	0.25
Class C	0.66	0.34	0.78	0.22
Class B	0.64	0.36	0.75	0.25
Class A2	0.68	0.32	0.71	0.29
Class A1	0.67	0.33	0.78	0.22

Notes: Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they misclassified), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did misclassified). "Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White):χ-squared = 3.966, df = 5, p-value = 0.5543. "Misclassification" (White and Non-White):χ-squared = 3.5495, df = 5, p-value = 0.6159

Table C.12: Subjects' Race and Perception of Race

	Expected (Black, Brown, White)	"Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White)	Expected (White and Non-White)	"Misclassification" (White and Non-White)
Black (*Preto*)	0.67	0.33	0.75	0.25
Brown (*Pardo*)	0.58	0.42	0.72	0.28
White (*Branco*)	0.67	0.33	0.78	0.22

Notes: Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they misclassified), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did misclassified). "Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White):χ-squared = 9.0307, df = 2, p-value = 0.01094. "Misclassification" (White and Non-White): χ-squared = 5.7963, df = 2, p-value = 0.05513.

Table C.13: Schooling and Perception of Race

	Expected (Black, Brown, White)	"Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White)	Expected (White and Non-White)	"Misclassification" (White and Non-White)
Incomplete Middle School	0.52	0.48	0.70	0.30
Complete Middle School	0.57	0.43	0.70	0.30
Incomplete High School	0.66	0.34	0.78	0.22
Complete High School	0.67	0.33	0.77	0.23
Incomplete College	0.63	0.37	0.75	0.25
Complete College	0.65	0.35	0.74	0.26
Graduate Level Degree	0.71	0.29	0.79	0.21
Master's Degree	0.69	0.31	0.81	0.19
PhD	0.71	0.29	0.86	0.14

Notes: Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they misclassified), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did misclassified). "Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White):χ-squared = 14.44, df = 8, p-value = 0.07099. "Misclassification" (White and Non-White): χ-squared = 6.5559, df = 8, p-value = 0.5852.

Table C.14: Religion and Perception of Race

	Expected (Black, Brown, White)	"Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White)	Expected (White and Non-White)	"Misclassification" (White and Non-White)
Catholic	0.62	0.38	0.74	0.26
Christian	0.64	0.36	0.78	0.22
Afro-religions	0.76	0.24	0.78	0.22
None	0.65	0.35	0.76	0.24
Other	0.67	0.33	0.83	0.17

Notes: Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they misclassified), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did misclassified). "Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White):χ-squared = 14.44, df = 8, p-value = 0.07099. "Misclassification" (White and Non-White): χ-squared = 6.5559, df = 8, p-value = 0.5852.

Table C.15: Civil Status and Perception of Race

	Expected (Black, Brown, White)	"Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White)	Expected (White and Non-White)	"Misclassification" (White and Non-White)
Married	0.67	0.33	0.79	0.21
Single	0.64	0.36	0.74	0.26
Divorced/Separated	0.64	0.36	0.76	0.24
Widowed	0.44	0.56	0.63	0.37

Notes: Pearson's Chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they misclassified), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects classified correctly if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did misclassified). "Misclassification" (Black, Brown, White):χ-squared =10.506, df = 3, p-value = 0.01472. "Misclassification" (White and Non-White): χ-squared = 8.5393, df = 3, p-value = 0.03609.

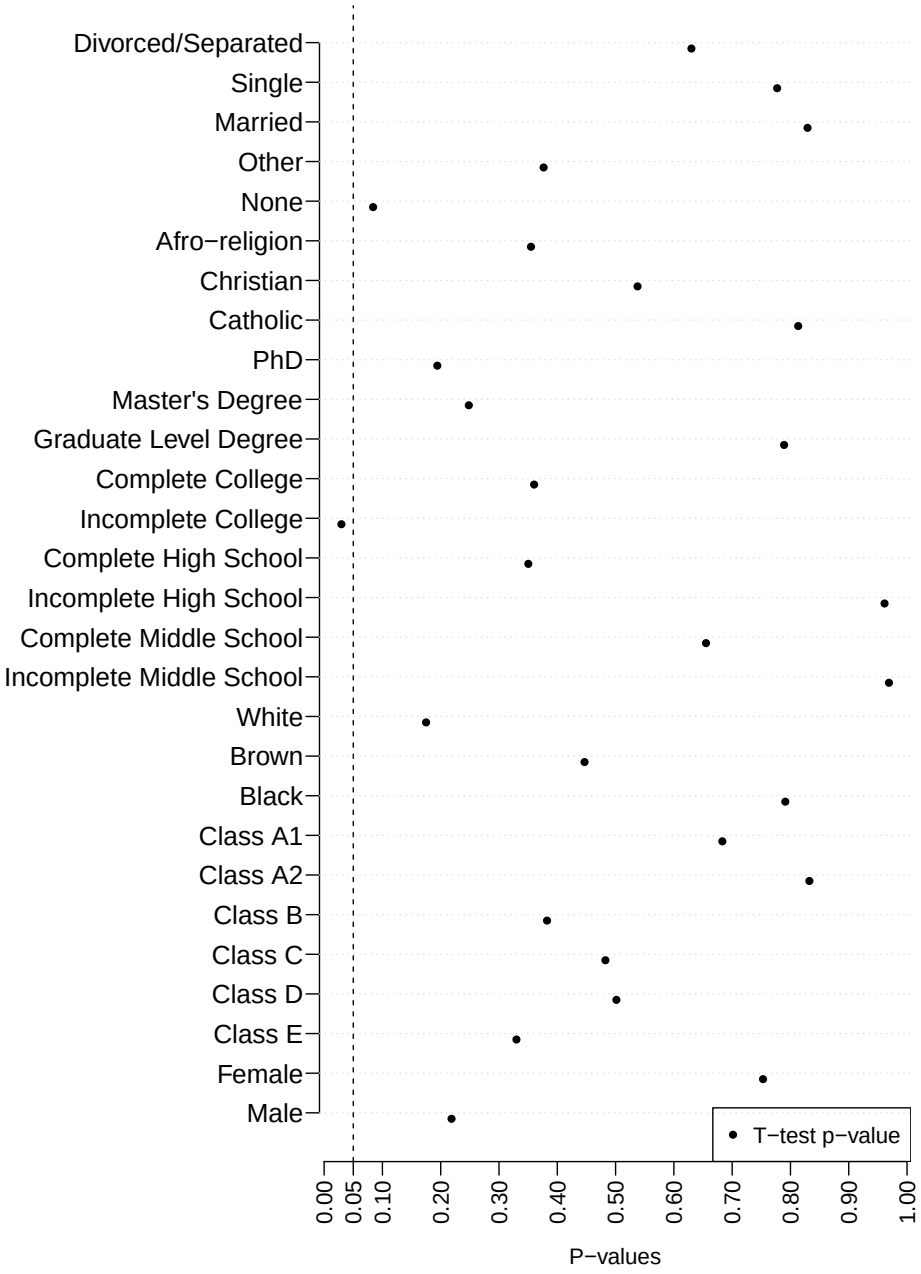


Figure C.3: P-value plot for ITTs by all sub-groups in available pre-treatment covariates

Notes: Two-sided p-values from difference of means. Outcome: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?"

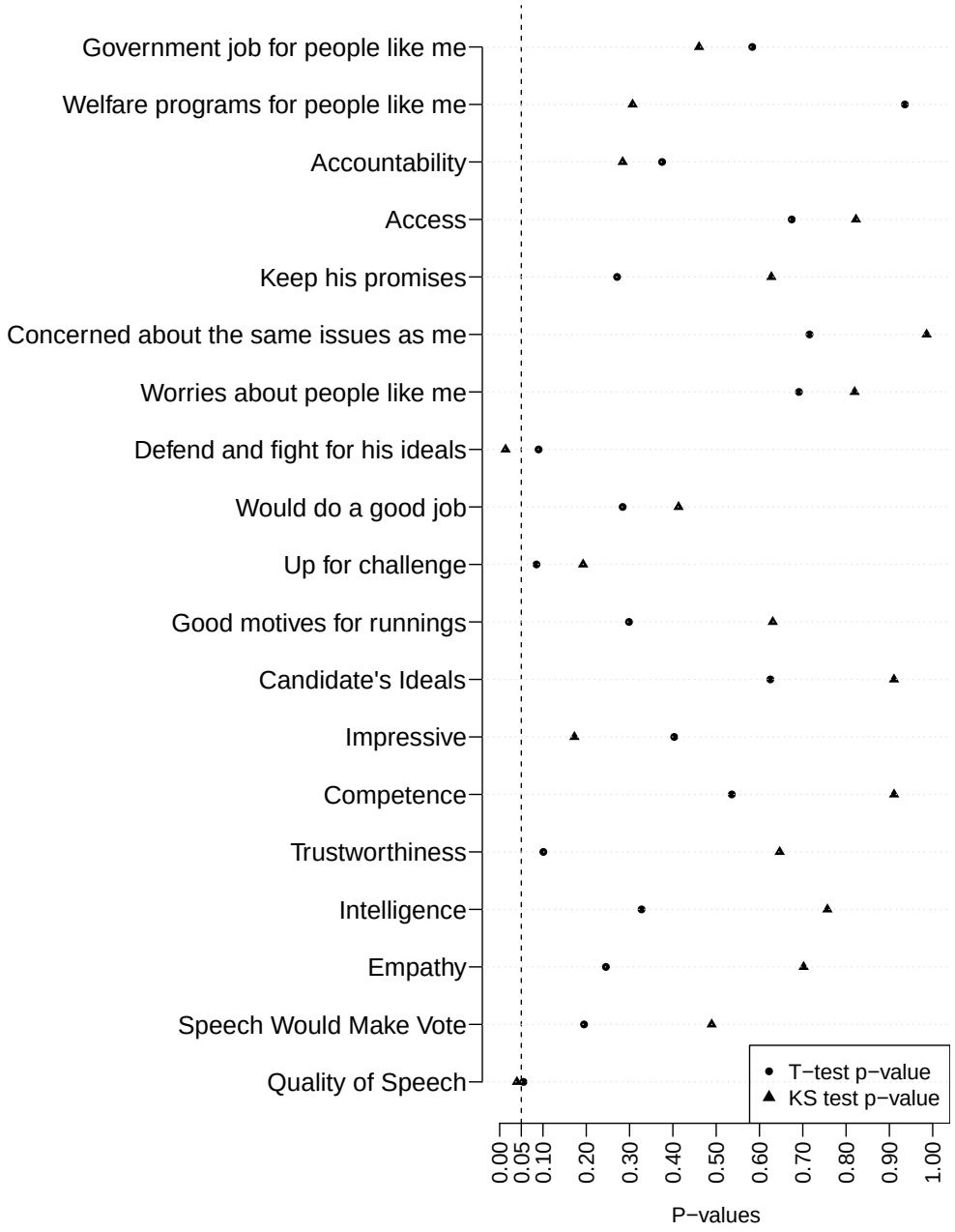


Figure C.4: P-value plot for ITTs (white subjects)

Notes: Two-sided p-values from difference of means. All outcomes, restricting the sample to white survey subjects.

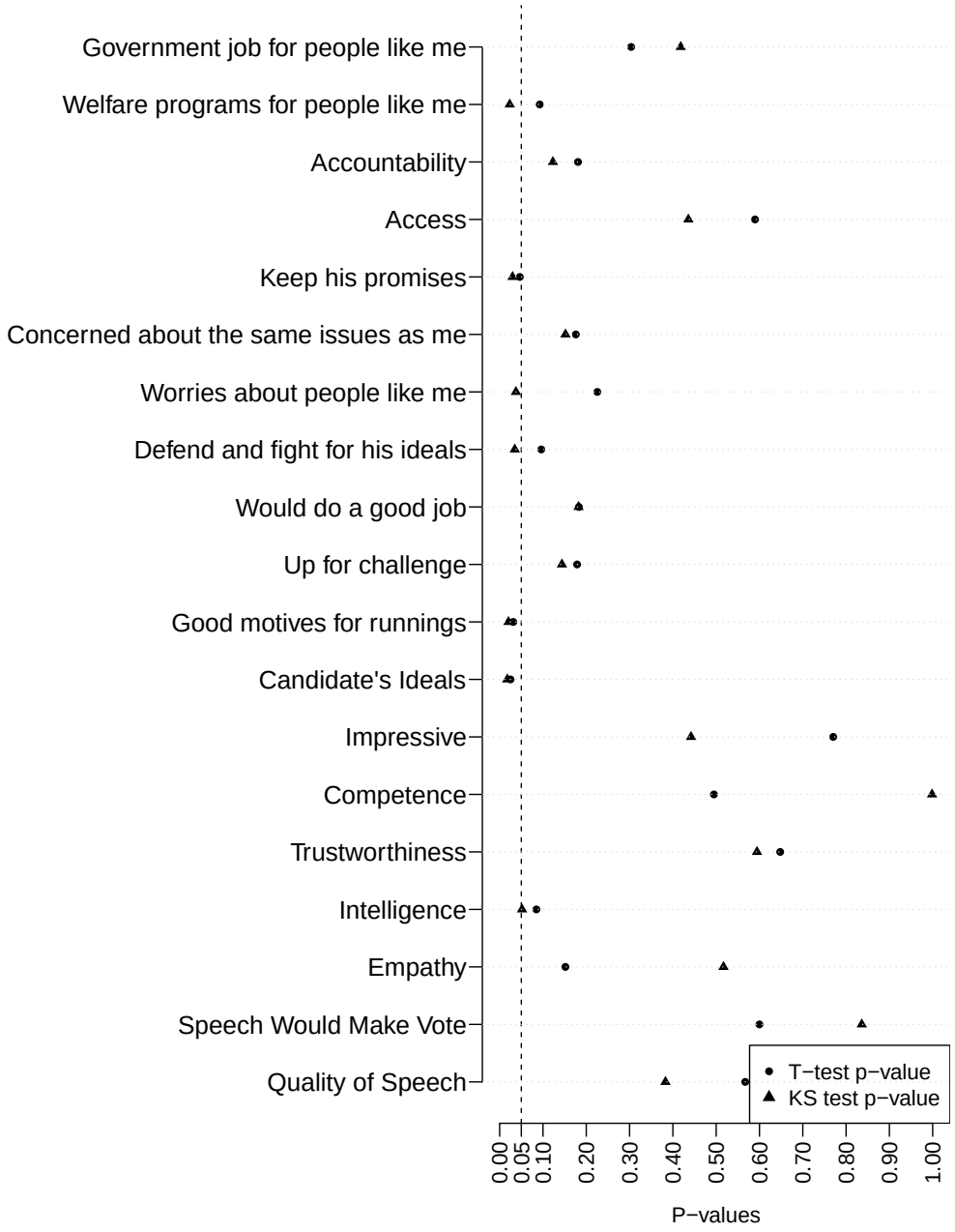


Figure C.5: P-value plot for ITTs (brown subjects)

Notes: Two-sided p-values from difference of means. All outcomes, restricting the sample to brown survey subjects.

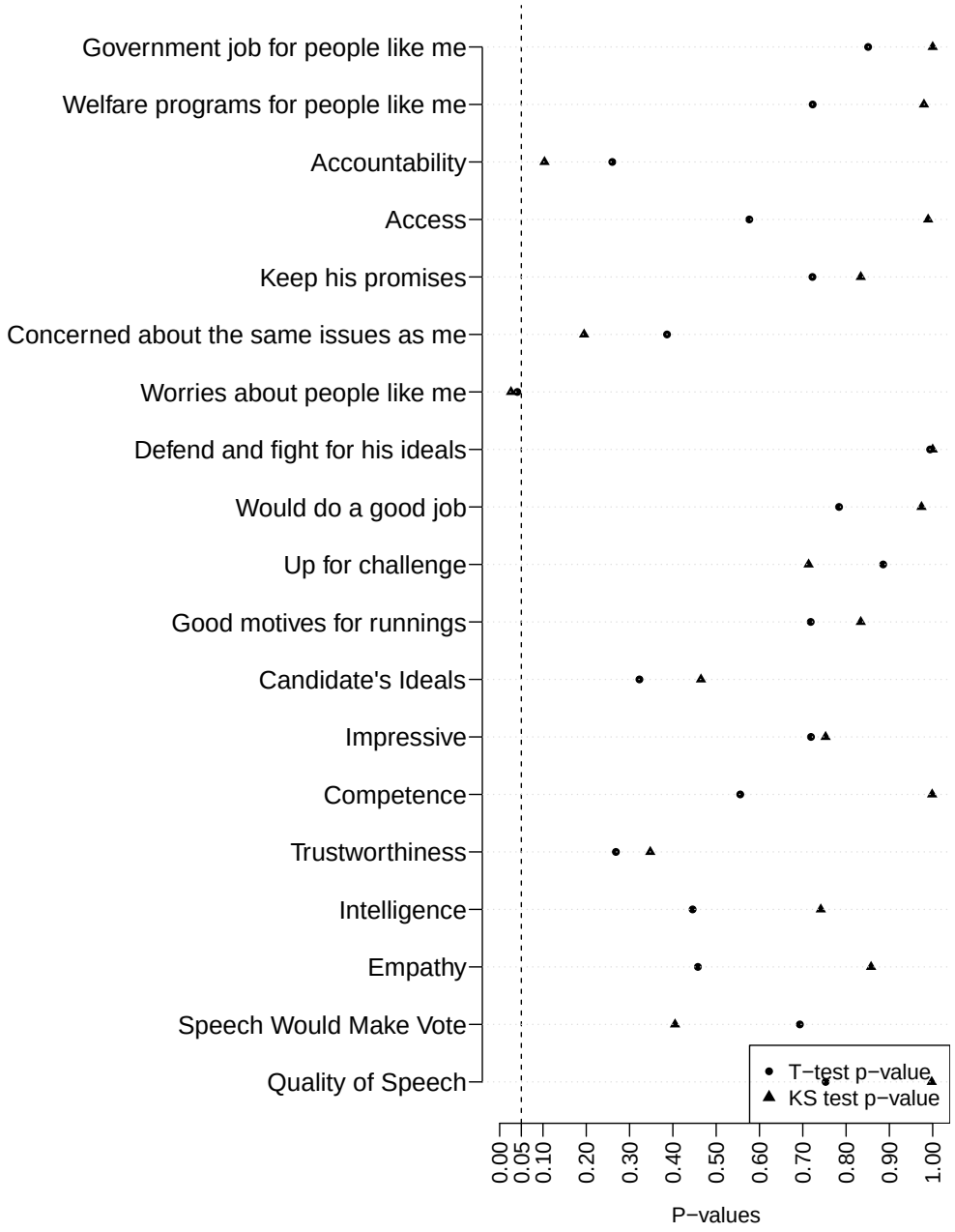


Figure C.6: P-value plot for ITTs for (black, *preto*, subjects)

Notes: Two-sided p-values from difference of means. All outcomes, restricting the sample to white survey subjects.

Table C.16: CACE: Compliance with Politicians' Assigned Race

	Model 1	Model 2
Treated	−0.62	
(Black, Brown, White)	(2.15)	
Treated		−0.54
(White and Non-White)		(1.89)
Intercept	3.54*	3.56*
	(1.38)	(1.43)

Notes: Instrumental Variables with Robust Standard Errors. We use two measures of compliance with treatment. 1) Black, Brown, and Whites: subjects comply with treatment if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as black (thus, if subjects classified a white or black politician as brown, they did not comply with treatment), and 2) White and Non-white: subjects comply with treatment if they classified a white politician as white and a black politician as either black or brown (thus, if they classified a white politician as brown, they did not comply with treatment). $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$.

We implement the regression model to predict compliance with treatment. Results are shown in Table C.17. We retrieved the predicted probabilities for complying with treatment, stratified subjects based on that score (above and below the median), and conducted our ITT analyses to evaluate whether treatment effect estimates would differ by these groups. Results by strata of the propensity score are shown in Figures C.7 and C.8

Table C.17: Probit Regression Results

	Dependent Variable: Compliance with Politicians' Assigned Race
Race: Brown	−0.257**
	(0.110)
Race: White	−0.036
	(0.104)
Marital Status: Single	−0.108
	(0.083)
Marital Status: Divorced	−0.097
	(0.140)
Marital Status: Widowed	−0.537***
	(0.184)
Sex: Female	0.003
	(0.078)
Income: Class D	0.054
	(0.212)
Income: Class C	0.157
	(0.201)
Income: Class B	0.079
	(0.204)
Income: Class A2	0.143
	(0.240)
Income: Class A1	0.100
	(0.313)
Schooling: Complete Middle School	0.085
	(0.168)
Schooling: Incomplete High School	0.331**
	(0.158)
Schooling: Complete High School	0.332**
	(0.136)
Schooling: Incomplete College	0.207
	(0.170)
Schooling: Complete College	0.260
	(0.186)
Schooling: Post-graduate degree	0.448*
	(0.248)
Schooling: Masters' Degree	0.402
	(0.371)
Schooling: PhD	0.375
	(0.539)
Religion: Christian (Evangelical, etc)	0.098
	(0.102)
Religion: Candombl/Ubamda	0.393**
	(0.189)
Religion: None	0.079
	(0.102)
Religion: Other	0.137
	(0.204)
Constant	0.120
	(0.255)
Observations	1,197
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,573.602

Notes: Omitted categories (black, married, class E, incomplete middle school, and catholic). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Figure C.7: P-value plot for ITTs for (subjects with lower probability of complying with treatment)

Notes: Two-sided p-values from difference of means. All outcomes, restricting the sample to survey subjects whose predicted probability of complying with treatment is below the median.

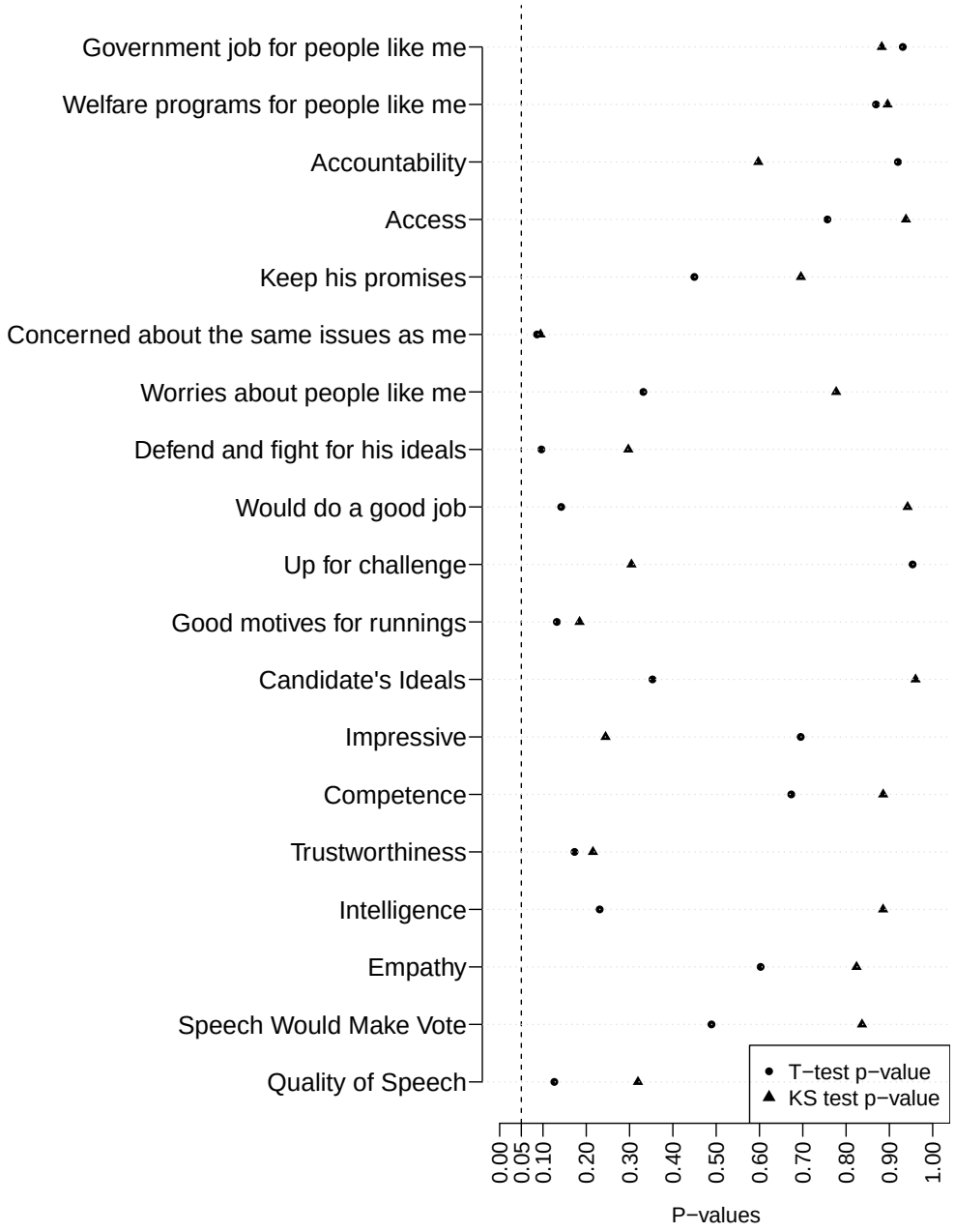


Figure C.8: P-value plot for ITTs for (subjects with higher probability of complying with treatment)

Notes: Two-sided p-values from difference of means. All outcomes, restricting the sample to survey subjects whose predicted probability of complying with treatment is above the median.

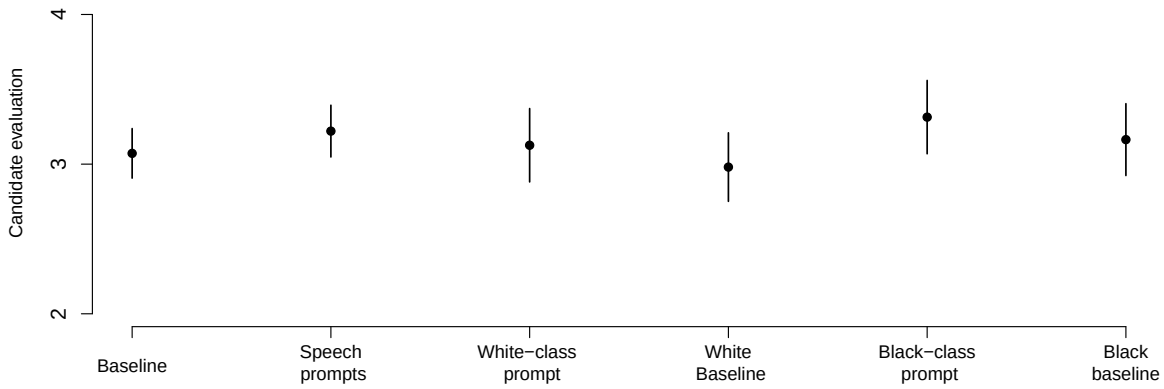


Figure C.9: Average Candidate Evaluation by Type of Speech

Notes: The figure depicts average responses to the question, "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?". This figure includes all respondents and pools across actors. Vertical lines indicate 95% confidence intervals based on normal approximations.

Table C.18: Candidate Evaluation by Speech

	Dependent variable: Candidate Evaluation
Baseline White	0.039
Poor	(0.242)
Baseline Black	0.092
Rich	(0.242)
Baseline Black	0.314
Poor	(0.242)
Prompt Black	0.323
Poor	(0.244)
Prompt Black	0.384
Rich	(0.244)
Prompt White	0.012
Rich	(0.244)
Prompt White	0.320
Poor	(0.245)
Constant	2.961^{***}
	(0.171)
Observations	1,199
R^2	0.005
Adjusted R^2	−0.001
Residual Std. Error	2.111 (df = 1191)
F Statistic	0.899 (df = 7; 1191)

Notes: Omitted category: Speech "Baseline White Rich". The dependent variable's text reads: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table C.19: Candidate Evaluation by Politician

	Dependent variable: Candidate Evaluation
Politician 2	−0.029
	(0.354)
Politician 3	−0.257
	(0.354)
Politician 4	0.157
	(0.354)
Politician 5	−0.871**
	(0.354)
Politician 6	−0.829**
	(0.354)
Politician 7	−0.373
	(0.355)
Politician 8	−0.257
	(0.354)
Politician 9	0.314
	(0.354)
Politician 10	0.443
	(0.354)
Politician 11	−0.329
	(0.339)
Politician 12	0.100
	(0.339)
Politician 13	−0.196
	(0.341)
Politician 14	−0.067
	(0.339)
Politician 15	0.044
	(0.340)
Politician 16	0.261
	(0.340)
Constant	3.257***
	(0.250)
Observations	1,199
R^2	0.028
Adjusted R^2	0.015
Residual Std. Error	2.094 (df = 1183)
F Statistic	2.230*** (df = 15; 1183)

Notes: Omitted category: candidate 1. The dependent variable's text reads: "[On a scale of 1 to 7], would this speech make you vote for this candidate?" *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

D Assessing alternative hypotheses (Section 4)

D.1 "Good numbers" Analysis: Additional Tests

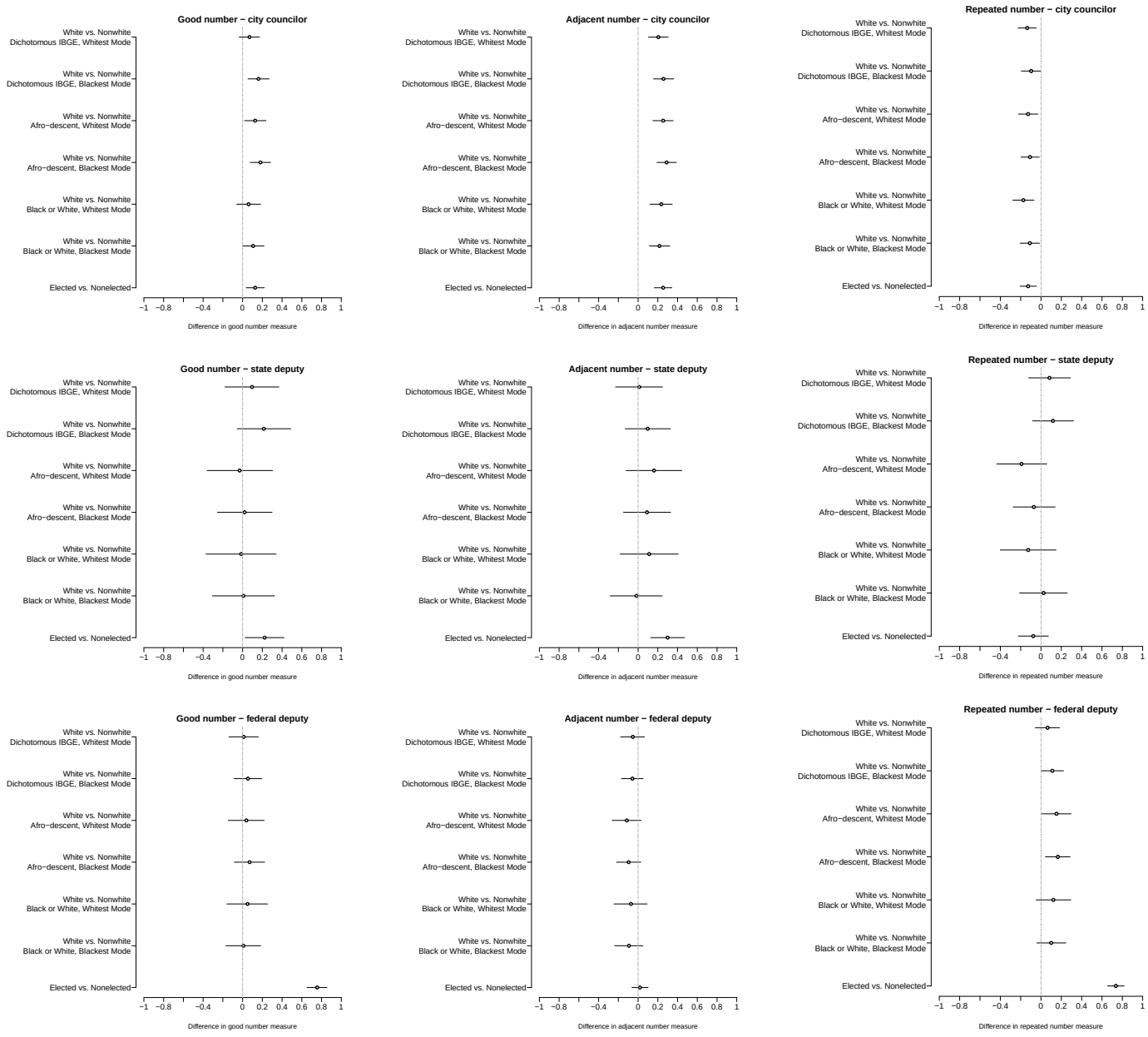


Figure D.1: Difference of means for indicators of the quality of candidate codes, by white/non-white and elected/non-elected: city councilors (top panel), state deputies (middle panel), and federal deputies (bottom panel) (other classification, unweighted sample of coders, 2008-2010, bootstraped standard errors)

Table D.2: Difference of means for indicators of the quality of candidate codes ("adjacent number"), by white/non-white and elected/non-elected (TSE 2014, self-declared).

	Federal Deputies	State Deputies
White-Non-White	−0.02	−0.04*
	[−0.07; 0.03]	[−0.08; −0.01]
Elected-Non-Elected	0.03	0.11*
	[−0.07; 0.13]	[0.04; 0.18]
Elected-Non-Elected (White Candidates)	0.02	0.09*
	[−0.10; 0.13]	[0.01; 0.17]
Elected-Non-Elected (Non-White Candidates)	0.11	0.19*
	[−0.12; 0.34]	[0.06; 0.32]
Difference Elected/Non-Elected (White) -	-0.10	-0.10
Difference Elected/Non-Elected (Non-White)	[−0.35; 0.16]	[−0.26; 0.05]

Notes: Measure of adjacent number divided the standard deviation of "adjacent number." The original analysis was the difference between (Non-White - White) rather than (White - Non-white). Non-white included *pretos* and *pardos* and whites included *brancos*, *amarelos*, and *indgenas*. We recoded the variable such that white meant *brancos* and non-white meant all the remaining categories.* Null hypothesis value outside the 95% confidence interval.

Table D.1: Appendix Table D.1.: Difference of means for indicators of the quality of candidate codes ("good number"), by white/non-white and elected/non-elected (TSE 2014, self-declared).

	Federal Deputies	State Deputies
White-Non-White	0.00	0.03
	[−0.05; 0.05]	[−0.01; 0.06]
Elected-Non-Elected	0.54*	0.18*
	[0.44; 0.63]	[0.12; 0.24]
Elected-Non-Elected (White Candidates)	0.53*	0.15*
	[0.42; 0.63]	[0.08; 0.21]
Elected-Non-Elected (Non-White Candidates)	0.63*	0.26*
	[0.41; 0.84]	[0.14; 0.37]
Difference Elected/Non-Elected (White) -	−0.10	−0.11
Difference Elected/Non-Elected (Non-White)	[−0.34; 0.14]	[−0.24; 0.02]

Notes: Measure of good number divided by the standard deviation of "good number." The original analysis was the difference between (Non-White - White) rather than (White - Non-white). Non-white included *pretos* and *pardos* and whites included *brancos*, *amarelos*, and *indgenas*. We recoded the variable such that white meant *brancos* and non-white meant all the remaining categories.* Null hypothesis value outside the 95% confidence interval.

Table D.3: Difference of means for indicators of the quality of candidate codes ("repeated number"), by white/non-white and elected/non-elected (TSE 2014, self-declared).

	Federal Deputies	State Deputies
White-Non-White	0.02	0.08*
	[−0.03; 0.08]	[0.05; 0.11]
Elected-Non-Elected	0.64*	0.10*
	[0.55; 0.74]	[0.04; 0.17]
Elected-Non-Elected (White Candidates)	0.64*	0.08*
	[0.54; 0.75]	[0.00; 0.16]
Elected-Non-Elected (Non-White Candidates)	0.67*	0.10
	[0.48; 0.87]	[−0.03; 0.23]
Difference Elected/Non-Elected (White) -	-0.03	-0.02
Difference Elected/Non-Elected (Non-white)	[−0.25; 0.19]	[−0.17; 0.13]

Notes: Measure of repeated number divided the standard deviation of "repeated number." The original analysis was the difference between (Non-White - White) rather than (White - Non-white). Non-white included *pretos* and *pardos* and whites included *brancos*, *amarelos*, and *indgenas*. We recoded the variable such that white meant *brancos* and non-white meant all the remaining categories.* Null hypothesis value outside the 95% confidence interval.

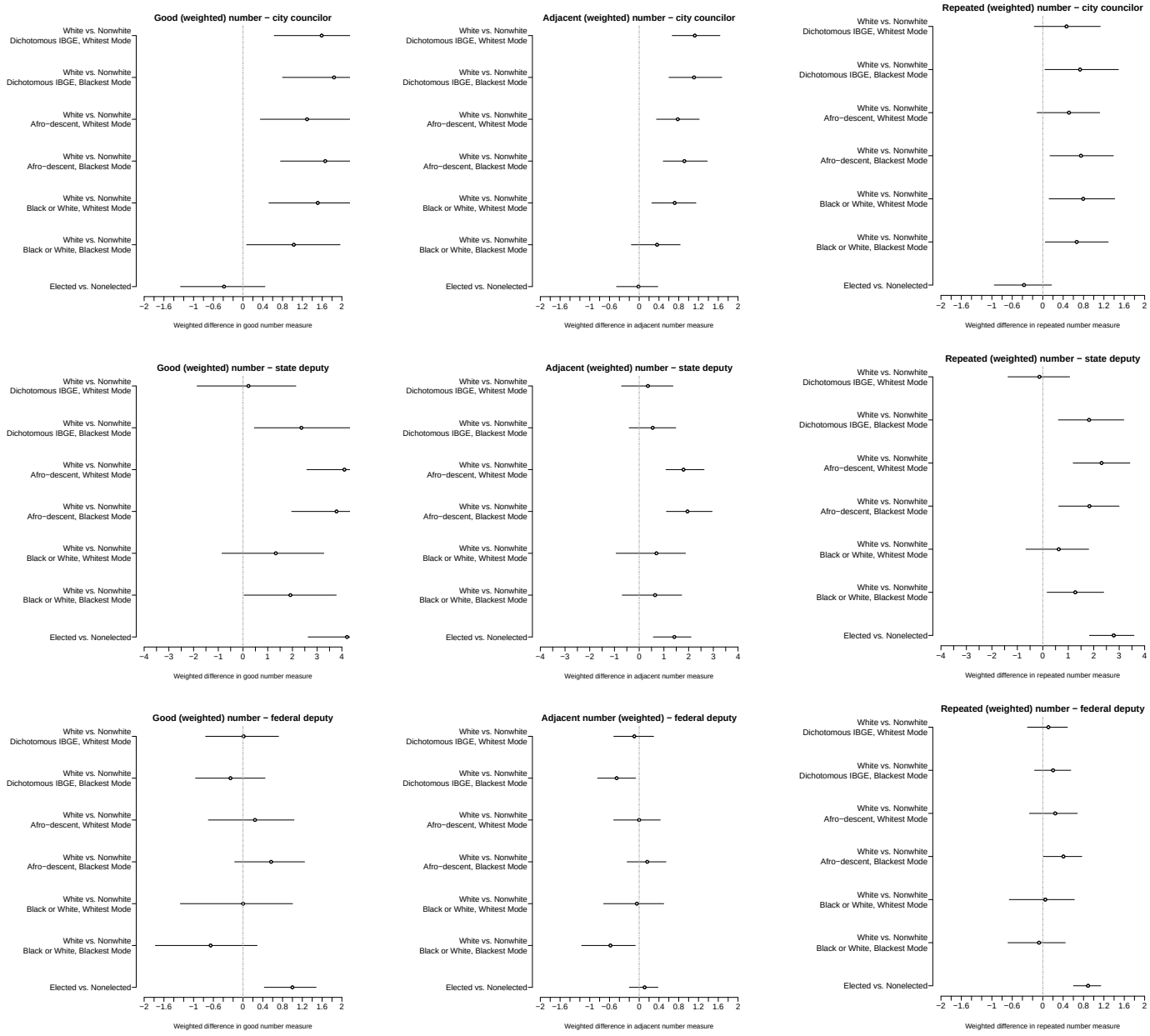


Figure D.2: Difference of means for indicators of the quality of candidate codes, by white/non-white and elected/non-elected: city councilors (top panel), state deputies (middle panel), and federal deputies (bottom panel) (other classification, weighted sample of coders, 2008 and 2010 elections, bootstraped standard errors)

Table D.4: State and Federal Deputies Candidates (All candidates, 2014), Dependent Variable: Electoral Success (0: not elected; 1: elected). Linear Probability Models.

	Electoral Success						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Good Number	0.009***	0.009***	0.007***	−0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Race (1=white, 0=non-white)		0.062***	0.046***	0.006	0.008	0.008	0.008
		(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Log of Campaign				0.065***	0.073***	0.073***	0.074***
Contributions				(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Log of Personal Assets					0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
College						−0.048*	−0.048*
						(0.028)	(0.028)
Middle School						−0.056**	−0.056*
						(0.028)	(0.028)
High School						−0.038	−0.038
						(0.029)	(0.029)
Male							−0.011*
							(0.006)
Good Number*Race			0.004**	0.002	−0.0005	−0.0004	−0.0004
			(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Constant	0.039***	0.004	0.013***	−0.538***	−0.841***	−0.791***	−0.788***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Observations	20,162	20,162	20,162	16,597	10,960	10,960	10,960
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.018	0.018	0.262	0.285	0.285	0.285

Notes: Linear Probability Models. Robust Standard Errors. Campaign contributions refer to all contributions received by the candidate (e.g., including party funds, corporate contributions). Personal assets are self-declared by each candidate. Dichotomous (white and non-white) race measure based on self-declared IBGE categories. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table D.5: Regression-Discontinuity Design Estimates: Share of Non-white Mayoral Candidates in the First Round

	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	CI Lower	CI Upper
Conventional	0.0325	0.2166	0.1501	-0.3920	0.4571
Bias-Corrected	-0.0716	0.2166	-0.3306	-0.4961	0.3529
Robust	-0.0716	0.2919	-0.2453	-0.6438	0.5006

Notes: All local-linear (degree 1) regressions use a triangular kernel and implementation of mean-squared-error optimal bandwidth selector developed by Calonico *et al.* 2014; bias estimated with quadratic polynomial. See Calonico *et al.* 2014 for details on bias-corrected and robust estimation strategies.

Table D.6: Regression-Discontinuity Design Estimates: Number of Non-white Mayoral Candidates in the First Round

	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	CI Lower	CI Upper
Conventional	-0.1137	2.2973	-0.0495	-4.6164	4.3890
Bias-Corrected	-1.2575	2.2973	-0.5474	-5.7602	3.2452
Robust	-1.2575	3.2769	-0.3837	-7.6800	5.1650

Notes: All local-linear regressions use a triangular kernel and implementation of mean-squared-error optimal bandwidth selector developed by Calonico *et al.* 2014; bias estimated with quadratic polynomial. See Calonico *et al.* 2014 for details on bias-corrected and robust estimation strategies.

Table D.7: Regression-Discontinuity Design Estimates: Share of Non-white Mayoral Candidates in the First Round (weighted sample)

	Coef	Std. Err.	z	CI Lower	CI Upper
Conventional	0.3611	0.2908	1.2418	-0.2088	0.9310
Bias-Corrected	0.2659	0.2908	0.9143	-0.3041	0.8358
Robust	0.2659	0.4154	0.6401	-0.5482	1.0799

Notes: All local-linear regressions use a triangular kernel and implementation of mean-squared-error optimal bandwidth selector developed by Calonico *et al.* 2014; bias estimated with a quadratic polynomial. See Calonico *et al.* 2014 for details on bias-corrected and robust estimation strategies.

Table D.8: Regression-Discontinuity Design Estimates: Number of Non-white Mayoral Candidates in the First Round (weighted sample)

	Coef	Std. Err.	z	CI Lower	CI Upper
Conventional	0.6679	2.3268	0.2870	-3.8926	5.2284
Bias-Corrected	0.5647	2.3268	0.2427	-3.9958	5.1253
Robust	0.5647	2.7732	0.2036	-4.8706	6.0001

Notes: All regressions use a triangular kernel and implementation of mean-squared-error optimal bandwidth selector developed by Calonico *et al.* 2014; bias estimated with a quadratic polynomial. See Calonico *et al.* 2014 for details on bias-corrected and robust estimation strategies.

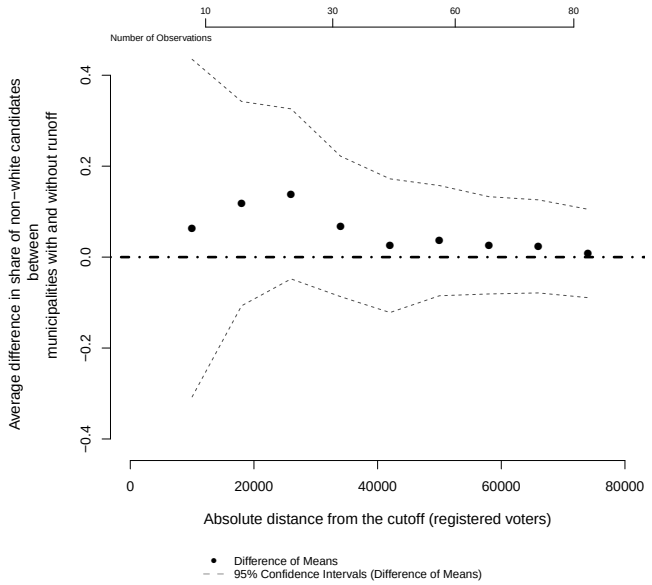


Figure D.3: The effect of barriers to entry on the racial composition of candidates (weighted sample of coders): Share of non-white mayoral candidates

Notes: The figure presents the average difference in the share of non-white mayoral candidates, comparing elections with runoffs (and thus lower barriers to candidate entry) to those without runoffs. The outcome is measured in first-round voting. These results use the weighted sample of coders. The outcome variable is the weighted share of white and non-white candidates. Using a regression-discontinuity design, the local average treatment effect of a runoff system is estimated for windows of different sizes around the population threshold of 200,000, measured in numbers of registered voters (horizontal axis). For the white/non-white measure, we dichotomize the census (IBGE) categories, using our other-identified survey data. Standard errors assume unequal variances in the treatment and control groups.

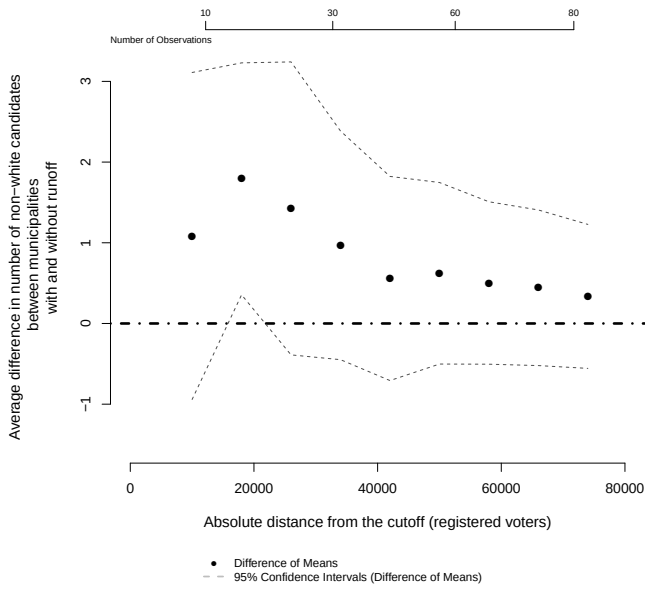


Figure D.4: The effect of barriers to entry on the racial composition of candidates (weighted sample of coders): Number of non-white mayoral candidates

Note: The figure presents the average difference in the number of non-white mayoral candidates, comparing elections with runoffs (and thus lower barriers to candidate entry) to those without runoffs. The outcome is measured in first-round voting. These results use the weighted sample of coders. The outcome variable is the weighted number of white and non-white candidates. Using a regression-discontinuity design, the local average treatment effect of a runoff system is estimated for windows of different sizes around the population threshold of 200,000, measured in numbers of registered voters (horizontal axis). For the white/non-white measure, we dichotomize the census (IBGE) categories, using our other-identified survey data. Standard errors assume unequal variances in the treatment and control groups.

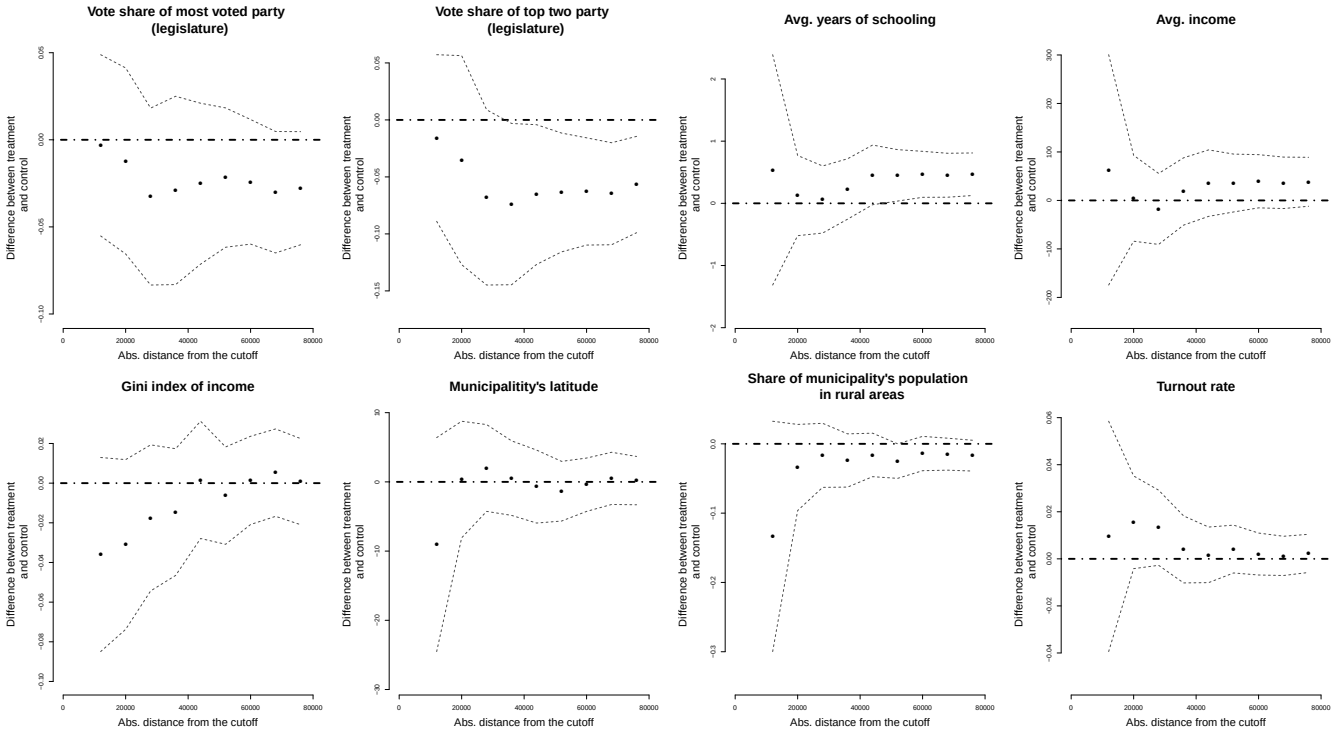


Figure D.5: Regression-Discontinuity Design: Balance tests

Note: Robust standard errors.

D.2 Candidates' Resources: Additional Tests

Data on candidates' resources are self-declared and missingness is an issue. For example, the missingness in self-declared assets and contributions is related to all of our measures of other-classified race (p-values from χ-square tests between different measures of race and missingness in assets and contributions are smaller than 0.001); data on personal assets are also missing for around 11% of elected officials and 35% of non-elected candidates (χ-square < 351.86, df = 1, p-value < 0.001) and data on campaign contributions are also missing for less than 1% of elected officials and about 19% of non-elected candidates (χ-square < 355.75, df = 1, p-value < 0.001).

Data missingness on self-declared personal assets and campaign contributions are also an issue for the 2014 TSE data: 39% of all candidates did not declare any personal assets and 17% did not report campaign contributions (*receitas*). Missingness, in the 2014 TSE data, is also related to race (p-values from χ-square test between race and missingness in assets and contributions are smaller than 0.001).

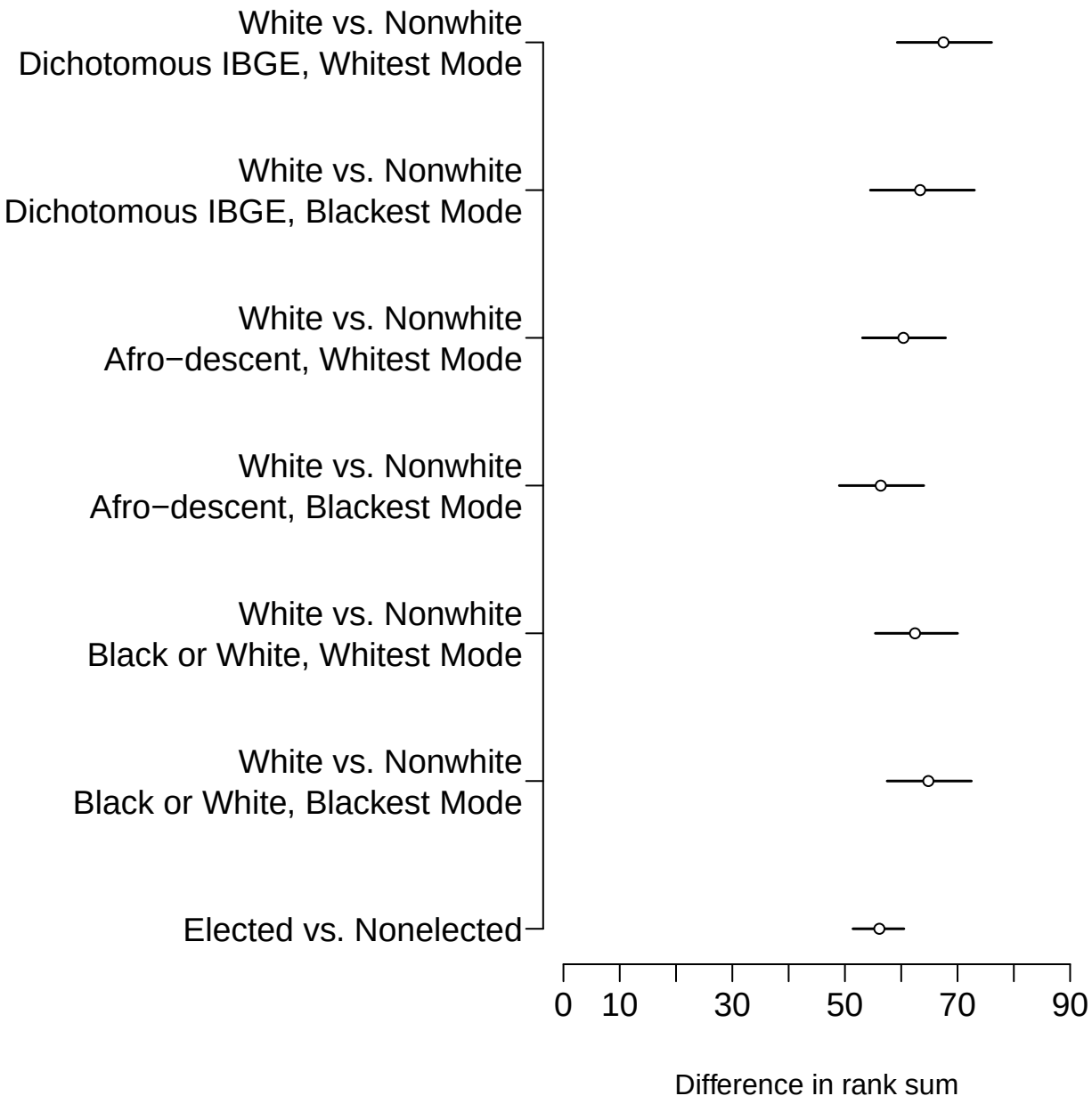


Figure D.6: Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test of Declared Personal Assets between White and Non-white Candidates According to Different Color Measurements, and Between Elected and Non-elected Candidates (other classification, unweighted sample of coders, elections 2008 and 2010)

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors.

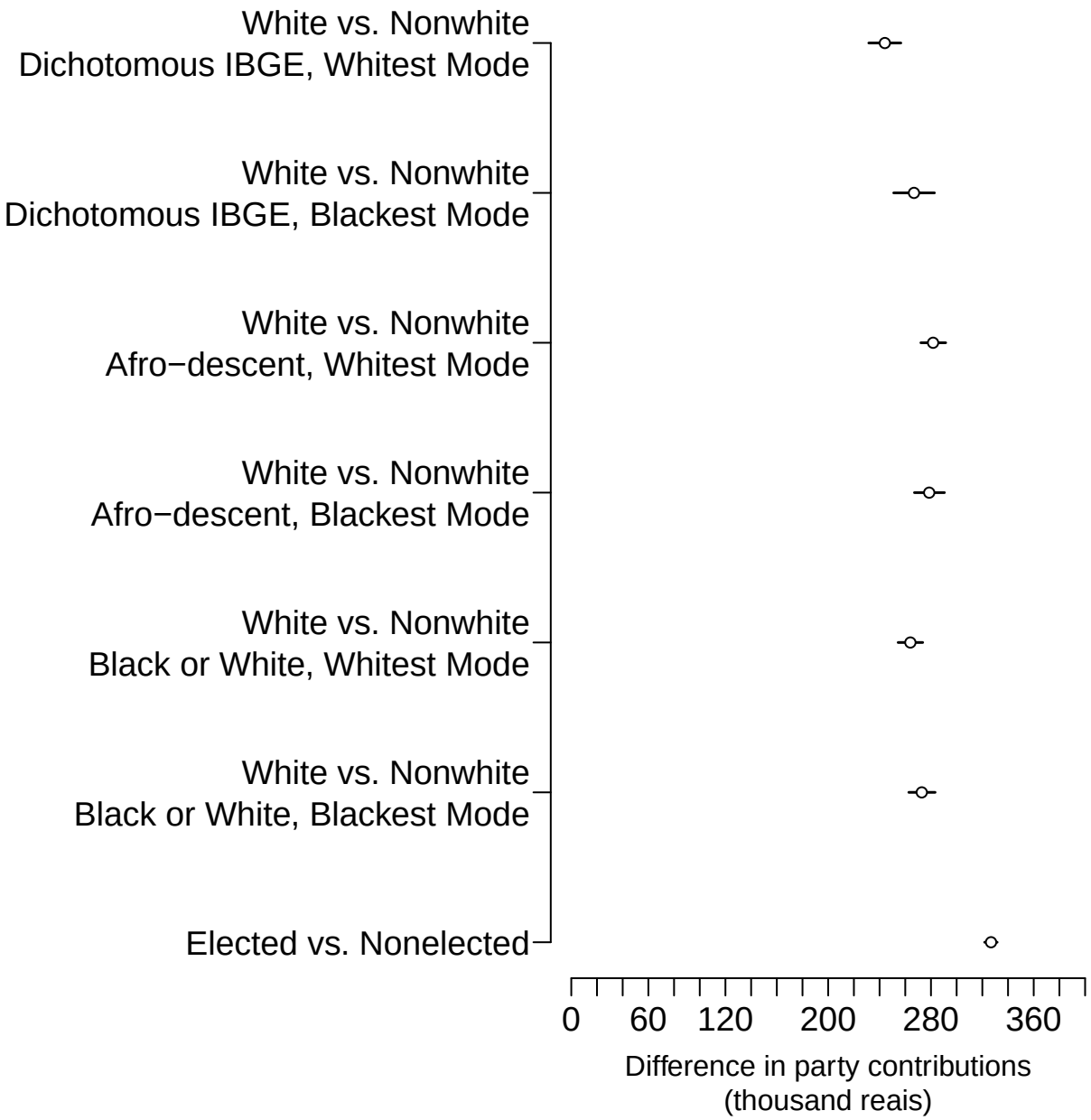


Figure D.7: Difference of Means of Party Contributions Between White and Non-white Candidates According to Different Color Measurements, and Between Elected and Non-elected Candidates (other classification, unweighted sample of coders, elections 2008 and 2010)

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors.

Table D.9: Descriptive Statistics of Declared Personal Assets for Self-Declared Racial Categories and Elected and Non-Elected Candidates (TSE 2014)

Racial category	Mean	Median
White	1,018,165	260,000
Brown	624,642	150,000
Black	294,384	120,000
Asian	474,315	137,001
Native	215,471	110,000
Elected	2,161,010	812,766
Non-Elected	664,482	170,749

Notes: For all offices in the 2014 elections (state deputy, federal deputy, senator, and governor), except for president.

Table D.10: Descriptive Statistics of Campaign Contributions for Self-Declared Racial Categories and Elected and Non-Elected Candidates (TSE 2014)

Racial category	Mean	Median
White	292,990	16,502
Brown	103,864	7,857
Black	58,492	6,066
Asian	144,640	6,684
Native	34,194	8,134
Elected	1,212,406	528,997
Non-Elected	107,287	8,630

Notes: For all offices in the 2014 elections (state deputy, federal deputy, senator, and governor), except for president.

Table D.11: Schooling by Self-Declared Racial Categories for Elected and Non-Elected Candidates (%) (TSE 2014)

	White	Brown	Black	Asian	Native	Elected	Non-elected
Reads and Writes	0.79	1.20	1.03	1.00	1.39	0.37	1.00
Some or Finished Middle School Education	8.41	12.79	14.43	8.00	4.17	3.69	11.01
Some or Finished High School Education	27.58	38.67	36.24	36.00	38.89	12.55	33.90
Some or Finished College	63.22	47.35	48.30	55.00	55.56	83.39	54.09

Notes: Notes: For all offices in the 2014 elections (state deputy, federal deputy, senator, and governor).

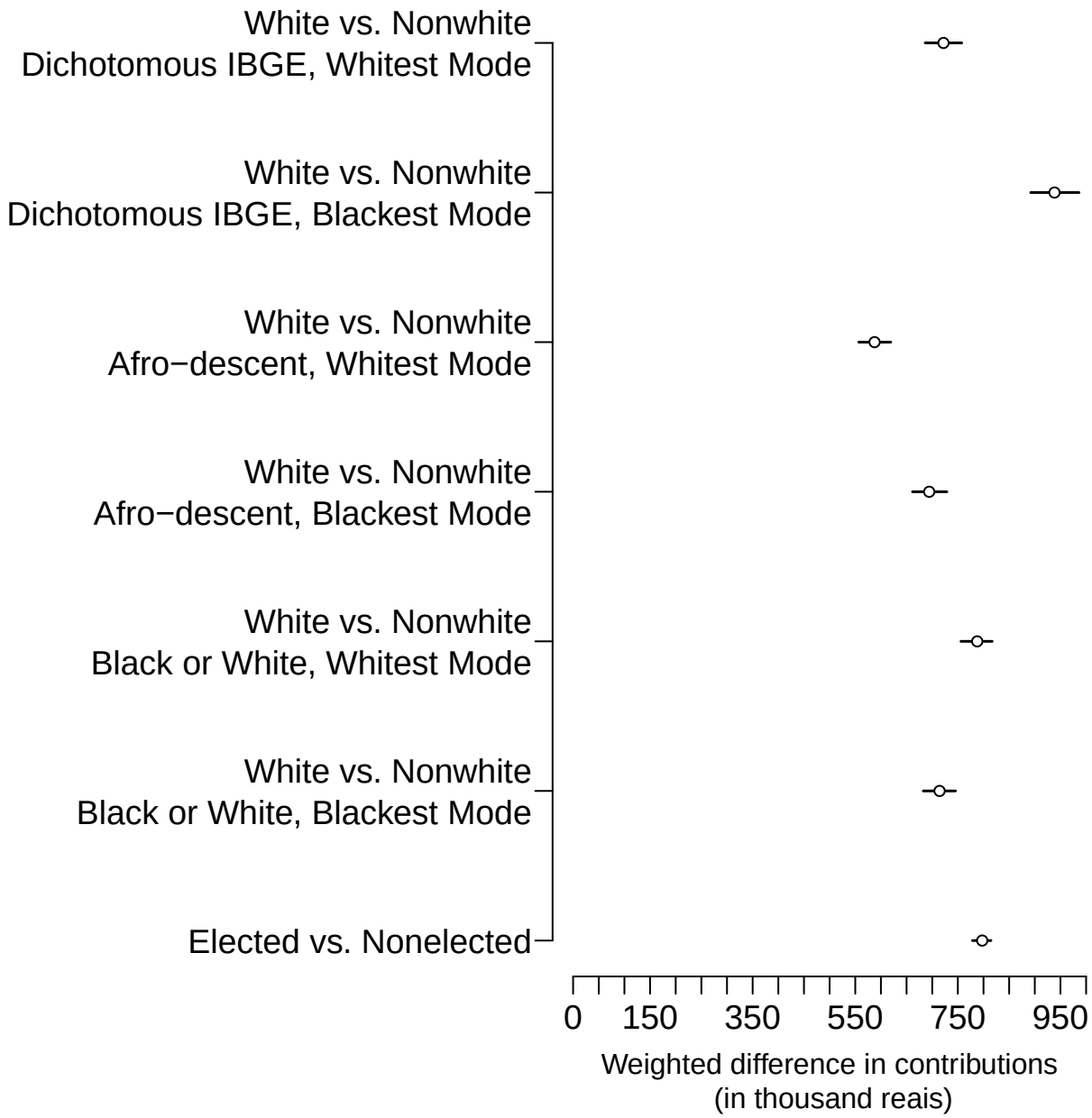


Figure D.8: Difference of Means of Contributions Between White and Non-white Candidates According to Different Color Measurements, and Between Elected and Non-elected Candidates (other classification, weighted sample of coders, elections 2008 and 2010)

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors.

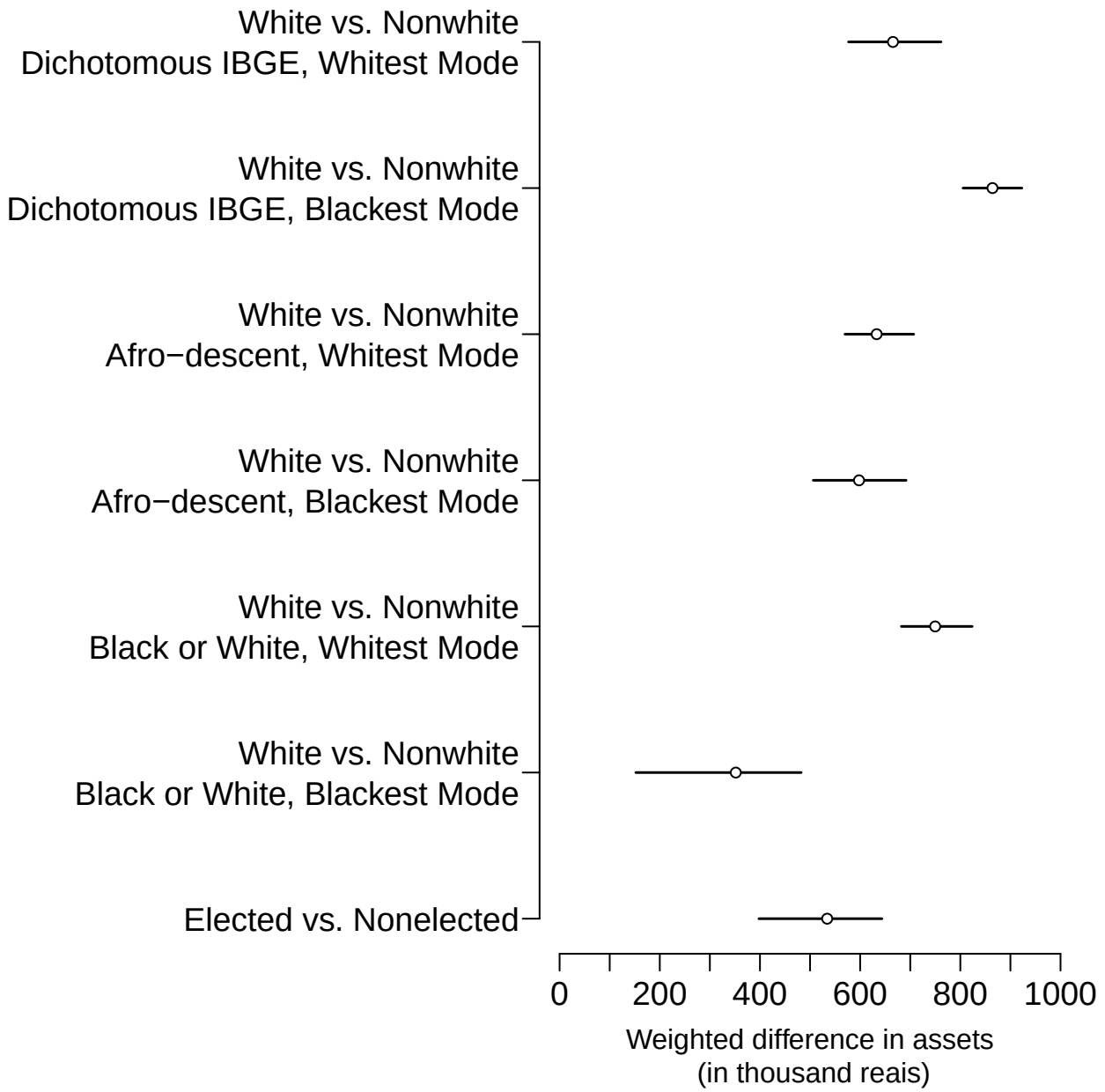


Figure D.9: Difference of Means of Personal Assets Between White and Non-white Candidates According to Different Color Measurements, and Between Elected and Non-elected Candidates (other classification, weighted sample of coders, elections 2008 and 2010)

Note: Bootstrapped standard errors.

D.3 Political Clans

This analysis is based on data collected by *Transparência Brasil* in June 2014. It maps the family connections of all federal deputies elected in 2010 and senators elected in 2006.[3] The data is coded in the following way: any elected federal deputy (2010) and senator (2006) that had any relative in elected office (municipal, state or federal) is coded as part of "political clan." Relatives are members of the extended family, such family members by marriage (husband, wife, and in-laws – sister, brother, mother or father), siblings, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

Table D.12: Political Clans: Federal Deputies

Measure of Race	White (%)	Non-white (%)	Difference of percentages
Dichotomized IBGE, blackest mode	44	44	0
Dichotomized IBGE, whitest Mode	44	46	−2
Afro-descent, blackest mode	46	40	6
Afro-descent, whitest mode	45	38	7
Binary (white or black), blackest mode	46	36	10
Binary (white or black), whitest Mode	45	34	11

Table D.13: Political Clans: Senators

Measure of Race	White (%)	Non-white (%)	Difference of percentages
Dichotomized IBGE, blackest mode	74	40	34
Dichotomized IBGE, whitest Mode	71	36	35
Afro-descent, blackest mode	66	50	16
Afro-descent, whitest mode	66	33	33
Binary (white or black), blackest mode	67	25	42
Binary (white or black), whitest Mode	67	0	67

[3]We compare membership in a political clan to senators who are both in our data, measured in 2008, and the *Transparência Brasil* data.

D.4 Regression Analyses: First-time candidates

Table D.14: First-time Candidates (2014). Dependent Variable: Electoral Success (0: not elected; 1: elected). Linear Probability Models.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Race	0.015***	0.004	−0.001	0.0003	−0.0002
(1=white, 0=non-white)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Contributions		0.032***	0.040***	0.041***	0.041***
(logged)		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Personal Assets			0.003**	0.004**	0.004***
(logged)			(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
College				−0.044	−0.043
				(0.041)	(0.041)
Middle School				−0.035	−0.033
				(0.041)	(0.041)
High School				−0.039	−0.037
				(0.041)	(0.041)
Male					−0.011*
					(0.006)
Constant	0.013***	−0.252***	−0.373***	−0.338***	−0.338***
	(0.002)	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.049)	(0.049)
Observations	8,452	6,484	3,582	3,582	3,582
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.137	0.163	0.163	0.164

Note: Linear Probability Models. Robust Standard Errors. Campaign contributions refer to all contributions received by the candidate (e.g., including party funds, corporate contributions). Personal assets are self-declared by each candidate. Dichotomous (white and non-white) race measure based on self-declared IBGE categories. Omitted categories are: non-white, reads and writes, and female.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table D.15: First-time Candidates (2014), Dependent Variable: Electoral Success (0: not elected; 1: elected). Logistic Regression Models.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Race	0.804***	−0.292	−0.362	−0.362	−0.362
(1=white, 0=non-white)	(0.167)	(0.208)	(0.225)	(0.227)	(0.227)
Contributions		1.267***	1.236***	1.246***	1.246***
(logged)		(0.066)	(0.080)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Personal Assets			−0.034	−0.040	−0.040
(logged)			(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.066)
College				−2.126*	−2.127*
				(1.139)	(1.139)
Middle School				−2.073*	−2.073*
				(1.158)	(1.158)
High School				−2.955**	−2.955**
				(1.329)	(1.329)
Male					−0.004
					(0.265)
Constant	−4.345***	−17.208***	−16.344***	−14.254***	−14.252***
	(0.141)	(0.794)	(0.986)	(1.437)	(1.443)
Observations	8,452	6,484	3,582	3,582	3,582
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,697.630	834.364	706.967	708.955	710.955

Note: Logistic Regression Models. Campaign contributions refer to all declared contributions received by the candidate (e.g., including party funds, corporate contributions). Personal assets are self-declared by each candidate. Dichotomous (white and non-white) race measure based on self-declared IBGE categories. Omitted categories are: non-white, reads and writes, and female.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

D.5 Regression Analyses: Campaign Contributions

Table D.16: All Candidates, 2014. Dependent Variable: Log of Campaign Contributions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Race	0.861***	0.502***	0.352***	0.301***	0.306***
(1=white, 0=non-white)	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Previously Elected		3.033***	2.294***	2.272***	2.236***
		(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Personal Assets			0.399***	0.374***	0.363***
(logged)			(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
College				0.725***	0.736***
				(0.174)	(0.174)
High School				0.251	0.244
				(0.175)	(0.175)
Middle School				0.078	0.060
				(0.181)	(0.181)
Male					0.372***
					(0.042)
Constant	9.108***	8.601***	4.433***	4.218***	4.059***
	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.134)	(0.214)	(0.214)
Observations	17,747	17,747	11,734	11,734	11,734
Adjusted R^2	0.035	0.347	0.430	0.441	0.445

Note: OLS regression models. Robust Standard Errors. Campaign contributions refer to all declared contributions received by the candidate (e.g., including party funds, corporate contributions). Personal assets are self-declared by each candidate. Dichotomous (white and non-white) race measure based on self-declared IBGE categories. Omitted categories are: non-white, reads and writes, and female. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table D.17: First-time Candidates (2014). Dependent Variable: Log of Campaign Contributions

	Log Contributions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Race	0.478***	0.291***	0.237***	0.259***
	(0.047)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.063)
Log Personal Assets		0.375***	0.350***	0.331***
		(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
College			0.849**	0.765**
			(0.393)	(0.390)
Middle School			0.381	0.281
			(0.395)	(0.392)
High School			0.181	0.061
			(0.406)	(0.403)
Male				0.539***
				(0.069)
Constant	8.526***	4.751***	4.402***	4.312***
	(0.035)	(0.196)	(0.432)	(0.429)
Observations	6,484	3,582	3,582	3,582
Adjusted R^2	0.015	0.138	0.152	0.166

Note: OLS regression models. Robust Standard Errors. Campaign contributions refer to all declared contributions received by the candidate (e.g., including party funds, corporate contributions). Personal assets are self-declared by each candidate. Dichotomous (white and non-white) race measure based on self-declared IBGE categories. Omitted categories are: non-white, reads and writes, and female. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

E Data Appendix

We use different original and secondary data sources in this paper. This section describes our sources.

1. Survey Experiment (2009): The face-to-face survey was conducted by Destaque Survey firm. This dataset is included in our replication files ("data.exp.Rda" as part of our " replication_data.RData"). Please see Supplementary Materials subsection C.1 for more details on the instruments, sample and recruitment.

2. Coding Candidates' Race Survey (2013): The online survey was conducted by IBOPE. Please see this Supplementary Materials subsection B.1 for more details on the sample and recruitment. Data from this survey is used in four datasets included in our replication files: "race.cand.allf.Rda", "full.survey.Rda", "rdd.mun.Rda" and "full.codersf.Rda" (all part of " replication_data.RData")

3. Electoral Data (2008, 2010, 2014): We used data on election results, declared personal assets, and campaign contributions ("elections_2014.Rda"). Most importantly, the TSE (Brazil's Electoral Court) started to collect and make available data on candidates' racial self-classification in 2014.[4] TSE regularly updates candidates' data. In our April 2021 review of the replication files, we noticed that TSE updated the 2014 contributions data in July 2016 (before our publication, but after we had finished collecting the data). The updated files changed the contributions data for about 6% our 2014 contributions data. We reconducted our analyses using the updated data file and results remain largely unchanged. Our assets and contributions analysis use nominal values (using current values does not change results). Data for download can be found here: `http://www.tse.jus.br/eleicoes/estatisticas/repositorio-de-dados-eleitorais`

4. Fujiwara's *QJPE* Dataset (2011): We used data from Fujiwara's replication files for our analysis of the regression-discontinuity design (see section D.1). We complemented this dataset with data we collected in our Coding Candidates' Race Survey. Note that i) we only included "certified" candidates, ii) we used supplementary elections in case the regular elections were canceled, iii) we did not collect data for one municipality (TSE 36959) in the Fujiwara dataset (dataset "rdd.mun.Rda"). Data can be found here: `http://www.nowpublishers.com/article/Details/QJPS-10037`

5. Candidates' Pictures (2008 and 2010): We had access to all of candidates' pictures in 2008 and 2010 using both web scraping and requests through the Law of Access to Information. These pictures are available upon request.

6. PESB Data and Pictures (2002): This survey was conducted by Alberto Carlos Almeida, Andréia Schroeder e Zairo Cheibub at Universidade Federal Fluminense. Access to the original data requires registration – contact us in case you cannot download the dataset (we have a version of this dataset included in our replication files "pesb.Rda"). Pictures used in PESB are available upon request. Data can be found here: `http://www.nadd.prp.usp.br/cis/DetalheBancoDados.aspx?cod=B11&lng=pt-BR`.

[4] In 2014, there were 15 candidates who registered to run for two different political offices (registered to run for one office, dropped from that race, and registred to run for another office). Results do not change to summing up contributions from both races or using contributions from the candidates' final candidacies alone.

7. PNAD (2007): We used data from PNAD, conducted by IBGE. Access to the original data requires registration – contact us in case you cannot download the dataset (we have a version of this dataset included in our replication files "pnad.Rda"). Data can be found here: http://www.nadd.prp.usp.br/cis/DetalheBancoDados.aspx?cod=B315&lng=pt-BR.

8. Political Clans (2014): This dataset was collected by *Transparência Brasil*. We included data from this study in our dataset "race.cand.allf.Rda." See here for more details on this study: http://www.excelencias.org.br/

9. Direct e-mails to candidates (2012): We e-mailed candidates who ran in 2010 asking them to fill a short survey about racial identification and compared with our other-classification. We do not use this information in the final version of this paper because the response rate was extremely low (we thank Paolo Spada and Holger Kern for their help with candidates' e-mail addresses). The dataset is available upon request.

10. Census IBGE (2010): The dataset "censo_cities.Rda" is the racial distribution of Salvador and São Paulo (capital) from the 2010 census. Data from the census is also used in the datasets "censo.cor.all.Rda" (for all sampled municipalities in Bahia and São Paulo states). We also data from the census to construct racial distribution for states, used in the dataset "uf.cor.Rda." See here for more details on the census: http://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/

11. Congresso Nacional: Data used on number of federal, state, and municipal legislators and districts' population weighted share of representatives ("uf.cor.Rda.", and 'censo.cor.all.Rda"): https://www.congressonacional.leg.br/portal/

References

[1] Calonico, Sebastian, Matias Cattaneo and Rocio Titiunik. 2014. “Robust Nonparametric Confidence Intervals for Regression-Discontinuity Designs.” *Econometrica* 82(6): 22952326.