

## **Appendix: The Electoral Consequences of Racial Fluidity**

<b>A Racial Reclassification Across Elections</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>B Descriptive Patterns 2016 to 2020</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>C Racial Shift Robustness Checks</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>D Afro-Brazilian Shift Robustness Checks</b>	<b>12</b>

## A Racial Reclassification Across Elections

Table A.1 shows the number of elections a politician competed in and the number of times they changed their race. It indicates that there is a positive relationship between the number of elections a politician competed in and the incidence of racial reclassification. Whereas 26.1 percent of the politicians who registered to compete in two elections classified themselves inconsistently, 43.7 percent of candidates who ran in four elections asserted membership in two or more racial categories.

Table A.1: Election Participation and Racial Fluidity

Number of Elections	Number of Racial Changes				N Size
	0	1	2	3	
2	73.9%	26.1%			166,352
3	62.1%	24.5%	13.4%		6,762
4	56.3 %	20.6%	17.7%	5.4%	1,056

*Note:* Table A.1 indicates the number of elections that candidate competed in as well as how many times those individuals changed their self-reported race.

Table A.1 also demonstrates that some politicians change how they racially classify themselves more than once. Of the 1,056 candidates that competed in every election since 2014, 20.6 percent changed how they racially classified themselves once, 17.7 percent reclassified themselves twice and 5.4 percent reclassified themselves three times. When politicians racially reclassify themselves more than once, they typically alternate between asserting membership in two racial categories. Not all politicians, however, behave in this manner. A total of 121 politicians claimed membership in three different racial categories and one individual claimed membership in four.

Table A.2: Incidence of Racial Reclassification Across Elections

Elections	Percent Change	Number of Candidates
2014 to 2016	27.3%	6,609
2014 to 2018	24.8%	4,767
2014 to 2020	28.0%	4,791
2016 to 2018	25.5%	8,077
2016 to 2020	26.0%	160,242
2018 to 2020	25.3%	8,488

*Note:* Appendix Table A.2 shows the incidence of racial reclassification across different sets of elections.

## B Descriptive Patterns 2016 to 2020

Table B.1: Candidate Characteristics and Racial Reclassification (2016 to 2020)

Candidate Characteristic	Percent of Candidates (N)
Gender	
Male	26.1% (125,395)
Female	25.6% (34,847)
Wealth (BRL)	
Low (<50,000)	26.8% (36,357)
Medium (50,000-100,000)	26.1% (29,921)
High (100,001-300,000)	23.9% (21,152)
Very High (>300,000)	26.1% (70,910)
Education (2020)	
Primary school	28.1% (45,362)
Secondary school	27.3% (66,178)
University	22.3% (48,702)
Party Ideology (2020)	
Right	26.4% (81,437)
Center	24.7% (50,132)
Left	26.9% (28,673)
Electoral Experience	
Novice (Has not held office in past 8 years)	27.4% (96,910)
Incumbent Seeking Reelection	23.9% (45,895)
Electoral Position in 2020	
City Council	26.6% (143,052)
Mayor	20.5% (9,985)

*Note:* Appendix Table B.1 shows the incidence of racial reclassification from 2016 to 2020 across different types of candidates.

Table B.2: Reclassification as Afro-Brazilian from 2016 to 2020

	Position Sought in 2020	
	City Council OLPR Rules	Mayor FPTP Rules
All Politicians	21.1% (72,984)	15.2% (6,753)
Political Novices	22.1% (45,007)	16.9% (1,595)
Prior Office Experience Past 8 years - non-incumbent	19.3% (5,214)	16.0% (3,003 )
Incumbents Seeking Reelection	19.5% (22,763)	12.9% (2,155)

*Note:* Appendix Table B.2 reports the frequency with which politicians of different types changed their self-reported race to brown or black. The table only includes politicians that competed in both the 2016 and 2020 elections who did not previously identify as brown or black. The number of politicians in each category is listed in parentheses.

## C Racial Shift Robustness Checks

Table C.1: Racial Shifts and City Council Candidate Vote Shares

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racial Shift	-0.060*** (0.010)	-0.018*** (0.007)	-0.009 (0.010)
Incumbent	1.882*** (0.017)	-0.130*** (0.015)	-0.225*** (0.021)
Racial Shift × Incumbent	0.010 (0.024)	0.005 (0.020)	0.017 (0.022)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.763*** (0.005)	0.693*** (0.006)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.052*** (0.003)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.001*** (0.000)
Public Office Experience			0.092*** (0.020)
Woman Politician			-0.219*** (0.011)
College Degree			0.072*** (0.010)
Candidate Age			-0.018*** (0.002)
Center Party			0.080*** (0.014)
Right Party			0.078*** (0.013)
Change Party			-0.023** (0.010)
Constant	1.447*** (0.005)	0.371*** (0.009)	1.314*** (0.081)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	137,546	136,899	93,256
R squared	.311	.696	.691

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table C.2: Racial Shifts and City Council Candidate Electoral Victory

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racial Shift	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.000 (0.003)
Incumbent	0.391*** (0.004)	0.108*** (0.006)	0.067*** (0.008)
Racial Shift × Incumbent	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.006)	0.004 (0.007)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.107*** (0.001)	0.098*** (0.001)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.011*** (0.001)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.000*** (0.000)
Public Office Experience			0.043*** (0.007)
Woman Politician			-0.036*** (0.003)
College Degree			0.018*** (0.003)
Candidate Age			-0.004*** (0.000)
Center Party			0.014*** (0.004)
Right Party			0.011*** (0.003)
Change Party			-0.003 (0.003)
Constant	0.134*** (0.001)	-0.017*** (0.002)	0.189*** (0.021)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	137,546	136,899	93,256
R squared	.216	.304	.281

Note: \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table C.3: Racial Shifts and Mayoral Candidate Vote Shares

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racial Shift	0.051 (1.681)	-0.057 (1.443)	0.315 (1.346)
Incumbent	14.191*** (0.926)	-0.022 (0.972)	-1.478 (1.035)
Racial Shift × Incumbent	-3.372 (2.412)	-4.079* (2.112)	-4.176** (1.939)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.796*** (0.033)	0.581*** (0.034)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.366*** (0.024)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.040** (0.020)
Public Office Experience			0.648 (1.066)
Woman Politician			-5.021*** (1.198)
College Degree			0.537 (0.860)
Candidate Age			-0.197*** (0.038)
Center Party			2.074* (1.097)
Right Party			1.281 (1.028)
Change Party			-0.386 (0.859)
Constant	37.061*** (0.565)	9.078*** (1.247)	10.489*** (2.731)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,386	5,381	5,254
R squared	.176	.300	.534

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table C.4: Racial Shifts and Mayoral Candidate Electoral Victory

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racial Shift	0.027 (0.054)	0.025 (0.053)	0.040 (0.053)
Incumbent	0.305*** (0.032)	0.093** (0.040)	0.087* (0.045)
Racial Shift × Incumbent	-0.181** (0.086)	-0.190** (0.083)	-0.208** (0.081)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.012*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.009*** (0.001)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.002** (0.001)
Public Office Experience			-0.036 (0.045)
Woman Politician			-0.178*** (0.050)
College Degree			-0.050 (0.036)
Candidate Age			-0.007*** (0.002)
Center Party			-0.011 (0.046)
Right Party			-0.039 (0.045)
Change Party			-0.000 (0.036)
Constant	0.361*** (0.019)	-0.054 (0.034)	0.129 (0.102)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,386	5,381	5,254
R squared	.082	.119	.217

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table C.5: Racial Shifts and Vote Share Interaction Model

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racial Shift	-0.044*** (0.012)	-0.014 (0.010)	0.025 (0.018)
Incumbent	1.747*** (0.019)	0.320*** (0.050)	-0.104* (0.057)
Racial Shift × Incumbent	0.010 (0.027)	0.004 (0.024)	0.062* (0.032)
Mayor	32.853*** (0.477)	15.480*** (0.667)	10.015*** (0.568)
Racial Shift × Mayor	0.329 (1.031)	0.074 (0.812)	-0.144 (0.702)
Incumbent × Mayor	15.969*** (0.593)	5.000*** (0.613)	2.389*** (0.534)
Racial Shift × Incumbent × Mayor	-2.782** (1.314)	-2.452** (1.173)	-2.246** (0.979)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.563*** (0.018)	0.376*** (0.016)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.378*** (0.010)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.003*** (0.001)
Public Office Experience			0.197*** (0.061)
Woman Politician			-0.640*** (0.030)
College Degree			-0.042 (0.028)
Candidate Age			-0.025*** (0.002)
Center Party			0.235*** (0.040)
Right Party			0.146*** (0.035)
Change Party			-0.042 (0.029)
Constant	1.507*** (0.013)	0.684*** (0.029)	1.473*** (0.131)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	142,932	142,280	98,510
R squared	.807	.852	.890

Note:

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

Table C.6: Racial Shifts and Electoral Victory Interaction Model

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Racial Shift	-0.009*** (0.002)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.004 (0.004)
Incumbent	0.391*** (0.004)	0.338*** (0.004)	0.218*** (0.007)
Racial Shift × Incumbent	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.006)	0.004 (0.007)
Mayor	0.209*** (0.011)	-0.441*** (0.020)	-0.500*** (0.019)
Racial Shift × Mayor	-0.026 (0.025)	-0.035 (0.026)	-0.048* (0.027)
Incumbent × Mayor	-0.119*** (0.017)	-0.527*** (0.022)	-0.439*** (0.021)
Racial Shift × Incumbent × Mayor	-0.021 (0.036)	-0.009 (0.038)	-0.012 (0.037)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.021*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.001)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.007*** (0.000)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.000*** (0.000)
Public Office Experience			0.106*** (0.006)
Woman Politician			-0.076*** (0.003)
College Degree			0.031*** (0.003)
Candidate Age			-0.005*** (0.000)
Center Party			0.023*** (0.004)
Right Party			0.018*** (0.004)
Change Party			-0.007** (0.003)
Constant	0.135*** (0.001)	0.105*** (0.002)	0.333*** (0.019)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	142,932	142,280	98,510
R squared	.221	.253	.245

Note:

11 \* p&lt;0.1; \*\* p&lt;0.05; \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

## D Afro-Brazilian Shift Robustness Checks

Table D.1: Afro-Brazilian Shifts and City Council Candidate Vote Shares

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Afro-Brazilian Shift	-0.083*** (0.016)	-0.028** (0.012)	-0.055*** (0.017)
Incumbent	1.805*** (0.021)	-0.116*** (0.021)	-0.277*** (0.028)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent	0.052 (0.037)	0.037 (0.032)	0.066* (0.035)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.737*** (0.007)	0.670*** (0.009)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.050*** (0.004)
Racial Group Size 2020			-0.000 (0.000)
Public Office Experience			0.137*** (0.025)
Woman Politician			-0.224*** (0.016)
College Degree			0.042*** (0.013)
Candidate Age			-0.021*** (0.001)
Center Party			0.080*** (0.020)
Right Party			0.061*** (0.018)
Change Party			-0.024* (0.014)
Constant	1.554*** (0.007)	0.449*** (0.013)	1.620*** (0.048)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	69,975	69,649	48,646
R squared	.300	.685	.681

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table D.2: Afro-Brazilian Shifts and City Council Candidate Electoral Victory

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Afro-Brazilian Shift	-0.013*** (0.004)	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.006)
Incumbent	0.385*** (0.005)	0.113*** (0.008)	0.064*** (0.011)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent	0.008 (0.010)	0.007 (0.010)	0.016 (0.011)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.104*** (0.002)	0.093*** (0.002)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.010*** (0.001)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.000 (0.000)
Public Office Experience			0.052*** (0.009)
Woman Politician			-0.038*** (0.004)
College Degree			0.014*** (0.004)
Candidate Age			-0.005*** (0.000)
Center Party			0.013** (0.006)
Right Party			0.005 (0.005)
Change Party			-0.004 (0.004)
Constant	0.146*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.003)	0.248*** (0.014)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	69,975	69,649	48,646
R squared	.213	.296	.272

*Note:*

\* p &lt; 0.1; \*\* p &lt; 0.05; \*\*\* p &lt; 0.01

Table D.3: Afro-Brazilian Shifts and Mayoral Candidate Vote Shares

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Afro-Brazilian Shift	-1.402 (2.878)	-1.532 (2.486)	-0.851 (2.693)
Incumbent	14.773*** (1.206)	1.155 (1.295)	0.093 (1.393)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent	-3.473 (4.270)	-4.734 (3.560)	-3.662 (3.235)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.761*** (0.046)	0.509*** (0.050)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.408*** (0.033)
Racial Group Size 2020			-0.058 (0.059)
Public Office Experience			-0.088 (1.474)
Woman Politician			-7.273*** (1.651)
College Degree			0.945 (1.241)
Candidate Age			-0.194*** (0.049)
Center Party			3.376** (1.572)
Right Party			1.972 (1.561)
Change Party			-2.277* (1.277)
Constant	37.320*** (0.816)	10.308*** (1.778)	17.043*** (4.828)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,677	3,673	3,590
R squared	.174	.287	.542

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table D.4: Afro-Brazilian Shifts and Mayoral Candidate Electoral Victory

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Afro-Brazilian Shift	-0.007 (0.100)	-0.009 (0.097)	-0.003 (0.104)
Incumbent	0.308*** (0.041)	0.102* (0.054)	0.097 (0.061)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent	-0.301* (0.161)	-0.320** (0.155)	-0.293** (0.142)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.012*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.002)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.009*** (0.001)
Racial Group Size 2020			-0.002 (0.002)
Public Office Experience			-0.026 (0.062)
Woman Politician			-0.272*** (0.073)
College Degree			-0.004 (0.054)
Candidate Age			-0.006*** (0.002)
Center Party			0.030 (0.067)
Right Party			0.011 (0.067)
Change Party			-0.033 (0.052)
Constant	0.377*** (0.027)	-0.032 (0.049)	0.313* (0.181)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3,677	3,673	3,590
R squared	.072	.112	.195

*Note:* \* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01

Table D.5: Afro-Brazilian Shifts and Vote Share Interaction Model

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Afro-Brazilian Shift	-0.034 (0.030)	0.000 (0.026)	-0.032 (0.040)
Incumbent	1.650*** (0.027)	0.319*** (0.063)	-0.174** (0.081)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent	-0.015 (0.052)	-0.011 (0.047)	0.072 (0.061)
Mayor	32.930*** (0.573)	16.337*** (0.842)	10.329*** (0.717)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Mayor	1.082 (1.406)	0.651 (1.105)	-0.042 (0.944)
Incumbent × Mayor	16.517*** (0.711)	6.201*** (0.752)	3.274*** (0.648)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent × Mayor	-5.093*** (1.765)	-4.947*** (1.564)	-3.467*** (1.309)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.534*** (0.023)	0.342*** (0.020)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.403*** (0.012)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.003** (0.001)
Public Office Experience			0.221** (0.086)
Woman Politician			-0.677*** (0.043)
College Degree			-0.064 (0.041)
Candidate Age			-0.029*** (0.002)
Center Party			0.296*** (0.059)
Right Party			0.157*** (0.054)
Change Party			-0.105** (0.043)
Constant	1.627*** (0.021)	0.792*** (0.041)	1.757*** (0.139)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	73,652	73,322	52,236
R squared	.812	.852	.892

Note:

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

Table D.6: Afro-Brazilian Shifts and Electoral Victory Interaction Model

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Afro-Brazilian Shift	-0.012*** (0.004)	-0.011*** (0.004)	-0.014** (0.006)
Incumbent	0.386*** (0.005)	0.340*** (0.006)	0.213*** (0.009)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent	0.007 (0.010)	0.008 (0.010)	0.019* (0.011)
Mayor	0.208*** (0.014)	-0.355*** (0.023)	-0.416*** (0.022)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Mayor	-0.023 (0.036)	-0.035 (0.035)	-0.054 (0.039)
Incumbent × Mayor	-0.107*** (0.020)	-0.453*** (0.025)	-0.376*** (0.026)
Afro-Brazilian Shift × Incumbent × Mayor	-0.049 (0.052)	-0.046 (0.052)	-0.022 (0.054)
Vote Share 2016 (%)		0.018*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.001)
Campaign Expenditures 2020 (%)			0.007*** (0.000)
Racial Group Size 2020			0.000** (0.000)
Public Office Experience			0.107*** (0.008)
Woman Politician			-0.076*** (0.005)
College Degree			0.028*** (0.004)
Candidate Age			-0.005*** (0.000)
Center Party			0.025*** (0.006)
Right Party			0.014*** (0.005)
Change Party			-0.009** (0.004)
Constant	0.147*** (0.002)	0.119*** (0.002)	0.389*** (0.014)
Municipal Fixed-Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	73,652	73,322	52,236
R squared	.218	.247	.239

Note:

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

Table D.7: Political Party Ideological Orientation

Party Ideology	Political Parties
Right	AVANTE, DC, DEM, NOVO PATRIOTA, PL, PMB, PMN, PODE, PP, PROS, PRTB, PSC, PSL, PTB, PTC, REPUBLICANOS, SOLIDARIEDADE
Center	CIDADANIA, MDB, PSD, PSDB, PV, REDE, UP
Left	PC do B, PCB, PCO, PDT, PSB, PSOL, PSTU, PT

*Note:* Table D.7 shows how political parties were categorized. The coding is based on the assessments of Campos and Machado (2018).