Supporting Information
Appendix A: Census and ICMA Data

Figure 1: Race of Officials by Race of Constituents

Note: The data on city officials’ race comes from the 2011 International City/County Management Association (ICMA) city survey. The data on the city’s white population comes from the U.S. census. The cities in this Figure are restricted to cities where, according to the Census, less than 15 percent of the population is Latino. The vertical red line shows the cut point we used to determine which cities were included in the sampling frame.
Appendix B: Treatment Email

Figure 2: Treatment Email 1

My name is [Redacted]. As part of a larger research project, I want to know what elected officials think about research that suggests that they exhibit bias in their constituent interactions. Specifically, recent scholarship argues that office holders respond more often and provide better advice to individuals like them. White legislators, for instance, respond at higher rates to inquiries from white constituents than from black constituents. For a summary of this research, please see the paragraph below. NPH also provides a nice summary of this research in a recent blog post: [Link]. If you are interested, you can also visit [Link] for more details and a short bibliography of related works.

I want to survey some elected officials about this research. You have been randomly selected as a potential survey participant. Would you please complete a short survey on this topic? It would be very helpful for my research and should only take a few minutes of your time. You can find the survey here: [Link].

Thank you.

All best,

[Redacted]

Summary of Bias Research

The evidence for racial bias among officials is perhaps the strongest. For instance, some research shows that white legislators respond at higher rates to inquiries from white constituents than from black constituents and that black legislators similarly favor black constituents. Other research has revealed that white and black legislators alike consciously try to represent their own racial groups. A common racial tie can even prompt legislators to assist individuals who are not part of their constituencies.

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You are receiving this email because you have been randomly selected as a potential survey respondent.

My mailing address is:

[Redacted]

Add us to your address book

unsubscribe from this list  update subscription preferences

Note: Identifying information has been redacted for the review.
Appendix C: Research Summary

Recent Research on Bias

Using both observational methods and experimental studies, scholars have repeatedly found that office holders respond more often and provide better advice to individuals like them. Research suggests that elected officials provide preferential treatment to those with similar backgrounds. The evidence for racial bias among officials is perhaps the strongest. For instance, some research shows that white legislators respond at higher rates to inquiries from white constituents than from black constituents and that black legislators similarly favor black constituents. Other research has revealed that white and black legislators alike consciously try to represent their own racial groups. A common racial tie can even prompt legislators to assist individuals who are not part of their constituencies. The select publications below highlight some of the findings on bias.

Select recent publications:

  
  **Overview:** Political inequality is a major issue in American politics, with racial minorities and low-income voters receiving less favorable representation. Scholars argue that this political inequality stems largely from differences in political participation and that if all citizens participated equally we would achieve political equality. Daniel M. Butler shows that this common view is incorrect. He uses innovative field and survey experiments involving public officials to show that a significant amount of bias in representation traces its roots to the information, opinions, and attitudes that politicians bring to office and suggests that even if all voters participated equally, there would still be significant levels of bias in American politics because of differences in elite participation. Butler’s work provides a new theoretical basis for understanding inequality in American politics and insights into what institutional changes can be used to fix the problem.

Note: Identifying information has been redacted for the review.

Abstract: Scholars of American politics typically conceptualize representation as mass-elite policy congruence, and in doing so have found several factors that hinder that relationship. These findings are at odds with the fact that American legislators often gain enough support to win re-election. I present an explanation for this puzzle by showing that legislators strategically provide four unique dimensions of representation to their constituents: policy, service, allocation, and descriptive. I unify these dimensions in a single theoretical model of legislators’ priorities, then test it with data from survey experiments administered to 1,175 state legislators. I posit that legislators systematically emphasize some dimensions over others to further the goal of reelection. Given the constraints of resources and costs, legislators must choose their representational focus based on perceived electoral benefits. I find that institutional, district, and individual-level traits alter these resources, costs, and benefits, thereby driving legislators’ strategic representational behavior.


Abstract: Why are politicians more likely to advance the interests of those of their race? I present a field experiment demonstrating that black politicians are more intrinsically motivated to advance blacks’ interests than are their counterparts. Guided by elite interviews, I emailed 6,928 U.S. state legislators from a putatively black alias asking for help signing up for state unemployment benefits. Crucially, I varied the legislators’ political incentive to respond by randomizing whether the sender purported to live within or far from each legislator’s district. While nonblack legislators were markedly less likely to respond when their political incentives to do so were diminished, black legislators typically continued to respond even when doing so promised little political reward. Black legislators thus appear substantially more intrinsically motivated to advance blacks’ interests. As political decision making is often difficult for voters to observe, intrinsically motivated descriptive representatives play a crucial role in advancing minorities’ political interests.

Note: Identifying information has been redacted for the review.

**Abstract:** We use a field experiment to investigate whether race affects how responsive state legislators are to requests for help with registering to vote. In an email sent to each legislator, we randomized whether a putatively black or white alias was used and whether the email signaled the sender's partisan preference. Overall, we find that putatively black requests receive fewer replies. We explore two potential explanations for this discrimination: strategic partisan behavior and the legislators' own race. We find that the putatively black alias continues to be differentially treated even when the emails signal partisanship, indicating that strategic considerations cannot completely explain the observed differential treatment. Further analysis reveals that white legislators of both parties exhibit similar levels of discrimination against the black alias. Minority legislators do the opposite, responding more frequently to the black alias. Implications for the study of race and politics in the United States are discussed.

Note: Identifying information has been redacted for the review.
Figure 6: Site Screenshot - Home Page

Welcome.
September 8, 2014 by cdc216

You have reached the homepage for my project on bias in representation. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions about this work.

Filed Under: Un categorized

Note: Identifying information has been redacted for the review.
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Appendix E: Aliases in Experiment

Figure 8: Black-sounding Constituent Names

1. Alaliyah Booker
2. Alexus Banks
3. Darius Joseph
4. Darnell Banks
5. Tyreke Washington
6. DeAndre Jefferson
7. Deja Jefferson
8. Deja Mosley
9. DeShawn Korsey
10. Dominique Mosley
11. Ebony Mosley
12. Ebony Washington
13. Jada Mosley
14. Jamal Gaines
15. Jamal Rivers
16. Jasmin Jefferson
17. Jasmine Joseph
18. Jazmine Jefferson
19. Jermaine Gaines
20. Keisha Rivers
21. Kiara Jackson
22. Latonya Rivers
23. Latoya Rivers
24. LaShawn Banks
25. LaShawn Washington
26. Precious Washington
27. Rasheed Gaines
28. Raven Korsey
29. Shanice Booker
30. Terrance Booker
31. Tremayne Joseph
32. Trevon Jackson
33. Tyrone Booker
34. Tyrone Joseph
35. Xavier Jackson
Figure 9: White-sounding Constituent Names

1. Allison Nelson
2. Amy Mueller
3. Anne Evans
4. Bradley Schwartz
5. Brett Clark
6. Caitlin Schneider
7. Carly Smith
8. Carrie King
9. Claire Schwartz
10. Cody Anderson
11. Cole Krueger
12. Colin Smith
13. Connor Schwartz
14. Dylan Schwartz
15. Emily Schmidt
16. Garrett Novak
17. Geoffrey Martin
18. Greg Adams
19. Hannah Phillips
20. Heather Martin
21. Holly Schroeder
22. Hunter Miller
23. Jack Evans
24. Jake Clark
25. Jay Allen
26. Jenna Anderson
27. Jill Smith
28. Katherine Adams
29. Kathryn Evans
30. Katie Novak
31. Kristen Clark
32. Logan Allen
33. Madeline Haas
34. Matthew Anderson
35. Maxwell Haas
36. Molly Kruger
37. Sarah Miller
38. Scott King
39. Tanner Smith
40. Todd Mueller
41. Wyatt Smith
Appendix F: List of Questions Used in Emails

1) Local Elections I was trying to figure out the election calendar, do you know where I can find out when local elections are scheduled?

2) School Question I have a child who will be starting school soon and I'm wondering what I need to do to enroll them? Thanks for any help you can provide.

3) No subject How do I apply for a marriage license?

4) Do not call list What steps do I take to be added to the do not call list?

5) No subject Do you know who I should talk to if I want to get my name changed? Thanks in advance for the help,

6) Bldg. Permit Where can I find out more about applying for a permit to do a building project on my home?

7) Question My nephew got a speeding ticket, what does he need to do to pay for it? Sincerely,

8) Voting I recently moved and am wondering how long I need to live here before I can register to vote in the next election. Do you know? Thank you,

9) Starting a business I'm looking into possibly trying to start a small business. Is there anything I need to do in the city to apply for that?

10) Community events Is there a place that lists all of the upcoming events in our community? I want to make sure I don't miss anything.

11) Council Meetings Does the city council have any regularly scheduled meetings that the public can attend? Where is the information about those meetings listed?

12) School performance Can I find out how well our schools are doing relative to other schools in the state? Is there a good website with that kind of information? Sincerely,

13) Bulk Trash I recently moved into the area and am trying to figure out what to do about bulk trash. Do you know what I should do with bulk trash? Thanks,

14) Question If I am not happy with something one of my neighbors is building, is there...
anything I can do about it? Best,

15) No Subject I have a complaint about a local road. Who do I speak to about that?

16) New Dog I just adopted a dog. Are there any city laws about dogs that I know about? Regards,

17) City Budget I would like to see how the city spends its money. Where could I find a copy of the budget?

18) Recycling I just moved here and I would like to know if recycling services are available. Do you know who I should talk to about that? Thanks,

19) No Subject I was just wondering where the website is for our school district in CITYNAME. Thanks!

20) Question about street sign I want to report a problem with a local street sign. Do you know who I should talk to about this? Best,

21) Zoning How do I get a lot of land re-zoned? Thanks,

22) No Subject Is there anyway to find out when a road is going to be repaired? It would just be nice to know the schedule.

23) Question In the last place I lived, I knew when the city collected leaves and cleaned streets. Is there anyway to find out whether the city offers those types of services? Sincerely,

24) No Subject Does the city keep a list of the community organizations (e.g., churches, service clubs, etc)? Sincerely,

25) Crime reports Is there a convenient place to learn about recent crime incidents in our community? I just feel that being informed is really useful.

26) Question Is the list of the city laws available somewhere online? I just wanted to learn more about how things in the city work. Thanks,

27) Local Parks? Im planning an event and want to find a list of parks in the area. Do you have any recommendations on where I could find out that information?