

Supplemental Material for  
“Race and Representation in Campaign Finance”

## A1 Appendix A

### A1.1 The “Ethnic-Candidate Paradigm” for Asian, Black, and Latino Americans

In this section, we use the “ethnic-candidate paradigm” theory to generate expectations about differences in coethnic contribution behavior for Asian, black, and Latino Americans. Different concentrations of economic and social capital, as well as differences in group incorporation, are likely to matter. Asian Americans have greater income and wealth than do Latino and black Americans, so we expect Asian Americans to be less underrepresented in the contributor class. However, we anticipate that these differences in economic resources may affect overall contribution amounts, but not the incidence of *coethnic* contributing. Instead, we theorize that differences in histories of identity formation and development of political organizations may interact with the “push” and “pull” factors described earlier.

Racial categorization in the United States largely developed around conceptualizations of Native and black Americans during expansions of land conquest and chattel slavery, which led to an especially sharp black-white “color line” and uniquely extreme anti-black political, economic, social practices (Du Bois 1903; Johnson 2000; Frymer 2014). More recent black immigrants from the Caribbean, West Africa, and elsewhere have greater average economic resources and social capital than African Americans, but by the second generation of U.S. born black immigrants, black American identity appears dominant (Waters 1994). Compared to Asians and Latinos, black Americans have a longer history as an electoral and partisan bloc in American politics, especially with respect to social movements and advocacy organizations. We might therefore expect relatively more coethnic contributing among black Americans.<sup>26</sup>

Latino identity is less clear cut. There remain considerable differences between the po-

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<sup>26</sup>Although our theoretical expectations about coethnic contributing vary depending on the ethnoracial group in question, we urge caution in comparing our empirical estimates across the ethnoracial groups. As we describe in later sections, there are greater obstacles to identifying black donors in the data, which may lead to downward bias in estimates of black coethnic contributions.

litical incorporation and attitudes of Latinos with different national origins, with Cuban Americans being historically more conservative and Republican than individuals of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Central American heritage (DeSipio 1998; Pantoja, Ramirez, and Segura 2001; Alvarez and Bedolla 2003; Hajnal and Lee 2011). However, the second half of the 20th century, and especially political conflict over immigration policy in the 1990s, saw the politicization and “racialization” of pan-ethnic Latino identity (Golash-Boza 2006; Sanchez 2006; Barreto and Segura 2014; Mora 2014).

Pan-ethnic Asian American identity is also ascendant, though less crystallized (Kibria 1997; Junn and Masuoka 2008). National identities, such as Chinese or Indian American, remain strong, in part because of a lack of shared linguistic heritage. Individuals from South Asia and the Middle East also have particular histories that shape politics. Individuals of East Asian origin had been legally considered a different “race” throughout American history, but the legal categorization of South Asian and Middle Eastern people vacillated greatly in the 19th and 20th centuries (Hochschild and Powell 2008). Individuals of Middle Eastern and North African heritage are still considered “white” in U.S. Census categorization. In addition, in the post-9/11 political context, conceptualizations of South Asian identity have interacted with conceptualizations of individuals of Arab and Persian descent, or of Muslim religious backgrounds (Ewing 2008). Although, Cho (2001) finds strong descriptive evidence of coethnic contributions among Asian Americans, the comparatively recent development of pan-ethnic Asian American identity and organizations may lead us to expect less coethnic contributing than by black and Latino Americans.

## A1.2 Fundraising Parity

Does candidate fundraising vary by ethnorace? In this section we examine fundraising parity between Asian, black, and Latino candidates, and their general election opponents. Table A1 presents difference-in-difference estimates of the logged difference between individual contributions to a candidate and to her opponent.

Table A1: Effect of Candidate Ethnorace on Fundraising Competitiveness

| Variable     | <i>Democrats</i> |       | <i>Republicans</i> |       |
|--------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
|              | Est.             | SE    | Est.               | SE    |
| Black cand.  | 0.368            | 0.314 | -0.211             | 0.336 |
| Latino cand. | 0.731            | 0.394 | -0.639             | 0.428 |
| Asian cand.  | 0.471            | 0.553 | -0.252             | 0.445 |

The dependent variable is the logged difference between a individual contributions to a candidate and contributions to her opponent. Coefficients can be interpreted as a percentage change in the fundraising gap between the candidate and her opponent.

Compared to white Democratic candidates, Democratic candidates of color raise modestly more funds relative to their opponents. These differences are statistically significant only for Latino Democrats, who raise marginally significantly more against general election opponents than white Democrats. Fundraising competitiveness against Democratic opponents is slightly worse for Republicans of color compared to white Republicans. The largest penalty is for Latino Republicans.

Like Latino Republicans, black Democrats receive slightly lower amounts from white donors, but this decrease is balanced out by an increase in black contributions—and lower contribution totals to the Republican opponent. By contrast, Latino Republicans see a modest decrease in white contributions, and their Democratic opponents see a modest increase.<sup>27</sup>

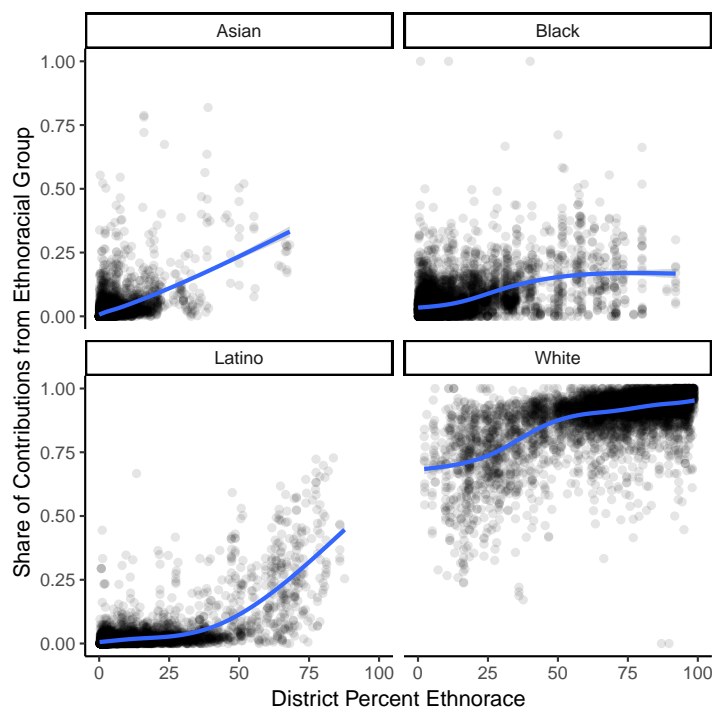
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<sup>27</sup>Latino Republicans also receive lower amounts from Asian and black donors in percentage terms, but the amounts are not substantial.

### A1.3 Descriptive Analysis of Candidate and District Ethnorace

In this section, we provide descriptive regressions of the association between candidate and contribution ethnorace, as well as between district demographics and contribution ethnorace. Unlike the difference-in-difference models, our descriptive analyses do not include district fixed effects, allowing us to compare across rather than within districts.

Figure A1: District Ethnoracial Demographics and Share of Contributions

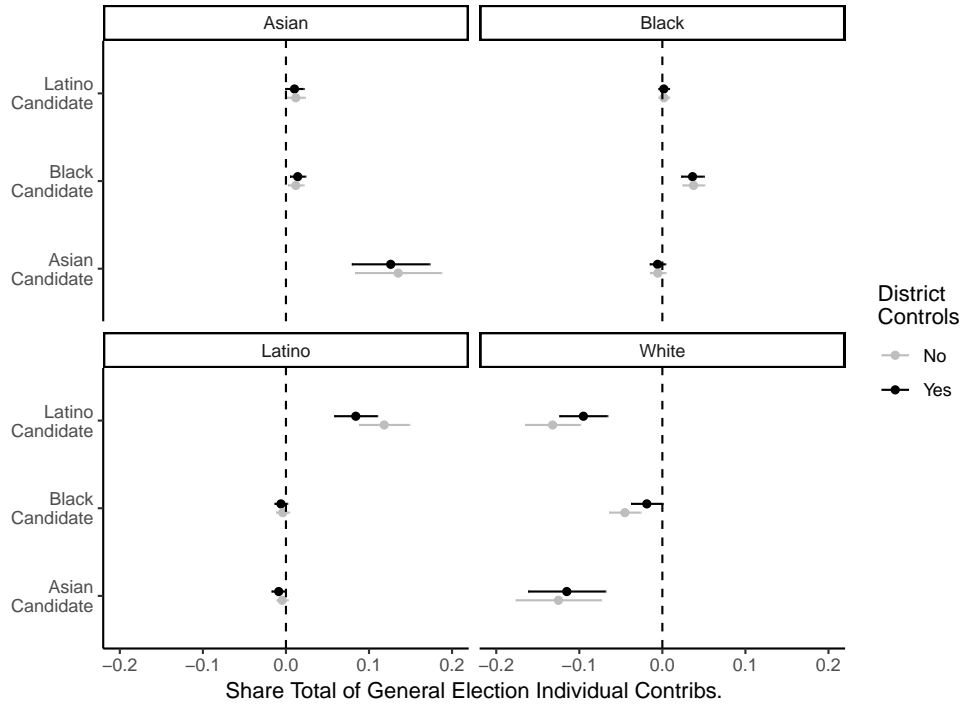


Note: Predictions are estimated with loess.

Figure A1 plots the correlation between district and contribution ethnorace using a loess smoother. The positive relationship is apparent. However, districts are likely to field and nominate candidates that reflect their local ethnoracial composition. Importantly, Figure A2 shows that the relationship between *candidate* and contribution ethnorace is only minimally affected by the inclusion of district demographic controls. District and candidate ethnorace are correlated, but the candidate-contribution correlation is quite strong even when district ethnoracial proportions are held constant.

The strongest relationship between district and contribution ethnorace is among Latinos,

Figure A2: Candidate Coethnic Contributions (Conditional Averages)



Note: **Candidates of ethnorace  $r$  receive greater proportions of their contributions from donors of ethnorace  $r$ .** The omitted category is white candidate ethnorace. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Estimates shown in black control for district ethnoraical demographics.

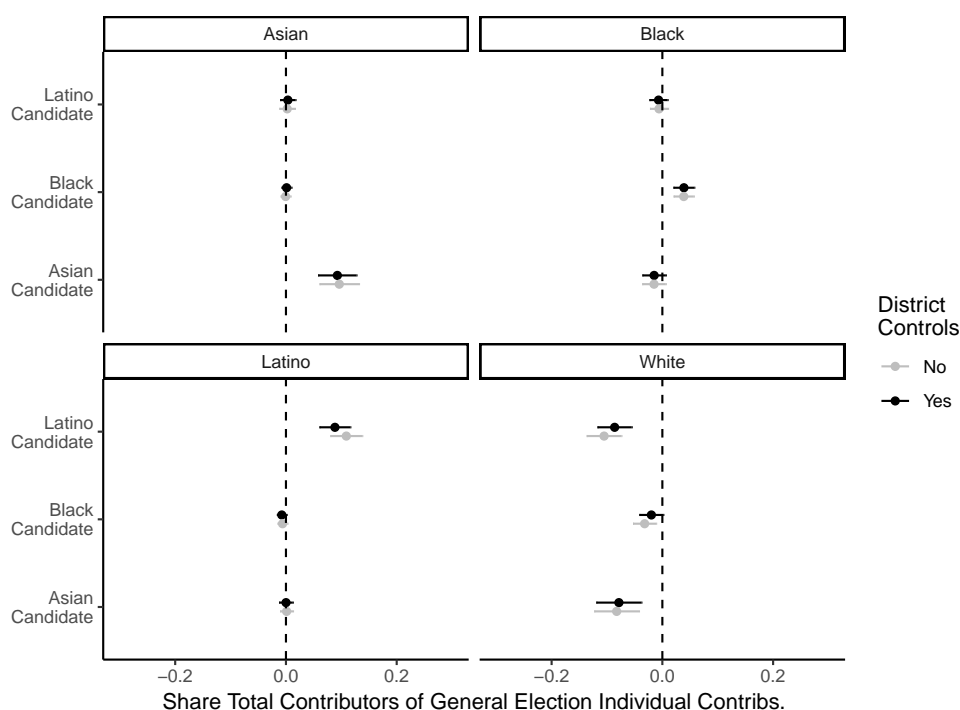
but this relationship is still dramatically smaller than that between candidate and contribution ethnorace. In the model with district controls used in Figure A2, the nomination of a Latino candidate increases Latino contribution share by 0.120, whereas a 10 percentage-point increase in Latino concentration in the district increases Latino contribution share by 0.019. The Latino candidate correlation, in other words, is equivalent to a 65 percentage-point increase in Latinos in a district. This 65 percentage-point difference in Latino population is substantively massive—equivalent to the difference between TX-16, which includes El Paso, and CT-3, which includes Middletown and New Haven.

The similarity of the results from the descriptive regressions and the difference-in-difference models makes us confident that the difference-in-difference estimates do not represent a local average treatment effect in abnormal districts.

## A1.4 Difference-in-Difference with Alternative Outcome: Number of Contributors by Ethnorace

Candidates' donor networks are primarily for the purpose of raising campaign funds. However, donors bring additional resources beyond money, such as connections, volunteer efforts, and social capital. These resources may produce greater representation for donors. We are thus interested not only weighting the contributor class in amounts of money, but also weighting unique individual donors equally. Correspondingly, Figure A3 plots difference-in-difference estimates of the effect of candidate ethnorace on the ethnoracial distribution of individual donors.

Figure A3: Difference-in-Difference: Effect on Proportion of Individual Contributors



Note: **An additional candidate of ethnorace  $r$  increases the proportion of unique individual general election contributors of ethnorace  $r$  in a district-year election.** The dependent variable is the percentage of a candidate's unique individual donors of ethnorace  $r$ . The omitted category is white candidate ethnorace. Models include district and year fixed effects. Estimates shown in black also control for district ethnoracial demographics. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Robust standard errors are clustered by district.

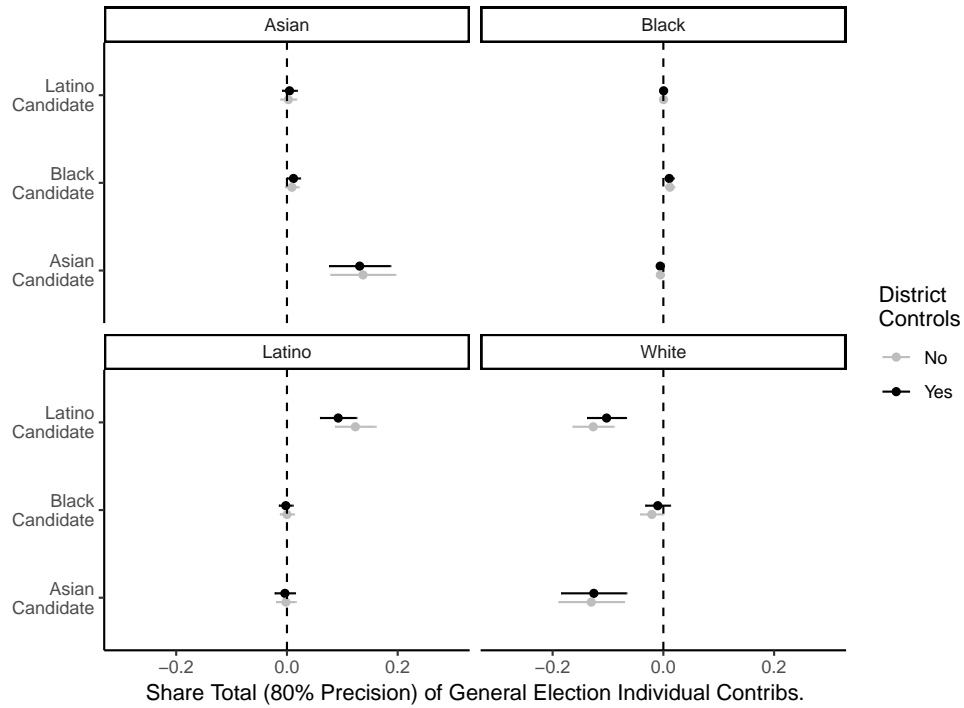
Because there is minimal variation in contribution size by ethnorace in our data (see

Figure B3), we find very similar results to those presented in the paper. The nomination of a candidate of ethnorace  $r$  substantially increases the share of contributors of ethnorace  $r$ .



## A1.5 Difference-in-Difference Subsetting to High Precision Ethnorace Estimates

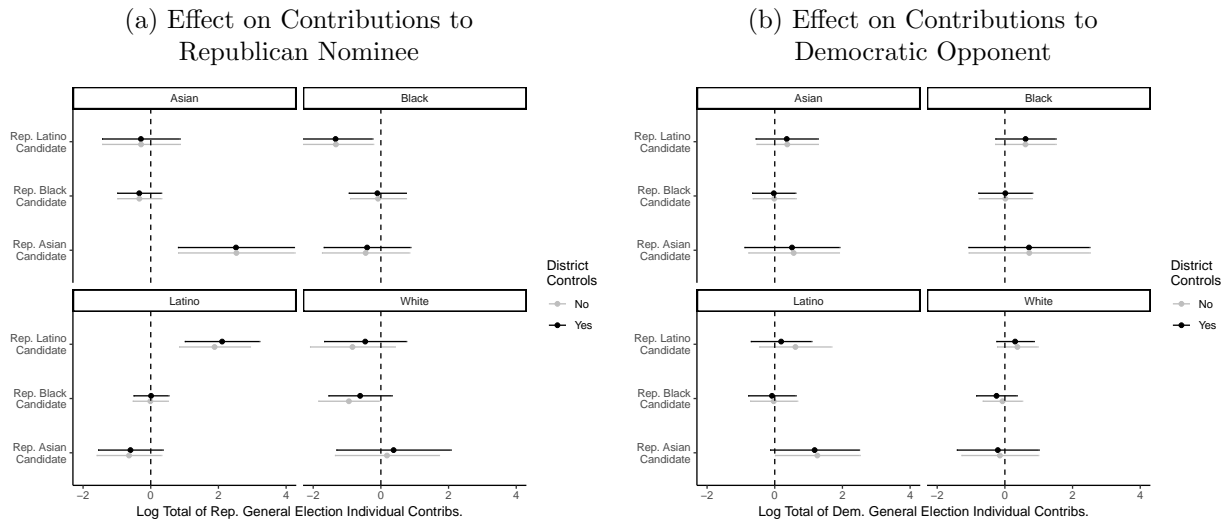
Figure A4: Difference-in-Difference Using Only High Precision Ethnorace Estimates



Note: Data is subsetting to individual donors whose probability of correct ethnoraal coding is greater than or equal to 0.80. The omitted category is white candidate ethnoraal. Models include district and year fixed effects. Estimates shown in black also control for district ethnoraal demographics. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Robust standard errors are clustered by district.

## A1.6 Difference-in-Difference Using Log Total Contributions for Republicans Only

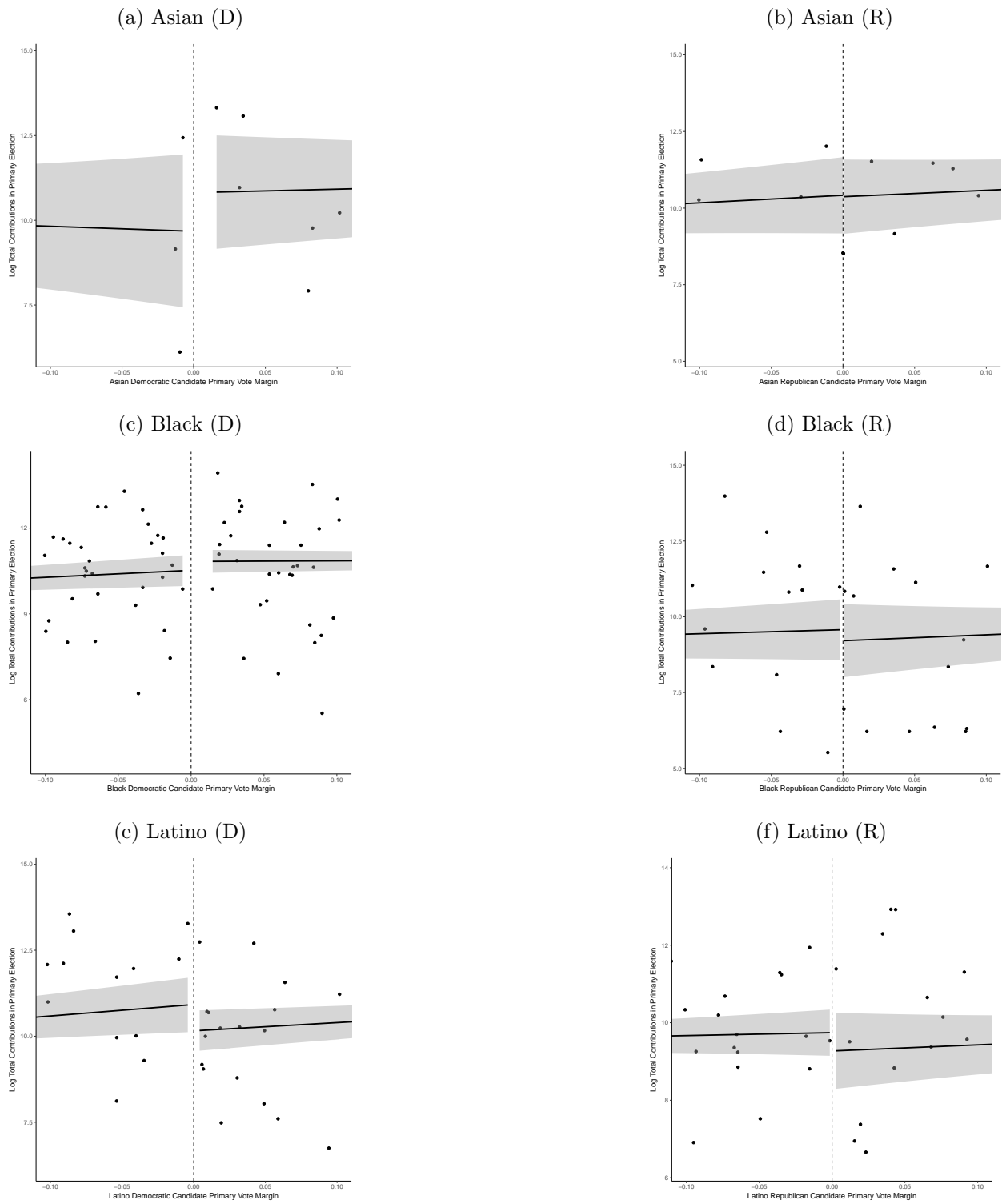
Figure A5: Effect of Republican Candidate Ethnorace on *Log Total* of Contributions by Ethnorace



**Panel (a):** The nomination of an Asian or Latino Republican significantly increases the candidate's contributions from Asian and Latino donors, respectively, but decreases the amount of white contributions. **Panel (b):** The nomination of an Asian or Latino Republican increases the amount of white contributions to the Democratic opponent. Models include district and year fixed effects. Estimates shown in black also control for district ethnoracial demographics. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Robust standard errors are clustered by district.

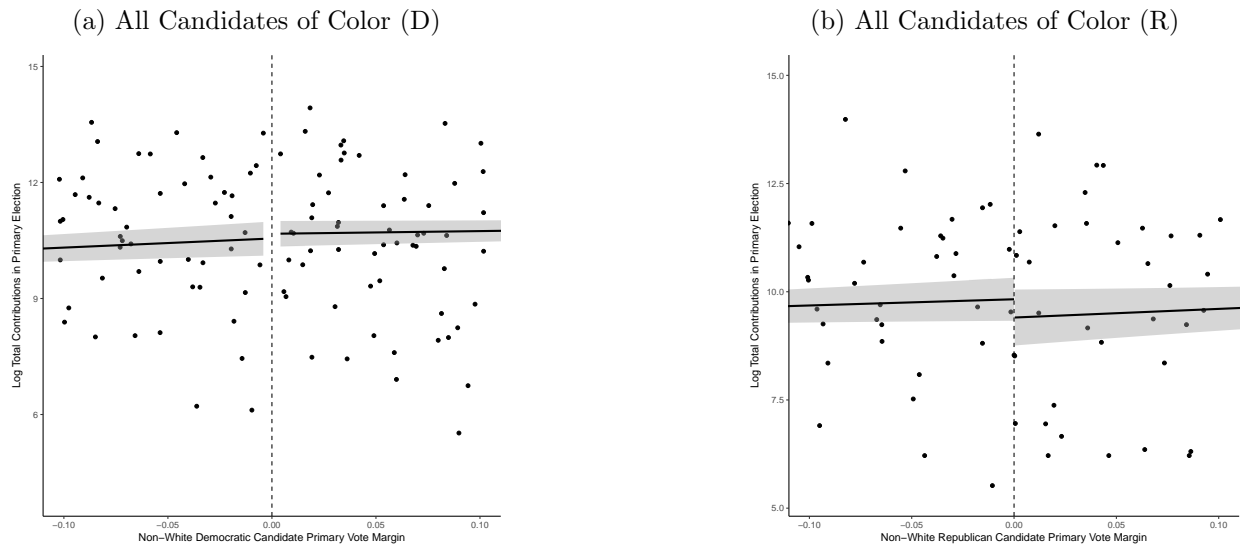
## A1.7 RDD Placebo Tests

Figure A6: Primary Election Funding by Ethnorace (Placebo Test)



Note: There is no consistent difference in primary election fundraising between close-winners and close-losers (by ethnorace).

Figure A7: Primary Election Funding for All Candidates of Color (Placebo Test)



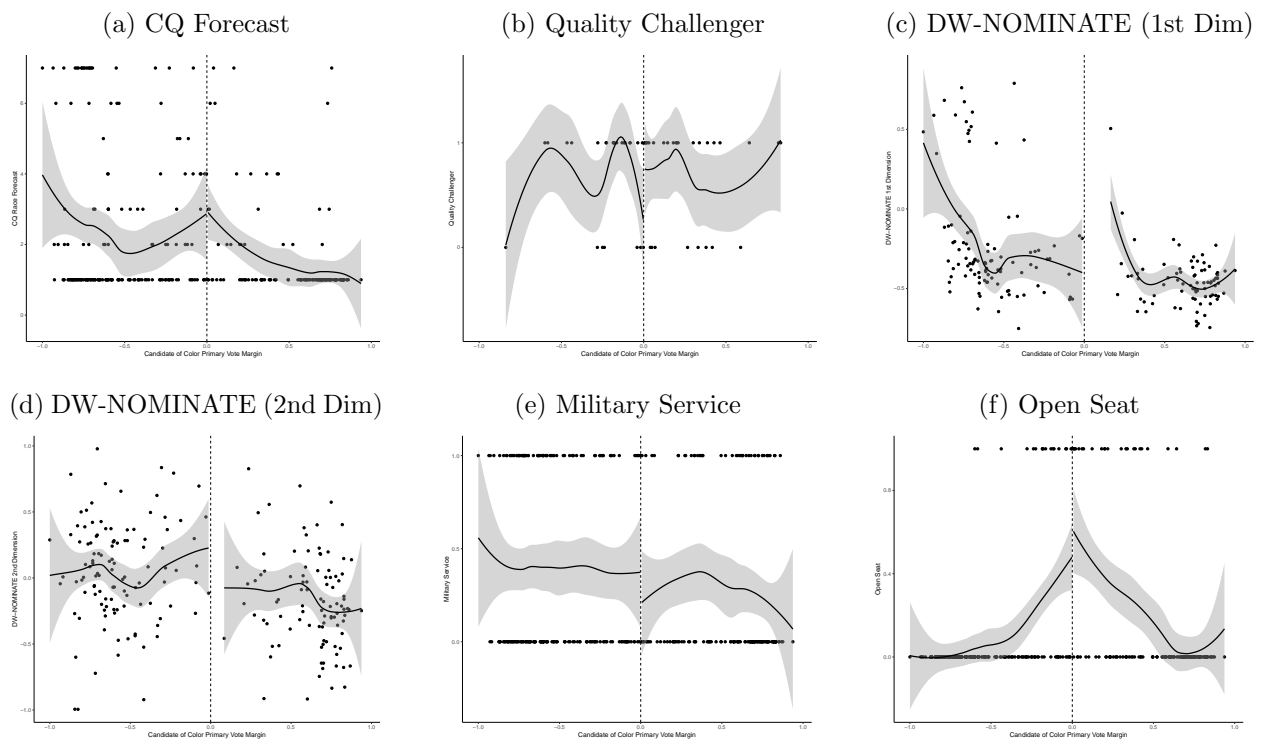
Note: Across all candidates of color, there is no consistent difference in overall *primary* election fundraising between close-winners and close-losers.

## A1.8 Balance on Candidate and Election Observables

In this section, provide balance on observables across the RDD running variable, the primary election win margin by the candidate of ethnorace  $r$  (see Hall 2015). Figure A9 plots candidate career backgrounds, Figure A10 plots candidate religious backgrounds, and Figure A8 plots ideological and election characteristics of candidates and district-elections. In the figures, observations to the right of the RDD cutpoint are when the candidate of color wins the nomination.

Figure A8 suggests that elections with nominees of color have similar CQ forecasts of the general election outcome. However, candidates of color who barely win the primary are (insignificantly) more likely to face a quality challenger in the general than white candidates who barely win. Nominees of color have more liberal 1st dimension DW-NOMINATE scores, but it is important to note that the data only contain observations for candidates who go on to win the general election. Nominees of color have similar likelihood of serving in the military. Nominees of color are also (insignificantly) more likely to run in an open-seat

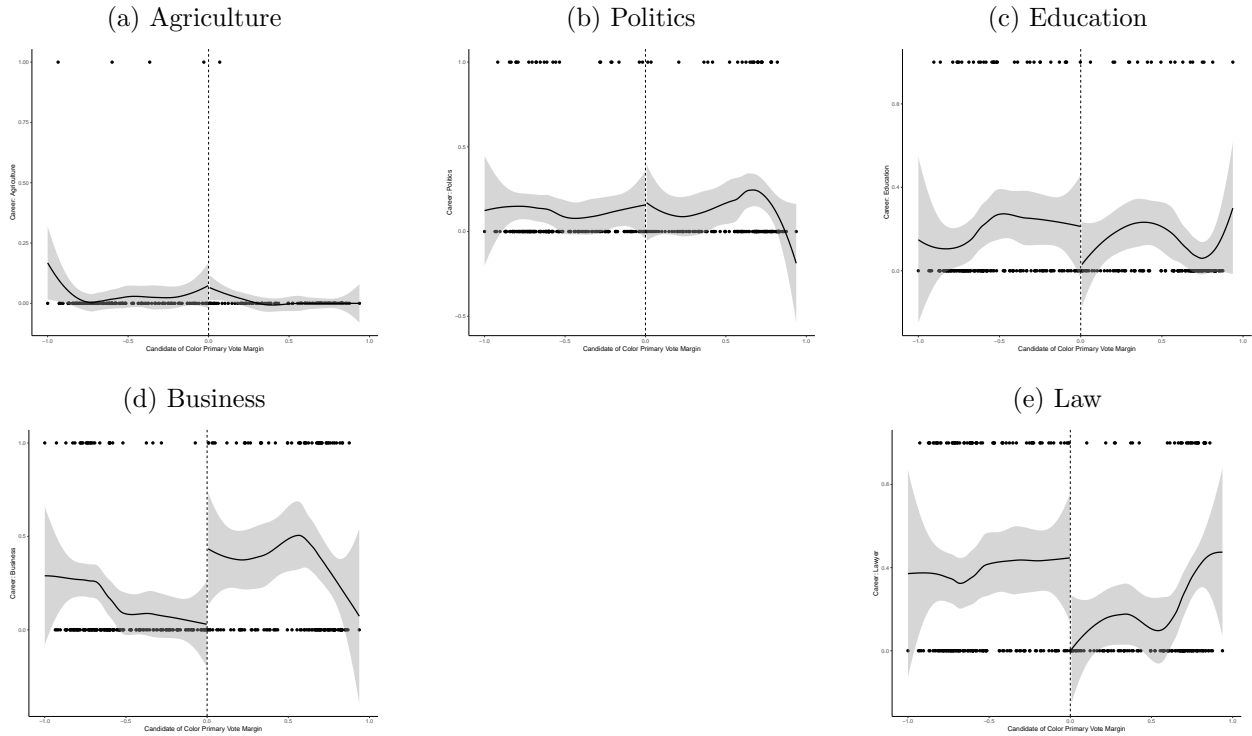
Figure A8: Balance Over RDD Running Variable:  
Ideological and Election Characteristics



Note: Plots show probability of nominee's prior career background conditional on the running variable, the primary election win margin of the candidate of color. Estimates are smoothed with loess.

general election.

Figure A9: Balance Over RDD Running Variable:  
Candidate Career Background

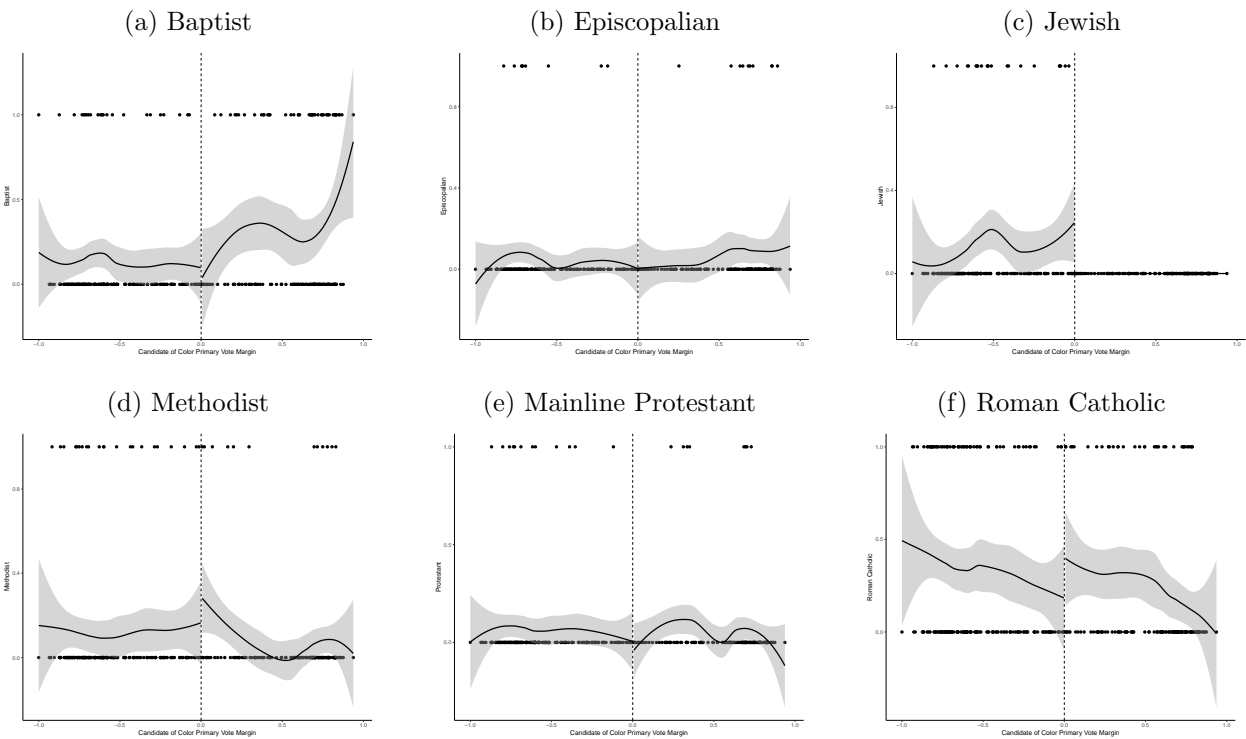


Note: Plots show probability of nominee's prior career background conditional on the running variable, the primary election win margin of the candidate of color. Estimates are smoothed with loess.

Figure A9 shows that barely-winning primary candidates of color are more likely to have backgrounds in business, and less likely to have backgrounds in law, than barely-winning white primary candidates.

Figure A10 suggests that candidates' religious backgrounds are quite balanced, with the exception of Jewish candidates for which there are no candidates of color in the data.

Figure A10: Balance Over RDD Running Variable:  
Candidate Religion



Note: Plots show probability of nominee's prior career background conditional on the running variable, the primary election win margin of the candidate of color. Estimates are smoothed with loess.

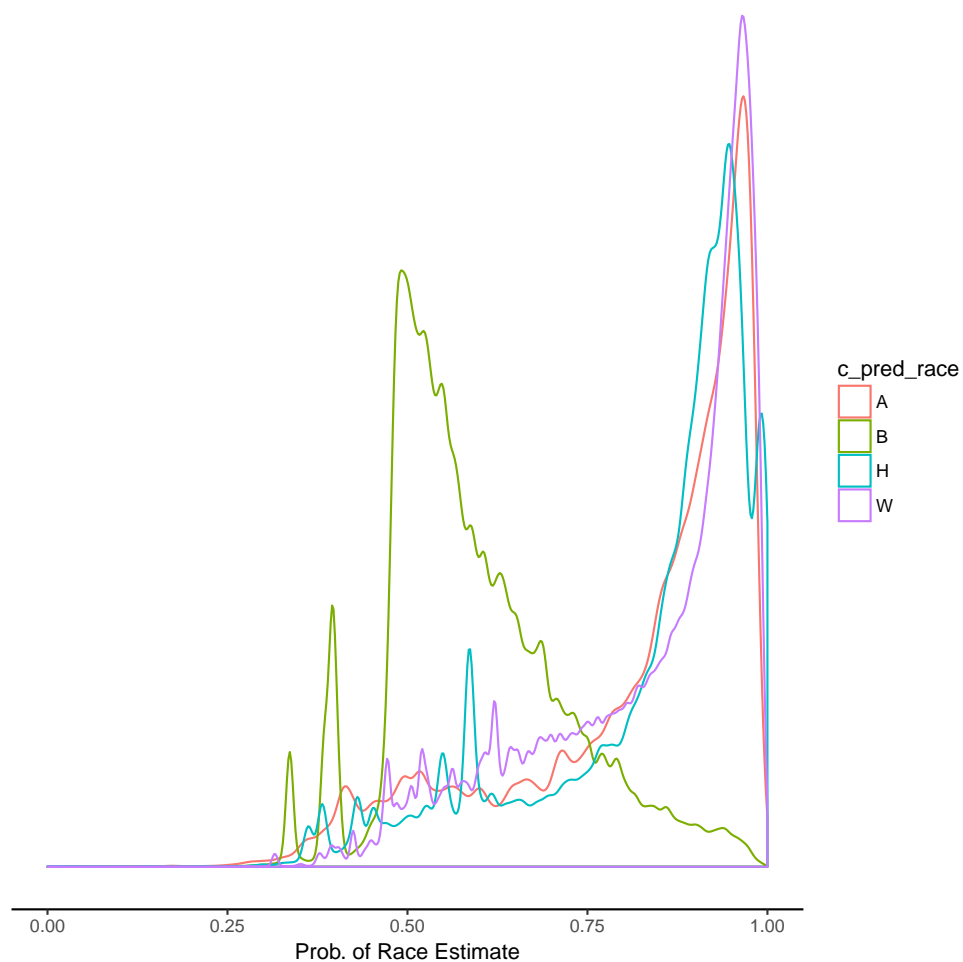
# B1 Appendix B



## B1.1 Precision of Donor Ethnoracial Identity

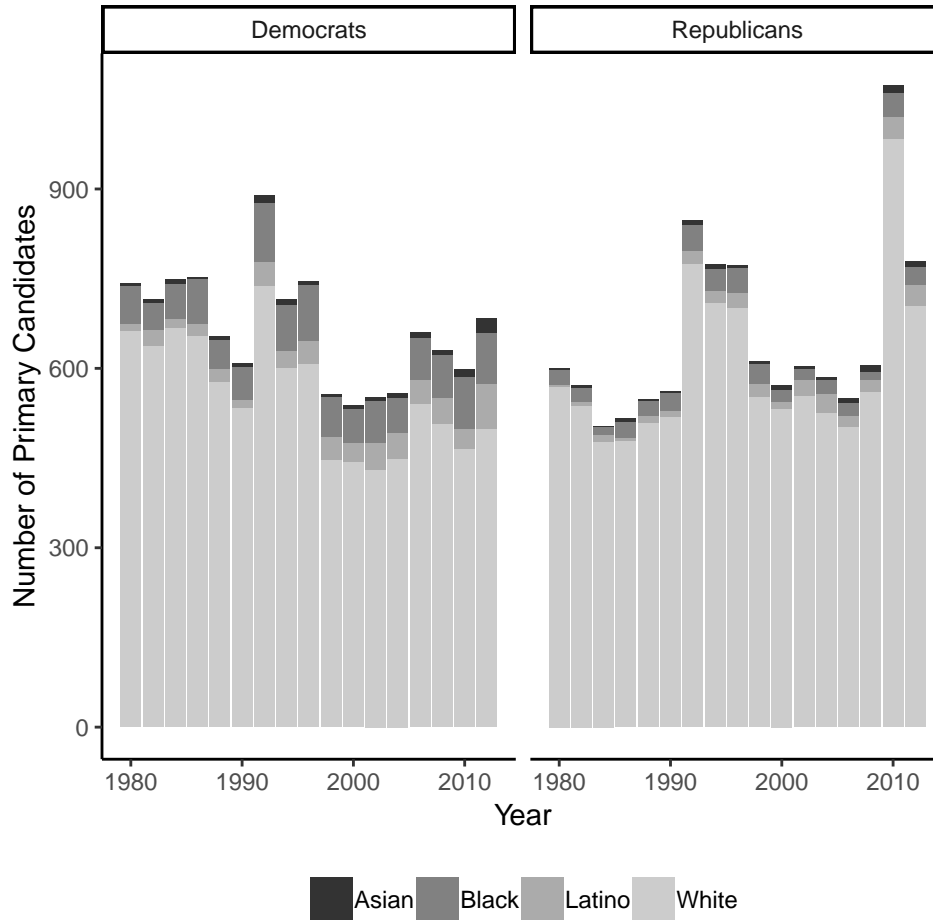
Figure B1 plots the posterior probability of correct ethnoracial coding by ethnoracial group. As described, precision is substantially lower for African Americans than for the other ethnoracial groups.

Figure B1: Precision of Ethnoracial Identity Estimates by Ethnorace



## B1.2 Candidate Count by Ethnorace

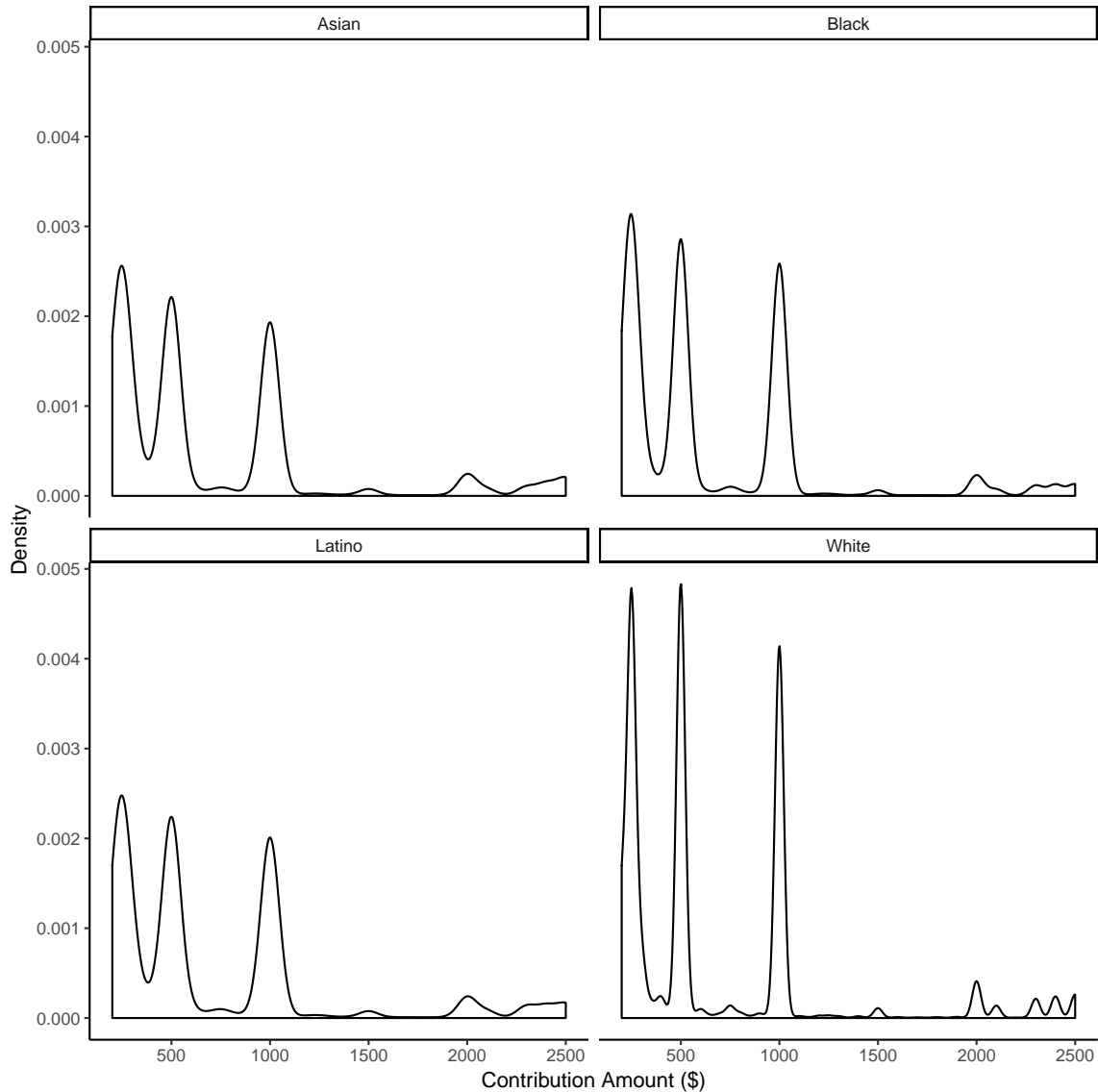
Figure B2: Number of Candidates by Party and Ethnorace



### B1.3 Size of Individual Contributions

This section examines the size of individual contributions. Figure B3 presents density plots of the size of contributions by donor ethnorace. The distributions spike similarly at round numbers, especially \$250, \$500, and \$100.

Figure B3: Size of Individual Contributions



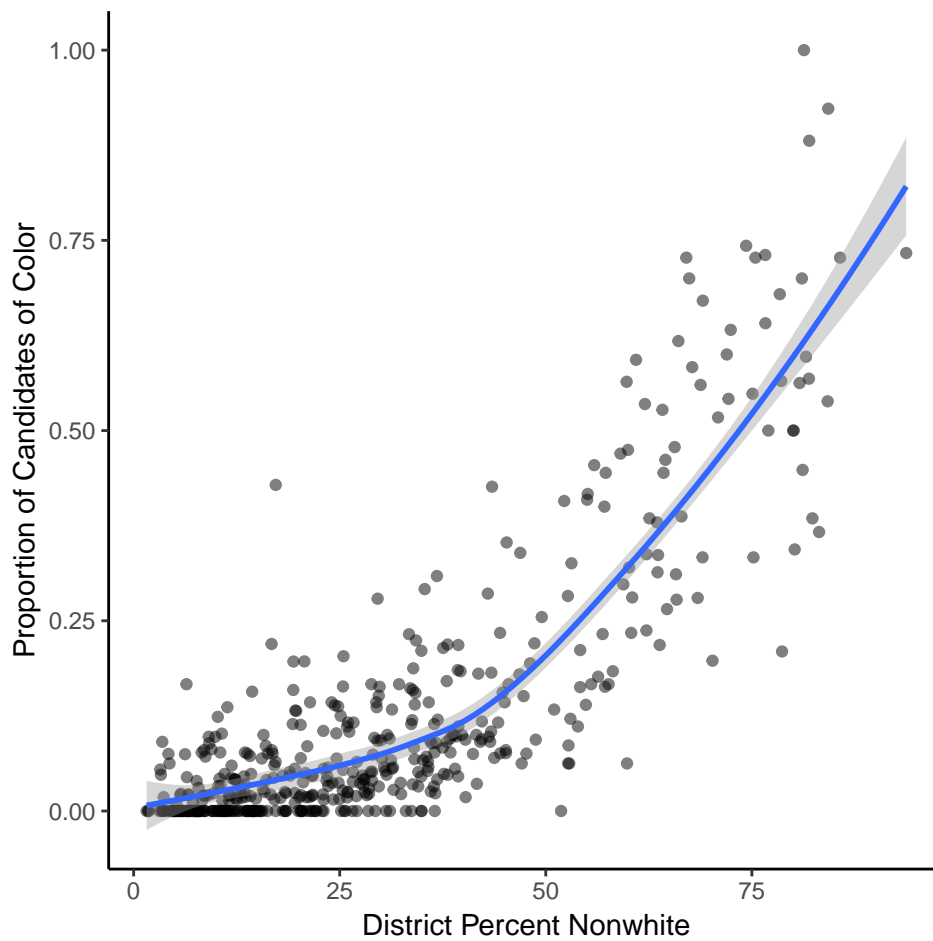
The means and medians of contribution amounts are also quite similar by ethnorace. The means are between \$660 and \$708, with Asian and Latino contributions the largest on average. The median contribution for each ethnoracial group is \$500.

Table B1: Summary Statistics of Size of Contributions

| <i>Contributor Ethnorace</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Median</i> |
|------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Asian                        | \$700       | \$500         |
| Black                        | \$660       | \$500         |
| Latino                       | \$708       | \$500         |
| White                        | \$663       | \$500         |

## B1.4 District and Candidate Ethnorace

Figure B4: District Demographics and Candidate Ethnorace



Note: Figure plots the correlation between district proportion nonwhite and proportion of candidates who are nonwhite, using loess.

**B1.5 Additional Difference-in-Difference Specifications**

**B1.6 Additional RDD Specifications**

Table B2: Diff-in-Diff Results: *Share* of Contributions from Asian Donors

| Cand. Ethnorace | Contributor Ethnorace | Cand. Party | Recipient Party | DV    | Controls | Est.    | SE    |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------|----------|---------|-------|
| Black           | Asian                 | All         | All             | Share | No       | 0.002   | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | All         | All             | Share | No       | 0.004   | 0.006 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | All         | All             | Share | No       | 0.117   | 0.024 |
| Black           | Asian                 | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.005   | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.006   | 0.006 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.112   | 0.023 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | 0.005   | 0.006 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | 0.001   | 0.005 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | 0.156   | 0.037 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.009   | 0.006 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.003   | 0.005 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.146   | 0.034 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | 0.003   | 0.009 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | 0.016   | 0.011 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | 0.092   | 0.039 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.002   | 0.008 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.015   | 0.011 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.088   | 0.037 |
| Black           | Asian                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.002   | 0.006 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.00004 | 0.010 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.136   | 0.033 |
| Black           | Asian                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.005   | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.002   | 0.009 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.130   | 0.031 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.237   | 0.220 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.565   | 0.327 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.518   | 0.267 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.012   | 0.008 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.004  | 0.009 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.265   | 0.052 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.001   | 0.009 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.011   | 0.014 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.008   | 0.018 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.001  | 0.009 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.010   | 0.014 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.003   | 0.018 |
| Black           | Asian                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.003   | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.007   | 0.013 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.123   | 0.042 |
| Black           | Asian                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.003   | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.008   | 0.013 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.119   | 0.041 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.002   | 0.003 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.004  | 0.012 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.028   | 0.027 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.002   | 0.003 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.001  | 0.012 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.020   | 0.021 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.006   | 0.008 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.022   | 0.025 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.293   | 0.081 |
| Black           | Asian                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.006   | 0.008 |
| Latino          | Asian                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.022   | 0.025 |
| Asian           | Asian                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.289   | 0.079 |

Table B3: Diff-in-Diff Results: *Share* of Contributions from Black Donors

| Cand. Ethnorace | Contributor Ethnorace | Cand. Party | Recipient Party | DV    | Controls | Est.   | SE    |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------|----------|--------|-------|
| Black           | Black                 | All         | All             | Share | No       | 0.028  | 0.008 |
| Latino          | Black                 | All         | All             | Share | No       | 0.0003 | 0.005 |
| Asian           | Black                 | All         | All             | Share | No       | -0.007 | 0.008 |
| Black           | Black                 | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.027  | 0.008 |
| Latino          | Black                 | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.0002 | 0.005 |
| Asian           | Black                 | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.007 | 0.007 |
| Black           | Black                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | 0.038  | 0.010 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | 0.003  | 0.005 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | -0.009 | 0.006 |
| Black           | Black                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.037  | 0.010 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.003  | 0.005 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.009 | 0.006 |
| Black           | Black                 | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | 0.003  | 0.014 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | -0.003 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | 0.007  | 0.013 |
| Black           | Black                 | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.003  | 0.015 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.003 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.006  | 0.013 |
| Black           | Black                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.049  | 0.013 |
| Latino          | Black                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.001 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.007 | 0.013 |
| Black           | Black                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.048  | 0.013 |
| Latino          | Black                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.001 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.007 | 0.013 |
| Black           | Black                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.078  | 0.017 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.001 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.015 | 0.020 |
| Black           | Black                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.077  | 0.018 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.001 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.015 | 0.020 |
| Black           | Black                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.003 | 0.020 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.002 | 0.011 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.013  | 0.015 |
| Black           | Black                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.004 | 0.021 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.002 | 0.011 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.011  | 0.014 |
| Black           | Black                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.014  | 0.013 |
| Latino          | Black                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.001 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.004 | 0.009 |
| Black           | Black                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.014  | 0.013 |
| Latino          | Black                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.002 | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.004 | 0.009 |
| Black           | Black                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.011  | 0.014 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.006  | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.004 | 0.008 |
| Black           | Black                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.010  | 0.014 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.005  | 0.007 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.005 | 0.008 |
| Black           | Black                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.019  | 0.022 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.013 | 0.010 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.002 | 0.019 |
| Black           | Black                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.020  | 0.023 |
| Latino          | Black                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.013 | 0.010 |
| Asian           | Black                 | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.002 | 0.019 |

Table B4: Diff-in-Diff Results: *Share* of Contributions from Latino Donors

| Cand. Ethnorace | Contributor Ethnorace | Cand. Party | Recipient Party | DV    | Controls | Est.    | SE    |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------|----------|---------|-------|
| Black           | Latino                | All         | All             | Share | No       | -0.005  | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Latino                | All         | All             | Share | No       | 0.093   | 0.015 |
| Asian           | Latino                | All         | All             | Share | No       | -0.005  | 0.005 |
| Black           | Latino                | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.007  | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Latino                | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.070   | 0.014 |
| Asian           | Latino                | All         | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.006  | 0.006 |
| Black           | Latino                | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | -0.002  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | 0.106   | 0.016 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Democrats   | All             | Share | No       | -0.003  | 0.004 |
| Black           | Latino                | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.004  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.076   | 0.012 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Democrats   | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.0004 | 0.005 |
| Black           | Latino                | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | -0.005  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | 0.060   | 0.022 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Republicans | All             | Share | No       | -0.005  | 0.010 |
| Black           | Latino                | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.007  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | 0.042   | 0.019 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Republicans | All             | Share | Yes      | -0.008  | 0.010 |
| Black           | Latino                | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.006  | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Latino                | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.120   | 0.016 |
| Asian           | Latino                | All         | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.004  | 0.007 |
| Black           | Latino                | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.007  | 0.004 |
| Latino          | Latino                | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.100   | 0.017 |
| Asian           | Latino                | All         | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.004  | 0.007 |
| Black           | Latino                | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.003  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.187   | 0.021 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.007  | 0.006 |
| Black           | Latino                | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.005  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | 0.169   | 0.023 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Democrats   | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.006  | 0.005 |
| Black           | Latino                | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | -0.003  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.016   | 0.020 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | No       | 0.0002  | 0.016 |
| Black           | Latino                | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.005  | 0.005 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.002  | 0.017 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Republicans | Democrats       | Share | Yes      | -0.002  | 0.014 |
| Black           | Latino                | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.001   | 0.007 |
| Latino          | Latino                | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.054   | 0.017 |
| Asian           | Latino                | All         | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.009  | 0.006 |
| Black           | Latino                | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.001   | 0.007 |
| Latino          | Latino                | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.044   | 0.016 |
| Asian           | Latino                | All         | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.009  | 0.006 |
| Black           | Latino                | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.009   | 0.012 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.030   | 0.015 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.008  | 0.007 |
| Black           | Latino                | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.009   | 0.012 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.015   | 0.009 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Democrats   | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.004  | 0.007 |
| Black           | Latino                | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.006  | 0.006 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | 0.146   | 0.034 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | No       | -0.002  | 0.009 |
| Black           | Latino                | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.006  | 0.006 |
| Latino          | Latino                | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | 0.138   | 0.033 |
| Asian           | Latino                | Republicans | Republicans     | Share | Yes      | -0.004  | 0.009 |



Table B5: RDD Results: *Share* of Contributions from Asian Donors

| Model      | Cand Race | Contrib | Ethnorace | DV    | Cand Party | Recipient Party | Est    | SE    | N   | BW    |
|------------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------|------------|-----------------|--------|-------|-----|-------|
| CCT        | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | -0.243 | 0.161 | 14  | 0.415 |
| T-test 5%  | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | -0.152 |       | 8   | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | -0.107 |       | 11  | 0.100 |
| LL         | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | 0.073  | 0.016 | 52  | 0.100 |
| IK         | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | -0.191 | 0.133 | 25  | 0.236 |
| IK Half    | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | -0.276 | 0.475 | 12  | 0.118 |
| IK Double  | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | D               | -0.078 | 0.111 | 39  | 0.471 |
| CCT        | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.205  | 0.227 | 17  | 0.446 |
| T-test 5%  | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.554  |       | 6   | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.376  |       | 13  | 0.100 |
| LL         | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.378  | 0.019 | 48  | 0.100 |
| IK         | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.340  | 0.149 | 37  | 0.542 |
| IK Half    | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.252  | 0.167 | 27  | 0.271 |
| IK Double  | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | R               | 0.393  | 0.113 | 48  | 1.084 |
| CCT        | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.215 | 0.104 | 15  | 0.403 |
| T-test 5%  | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.142 |       | 8   | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.129 |       | 11  | 0.100 |
| LL         | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.029 | 0.012 | 56  | 0.100 |
| IK         | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.117 | 0.076 | 39  | 0.446 |
| IK Half    | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.181 | 0.083 | 26  | 0.223 |
| IK Double  | A         | A       | A         | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.063 | 0.070 | 56  | 0.891 |
| CCT        | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | -0.060 | 0.234 | 19  | 0.494 |
| T-test 5%  | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.143  |       | 6   | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.123  |       | 13  | 0.100 |
| LL         | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.158  | 0.014 | 54  | 0.100 |
| IK         | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.085  | 0.121 | 42  | 0.549 |
| IK Half    | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | -0.028 | 0.149 | 31  | 0.275 |
| IK Double  | A         | A       | A         | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.153  | 0.090 | 54  | 1.099 |
| CCT        | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.090 | 0.104 | 39  | 0.528 |
| T-test 5%  | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.017 |       | 14  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.008  |       | 24  | 0.100 |
| LL         | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.071  | 0.006 | 110 | 0.100 |
| IK         | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.020 | 0.074 | 83  | 0.489 |
| IK Half    | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.095 | 0.096 | 57  | 0.244 |
| IK Double  | A         | A       | A         | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.043  | 0.059 | 110 | 0.977 |

Note: CCT = Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014); LL = local linear; IK = Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012).

Table B6: RDD Results: *Share* of Contributions from Black Donors

| Model      | Cand Race | Contrib Ethnorace | DV    | Cand Party | Recipient Party | Est    | SE    | N   | BW    |
|------------|-----------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----------------|--------|-------|-----|-------|
| CCT        | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | -0.051 | 0.085 | 63  | 0.460 |
| T-test 5%  | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.004  |       | 19  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | -0.054 |       | 39  | 0.100 |
| LL         | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.028  | 0.003 | 313 | 0.100 |
| IK         | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | -0.061 | 0.061 | 152 | 0.488 |
| IK Half    | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | -0.061 | 0.076 | 78  | 0.244 |
| IK Double  | B         | B                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.004  | 0.041 | 313 | 0.976 |
| CCT        | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | -0.022 | 0.057 | 15  | 0.196 |
| T-test 5%  | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | -0.002 |       | 21  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.115  |       | 38  | 0.100 |
| LL         | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.062  | 0.009 | 109 | 0.100 |
| IK         | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.064  | 0.082 | 66  | 0.355 |
| IK Half    | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.019  | 0.061 | 41  | 0.177 |
| IK Double  | B         | B                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.054  | 0.075 | 96  | 0.710 |
| CCT        | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.018 | 0.049 | 79  | 0.584 |
| T-test 5%  | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.027  |       | 19  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.005 |       | 39  | 0.100 |
| LL         | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.028  | 0.002 | 333 | 0.100 |
| IK         | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | -0.006 | 0.038 | 163 | 0.455 |
| IK Half    | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.0003 | 0.046 | 81  | 0.228 |
| IK Double  | B         | B                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.020  | 0.026 | 331 | 0.911 |
| CCT        | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.139  | 0.060 | 29  | 0.321 |
| T-test 5%  | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.072  |       | 21  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.082  |       | 38  | 0.100 |
| LL         | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.005  | 0.005 | 143 | 0.100 |
| IK         | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.127  | 0.056 | 65  | 0.235 |
| IK Half    | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.085  | 0.059 | 42  | 0.117 |
| IK Double  | B         | B                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.056  | 0.047 | 104 | 0.470 |
| CCT        | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.051  | 0.041 | 110 | 0.548 |
| T-test 5%  | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.050  |       | 40  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.036  |       | 77  | 0.100 |
| LL         | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.011  | 0.001 | 478 | 0.100 |
| IK         | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.037  | 0.032 | 219 | 0.342 |
| IK Half    | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.045  | 0.040 | 114 | 0.171 |
| IK Double  | B         | B                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.015  | 0.026 | 361 | 0.684 |

Note: CCT = Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014); LL = local linear; IK = Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012).

Table B7: RDD Results: *Share* of Contributions from Latino Donors

| Model      | Cand Race | Contrib Ethnorace | DV    | Cand Party | Recipient Party | Est    | SE    | N   | BW    |
|------------|-----------|-------------------|-------|------------|-----------------|--------|-------|-----|-------|
| CCT        | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.151  | 0.061 | 45  | 0.505 |
| T-test 5%  | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.200  |       | 22  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.129  |       | 37  | 0.100 |
| LL         | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.129  | 0.005 | 145 | 0.100 |
| IK         | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.156  | 0.058 | 85  | 0.415 |
| IK Half    | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.161  | 0.071 | 52  | 0.207 |
| IK Double  | L         | L                 | Share | D          | D               | 0.145  | 0.047 | 140 | 0.830 |
| CCT        | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | -0.027 | 0.093 | 27  | 0.421 |
| T-test 5%  | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.052  |       | 17  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.050  |       | 31  | 0.100 |
| LL         | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.093  | 0.011 | 87  | 0.100 |
| IK         | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.013  | 0.065 | 62  | 0.318 |
| IK Half    | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | -0.005 | 0.084 | 37  | 0.159 |
| IK Double  | L         | L                 | Share | R          | R               | 0.053  | 0.066 | 80  | 0.636 |
| CCT        | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.049  | 0.035 | 51  | 0.490 |
| T-test 5%  | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.061  |       | 22  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.033  |       | 37  | 0.100 |
| LL         | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.0002 | 0.003 | 154 | 0.100 |
| IK         | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.041  | 0.030 | 102 | 0.468 |
| IK Half    | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.048  | 0.037 | 66  | 0.234 |
| IK Double  | L         | L                 | Share | D          | ALL             | 0.012  | 0.024 | 154 | 0.936 |
| CCT        | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.044  | 0.136 | 23  | 0.270 |
| T-test 5%  | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.014  |       | 17  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | -0.034 |       | 31  | 0.100 |
| LL         | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | -0.037 | 0.007 | 104 | 0.100 |
| IK         | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | -0.026 | 0.075 | 78  | 0.367 |
| IK Half    | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | 0.022  | 0.105 | 48  | 0.183 |
| IK Double  | L         | L                 | Share | R          | ALL             | -0.010 | 0.061 | 100 | 0.733 |
| CCT        | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.026  | 0.056 | 63  | 0.321 |
| T-test 5%  | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.031  |       | 40  | 0.050 |
| T-test 10% | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.009 |       | 69  | 0.100 |
| LL         | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.032 | 0.002 | 259 | 0.100 |
| IK         | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | -0.003 | 0.038 | 163 | 0.346 |
| IK Half    | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.023  | 0.049 | 101 | 0.173 |
| IK Double  | L         | L                 | Share | EITHER     | ALL             | 0.003  | 0.031 | 230 | 0.692 |

Note: CCT = Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014); LL = local linear; IK = Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012).