SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

RACIAL RECLASSIFICATION AND POLITICAL IDENTITY FORMATION

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Racial Reclassification and Political Identity Formation

Supplementary Appendix

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APPENDIX A
CENSUS CLASSIFICATION SCHEMES AND DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

Year	White/ Branca	Black/ Preta	Brown/ Parda	Yellow/ Amarela	Indigenous/ Indígena	Mixed/ Mestiça	Cabocla
1872	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
1890	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
1900	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1920	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940	Y	Y	N*	Y	N	N	N
1950	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
1960	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
1970	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1980	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
1991	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2000	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2010	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y**	N	N

Table A1 Census Classification Schemes, 1872-2010. Source: Características étnico-raciais da população: um estudo das categorias de classificação de cor ou raça : 2008 / IBGE, Coordenação de População de Indicadores Sociais (IBGE 2011). *Responses of "other" re-coded as "pardo".
**Census includes indigenous subgroup and language spoken in addition to this color category.

Census	Nationality	Population	Percentage
1991	Native Brazilians	146,048,028	99.48
	Naturalized Brazilians	161,151	0.11
	Foreign Resident	606,624	0.41
	Total	146,815,803	100
2000	Native Brazilians	169,189,026	99.60
	Naturalized Brazilians	173,763	0.10
	Foreign Resident	510,067	0.30
	Total	169,872,856	100
2010	Native Brazilians	190,163,229	99.69
	Naturalized Brazilians	161,250	0.08
	Foreign Resident	431,319	0.23
	Total	190,755,799	100

Table A2 International Immigration to Brazil, 1991-2010. Source: Census, IBGE

	2000					2010				
Age	Total	White	Black	Brown	Ratio	Total	White	Black	Brown	Ratio
0 - 4	4.85	3.63	3.10	3.26	0.89	3.40	2.89	1.93	3.26	1.08
5 - 9	0.32	0.27	0.32	0.26	0.98	0.28	0.25	0.22	0.26	1.02
10 - 14	0.36	0.31	0.35	0.29	0.96	0.33	0.29	0.31	0.33	1.11
15 - 19	1.07	0.87	1.32	1.02	1.21	1.12	0.85	1.11	1.24	1.44
20 - 29	1.74	1.38	2.14	1.66	1.25	1.65	1.24	1.60	1.91	1.50
30 - 39	2.44	1.96	3.30	2.15	1.19	2.09	1.68	2.38	2.25	1.35
40 - 49	4.45	3.75	5.82	3.59	1.06	3.76	3.29	4.36	3.74	1.17
50 - 59	8.82	7.90	9.93	6.40	0.89	7.69	7.30	8.76	6.94	1.00
60 - 69	18.76	17.67	18.93	12.43	0.77	15.89	15.80	16.54	13.69	0.90

Table A3 Mortality Rates in 2000 and 2010, by Race and Age. Measured as deaths per 1,000. Source: Ministério de Saude, DataSUS. The ratio is computed as mortalities of *negros* (blacks and browns) relative to whites.

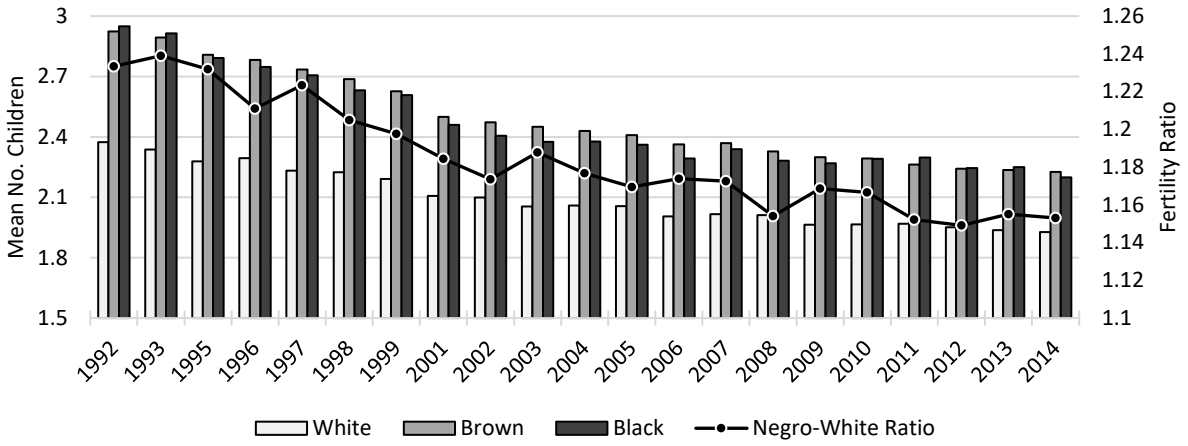

Figure A1 Fertility Rates of Women Aged 15-44, 1992-2014. Source: PNAD, IBGE.

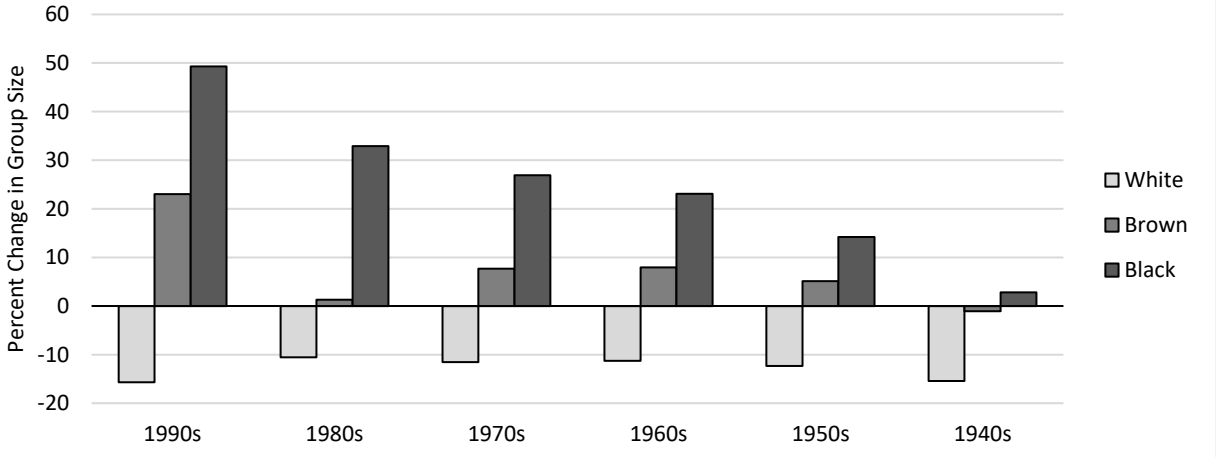

Figure A2 Change in Size of Racial Groups between 2000 and 2010 and within Birth Cohorts. Bar clusters indicate cohort based on decade of birthyear. Source: IBGE.

	Lighter	Matched	Darker	Total
< Primary	17.81	69.47	12.72	100%
Primary	18.01	74.26	7.72	100%
High School	10.46	78.15	11.38	100%
University	11.69	77.92	10.39	100%
Total (N)	162	789	116	1,067

Table A3 Cross-Tabulation of Classification Mismatch by level of Education, *Pesquisa Social Brasileira*, 2002. Lighter indicates the respondent self-classified in a racial category lighter than that ascribed to her; darker indicates a darker self-classification, and matched indicates agreement between the respondent and the interviewer.

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW METHODS AND METHODS SEQUENCING

Methods Sequencing and Generating the Political Identity Hypothesis

The data and analyses presented in this article reflect a multi-stage research design in which initial hypotheses derived from the literature were preliminarily tested using both observational qualitative methods (participant observation and interviews) and systematic quantitative methods (regression analysis of municipal-level census data). With little support found for these hypotheses, I embarked on hypothesis-generating qualitative field research. The main goal of this fieldwork was to identify reclassifiers who were willing to participate in relatively open-ended interviews, with the intention of allowing these discussions to generate new hypotheses and insights, and to allow individuals to provide their own reflections on the processes of reclassification and consciousness formation. After preliminary field trips to establish institutional affiliations and secure grant funding, I began field research in São Paulo in July 2016. According to apparent subnational variation in patterns of reclassification, São Paulo was a strong positive case, and would likely serve as a useful starting point for identifying and exploring the phenomenon of interest. In Seawright and Gerring's (2008) terms, São Paulo is an "extreme value on Y."

In São Paulo, I began by embedding myself in sites where I believed I would be most likely to find reclassifiers: black movement spaces and events; local NGOs and other civil society organizations; political campaigns and events of local politicians campaigning on "the racial question; and university associations. My goal was to collect data through participant observation, aiming to understand the discourse and rhetoric employed toward race, and to meet individuals who might reveal themselves to be reclassifiers and who, through personal contact with me, might agree to be interviewed about this process. After identifying initial interviewees, I allowed additional interview subjects to "snowball" and continued to interview subjects until I felt I had reached saturation (Morse 2000).

Regarding the specific goals of the qualitative research, I used participant observation and open-ended, in-depth interviews with reclassifiers and non-reclassifiers to inductively generate new ideas and hypotheses about the causes of these apparent patterns of reclassification (Lynch 2013). These data were invaluable for illustrating causal pathways and giving me a sense of what these processes looked like "on the ground." Before beginning this fieldwork, I hypothesized that racial consciousness was an important part of the observed patterns, but my initial hypothesis that racial and class cleavage structures were the cause of such consciousness proved to hold little water. As a result, the overly structural hypothesis fell away, but it remained clear to me that consciousness was an important part of this story.

It was in São Paulo, my first prolonged research site, where the centrality of education as a driving forced in these patterns had come to the fore. Yet while this crystallized for me in São Paulo after completing a number of illuminating interviews, this was not something that came through explicitly or brightly in every single conversation. In fact, if ever I asked reclassifiers in my interviews what factor they would point to as the determinants of their racial identity change, almost none mentioned "education" by name. Instead, they often pointed to their personal experiences that were direct or indirect consequences of acquiring greater education (what they learned about history, how they got involved in a particular social movement or association, or what they experienced at their job). An important part of the generation of this hypothesis was allowing the diversity of personal experiences of my interview subjects to accumulate before it could become clear to me how exactly education could operate in ways that would alter their understandings of racial boundaries and shape their political consciousness.

Having narrowed in on education as the hypothesized driving force of these patterns, I moved to Recife, the capital city of the northeastern state of Pernambuco, in February 2017 to continue exploring these ideas in an ostensibly "weak" site for reclassification. There, I pursued similar sites for recruiting interview subjects and also employed snowball sampling. To gain greater leverage on the effects of greater education, I also sought to include lower-educated individuals in my interview sample, since these subjects were entirely absent among my São Paulo interviewees. To get access to and build relationships with less-educated Brazilians, I specifically set out to observe courses on adult literacy with local organizations (which in many ways were similar educational sites to those where I made contact with other interview subjects).

Once I felt I had a firmer grasp of the argument from my qualitative research, I then sought to further specify and refine the hypothesis and mechanisms through inductive iteration (Yom 2015), moving repeatedly between the data I was collecting on the ground, specific empirical findings in the literature, and testing my hunches using systematic quantitative data. After finding that the political identity hypothesis held some water, I continued to develop this argument and sought to test it more rigorously, to a greater extent, and up against the alternative hypotheses presented in Chapters 2 and 5. Overall, I employed a multi-method and multi-staged research design in this project which enabled me to mine for insights into causal processes and later test these insights systematically.

Variable	Mean	St. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Recife	0.47	0.51	0	1	34
Age	31.62	14.01	18	70	34
Female	0.59	0.50	0	1	34
Per capita household income	1307	1419.72	0	7666.67	34
Household residents	3.32	1.53	1	7	34
Residents with income	1.65	0.95	0	4	34
Household Income	3637.26	4001.69	0	23000	34
Reclassifier	0.56	0.50	0	1	34
Education	3.15	1.02	1	4	34
(1) < Primary	0.15	0.36	0	1	34
(3) High School	0.41	0.50	0	1	34
(4) University	0.44	0.50	0	1	34
Racial ID	2.58	0.61	1	3	33
(1) White	0.06	0.24	0	1	33
(2) Brown	0.30	0.47	0	1	33
(3) Black	0.64	0.49	0	1	33

Table B1 Descriptive Statistics of Interview Sample. Means for education, racial ID, and the political identity index reflect the means of single categorical or composite measures of individual values or items. Numbers in parentheses reflect codings of these single variables. Responses to question 12 were measured on a 5-category Likert scale, discretized such that responses of uncomfortable or very uncomfortable were coded as 1. The political identity index is the mean of questions 10 through 16 of the structured interview questionnaire.

APPENDIX C

LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS: TESTING THE POLITICAL IDENTITY HYPOTHESIS

Table C1 shows the cohorts under examination in this analysis. Pseudo-panel analysis naturally requires the analysis to specify the size and number of cohorts in an analysis, inducing a bias-variance tradeoff. Verbeek and Nijman (1992), however, show that the effect of ignoring bias will be small so long as there is sufficient variation in cohort means over time. These authors recommend a minimum cohort size of 100 observations in any given year, but suggest a minimum of 200 observations. It is clear from Table C1 that cohorts 7 and 8 suffer from small sample sizes in some survey years (because the sample is restricted to heads of household), and are thus not suitable for analysis.

PNAD Sampling and Data Collection

PNAD surveys are similar to the American Community Survey in the United States and are considered analogous to the census in years when the census is not conducted. The purpose of the survey is primarily demographic and economic in nature, and the survey is conducted by the Brazilian census bureau, *o Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, or IBGE. PNAD interviews are conducted in-person. With regard to racial classification, the IBGE has maintained a policy of relying of respondents' self-declaration as a measure of "race" (IBGE 2003, 2016). PNAD questionnaires are applied via in-person interviews. Since 2007, interviews have involved the use of digital technology to record survey responses.

PNAD samples are multi-stage probability samples. As these are demographic and economic surveys, the target population of PNAD is the national population of Brazil. The primary sampling unit is the municipality (*município*), analogous to a U.S. county. The secondary sampling unit is the census tract (*setor censitário*) and the final sampled unit is the household. Large municipalities (those containing metropolitan areas) are always included in the sample. Remaining municipalities are stratified by population, with each sampled with equal probability. In the second stage census tracts are similarly stratified and sample with equal probability. Additional methodological information on PNAD/IBGE sampling is available on the website of the Brazilian census bureau (e.g., Pesquisa Nacional n.d.).

After each census, municipalities and census tracts randomly sampled are maintained in PNAD samples until the next census is conducted. The sampling frame for each survey consists of a list of households in sampled census tracts. The number of households sampled per census tract was initially set at 16. More recently, the sampling fraction has varies from 1/50 in Roraima, a largely rural state, to 1/800 in São Paulo, Brazil's most populous and a very urbanized state.

	Birthyear		Age		Observations	
Cohort	Min	Max	1992	2015	Min	Max
1	1950	1954	37-42	60-65	8,877	11,403
2	1955	1959	32-37	55-60	10,252	12,674
3	1960	1964	27-32	50-55	9,962	14,496
4	1965	1969	22-27	45-50	6,722	14,135
5	1970	1974	17-22	40-45	2,058	13,472
6	1975	1979	12-17	35-40	104	12,610
7	1980	1984	-	30-35	6	11,509
8	1985	1989	-	25-30	4	8,349

Table C1 Birth Cohorts in PNAD Sample

	Cohort					
Year	1	2	3	4	5	6
1992	1.97	2.06	2.07	1.97	1.81	1.60
1993	1.99	2.07	2.09	2.01	1.89	1.70
1995	2.01	2.07	2.07	2.04	1.92	1.78
1996	2.01	2.08	2.11	2.07	1.97	1.82
1997	2.03	2.11	2.11	2.08	2.01	1.86
1998	2.04	2.11	2.12	2.10	2.06	1.95
1999	2.03	2.11	2.14	2.12	2.08	2.01
2001	2.02	2.11	2.14	2.13	2.12	2.04
2002	2.06	2.13	2.18	2.18	2.17	2.14
2003	2.05	2.13	2.17	2.18	2.19	2.19
2004	2.05	2.13	2.18	2.20	2.21	2.22
2005	2.05	2.14	2.19	2.22	2.23	2.27
2006	2.06	2.16	2.22	2.24	2.27	2.31
2007	2.06	2.17	2.22	2.25	2.29	2.35
2008	2.06	2.18	2.26	2.31	2.32	2.38
2009	2.08	2.18	2.26	2.36	2.32	2.40
2011	2.05	2.16	2.26	2.36	2.33	2.44
2012	2.07	2.20	2.30	2.39	2.38	2.49
2013	2.07	2.19	2.30	2.41	2.42	2.51
2014	2.06	2.21	2.29	2.40	2.42	2.52
2015	2.07	2.22	2.31	2.42	2.47	2.53

Table C2 Cohort Education Means in Each Survey Year, 1992-2015. In this analysis, education is coded categorically to capture four major levels of educational attainment: 1) less than primary education, 2) primary education, 3) high school, and 4) university.

Year	< Primary	Primary	High School	University
1992	0.65	0.46	0.32	0.14
1993	0.66	0.46	0.35	0.17
1995	0.65	0.46	0.36	0.17
1996	0.64	0.46	0.34	0.19
1997	0.66	0.46	0.35	0.19
1998	0.66	0.47	0.35	0.18
1999	0.67	0.47	0.36	0.19
2001	0.67	0.49	0.39	0.21
2002	0.67	0.50	0.40	0.22
2003	0.69	0.52	0.42	0.24
2004	0.68	0.52	0.43	0.26
2005	0.71	0.54	0.45	0.26
2006	0.71	0.54	0.45	0.28
2007	0.71	0.56	0.47	0.28
2008	0.71	0.57	0.48	0.31
2009	0.71	0.56	0.48	0.32
2011	0.70	0.56	0.50	0.35
2012	0.73	0.58	0.50	0.35
2013	0.72	0.57	0.50	0.34
2014	0.74	0.58	0.51	0.38
2015	0.73	0.60	0.52	0.38

Table C3 Mean Nonwhite ID by Education and Year (Cohorts 3 and 4)

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Year	141770	2005.658	7.449	1993	2015
Education	141756	2.234	0.901	1	4
Income	138423	5.859	2.892	1	10
Female	141770	0.275	0.447	0	1
Local Native	141769	0.435	0.496	0	1
State Migrant	141770	0.085	0.279	0	1
Cohort Lag	141770	0.519	0.041	0.456	0.577
State	141770	32.766	10.583	11	53

Table C4 Summary Statistics of Independent Variables (Cohorts 3 and 4)

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Year	328122	2005.658	7.449	1993	2015
Education	328083	2.234	0.901	1	4
Income	319536	5.859	2.892	1	10
Female	328122	0.275	0.447	0	1
Local Native	328120	0.435	0.496	0	1
State Migrant	328122	0.085	0.279	0	1
Cohort Lag	328122	0.519	0.041	0.456	0.577
State	328122	32.766	10.583	11	53

Table C5 Summary Statistics of Independent Variables (Cohorts 1-6)

	(1)	
1998 x Primary	-0.033	(0.061)
1998 x High School	-0.106	(0.082)
1998 x University	-0.094	(0.137)
2003 x Primary	0.028	(0.060)
2003 x High School	0.172	(0.078)*
2003 x University	0.198	(0.129)
2008 x Primary	0.077	(0.061)
2008 x High School	0.252	(0.076)*
2008 x University	0.424	(0.122)*
2013 x Primary	0.048	(0.064)
2013 x High School	0.271	(0.078)*
2013 x University	0.422	(0.123)*
2015 x Primary	0.110	(0.064)+
2015 x High School	0.301	(0.078)*
2015 x University	0.527	(0.122)*
1998 x Income	0.017	(0.010)+
2003 x Income	0.014	(0.010)
2008 x Income	0.008	(0.010)
2013 x Income	0.013	(0.010)
2015 x Income	0.017	(0.010)+
1998 x Female	0.122	(0.071)+
2003 x Female	0.064	(0.066)
2008 x Female	0.080	(0.064)
2013 x Female	0.023	(0.065)
2015 x Female	0.029	(0.064)
1998 x Municip. Native	0.067	(0.049)
2003 x Municip. Native	0.040	(0.047)
2008 x Municip. Native	-0.058	(0.047)
2013 x Municip. Native	0.029	(0.048)
2015 x Municip. Native	0.014	(0.048)
1998 x State migrant	0.008	(0.071)
2003 x State migrant	0.006	(0.070)
2008 x State migrant	-0.129	(0.076)+
2013 x State migrant	0.021	(0.087)
2015 x State migrant	-0.083	(0.093)
1998 x Cohort Lag	1.361	(1.813)
2003 x Cohort Lag	0.730	(2.111)
2008 x Cohort Lag	3.347	(2.194)
2013 x Cohort Lag	0.247	(1.865)
2015 x Cohort Lag	2.196	(1.717)
1998	-0.918	(0.878)
2003	-0.279	(1.043)
2008	-1.812	(1.167)
2013	-0.057	(1.002)

2015	-1.152	(0.923)
Primary	-0.321	(0.046)*
High School	-0.777	(0.061)*
University	-1.460	(0.107)*
Income	-0.104	(0.007)*
Female	0.026	(0.056)
Municip. native	-0.091	(0.037)*
State migrant	-0.035	(0.051)
Cohort Lag	0.806	(1.141)
Constant	1.003	(0.557)+
Interactive State FX	Y	
Observations	137410	
AIC	156984.253	

Table C6 Pseudo-Panel Estimates of Nonwhite Identification among Cohorts 3 and 4 (Full Sample). Robust standard errors in parentheses. + $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.566	0.592	0.587	0.586	0.628	0.617
	(0.0136)	(0.0155)	(0.0116)	(0.0114)	(0.0132)	(0.0139)
Primary	0.504	0.523	0.529	0.538	0.574	0.575
	(0.0120)	(0.0149)	(0.0103)	(0.0104)	(0.0128)	(0.0132)
High School	0.414	0.417	0.466	0.480	0.526	0.522
	(0.0140)	(0.0160)	(0.0114)	(0.0110)	(0.0139)	(0.0142)
University	0.287	0.291	0.336	0.377	0.415	0.428
	(0.0196)	(0.0184)	(0.0146)	(0.0126)	(0.0157)	(0.0155)

Table C7 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID. Computed from Model 4.

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.0257	0.0206	0.0202	0.0613*	0.0505*
	(0.0207)	(0.0179)	(0.0177)	(0.0190)	(0.0195)
Primary	0.0191	0.0252	0.0340*	0.0699*	0.0716*
	(0.0191)	(0.0158)	(0.0159)	(0.0175)	(0.0178)
High School	0.00329	0.0520*	0.0664*	0.112*	0.108*
	(0.0213)	(0.0180)	(0.0178)	(0.0197)	(0.0199)
University	0.00377	0.0486*	0.0899*	0.128*	0.140*
	(0.0269)	(0.0245)	(0.0233)	(0.0251)	(0.0250)

Table C8 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993. Computed from Model 4. + $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	(2) Excl. Top Decile		(3) Bottom 5 Deciles		(4) Top Decile	
1998 x Primary	-0.043	(0.062)	-0.090	(0.073)	0.634	(0.591)
1998 x High School	-0.108	(0.085)	0.098	(0.133)	0.385	(0.578)
1998 x University	0.117	(0.196)	0.205	(0.599)	0.279	(0.586)
2003 x Primary	0.020	(0.060)	0.044	(0.072)	0.242	(0.561)
2003 x High School	0.146	(0.080)$^{+}$	0.298	(0.125)*	0.523	(0.545)
2003 x University	0.282	(0.184)	0.836	(0.529)	0.458	(0.551)
2008 x Primary	0.066	(0.061)	0.087	(0.074)	0.642	(0.522)
2008 x High School	0.201	(0.079)*	0.423	(0.121)*	0.857	(0.507)$^{+}$
2008 x University	0.570	(0.172)*	1.075	(0.467)*	0.669	(0.513)
2013 x Primary	0.029	(0.064)	0.074	(0.080)	0.630	(0.492)
2013 x High School	0.244	(0.081)*	0.475	(0.125)*	0.631	(0.478)
2013 x University	0.554	(0.173)*	1.108	(0.467)*	0.552	(0.484)
2015 x Primary	0.086	(0.065)	0.028	(0.081)	1.197	(0.497)*
2015 x High School	0.256	(0.081)*	0.495	(0.125)*	1.320	(0.483)*
2015 x University	0.573	(0.171)*	0.963	(0.465)*	1.333	(0.488)*
1998 x Income	0.020	(0.011)$^{+}$	0.013	(0.025)		
2003 x Income	0.019	(0.011)$^{+}$	0.011	(0.024)		
2008 x Income	0.014	(0.010)	0.016	(0.024)		
2013 x Income	0.022	(0.011)*	0.017	(0.026)		
2015 x Income	0.026	(0.011)*	0.046	(0.026)$^{+}$		
1998 x Female	0.107	(0.075)	0.082	(0.098)	0.156	(0.223)
2003 x Female	0.040	(0.070)	0.043	(0.092)	0.161	(0.208)
2008 x Female	0.064	(0.068)	0.126	(0.090)	0.113	(0.196)
2013 x Female	0.012	(0.069)	0.029	(0.093)	-0.040	(0.195)
2015 x Female	0.028	(0.068)	0.034	(0.092)	-0.053	(0.191)
1998 x Municip. native	0.063	(0.051)	0.053	(0.069)	0.134	(0.181)
2003 x Municip. native	0.069	(0.049)	0.089	(0.067)	-0.276	(0.171)
2008 x Municip. native	-0.093	(0.049)$^{+}$	-0.016	(0.068)	0.197	(0.163)
2013 x Municip. native	0.023	(0.051)	0.010	(0.073)	0.101	(0.164)
2015 x Municip. native	-0.004	(0.051)	0.054	(0.072)	0.143	(0.160)
1998 x State migrant	0.025	(0.076)	0.117	(0.104)	-0.059	(0.226)
2003 x State migrant	0.063	(0.076)	0.231	(0.105)*	-0.347	(0.212)
2008 x State migrant	-0.152	(0.083)$^{+}$	-0.270	(0.117)*	0.127	(0.209)
2013 x State migrant	0.072	(0.096)	0.052	(0.144)	-0.037	(0.232)
2015 x State migrant	-0.077	(0.103)	-0.209	(0.153)	-0.005	(0.239)
1998 x Cohort Lag	0.585	(1.890)	-0.984	(2.558)	10.904	(6.541)$^{+}$
2003 x Cohort Lag	1.921	(2.212)	0.356	(3.018)	-9.201	(7.315)
2008 x Cohort Lag	2.985	(2.319)	3.253	(3.287)	3.922	(7.096)
2013 x Cohort Lag	-0.256	(1.981)	-2.637	(2.892)	1.077	(5.917)
2015 x Cohort Lag	1.280	(1.829)	-0.977	(2.664)	6.323	(5.433)
1998	-0.453	(0.917)	-0.082	(1.247)	-6.511	(3.143)*
2003	-0.862	(1.092)	-0.034	(1.495)	4.307	(3.609)
2008	-1.624	(1.234)	-2.021	(1.755)	-2.613	(3.730)
2013	0.202	(1.065)	1.327	(1.566)	-0.911	(3.104)

2015	-0.665	(0.987)	0.245	(1.453)	-4.281	(2.822)
Primary	-0.325	(0.046)*	-0.306	(0.055)*	-0.928	(0.409)*
High School	-0.750	(0.064)*	-0.887	(0.102)*	-1.318	(0.401)*
University	-1.387	(0.157)*	-1.591	(0.447)*	-1.827	(0.407)*
Income	-0.092	(0.008)*	-0.066	(0.019)*		
Female	0.035	(0.060)	0.079	(0.078)	0.024	(0.172)
Municip. native	-0.092	(0.038)*	-0.112	(0.052)*	-0.060	(0.136)
State migrant	-0.021	(0.054)	-0.053	(0.074)	-0.142	(0.161)
Cohort Lag	0.862	(1.188)	1.811	(1.623)	-0.108	(4.200)
Constant	0.865	(0.581)	0.374	(0.799)	1.205	(2.020)
Interactive State FX	Y		Y		Y	
Observations	120468		61464		16942	
AIC	139551.998		70295.603		17285.052	

Table C9 Pseudo-Panel Estimates of Nonwhite Identification among Cohorts 3 and 4 and by Income Group. Robust standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.590	0.607	0.617	0.611	0.655	0.649
	(0.0138)	(0.0159)	(0.0114)	(0.0119)	(0.0138)	(0.0146)
Primary	0.526	0.535	0.557	0.560	0.597	0.603
	(0.0125)	(0.0155)	(0.0105)	(0.0113)	(0.0138)	(0.0143)
High School	0.441	0.435	0.496	0.500	0.553	0.551
	(0.0153)	(0.0171)	(0.0121)	(0.0122)	(0.0153)	(0.0158)
University	0.318	0.354	0.393	0.445	0.484	0.484
	(0.0298)	(0.0257)	(0.0203)	(0.0163)	(0.0193)	(0.0189)

Table C10 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Excluding Top Decile)

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.0172	0.0272	0.0217	0.0650*	0.0594*
	(0.0210)	(0.0180)	(0.0183)	(0.0195)	(0.0201)
Primary	0.00862	0.0309+	0.0338*	0.0707*	0.0768*
	(0.0199)	(0.0163)	(0.0168)	(0.0186)	(0.0190)
High School	-0.00541	0.0552*	0.0595*	0.113*	0.110*
	(0.0230)	(0.0195)	(0.0196)	(0.0217)	(0.0220)
University	0.0359	0.0756*	0.127*	0.167*	0.167*
	(0.0394)	(0.0361)	(0.0340)	(0.0355)	(0.0353)

Table C11 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Excluding Top Decile) $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.687	0.680	0.684	0.668	0.717	0.724
	(0.0159)	(0.0193)	(0.0129)	(0.0178)	(0.0195)	(0.0206)
Primary	0.630	0.602	0.634	0.625	0.674	0.673
	(0.0160)	(0.0205)	(0.0127)	(0.0181)	(0.0209)	(0.0220)
High School	0.510	0.518	0.566	0.575	0.639	0.651
	(0.0256)	(0.0263)	(0.0179)	(0.0206)	(0.0243)	(0.0251)
University	0.363	0.390	0.531	0.564	0.624	0.603
	(0.0911)	(0.0859)	(0.0617)	(0.0336)	(0.0353)	(0.0349)

Table C12 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Bottom 5 Deciles)

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	-0.00776	-0.00335	-0.0195	0.0297	0.0366
	(0.0250)	(0.0205)	(0.0239)	(0.0252)	(0.0260)
Primary	-0.0281	0.00414	-0.00452	0.0445+	0.0432
	(0.0260)	(0.0204)	(0.0242)	(0.0263)	(0.0272)
High School	0.00766	0.0560+	0.0645*	0.128*	0.140*
	(0.0367)	(0.0313)	(0.0329)	(0.0353)	(0.0359)
University	0.0265	0.168	0.201*	0.261*	0.240*
	(0.125)	(0.110)	(0.0971)	(0.0977)	(0.0975)

Table C13 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Bottom 5 Deciles) $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.433	0.450	0.446	0.418	0.466	0.350
	(0.0502)	(0.0476)	(0.0405)	(0.0350)	(0.0289)	(0.0293)
Primary	0.305	0.325	0.369	0.384	0.413	0.396
	(0.0237)	(0.0217)	(0.0145)	(0.0123)	(0.0144)	(0.0148)
High School	0.247	0.244	0.303	0.327	0.333	0.328
	(0.0205)	(0.0169)	(0.00954)	(0.00768)	(0.0109)	(0.0111)
University	0.167	0.157	0.211	0.216	0.232	0.245
	(0.0180)	(0.0142)	(0.00879)	(0.00609)	(0.00863)	(0.00924)

Table C14 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Top Decile)

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.0174	0.0132	-0.0145	0.0336	-0.0829
	(0.0692)	(0.0645)	(0.0612)	(0.0579)	(0.0581)
Primary	0.0206	0.0644*	0.0790*	0.109*	0.0911*
	(0.0321)	(0.0277)	(0.0267)	(0.0277)	(0.0279)
High School	-0.00320	0.0560*	0.0800*	0.0862*	0.0815*
	(0.0265)	(0.0226)	(0.0219)	(0.0232)	(0.0233)
University	-0.00908	0.0444*	0.0498*	0.0652*	0.0784*
	(0.0229)	(0.0200)	(0.0190)	(0.0199)	(0.0202)

Table C15 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Top Decile) $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	(1) Full Sample	
1998 x Primary	-0.007	(0.039)
1998 x High School	0.009	(0.053)
1998 x University	-0.043	(0.084)
2003 x Primary	0.018	(0.037)
2003 x High School	0.181	(0.049)*
2003 x University	0.123	(0.078)
2008 x Primary	0.096	(0.037)*
2008 x High School	0.327	(0.049)*
2008 x University	0.382	(0.075)*
2013 x Primary	0.019	(0.039)
2013 x High School	0.250	(0.050)*
2013 x University	0.315	(0.075)*
2015 x Primary	0.094	(0.039)*
2015 x High School	0.293	(0.049)*
2015 x University	0.412	(0.074)*
1998 x Income	-0.004	(0.007)
2003 x Income	0.004	(0.006)
2008 x Income	0.003	(0.006)
2013 x Income	0.016	(0.006)*
2015 x Income	0.015	(0.006)*
1998 x Female	0.038	(0.042)
2003 x Female	0.049	(0.040)
2008 x Female	0.041	(0.038)
2013 x Female	0.000	(0.039)
2015 x Female	0.034	(0.038)
1998 x Municip. native	0.050	(0.032)
2003 x Municip. native	0.049	(0.031)
2008 x Municip. native	-0.020	(0.030)
2013 x Municip. native	0.036	(0.031)
2015 x Municip. native	0.024	(0.031)
1998 x State migrant	0.023	(0.048)
2003 x State migrant	0.028	(0.046)
2008 x State migrant	-0.090	(0.048)+
2013 x State migrant	0.050	(0.053)
2015 x State migrant	-0.020	(0.055)
1998 x Cohort Lag	-0.323	(0.599)
2003 x Cohort Lag	0.687	(0.564)
2008 x Cohort Lag	1.288	(0.557)*
2013 x Cohort Lag	2.151	(0.630)*
2015 x Cohort Lag	3.123	(0.588)*
1998	0.149	(0.321)
2003	-0.074	(0.305)
2008	-0.596	(0.309)+
2013	-1.118	(0.353)*

2015	-1.529	(0.333)*
Primary	-0.319	(0.029)*
High School	-0.822	(0.040)*
University	-1.477	(0.065)*
Income	-0.092	(0.005)*
Female	0.044	(0.034)
Municip. native	-0.100	(0.024)*
State migrant	-0.082	(0.035)*
Cohort Lag	1.373	(0.437)*
Constant	0.553	(0.234)*
Interactive State FX	Y	
Observations	363,968	
AIC	414725.317	

Table C16 Pseudo-Panel Estimates of Nonwhite Identification among All Cohorts (Full Sample). Robust standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.574	0.577	0.596	0.596	0.623	0.608
	(0.00697)	(0.00631)	(0.00455)	(0.00406)	(0.00498)	(0.00522)
Primary	0.512	0.513	0.536	0.551	0.564	0.564
	(0.00584)	(0.00505)	(0.00312)	(0.00294)	(0.00447)	(0.00470)
High School	0.413	0.416	0.468	0.495	0.508	0.502
	(0.00774)	(0.00640)	(0.00407)	(0.00384)	(0.00540)	(0.00558)
University	0.291	0.284	0.327	0.373	0.386	0.393
	(0.0113)	(0.00920)	(0.00721)	(0.00603)	(0.00686)	(0.00676)

Table C17 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Full Sample)

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.00333	0.0216*	0.0220*	0.0491*	0.0336*
	(0.00941)	(0.00833)	(0.00807)	(0.00857)	(0.00871)
Primary	0.00102	0.0243*	0.0393*	0.0517*	0.0515*
	(0.00772)	(0.00662)	(0.00654)	(0.00736)	(0.00749)
High School	0.00291	0.0547*	0.0825*	0.0949*	0.0889*
	(0.0100)	(0.00875)	(0.00864)	(0.00944)	(0.00954)
University	-0.00720	0.0361*	0.0819*	0.0951*	0.102*
	(0.0146)	(0.0134)	(0.0128)	(0.0132)	(0.0131)

Table C18 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Full Sample)
$^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	(2) Excl. Top Decile		(3) Bottom 5 Deciles		(4) Top Decile	
1998 x Primary	-0.014	(0.039)	-0.048	(0.048)	0.046	(0.333)
1998 x High School	0.023	(0.055)	0.217	(0.092)*	-0.085	(0.325)
1998 x University	0.139	(0.121)	-0.013	(0.378)	-0.136	(0.328)
2003 x Primary	0.010	(0.037)	-0.008	(0.046)	0.291	(0.324)
2003 x High School	0.189	(0.052)*	0.318	(0.084)*	0.270	(0.317)
2003 x University	0.249	(0.113)*	0.446	(0.340)	0.259	(0.320)
2008 x Primary	0.084	(0.038)*	0.074	(0.047)	0.520	(0.306)+
2008 x High School	0.314	(0.051)*	0.483	(0.081)*	0.569	(0.298)+
2008 x University	0.556	(0.106)*	0.757	(0.303)*	0.480	(0.301)
2013 x Primary	0.004	(0.040)	-0.004	(0.050)	0.432	(0.287)
2013 x High School	0.247	(0.052)*	0.423	(0.083)*	0.367	(0.279)
2013 x University	0.455	(0.105)*	0.679	(0.299)*	0.351	(0.281)
2015 x Primary	0.075	(0.040)+	0.036	(0.051)	0.939	(0.294)*
2015 x High School	0.278	(0.052)*	0.412	(0.082)*	0.930	(0.286)*
2015 x University	0.449	(0.104)*	0.727	(0.296)*	1.013	(0.288)*
1998 x Income	-0.001	(0.007)	-0.004	(0.016)		
2003 x Income	0.008	(0.007)	-0.001	(0.016)		
2008 x Income	0.010	(0.007)	0.017	(0.016)		
2013 x Income	0.024	(0.007)*	0.032	(0.016)*		
2015 x Income	0.023	(0.007)*	0.039	(0.016)*		
1998 x Female	0.054	(0.045)	0.045	(0.061)	-0.159	(0.138)
2003 x Female	0.040	(0.042)	0.009	(0.057)	0.057	(0.126)
2008 x Female	0.034	(0.040)	0.064	(0.055)	0.044	(0.119)
2013 x Female	0.001	(0.041)	0.012	(0.056)	-0.066	(0.119)
2015 x Female	0.033	(0.041)	0.036	(0.056)	-0.025	(0.118)
1998 x Municip. native	0.052	(0.034)	0.052	(0.046)	0.034	(0.115)
2003 x Municip. native	0.054	(0.032)+	0.072	(0.044)+	0.013	(0.105)
2008 x Municip. native	-0.038	(0.031)	0.003	(0.044)	0.121	(0.101)
2013 x Municip. native	0.031	(0.033)	0.044	(0.046)	0.091	(0.101)
2015 x Municip. native	0.017	(0.032)	0.070	(0.046)	0.097	(0.100)
1998 x State migrant	0.034	(0.051)	0.098	(0.070)	-0.024	(0.146)
2003 x State migrant	0.068	(0.049)	0.146	(0.068)*	-0.239	(0.136)+
2008 x State migrant	-0.081	(0.052)	-0.153	(0.072)*	-0.037	(0.133)
2013 x State migrant	0.116	(0.059)+	0.124	(0.084)	-0.096	(0.139)
2015 x State migrant	0.025	(0.061)	0.053	(0.087)	-0.155	(0.147)
1998 x Cohort Lag	-0.429	(0.616)	-0.742	(0.834)	1.736	(2.574)
2003 x Cohort Lag	0.289	(0.585)	-0.128	(0.797)	5.457	(2.283)*
2008 x Cohort Lag	1.078	(0.583)+	0.738	(0.809)	3.404	(2.188)
2013 x Cohort Lag	1.795	(0.665)*	0.412	(0.947)	4.891	(2.305)*
2015 x Cohort Lag	2.790	(0.618)*	1.466	(0.876)+	6.124	(2.225)*
1998	0.229	(0.332)	0.387	(0.465)	-1.270	(1.302)
2003	0.102	(0.317)	0.428	(0.438)	-2.515	(1.176)*
2008	-0.502	(0.323)	-0.397	(0.452)	-1.950	(1.144)+
2013	-0.966	(0.373)*	-0.266	(0.535)	-2.548	(1.219)*

2015	-1.364	(0.352)*	-0.687	(0.504)	-3.719	(1.172)*
Primary	-0.321	(0.029)*	-0.288	(0.036)*	-0.695	(0.242)*
High School	-0.809	(0.042)*	-0.915	(0.070)*	-1.046	(0.237)*
University	-1.410	(0.095)*	-1.506	(0.285)*	-1.623	(0.239)*
Income	-0.081	(0.005)*	-0.067	(0.013)*		
Female	0.045	(0.035)	0.104	(0.048)*	0.061	(0.106)
Municip. native	-0.096	(0.025)*	-0.095	(0.035)*	-0.112	(0.086)
State migrant	-0.077	(0.037)*	-0.114	(0.051)*	-0.123	(0.105)
Cohort Lag	1.439	(0.449)*	1.500	(0.609)*	-0.350	(1.950)
Constant	0.441	(0.242)+	0.251	(0.333)	0.838	(0.982)
Interactive State FX	Y		Y		Y	
Observations	317,595		160,967		46,373	
AIC	367159.037		183383.226		46868.049	

Table C19 Pseudo-Panel Estimates of Nonwhite Identification among All Cohorts and by Income Group. Robust standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.597	0.601	0.618	0.620	0.648	0.634
	(0.00696)	(0.00628)	(0.00448)	(0.00399)	(0.00506)	(0.00536)
Primary	0.535	0.535	0.556	0.573	0.585	0.586
	(0.00603)	(0.00519)	(0.00317)	(0.00307)	(0.00481)	(0.00507)
High School	0.437	0.443	0.493	0.519	0.534	0.528
	(0.00859)	(0.00704)	(0.00452)	(0.00431)	(0.00605)	(0.00626)
University	0.321	0.347	0.382	0.444	0.452	0.438
	(0.0175)	(0.0144)	(0.0116)	(0.00882)	(0.00932)	(0.00879)

Table C20 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Excluding Top Decile)

	1998	**2003**	**2008**	**2013**	**2015**
< Primary	0.00377	0.0203*	0.0231*	0.0504*	0.0366*
	(0.00938)	(0.00828)	(0.00803)	(0.00861)	(0.00879)
Primary	-3.12e-06	0.0214*	0.0382*	0.0504*	0.0511*
	(0.00795)	(0.00681)	(0.00676)	(0.00771)	(0.00788)
High School	0.00606	0.0557*	0.0821*	0.0973*	0.0905*
	(0.0111)	(0.00971)	(0.00961)	(0.0105)	(0.0106)
University	0.0262	0.0608*	0.123*	0.130*	0.117*
	(0.0227)	(0.0210)	(0.0196)	(0.0199)	(0.0196)

Table C21 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Excluding Top Decile) $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.682	0.680	0.690	0.689	0.716	0.709
	(0.00825)	(0.00754)	(0.00497)	(0.00463)	(0.00657)	(0.00720)
Primary	0.627	0.614	0.632	0.648	0.660	0.662
	(0.00812)	(0.00704)	(0.00410)	(0.00452)	(0.00727)	(0.00780)
High School	0.499	0.538	0.570	0.603	0.620	0.612
	(0.0158)	(0.0131)	(0.00836)	(0.00739)	(0.00966)	(0.0102)
University	0.375	0.362	0.469	0.535	0.548	0.553
	(0.0583)	(0.0512)	(0.0405)	(0.0221)	(0.0203)	(0.0182)

Table C22 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Bottom 5 Deciles)

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	-0.00173	0.00821	0.00747	0.0341*	0.0277*
	(0.0112)	(0.00963)	(0.00946)	(0.0105)	(0.0109)
Primary	-0.0137	0.00508	0.0201*	0.0330*	0.0347*
	(0.0107)	(0.00910)	(0.00929)	(0.0109)	(0.0113)
High School	0.0388+	0.0712*	0.104*	0.121*	0.113*
	(0.0205)	(0.0179)	(0.0174)	(0.0185)	(0.0188)
University	-0.0136	0.0941	0.159*	0.173*	0.178*
	(0.0776)	(0.0710)	(0.0624)	(0.0618)	(0.0611)

Table C23 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Bottom 5 Deciles) $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.433	0.450	0.446	0.418	0.466	0.350
	(0.0502)	(0.0476)	(0.0405)	(0.0350)	(0.0289)	(0.0293)
Primary	0.305	0.325	0.369	0.384	0.413	0.396
	(0.0237)	(0.0217)	(0.0145)	(0.0123)	(0.0144)	(0.0148)
High School	0.247	0.244	0.303	0.327	0.333	0.328
	(0.0205)	(0.0169)	(0.00954)	(0.00768)	(0.0109)	(0.0111)
University	0.167	0.157	0.211	0.216	0.232	0.245
	(0.0180)	(0.0142)	(0.00879)	(0.00609)	(0.00863)	(0.00924)

Table C24 Predicted Probabilities of Nonwhite ID (Top Decile)

	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
< Primary	0.0174	0.0132	-0.0145	0.0336	-0.0829
	(0.0692)	(0.0645)	(0.0612)	(0.0579)	(0.0581)
Primary	0.0206	0.0644*	0.0790*	0.109*	0.0911*
	(0.0321)	(0.0277)	(0.0267)	(0.0277)	(0.0279)
High School	-0.00320	0.0560*	0.0800*	0.0862*	0.0815*
	(0.0265)	(0.0226)	(0.0219)	(0.0232)	(0.0233)
University	-0.00908	0.0444*	0.0498*	0.0652*	0.0784*
	(0.0229)	(0.0200)	(0.0190)	(0.0199)	(0.0202)

Table C25 Change in Predicted Probability of Nonwhite ID Relative to 1993 (Top Decile) $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

	Brown ID vs. White ID		Black ID vs. White ID	
1998 x Primary	-0.048	(0.063)	0.007	(0.114)
1998 x High School	-0.114	(0.087)	0.013	(0.184)
1998 x University	0.099	(0.205)	0.349	(0.539)
2003 x Primary	-0.002	(0.061)	0.174	(0.110)
2003 x High School	0.093	(0.083)	0.561	(0.169)*
2003 x University	0.201	(0.193)	0.882	(0.502)+
2008 x Primary	0.052	(0.062)	0.175	(0.108)
2008 x High School	0.134	(0.081)+	0.663	(0.163)*
2008 x University	0.525	(0.180)*	0.985	(0.483)*
2013 x Primary	0.027	(0.066)	0.088	(0.110)
2013 x High School	0.193	(0.084)*	0.628	(0.164)*
2013 x University	0.518	(0.181)*	0.927	(0.481)+
2015 x Primary	0.079	(0.066)	0.167	(0.109)
2015 x High School	0.189	(0.084)*	0.698	(0.162)*
2015 x University	0.504	(0.180)*	1.073	(0.478)*
1998 x Income Decile	0.018	(0.011)	0.035	(0.022)
2003 x Income Decile	0.014	(0.011)	0.044	(0.020)*
2008 x Income Decile	0.010	(0.011)	0.038	(0.020)+
2013 x Income Decile	0.017	(0.011)	0.047	(0.020)*
2015 x Income Decile	0.026	(0.011)*	0.034	(0.020)+
1998 x Female	0.097	(0.076)	0.104	(0.136)
2003 x Female	0.040	(0.071)	-0.020	(0.126)
2008 x Female	0.075	(0.069)	-0.060	(0.122)
2013 x Female	0.028	(0.070)	-0.141	(0.122)
2015 x Female	0.032	(0.070)	-0.092	(0.121)
1998 x Municip. native	0.054	(0.053)	0.077	(0.101)
2003 x Municip. native	0.079	(0.051)	-0.033	(0.095)
2008 x Municip. native	-0.078	(0.051)	-0.224	(0.093)*
2013 x Municip. native	0.027	(0.053)	-0.071	(0.094)
2015 x Municip. native	0.026	(0.053)	-0.200	(0.093)*
1998 x State migrant	0.025	(0.076)	0.091	(0.168)
2003 x State migrant	0.056	(0.076)	0.186	(0.161)
2008 x State migrant	-0.140	(0.083)+	-0.108	(0.169)
2013 x State migrant	0.059	(0.096)	0.272	(0.178)
2015 x State migrant	-0.064	(0.101)	0.003	(0.186)
1998 x Cohort Lag	0.117	(1.957)	3.537	(3.697)
2003 x Cohort Lag	2.036	(2.295)	1.697	(4.122)
2008 x Cohort Lag	2.422	(2.407)	5.886	(4.084)
2013 x Cohort Lag	0.033	(2.057)	-0.934	(3.488)
2015 x Cohort Lag	2.070	(1.899)	-1.200	(3.223)
1998	-0.215	(0.949)	-1.898	(1.865)
2003	-0.869	(1.135)	-0.987	(2.082)
2008	-1.412	(1.282)	-2.215	(2.185)
2013	-0.029	(1.109)	1.440	(1.882)
2015	-1.251	(1.026)	1.943	(1.738)

Primary	-0.309	(0.047)*	-0.440	(0.087)*
High School	-0.707	(0.066)*	-1.105	(0.145)*
University	-1.338	(0.164)*	-1.816	(0.465)*
Income Decile	-0.090	(0.008)*	-0.106	(0.017)*
Female	-0.000	(0.060)	0.271	(0.111)*
Municip. native	-0.119	(0.040)*	0.096	(0.078)
State migrant	0.006	(0.053)	-0.287	(0.125)*
Cohort Lag	1.026	(1.225)	-0.278	(2.448)
Constant	0.705	(0.601)	-1.373	(1.255)
Interactive State FX	Y		Y	

Table C26 Multinomial Logit Pseudo-Panel Estimates (Excluding Top Income Decile).
$^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$. Standard errors in parentheses. N = 120,468, AIC = 195143.493.

		1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
White ID	< Primary	0.410	0.392	0.383	0.388	0.345	0.350
		(0.0137)	(0.0160)	(0.0114)	(0.0119)	(0.0139)	(0.0146)
	Primary	0.474	0.465	0.443	0.440	0.403	0.397
		(0.0125)	(0.0155)	(0.0105)	(0.0113)	(0.0138)	(0.0144)
	High School	0.559	0.565	0.504	0.500	0.446	0.447
		(0.0154)	(0.0172)	(0.0121)	(0.0123)	(0.0155)	(0.0159)
	University	0.682	0.647	0.607	0.555	0.516	0.514
		(0.0303)	(0.0259)	(0.0206)	(0.0167)	(0.0194)	(0.0192)
Brown ID	< Primary	0.521	0.512	0.532	0.514	0.521	0.500
		(0.0142)	(0.0170)	(0.0121)	(0.0120)	(0.0151)	(0.0155)
	Primary	0.472	0.457	0.479	0.471	0.482	0.469
		(0.0126)	(0.0157)	(0.0109)	(0.0112)	(0.0143)	(0.0146)
	High School	0.406	0.383	0.426	0.412	0.438	0.415
		(0.0152)	(0.0167)	(0.0121)	(0.0119)	(0.0154)	(0.0153)
	University	0.296	0.311	0.333	0.376	0.391	0.367
		(0.0300)	(0.0252)	(0.0203)	(0.0164)	(0.0189)	(0.0180)
Black ID	< Primary	0.0695	0.0960	0.0850	0.0980	0.134	0.150
		(0.00850)	(0.0131)	(0.00771)	(0.00633)	(0.0116)	(0.0128)
	Primary	0.0543	0.0776	0.0784	0.0888	0.115	0.134
		(0.00625)	(0.0104)	(0.00644)	(0.00531)	(0.00996)	(0.0114)
	High School	0.0349	0.0520	0.0702	0.0882	0.116	0.137
		(0.00556)	(0.00821)	(0.00658)	(0.00595)	(0.0108)	(0.0123)
	University	0.0226	0.0429	0.0609	0.0694	0.0929	0.119
		(0.0103)	(0.0120)	(0.0108)	(0.00798)	(0.0118)	(0.0135)

Table C27 Predicted Probabilities of White, Brown, and Black ID

		1998	2003	2008	2013	2015
White ID	< Primary	-0.0182	-0.0266	-0.0215	-0.0649*	-0.0600*
		(0.0211)	(0.0178)	(0.0182)	(0.0195)	(0.0200)
	Primary	-0.00909	-0.0310+	-0.0342*	-0.0707*	-0.0774*
		(0.0199)	(0.0163)	(0.0168)	(0.0186)	(0.0190)
	High School	0.00574	-0.0553*	-0.0594*	-0.113*	-0.112*
		(0.0230)	(0.0196)	(0.0197)	(0.0218)	(0.0221)
	University	-0.0353	-0.0753*	-0.127*	-0.166*	-0.167*
		(0.0398)	(0.0366)	(0.0346)	(0.0360)	(0.0359)
Brown ID	< Primary	-0.00819	0.0111	-0.00695	0.000596	-0.0201
		(0.0221)	(0.0186)	(0.0185)	(0.0207)	(0.0210)
	Primary	-0.0143	0.00686	-0.000307	0.00996	-0.00251
		(0.0201)	(0.0166)	(0.0168)	(0.0190)	(0.0193)
	High School	-0.0229	0.0199	0.00611	0.0320	0.00942
		(0.0226)	(0.0195)	(0.0193)	(0.0217)	(0.0216)
	University	0.0150	0.0370	0.0804*	0.0960*	0.0715*
		(0.0391)	(0.0362)	(0.0342)	(0.0354)	(0.0350)
Black ID	< Primary	0.0264+	0.0155	0.0285*	0.0643*	0.0801*
		(0.0156)	(0.0115)	(0.0106)	(0.0144)	(0.0154)
	Primary	0.0234+	0.0241*	0.0345*	0.0608*	0.0799*
		(0.0121)	(0.00897)	(0.00820)	(0.0118)	(0.0130)
	High School	0.0171+	0.0353*	0.0533*	0.0808*	0.102*
		(0.00992)	(0.00862)	(0.00814)	(0.0121)	(0.0135)
	University	0.0203	0.0383*	0.0468*	0.0703*	0.0959*
		(0.0158)	(0.0149)	(0.0130)	(0.0157)	(0.0170)

Table C28 Change in Predicted Probability of Racial ID Relative to 1993 $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$.

Datafolha Survey Analysis

Survey Item	Coding	Racial Consciousness Dimension
Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your color… …at all? …applying for work? …in receiving a promotion? …in buying/renting housing? …while in school?	0 No to all items 1 Yes to at least one item	Subjective personal experiences with racial discrimination in general, in the workplace and other public spaces
In your opinion, do blacks (*negros*) have color prejudice against other blacks?	0 No 1 Yes, some, a lot, or any amount	Awareness of potential for internalization of or compliance with racial hierarchies
Thinking about how blacks (*negros*) typically appear on TV, in your opinion, do programs show blacks… …correctly, how they really live? …positively, better than how they live? …negatively, worse than how they live?	0 Correctly or positively 1 Negatively	Beliefs about black stigmatization and negative portrayals of blacks
Now I'm going to mention some organizations and social movements and I'd like to know for each one if you've participated or not… …the black movement?	0 No 1 Yes	Exposure to black movement/ alternative racial discourses and understandings

Table C29 Survey Items Comprising Racial Consciousness Index

Independent Variable Coding

Racial Consciousness is measured as the sum of the four dimensions listed in table C29 with values ranging from 0 (low) to 4 (high).

Education is measured categorically according to whether individuals (1) have not completed primary, (2) completed primary, (3) completed high school, or (4) have some university education or greater.

Ascribed Racial Category is the racial category assigned to the survey respondent by the survey interviewer, measured as (1) white, (2) brown, (3) black, (4) Asian (*amarela*), or (5) indigenous.

Household wealth is measured with principal component analysis of household goods, including cars, television, radio, DVD player, freezer, employed domestic worker, vacuum, washing machine, dishwasher, microwave, computer, laptop, flat-screen television, and telephone. Respondents are then sorted into quintiles based on factor scores.

Age is a continuous measure of the respondent's age, measured in years.

Female is a dichotomous measure of the respondent's sex as either (0) male or (1) female, determined by the interviewer.

Region dummy variables include (1) Southeast, (2) South, (3) Northeast, and (4) North/Center-West.

Party ID is measured categorically as follows: (1) Nonpartisan, (2) PT, (3) PSDB, (4) PMDB, (5) other left, (6) other right, and (7) other partisan.

Variable	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Racial ID (binary)	0.58	0.49	0	1	2,595
Racial ID (trichotomous)	1.74	0.72	1	3	2,595
Racial Consciousness	1.15	0.88	0	4	2,755
Education	2.14	1.04	1	4	2,979
Ascribed Race	1.81	0.81	1	5	2,932
Household Wealth	2.98	1.43	1	5	2,964
Age	38.11	16.34	16	89	2,982
Female	0.52	0.5	0	1	2,982
Region	2.15	1.13	1	4	2,982
Party ID	2.06	1.81	1	7	2,973

Table C30 Summary Statistics of Dependent and Independent Variables in Datafolha Survey Analyses

	Baseline Controls + Skin Tone Proxy	
Education		
Primary	0.058	(0.046)
High School	0.128	(0.046)*
University	0.285	(0.062)*
Ascribed Racial Category		
Brown	0.129	(0.038)*
Black	0.568	(0.050)*
Asian	0.005	(0.165)
Indigenous	0.368	(0.170)*
Household wealth	0.043	(0.014)*
Age	-0.001	(0.001)
Female	0.053	(0.033)
Party ID		
PT	0.168	(0.047)*
PSDB	0.002	(0.085)
PMDB	0.053	(0.073)
Other left	0.141	(0.097)
Other right	-0.064	(0.106)
Other partisan	0.043	(0.067)
Region		
South	-0.099	(0.051)+
Northeast	-0.224	(0.043)*
North/Center-west	-0.198	(0.052)*
Constant	0.863	(0.079)*

Table C31 OLS Estimates of Racial Consciousness by Education and Ascribed Racial Category. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$. Obs. = 2,679. AIC = 6752.4. Dummy baseline categories: Ascribed racial category = white, Party ID = nonpartisan, Region = southeast.

	(1) Baseline Controls		(2) + Skin Tone Proxy		(3) + Racial Consciousness	
Racial consciousness					0.160	(0.069)*
Education						
Primary	-0.118	(0.119)	0.121	(0.155)	0.118	(0.161)
High School	-0.061	(0.120)	0.367	(0.155)*	0.367	(0.162)*
Univ.	-0.313	(0.153)*	0.408	(0.194)*	0.329	(0.204)
Ascribed Racial Category						
Brown			2.634	(0.115)*	2.633	(0.119)*
Black			4.957	(0.320)*	5.124	(0.372)*
Asian			1.233	(0.459)*	1.248	(0.460)*
Indigenous			2.437	(0.626)*	2.618	(0.690)*
Wealth	-0.094	(0.034)*	-0.021	(0.044)	-0.014	(0.046)
Age	-0.017	(0.003)*	-0.014	(0.004)*	-0.013	(0.004)*
Female	-0.045	(0.085)	0.057	(0.109)	0.103	(0.114)
Region						
South	-0.779	(0.124)*	-0.565	(0.163)*	-0.558	(0.170)*
Northeast	0.529	(0.111)*	0.284	(0.144)*	0.325	(0.150)*
North/Midwest	0.736	(0.132)*	0.354	(0.167)*	0.429	(0.179)*
Party ID						
PT	0.216	(0.122)+	0.167	(0.156)	0.030	(0.162)
PSDB	-0.154	(0.208)	0.172	(0.260)	0.083	(0.270)
PMDB	-0.106	(0.185)	-0.230	(0.241)	-0.300	(0.248)
Other left	-0.275	(0.247)	-0.064	(0.311)	-0.092	(0.314)
Other right	-0.286	(0.269)	-0.391	(0.351)	-0.540	(0.364)
Other partisan	0.043	(0.173)	-0.140	(0.221)	-0.141	(0.234)
Constant	1.244	(0.192)*	-0.930	(0.260)*	-1.158	(0.278)*
Observations	2568		2535		2344	

Table C32 Logistic Regression Estimates of Nonwhite ID. Standard errors in parentheses.
+ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$

	White ID vs. Brown ID			Black ID vs. Brown ID		
	(1) Baseline Controls	(2) + Skin Tone Proxy	(3) + Racial Consciousness	(1) Baseline Controls	(2) + Skin Tone Proxy	(3) + Racial Consciousness
Racial Consciousness			-0.122^{+}			0.278*
			(0.0701)			(0.0810)
Primary Educ.	0.0586	-0.129	-0.133	-0.192	-0.0728	-0.116
	(0.129)	(0.156)	(0.163)	(0.161)	(0.197)	(0.207)
High School Educ.	-0.0162	-0.351*	-0.356*	-0.257	0.137	0.110
	(0.129)	(0.157)	(0.164)	(0.162)	(0.199)	(0.207)
University Educ.	0.276^{+}	-0.355^{+}	-0.288	-0.116	0.464^{+}	0.384
	(0.165)	(0.198)	(0.207)	(0.223)	(0.277)	(0.293)
Ascribed Brown		-2.533*	-2.542*		0.946*	0.844*
		(0.117)	(0.122)		(0.282)	(0.285)
Ascribed Black		-3.769*	-3.948*		3.656*	3.526*
		(0.332)	(0.383)		(0.293)	(0.299)
Ascribed Asian		-1.287*	-1.303*		-11.88	-11.88
		(0.459)	(0.461)		(427.3)	(423.0)
Ascribed Indigenous		-1.872*	-2.054*		2.596*	2.482*
		(0.695)	(0.754)		(0.734)	(0.744)
Wealth	0.0682^{+}	0.0178	0.0117	-0.0884^{+}	-0.0200	-0.0171
	(0.0368)	(0.0448)	(0.0470)	(0.0472)	(0.0576)	(0.0607)
Age	0.0165*	0.0137*	0.0126*	-0.00105	-0.00471	-0.00339
	(0.00305)	(0.00372)	(0.00391)	(0.00401)	(0.00491)	(0.00510)
Female	0.0283	-0.0448	-0.0905	-0.0577	0.0946	0.0900
	(0.0915)	(0.111)	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.144)	(0.152)
PT Partisan	-0.142	-0.146	-0.0133	0.236	0.155	0.116
	(0.132)	(0.158)	(0.165)	(0.155)	(0.191)	(0.201)

PSDB Partisan	0.0225	-0.200	-0.102	-0.595^{+}	-0.304	-0.187
	(0.218)	(0.261)	(0.272)	(0.356)	(0.417)	(0.428)
PMDB Partisan	0.171	0.233	0.308	0.215	0.0260	0.0575
	(0.203)	(0.245)	(0.252)	(0.256)	(0.310)	(0.327)
Other Left Partisan	0.140	0.0262	0.0365	-0.587	-0.393	-0.621
	(0.260)	(0.313)	(0.315)	(0.428)	(0.509)	(0.577)
Other Right Partisan	0.203	0.344	0.499	-0.325	-0.323	-0.258
	(0.287)	(0.353)	(0.367)	(0.437)	(0.508)	(0.514)
Other Partisan	-0.0413	0.119	0.115	0.00718	-0.158	-0.214
	(0.187)	(0.224)	(0.237)	(0.233)	(0.281)	(0.304)
South	0.820*	0.579*	0.582*	0.128	0.089	0.146
	(0.141)	(0.167)	(0.175)	(0.202)	(0.249)	(0.258)
Northeast	-0.596*	-0.305*	-0.335*	-0.229	-0.154	-0.080
	(0.119)	(0.146)	(0.152)	(0.145)	(0.175)	(0.184)
North/Midwest	-0.893*	-0.436*	-0.497*	-0.613*	-0.732*	-0.690*
	(0.138)	(0.168)	(0.179)	(0.176)	(0.214)	(0.227)
Constant	-0.726*	1.029*	1.212*	-0.318	-2.431*	-2.742*
	(0.207)	(0.264)	(0.282)	(0.258)	(0.413)	(0.431)
Observations	2568	2535	2344	2568	2535	2344
AIC	5071.0	3536.4	3251.4	5071.0	3536.4	3251.4

Table C33 Multinomial Logistic Regression Estimates of White and Black ID vs. Brown ID. $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$. Standard errors in parentheses. Dummy baseline categories: Ascribed racial category = white, Party ID = nonpartisan, Region = southeast.

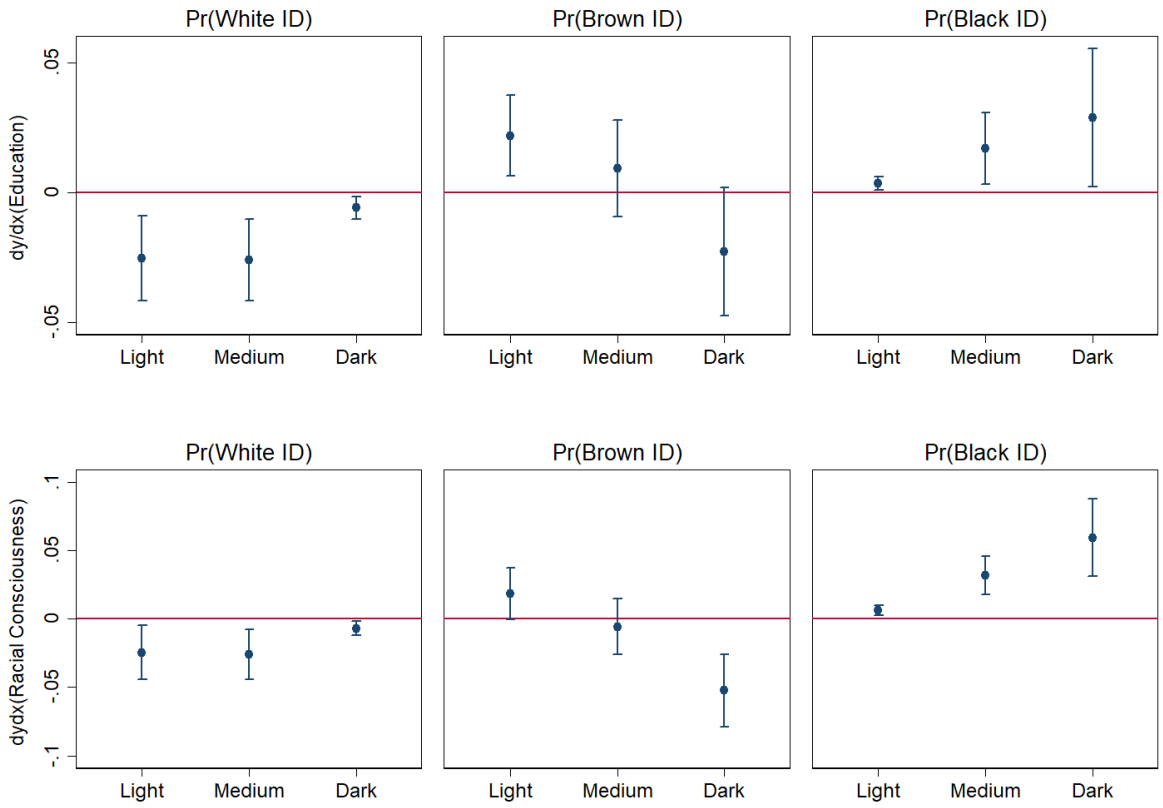

Figure C1 Average Partial Effects of Education and Consciousness on Pr(Racial ID) by Respondent Skin Tone. Skin tone is measured by racial ascription by the interviewer (light = white, medium = brown, dark = black). Figure displays 90% confidence intervals. Education and consciousness are estimated as continuous variables. Education estimates computed from a model analogous to model 2 in Table C33. Consciousness estimates computed from a model analogous to model 3 in Table C33

APPENDIX D
SURVEY EXPERIMENTS: TESTING THE INSTRUMENTAL HYPOTHESIS

		White	Nonwhite	Brown	Black
	Brazil	**47.7**	**50.8**	**43.0**	**7.8**
Regions (IBGE)	Northeast	29.1	69.3	59.5	9.9
	Southeast	55.0	43.7	35.6	8.1
States (IBGE)	Pernambuco	36.2	62.2	55.5	6.7
	São Paulo	63.7	34.8	29.1	5.7
Capital Cities (IBGE)	Recife/PE	37.2	61.5	52.8	8.8
	São Paulo/SP	58.6	39.4	32.8	6.6
Stratified Random Sample	**Full Sample**	**39.6**	**59.6**	**40.3**	**19.3**
	Recife/PE	26.6	72.6	48.8	23.8
	São Paulo/SP	52.6	46.6	31.8	14.8

Table D1 Racial Representativeness of Stratified Random Survey Sample compared to 2010 Census (IBGE). Nonwhite is the sum of black and brown identifiers. IBGE data comes from Table 1379, accessible at sidra.ibge.gov.br.

This survey was designed to compare Brazilians of varied skin tones within levels of education, and therefore stratified the sample by levels of education (less than primary, completed primary, completed high school, and some university or higher). Because nonwhite Brazilians are underrepresented in secondary and higher education, we oversampled darker skinned Brazilians in higher education groups, producing a sample that is, on average, slightly darker than the overall Brazilian population according to the 2010 census. Comparisons with the census data nonetheless show the sample is close to the national population, with whites under-sampled and blacks oversampled.

Priming Experiment

	Control	Treatment
English	Now I am going to ask you specifically about your color and racial identification.	Now I am going to ask you specifically about your color and racial identification. ***In recent years, the government began to reserve slots for blacks and browns in public universities and in civil servant exams.***
Portuguese	Agora vou perguntar especificamente sobre sua identificação de cor e raça.	Agora vou perguntar especificamente sobre sua identificação de cor e raça. ***Nos anos recentes, o governo começou a reservar vagas para pretos e pardos nas faculdades públicas e nos concursos públicos.***

Table D2 Experimental Design: Priming Respondents with Information about Material Benefits

Variable	Obs.	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Treatment	475	0.50	0.50	0	1
Income	436	0.83	0.77	0	5.67
Age	475	4.06	1.62	1.80	8.40
Female	475	0.49	0.50	0	1
Recife	475	0.51	0.50	0	1
Education	475	2.54	1.12	1	4
Hair Type	475	3.48	2.07	1	6
Skin tone	475	1.79	0.75	1	3

Table D3 Summary Statistics of experimental sample

Variable	(A) Control	(B) Treatment	(A) – (B)	T-Statistic
Income	0.862	0.793	0.068	0.92
Age	4.074	4.049	0.025	0.17
Female	0.513	0.469	0.044	0.96
City	0.479	0.531	-0.052	-1.14
Education	2.530	2.556	-0.027	-0.26
Hair type	3.466	3.498	-0.032	-0.17
Skin tone	1.835	1.753	0.081	1.18
Obs.	236	239	-	-

Table D4 Covariate Balance Tests. Due to missingness of the income variable, there are 215 and 221 observations in the control and treatment conditions for that variable, respectively.

	(1) White ID	(2) White ID	(3) Brown ID	(4) Brown ID	(5) Black ID	(6) Black ID
Treatment	-0.008	-0.032	0.036	0.033	-0.028	-0.001
	(0.043)	(0.036)	(0.046)	(0.048)	(0.039)	(0.033)
Recife		-0.042		0.067		-0.025
		(0.039)		(0.053)		(0.036)
Age		0.028		-0.017		-0.011
		(0.012)*		(0.016)		(0.011)
Female		-0.035		-0.002		0.036
		(0.037)		(0.050)		(0.034)
Education		-0.013		0.010		0.003
		(0.018)		(0.024)		(0.016)
Income		0.026		-0.044		0.018
		(0.026)		(0.035)		(0.024)
Skin tone		-0.336		0.030		0.306
		(0.029)*		(0.039)		(0.027)*
Constant	0.314	0.918	0.445	0.420	0.242	-0.338
	(0.030)*	(0.092)*	(0.033)*	(0.125)*	(0.027)*	(0.085)*
N	475	436	475	436	475	436
R^2	0.000	0.393	0.001	0.035	0.001	0.374

Table D5 Treatment Effects on Dichotomized Census Categories
Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$

	(1) White ID	(2) White ID	(3) Brown ID	(4) Brown ID	(5) Black ID	(6) Black ID
Treatment	-0.002	-0.010	0.044	0.051	-0.041	-0.041
x Medium	(0.073)	(0.078)	(0.094)	(0.100)	(0.068)	(0.071)
Treatment	0.031	0.018	-0.058	-0.059	0.028	0.041
x Dark	(0.089)	(0.094)	(0.115)	(0.121)	(0.083)	(0.085)
Treatment	-0.031	-0.023	0.011	0.008	0.019	0.015
	(0.051)	(0.054)	(0.066)	(0.069)	(0.047)	(0.049)
Medium	-0.566	-0.527	0.381	0.390	0.185	0.138
	(0.053)*	(0.060)*	(0.068)*	(0.077)*	(0.049)*	(0.055)*
Dark	-0.681	-0.631	-0.018	-0.012	0.698	0.643
	(0.060)*	(0.072)*	(0.078)	(0.093)	(0.056)*	(0.066)*
Recife		-0.018		0.017		0.000
		(0.038)		(0.049)		(0.035)
Age		0.019		-0.001		-0.019
		(0.012)+		(0.015)		(0.010)+
Female		-0.051		0.031		0.020
		(0.036)		(0.047)		(0.033)
Education		-0.023		0.030		-0.007
		(0.017)		(0.022)		(0.016)
Income		0.022		-0.037		0.015
		(0.025)		(0.032)		(0.023)
Constant	0.681	0.690	0.309	0.241	0.011	0.069
	(0.037)*	(0.086)*	(0.047)*	(0.110)*	(0.034)	(0.078)
N	475	436	475	436	475	436
R^2	0.415	0.440	0.171	0.193	0.394	0.429

Table D6 Testing for Heterogeneous Treatment Effects by Skin Tone

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$

	(1) White ID	(2) White ID	(3) Brown ID	(4) Brown ID	(5) Black ID	(6) Black ID
Treatment	-0.025	-0.117	0.194	0.242	-0.168	-0.125
x Primary	(0.123)	(0.102)	(0.132)	(0.138)$^{+}$	(0.111)	(0.094)
Treatment	0.029	-0.097	0.178	0.269	-0.207	-0.172
x High School	(0.121)	(0.101)	(0.130)	(0.136)*	(0.110)$^{+}$	(0.093)$^{+}$
Treatment	0.040	0.012	-0.045	0.040	0.005	-0.052
x University	(0.120)	(0.101)	(0.129)	(0.136)	(0.109)	(0.092)
Treatment	-0.012	0.022	-0.054	-0.110	0.066	0.088
	(0.087)	(0.072)	(0.093)	(0.097)	(0.079)	(0.066)
Primary	-0.056	0.012	0.015	-0.014	0.041	0.002
	(0.086)	(0.073)	(0.093)	(0.099)	(0.078)	(0.068)
High School	-0.102	-0.069	0.053	0.010	0.049	0.059
	(0.086)	(0.074)	(0.092)	(0.100)	(0.078)	(0.068)
University	0.040	-0.027	0.035	0.005	-0.075	0.022
	(0.082)	(0.076)	(0.088)	(0.102)	(0.074)	(0.069)
Recife		-0.049		0.081		-0.032
		(0.039)		(0.053)		(0.036)
Age		0.027		-0.013		-0.013
		(0.012)*		(0.016)		(0.011)
Female		-0.037		0.002		0.035
		(0.037)		(0.050)		(0.034)
Income		0.020		-0.034		0.014
		(0.026)		(0.035)		(0.024)
Skin tone		-0.339		0.035		0.304
		(0.029)*		(0.039)		(0.027)*
Constant	0.339	0.925	0.419	0.402	0.242	-0.327
	(0.059)*	(0.093)*	(0.063)*	(0.125)*	(0.053)*	(0.085)*
N	475	436	475	436	475	436
R^2	0.017	0.405	0.028	0.062	0.018	0.383

Table D7 Testing for Heterogeneous Treatment Effects by Education

Standard errors in parentheses

$^{+}$ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$

List Experiment

Variable	(A) Control	(B) Treatment	(A) – (B)	T-Statistic
Income	0.80	0.82	-0.02	-0.42
Age	4.06	4.00	0.06	0.62
Female	0.51	0.52	-0.01	-0.29
City	0.50	0.49	0.01	0.16
Education	2.55	2.59	-0.04	-0.60
Hair type	3.57	3.43	0.14	1.06
Skin tone	1.77	1.82	-0.05	-1.08
Interviewer-Classified Race	1.79	1.84	-0.06	-1.20
N	498	495	-	-

Table D8 Covariate Balance Tests of Treatment and Control Groups. Due to missingness balance test for income includes 458 control and 447 treatment observations.

		Item Counts					
Row		0	1	2	3	4	Sum
1	Treatment	0.602	0.313	0.057	0.018	0.010	1.000
2	Treatment "at least"	1.000	0.398	0.085	0.028	0.010	
3	Control	0.584	0.309	0.084	0.022	0.000	1.000
4	Control "at least"	1.000	0.416	0.107	0.022	0.000	
5	2-4 Joint	0.000	-0.018	-0.022	0.006	0.010	-0.023
6	2-4 Conditional	0	-0.057	-0.382	0.335	n/a	
	Row 5 p-value	0.57	0.89	0.08	0.66	n/a	

Table D9 Evaluating Design Effects Assumption (Glynn 2013). Row 5 values for counts 1 and 2 are negative, suggesting a possible design effect. However difference-in-proportion tests do not reveal significant differences (p-values of 0.89 and 0.16, respectively).

	Treatment (T_i=1)		Control (T_i =0)	
Response (Y_i)	Est.	S.E.	Est.	S.E.
3	0.0101	0.0045	0.0120	0.0080
2	0.0062	0.0099	0.0781	0.0157
1	-0.0216	0.0187	0.3308	0.0254
0	-0.0177	0.0312	0.6020	0.0220

Table D10 Blair and Imai's (2010, 2012) Statistical Test for Design Effects. Bonferroni-corrected p-value = 0.43.

	Full Sample		"At Least 1"	
	Mean	N	Mean	N
Control	0.544 (0.033)	498	1.309 (0.039)	207
Treatment	0.521 (0.035)	495	1.310 (0.048)	197
Difference	0.023 (0.048)	-	-0.000 (0.062)	-
T-Statistic	0.48	-	-0.01	-

Table D11 Difference-in-Means Estimates. "At Least 1" reports means and difference among respondents claiming to have completed at least 1 activity listed.

	Least Squares Estimator				Maximum Likelihood Estimator					
	Linear		Nonlinear		Constrained		Unconstrained			
Variables	Est.	SE	Est.	SE	Est.	SE	Est.	SE	Est.	SE
Sensitive Item										
Intercept	0.16	(0.26)	4.93	(5.71)	2.94	(1.79)	-5.06	(1.41)		
Age	-0.00	(0.00)	-0.09	(0.08)	-0.08	(0.03)	0.02	(0.02)		
Female	0.04	(0.09)	1.46	(2.38)	0.94	(0.75)	-0.72	(0.60)		
Education	-0.01	(0.04)	1.23	(1.15)	-0.73	(0.36)	0.23	(0.26)		
Skin tone	-0.04	(0.06)	-2.54	(2.69)	-0.88	(0.53)	0.37	(0.35)		
Control Item							*h0(y;x,psi0)*		*h1(y;x,psi1)*	
Intercept	1.16	(0.18)	-0.28	(0.42)	-0.33	(0.31)	0.30	(0.31)	7.56	(2.89)
Age	-0.01	(0.00)	-0.03	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.00)	-0.04	(0.01)	-0.11	(0.04)
Female	-0.26	(0.06)	-0.60	(0.16)	-0.68	(0.12)	-0.51	(0.12)	-0.51	(0.90)
Education	0.03	(0.03)	0.10	(0.08)	0.14	(0.06)	0.05	(0.06)	-0.23	(0.36)
Skin tone	0.03	(0.04)	-0.07	(0.11)	-0.06	(0.08)	-0.18	(0.09)	-0.65	(0.49)

Table D12 Estimated Coefficients and odds ratios from multivariate analysis of list experiment. The sensitive item is whether or not the respondent manipulated her racial ID in the past to claim affirmative action benefits. N = 993.

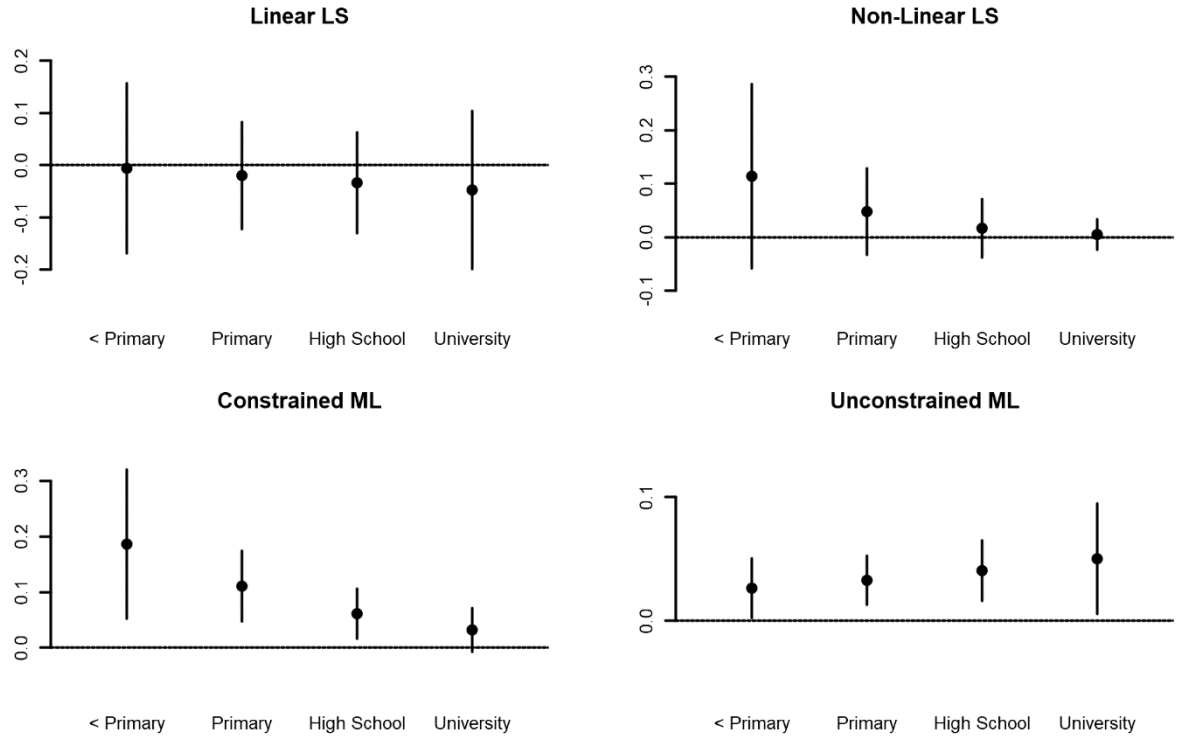

Figure D1 Estimates of Affirmative Responses by Education and Model

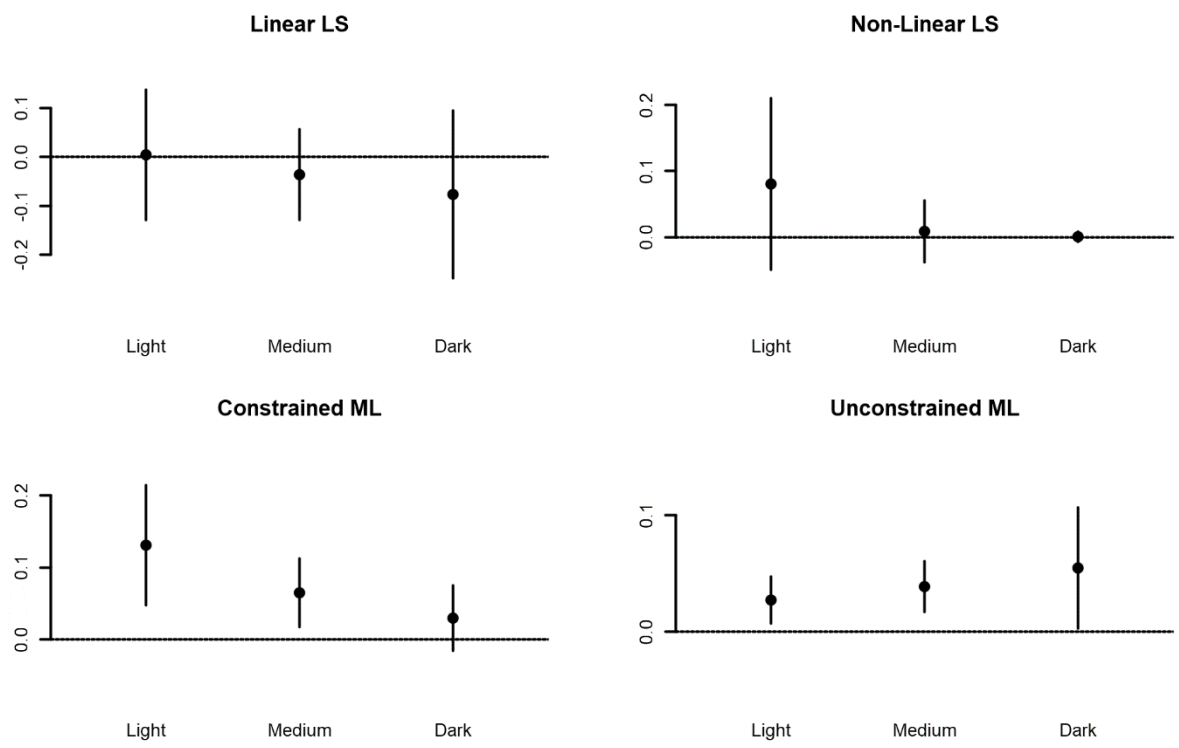

Figure D2 Estimates of Affirmative Responses by Skin Tone and Model

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