

APPENDIX  
for “Strategic Discrimination”

PART 1. Supplemental Tables

**1.1 Study I: Main models with candidate profile fixed effects**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
White Female Candidate	-0.0609* (0.0297)	-0.0443* (0.0176)
Black Female Candidate	-0.143*** (0.0324)	-0.0670*** (0.0176)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0401 (0.0311)	-0.0202 (0.0179)
Lt. Gov. Profile	-0.117*** (0.0196)	-0.0851*** (0.0127)
CEO Profile	-0.564*** (0.0243)	-0.254*** (0.0129)
Constant	3.359*** (0.0246)	0.483*** (0.0155)
Observations	5736	5736

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.2 Study I: Main models estimated with ordered probit (“Electability” DV) and probit (“Very Electable” DV)**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
White Female Candidate	-0.0887* (0.0411)	-0.120* (0.0492)
Black Female Candidate	-0.182*** (0.0432)	-0.181*** (0.0497)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0523 (0.0430)	-0.0530 (0.0494)
Constant		-0.333*** (0.0357)
Observations	5736	5736

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.3 Study I: Main results analyzed as t-tests (Welch’s)**

	White Male Profile Mean	Black Male Profile Mean	Difference	Two-tailed P-value
<i>Electability</i>	3.13	3.09	-0.039	0.217
<i>Very Electable</i>	.370	.304	-0.020	0.268
	White Male Profile Mean	Black Female Profile Mean	Difference	Two-tailed P-value
<i>Electability</i>	3.13	2.99	-0.140***	<0.001
<i>Very Electable</i>	.370	.304	-0.066***	<0.001
	White Male Profile Mean	White Female Profile Mean	Difference	Two-tailed P-value
<i>Electability</i>	3.13	3.07	-0.0616*	0.0468
<i>Very Electable</i>	.370	.325	-0.044*	0.0125

#### 1.4 Study I: Main models excluding subjects who failed an attention-check question

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0912* (0.0399)	-0.0359 (0.0224)
White Female Candidate	-0.102** (0.0378)	-0.0501* (0.0222)
Black Female Candidate	-0.204*** (0.0410)	-0.0797*** (0.0218)
Constant	3.140*** (0.0276)	0.359*** (0.0165)
Observations	3762	3762

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

#### 1.5 Study I: Main models including only subjects who answered two constitutional knowledge questions correctly

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.131** (0.0493)	-0.0582* (0.0292)
White Female Candidate	-0.130** (0.0482)	-0.0570* (0.0290)
Black Female Candidate	-0.284*** (0.0518)	-0.116*** (0.0278)
Constant	3.190*** (0.0341)	0.373*** (0.0217)
Observations	2355	2355

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.6 Study I: Main models including only those subjects who passed the attention check question and answered two constitutional knowledge questions correctly**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.217*** (0.0561)	-0.106** (0.0340)
White Female Candidate	-0.206*** (0.0553)	-0.0904** (0.0339)
Black Female Candidate	-0.372*** (0.0596)	-0.151*** (0.0327)
Constant	3.261*** (0.0387)	0.410*** (0.0259)
Observations	1806	1806

Standard errors in parentheses

Standard errors clustered by subject

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.7 Study I: Main models including only subjects who correctly identified Nancy Pelosi and Steve Mnuchin**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.106 (0.0658)	-0.0227 (0.0390)
White Female Candidate	-0.0291 (0.0605)	-0.0169 (0.0396)
Black Female Candidate	-0.237*** (0.0654)	-0.0839* (0.0369)
Constant	3.202*** (0.0437)	0.365*** (0.0294)
Observations	1362	1362

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.8 Study I: Main models including only subjects who passed an attention check question and correctly identified Nancy Pelosi and Steve Mnuchin**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.183* (0.0747)	-0.0482 (0.0440)
White Female Candidate	-0.0846 (0.0692)	-0.0343 (0.0456)
Black Female Candidate	-0.369*** (0.0738)	-0.134** (0.0411)
Constant	3.250*** (0.0485)	0.384*** (0.0340)
Observations	1041	1041

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.9 Study I: Main models including only attentive, ideological, and at least somewhat knowledgeable subjects (subjects who passed an attention check question, did not state that they “haven’t given much thought” to their political ideology, and answered at least one political or constitutional knowledge question correctly).**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.110* (0.0449)	-0.0454 (0.0252)
White Female Candidate	-0.116** (0.0421)	-0.0648** (0.0248)
Black Female Candidate	-0.247*** (0.0459)	-0.102*** (0.0244)
Constant	3.169*** (0.0309)	0.377*** (0.0187)
Observations	3030	3030

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.10 Study I: Main models including only attentive, ideological, and highly knowledgeable subjects (subjects who passed an attention check question, did not state that they “haven’t given much thought” to their political ideology, and answered at least three political or constitutional knowledge questions correctly).**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.110* (0.0449)	-0.0454 (0.0252)
White Female Candidate	-0.116** (0.0421)	-0.0648** (0.0248)
Black Female Candidate	-0.247*** (0.0459)	-0.102*** (0.0244)
Constant	3.169*** (0.0309)	0.377*** (0.0187)
Observations	3030	3030

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.11 Study I: Main results including only subjects who failed an attention check question**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0584 (0.0561)	0.0128 (0.0323)
White Female Candidate	0.0146 (0.0546)	-0.0299 (0.0314)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0106 (0.0571)	-0.0332 (0.0320)
Constant	3.114*** (0.0408)	0.389*** (0.0232)
Observations	1974	1974

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.12 Study I: Main results including only subjects who answered all four constitutional and political knowledge questions incorrectly**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0584 (0.0561)	0.0128 (0.0323)
White Female Candidate	0.0146 (0.0546)	-0.0299 (0.0314)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0106 (0.0571)	-0.0332 (0.0320)
Constant	3.114*** (0.0408)	0.389*** (0.0232)
Observations	1974	1974

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$




**1.13 Study I: Main results including only subjects who said they “haven’t given much thought” to their ideology**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.101 (0.0897)	0.0244 (0.0456)
White Female Candidate	0.0582 (0.0934)	-0.00708 (0.0470)
Black Female Candidate	0.0754 (0.0913)	0.00876 (0.0462)
Constant	2.867*** (0.0655)	0.246*** (0.0328)
Observations	783	783

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$






### 1.14 Study I: Are the results driven by subjects with low levels of education? (I)

	Estimated with subjects with a <b>high school degree or less.</b>	Estimated with subjects who have <b>some college.</b>	Estimated with subjects with a <b>4- year college degree or postgraduate degree.</b>
			
	(1) Very Electable (binary)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0573 (0.0329)	0.0248 (0.0293)	-0.0487 (0.0340)
White Female Candidate	-0.0481 (0.0321)	-0.0283 (0.0283)	-0.0654 (0.0345)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0716* (0.0328)	-0.0271 (0.0278)	-0.117*** (0.0340)
Constant	0.350*** (0.0238)	0.328*** (0.0209)	0.450*** (0.0256)
Observations	1752	2235	1749






Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

### 1.15 Study I: Are the results of driven by subjects with low levels of education? (II)

	Estimated with subjects with a <b>high school degree or less.</b>	Estimated with subjects who have <b>some college.</b>	Estimated with subjects with a <b>4- year college degree or postgraduate degree.</b>
			
	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)
Black Male Candidate	-0.107 (0.0582)	0.00492 (0.0543)	-0.0468 (0.0565)
White Female Candidate	-0.0541 (0.0561)	-0.0583 (0.0511)	-0.0794 (0.0541)
Black Female Candidate	-0.147* (0.0603)	-0.100 (0.0547)	-0.197*** (0.0587)
Constant	3.096*** (0.0406)	3.062*** (0.0371)	3.264*** (0.0415)
Observations	1752	2235	1749

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

### 1.16 Study I: Are the results driven by older subjects? (I)

	Estimated with subjects 25 and under.	Estimated with subjects aged 26-39.	Estimated with subjects aged 40-54.	Estimated with subjects aged 55-70.	Estimated with subjects aged 71+.
					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Very Electable (binary)	Very Electable (binary)	Very Electable (binary)	Very Electable (binary)	Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0684 (0.0512)	0.0349 (0.0338)	-0.0749* (0.0381)	0.00241 (0.0374)	-0.0337 (0.0609)
White Female Candidate	-0.121* (0.0509)	-0.0312 (0.0328)	-0.0606 (0.0393)	-0.00631 (0.0348)	-0.0333 (0.0601)
Black Female Candidate	-0.138** (0.0497)	0.00732 (0.0345)	-0.112** (0.0374)	-0.0491 (0.0345)	-0.102 (0.0562)
Constant	0.413*** (0.0378)	0.359*** (0.0239)	0.427*** (0.0286)	0.319*** (0.0266)	0.321*** (0.0452)
Observations	774	1659	1398	1422	483

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

### 1.17 Study I: Are the results driven by older subjects? (II)

	Estimated with subjects 25 and under.	Estimated with subjects aged 26-39.	Estimated with subjects aged 40-54.	Estimated with subjects aged 55-70.	Estimated with subjects aged 71+.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Electability (4 pt. scale)	Electability (4 pt. scale)	Electability (4 pt. scale)	Electability (4 pt. scale)	Electability (4 pt. scale)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0570 (0.0968)	0.0988 (0.0621)	-0.196** (0.0646)	-0.0311 (0.0633)	-0.0570 (0.103)
White Female Candidate	-0.0740 (0.0898)	-0.0223 (0.0611)	-0.119 (0.0615)	-0.0317 (0.0570)	-0.114 (0.111)
Black Female Candidate	-0.167 (0.0939)	-0.0119 (0.0678)	-0.251*** (0.0652)	-0.134* (0.0623)	-0.229* (0.107)
Constant	3.130*** (0.0710)	3.059*** (0.0450)	3.265*** (0.0424)	3.106*** (0.0430)	3.071*** (0.0771)
Observations	774	1659	1398	1422	483

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.18 Study I: Do results vary across subjects in states with Democratic and GOP governors?**

Models estimated with subjects from states that had a Democratic governor at the time of the experiment.

Models estimated with subjects from states that had a GOP governor at the time of the experiment.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0294 (0.0435)	0.00158 (0.0252)	-0.117* (0.0491)	-0.0441 (0.0272)
White Female Candidate	-0.0648 (0.0424)	-0.0532* (0.0243)	-0.0585 (0.0463)	-0.0348 (0.0274)
Black Female Candidate	-0.107* (0.0467)	-0.0524* (0.0250)	-0.178*** (0.0480)	-0.0809** (0.0261)
Constant	3.135*** (0.0321)	0.383*** (0.0182)	3.124*** (0.0333)	0.355*** (0.0202)
Observations	3087	3087	2637	2637

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.19 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' sexism? (10% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 10% or less of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 10% of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.141 (0.107)	0.0558 (0.0571)	-0.0601 (0.0342)	-0.0286 (0.0195)
White Female Candidate	0.0530 (0.0986)	-0.0299 (0.0553)	-0.0753* (0.0329)	-0.0461* (0.0192)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0153 (0.105)	0.00134 (0.0539)	-0.155*** (0.0353)	-0.0738*** (0.0191)
Constant	2.967*** (0.0793)	0.314*** (0.0414)	3.150*** (0.0240)	0.376*** (0.0142)
Observations	585	585	5151	5151

Standard errors in parentheses  
 Standard errors clustered by subject  
 \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.20 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' sexism? (15% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 15% or less of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 15% of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.120 (0.0913)	0.0694 (0.0499)	-0.0633 (0.0349)	-0.0334 (0.0199)
White Female Candidate	0.106 (0.0832)	0.00536 (0.0482)	-0.0872** (0.0336)	-0.0516** (0.0196)
Black Female Candidate	0.0365 (0.0892)	0.0327 (0.0466)	-0.167*** (0.0361)	-0.0809*** (0.0195)
Constant	2.964*** (0.0681)	0.292*** (0.0360)	3.156*** (0.0244)	0.382*** (0.0145)
Observations	759	759	4977	4977

Standard errors in parentheses  
 Standard errors clustered by subject  
 \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.21 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' sexism? (20% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 20% or less of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 20% of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.



	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0751 (0.0760)	0.0233 (0.0428)	-0.0640 (0.0361)	-0.0293 (0.0205)
White Female Candidate	0.0851 (0.0708)	0.00285 (0.0419)	-0.0947** (0.0347)	-0.0547** (0.0201)
Black Female Candidate	0.0296 (0.0745)	0.0171 (0.0408)	-0.176*** (0.0373)	-0.0838*** (0.0201)
Constant	3.027*** (0.0568)	0.326*** (0.0310)	3.153*** (0.0251)	0.379*** (0.0149)
Observations	1041	1041	4695	4695

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**1.22 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' sexism? (25% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 25% or less of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 25% of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0621 (0.0687)	0.0211 (0.0382)	-0.0667 (0.0371)	-0.0310 (0.0211)
White Female Candidate	0.0536 (0.0657)	-0.00292 (0.0385)	-0.0940** (0.0354)	-0.0557** (0.0205)
Black Female Candidate	0.00262 (0.0691)	-0.00461 (0.0379)	-0.178*** (0.0381)	-0.0822*** (0.0205)
Constant	3.045*** (0.0522)	0.332*** (0.0286)	3.154*** (0.0256)	0.380*** (0.0152)
Observations	1254	1254	4482	4482

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.23 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' sexism? (30% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 30% or less of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 30% of other Americans would not vote for a woman for president.



	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0411 (0.0579)	0.0435 (0.0330)	-0.0712 (0.0394)	-0.0453* (0.0222)
White Female Candidate	0.00165 (0.0564)	-0.00350 (0.0326)	-0.0876* (0.0374)	-0.0603** (0.0218)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0293 (0.0581)	0.00966 (0.0324)	-0.185*** (0.0406)	-0.0965*** (0.0216)
Constant	3.077*** (0.0426)	0.324*** (0.0243)	3.152*** (0.0273)	0.388*** (0.0161)
Observations	1701	1701	4035	4035

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.24 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' racism? (5% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 5% or less of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 5% of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.281* (0.115)	0.140* (0.0630)	-0.0703* (0.0340)	-0.0350 (0.0193)
White Female Candidate	0.0719 (0.104)	-0.0183 (0.0565)	-0.0756* (0.0327)	-0.0469* (0.0191)
Black Female Candidate	0.0571 (0.114)	0.0604 (0.0588)	-0.161*** (0.0350)	-0.0792*** (0.0190)
Constant	2.928*** (0.0801)	0.288*** (0.0410)	3.152*** (0.0240)	0.378*** (0.0142)
Observations	525	525	5211	5211

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.25 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' racism? (10% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 10% or less of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 10% of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.166 (0.0912)	0.0857 (0.0503)	-0.0723* (0.0349)	-0.0367 (0.0199)
White Female Candidate	0.00861 (0.0804)	-0.0393 (0.0465)	-0.0732* (0.0338)	-0.0448* (0.0197)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0733 (0.0923)	-0.0265 (0.0470)	-0.151*** (0.0359)	-0.0726*** (0.0196)
Constant	3.014*** (0.0639)	0.327*** (0.0353)	3.150*** (0.0246)	0.377*** (0.0146)
Observations	822	822	4914	4914

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.26 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' racism? (15% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 15% or less of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 15% of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.127 (0.0785)	0.101* (0.0438)	-0.0752* (0.0358)	-0.0460* (0.0203)
White Female Candidate	-0.0197 (0.0703)	-0.0462 (0.0408)	-0.0703* (0.0348)	-0.0430* (0.0202)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0797 (0.0778)	-0.0269 (0.0401)	-0.153*** (0.0371)	-0.0746*** (0.0202)
Constant	3.038*** (0.0555)	0.317*** (0.0309)	3.151*** (0.0253)	0.382*** (0.0149)
Observations	1053	1053	4683	4683

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.27 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' racism? (20% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 20% or less of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 20% of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.



	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.140* (0.0664)	0.112** (0.0375)	-0.0929* (0.0373)	-0.0596** (0.0211)
White Female Candidate	0.0176 (0.0614)	-1.58e-15 (0.0359)	-0.0854* (0.0362)	-0.0572** (0.0210)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0407 (0.0657)	0.00726 (0.0349)	-0.170*** (0.0388)	-0.0884*** (0.0210)
Constant	3.032*** (0.0473)	0.300*** (0.0264)	3.161*** (0.0263)	0.391*** (0.0156)
Observations	1383	1383	4353	4353

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.28 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' racism? (25% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 25% or less of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 25% of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.




	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0663 (0.0579)	0.0644 (0.0329)	-0.0819* (0.0394)	-0.0543* (0.0222)
White Female Candidate	0.0200 (0.0559)	0.00716 (0.0330)	-0.0949* (0.0375)	-0.0649** (0.0216)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0365 (0.0589)	0.00367 (0.0320)	-0.182*** (0.0405)	-0.0943*** (0.0218)
Constant	3.055*** (0.0422)	0.312*** (0.0240)	3.161*** (0.0274)	0.393*** (0.0162)
Observations	1704	1704	4032	4032

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.29 Study I: Do results vary across subjects who under- and over-estimate others' racism? (30% cutoff)**

Models estimated with **under-estimators**: subjects who estimate that 30% or less of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.

Models estimated with **over-estimators**: subjects who estimate that more than 30% of other Americans would not vote for a black person for president.



	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)	(3) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(4) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0255 (0.0519)	0.0282 (0.0297)	-0.0759 (0.0418)	-0.0475* (0.0235)
White Female Candidate	-0.0149 (0.0506)	-0.0129 (0.0300)	-0.0879* (0.0395)	-0.0617** (0.0227)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0652 (0.0525)	-0.0234 (0.0288)	-0.183*** (0.0432)	-0.0903*** (0.0231)
Constant	3.080*** (0.0377)	0.333*** (0.0218)	3.159*** (0.0290)	0.390*** (0.0170)
Observations	2166	2166	3570	3570

Standard errors in parentheses  
 Standard errors clustered by subject  
 \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**1.30 Study I: Main models including only subjects in states that have had a female governor in the past 30 years**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.0342 (0.0516)	-0.0144 (0.0286)
White Female Candidate	-0.0352 (0.0505)	-0.0314 (0.0289)
Black Female Candidate	-0.140** (0.0528)	-0.0658* (0.0275)
Constant	3.097*** (0.0366)	0.348*** (0.0209)
Observations	2337	2337

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.31 Study I: Main models including only subjects in states that had a female governor at the time of the experiment**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	0.0158 (0.112)	-0.0415 (0.0605)
White Female Candidate	0.0748 (0.117)	-0.0171 (0.0642)
Black Female Candidate	-0.0898 (0.112)	-0.123* (0.0591)
Constant	3.009*** (0.0889)	0.350*** (0.0462)
Observations	495	495

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**1.32 Study I: Main models including only subjects in states that have had a black male governor in the past 30 years<sup>1</sup>**

	(1) Electability (4 pt. scale)	(2) Very Electable (binary)
Black Male Candidate	-0.157 (0.0928)	-0.0894 (0.0573)
White Female Candidate	-0.118 (0.0852)	-0.103 (0.0533)
Black Female Candidate	-0.171 (0.0958)	-0.0838 (0.0567)
Constant	3.315*** (0.0654)	0.485*** (0.0429)
Observations	681	681

Standard errors in parentheses  
Standard errors clustered by subject  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

<sup>1</sup> Three states have had a black governor in the past 30 years: Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts. Those governors were all male. The US has never had a black female governor.

### 1.33 Studies I and II: Average estimates of others' biases, by subject demographics

	Study I		Study II	
	Estimated % who would not vote for a woman for president	Estimated % who would not vote for a black person for president	Estimated % who would not vote for a woman for president	Estimated % who would not vote for a black person for president
<i>Female Subjects</i>	47.6	41.4	42.2	40.7
<i>Male Subjects</i>	46.0	43.1	35.1	34.0
<i>White Subjects</i>	46.6	41.9	37.3	34.9
<i>Black Subjects</i>	49.2	47.9	42.6	45.1
<i>Hispanic Subjects</i>	45.0	40.1	43.3	42.7
<i>Asian/Pacific Islanders</i>	48.9	42.5	39.4	41.6
<i>Subjects under 35</i>	45.7	41.3	39.6	37.5
<i>Subjects 35-54</i>	49.7	44.7	36.2	35.8
<i>Subjects 55+</i>	44.8	40.4	40.1	41.3
<i>High school or less</i>	46.6	39.7		
<i>Some college</i>	45.5	41.4		
<i>4-year degree</i>	46.1	41.6		
<i>Graduate degree</i>	58.3	56.6		
<i>Liberals</i>	46.6	45.4		
<i>Moderates</i>	46.4	41.3		
<i>Conservatives</i>	47.8	40.7		
<i>Democrats</i>	47.8	44.3		
<i>Independents</i>	43.4	39.2		
<i>Republicans</i>	48.6	42.4		

### 1.34 Study II: Subject demographics

A total of 1,702 subjects completed the full survey experiment.

	Number	Percent of total subjects
GENDER		
Male	845	50.35%
Female	847	49.76%
Other	10	0.006%
RACE		
White / Caucasian	1,188	69.80%
Black / African-American	184	10.81%
Hispanic / Latino	68	4.00%
Asian / Pacific Islander	152	8.93%
Other (ex: multi-racial)	110	6.46%
AGE		
18-24 years	146	8.58%
25-34 years	713	41.89%
35-44 years	431	25.32%
45-54 years	215	12.63%
55-64 years	138	8.11%
65-74 years	54	3.17%
75 years and older	5	0.29%

### 1.35 Study III: Subject demographics

A total of 2,219 subjects completed the full survey experiment.

	Number	Percent of total subjects
GENDER		
Male	931	41.96%
Female	1266	57.05%
Other	22	0.99%
RACE		
White / Caucasian	1,522	68.59%
Black / African-American	246	11.09%
Hispanic / Latino	138	6.22%
Asian / Pacific Islander	144	6.49%
Other (ex: multi-racial)	169	7.62%
AGE		
18-24 years	290	13.07%
25-34 years	951	42.86%
35-44 years	543	24.47%
45-54 years	240	10.82%
55-64 years	141	6.35%
65-74 years	48	2.16%
75 years and older	6	0.27%

### 1.36 Study II: Control and Treatment Groups

<b>Group</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Treatment</b>
Control	424	<i>none</i>
Male Voters	427	“In 2016, the majority of men voted against Hillary Clinton. To beat Donald Trump in 2020, the Democratic presidential nominee must be able to win the support of these male voters. That’s the path to victory in key swing states.”
White Voters	425	“In 2016, the majority of white Americans voted against Hillary Clinton. To beat Donald Trump in 2020, the Democratic presidential nominee must be able to win the support of these white voters. That’s the path to victory in key swing states.”
Estimate Bias	426	“To beat Donald Trump in 2020, the Democratic presidential nominee needs to be able to win key swing states. Please estimate the percentage of swing-state voters who would not be willing to vote for the following types of candidates. We realize this is difficult to estimate, but please make your best guesses: Would not vote for a woman for president [ <i>slider from 0 to 100</i> ]; Would not vote for a black person for president [ <i>slider from 0 to 100</i> ].”

### 1.37 Study III: Control and Treatment Groups

<b>Group</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Treatment</b>
Control	445	<i>none</i>
Correct Information	443	“When women and people of color run for office in the US today, they typically do just as well as white men. Social scientists find very little if any discrimination against female and minority candidates in modern US elections. More than 90% of Americans say they are open to voting for a female or black candidate for president. These are the highest numbers ever recorded in US history.”
Naming and Shaming	446	“When Democrats think about the 2020 presidential election, they sometimes worry that a female or black candidate won’t be able to beat Donald Trump. Some people even say that if the Democrats want to win in 2020, they need to nominate a white man. This type of thinking is called, ‘strategic discrimination.’ [screen break] Strategic discrimination gives white male candidates an unfair advantage, while harming women and people of color. If people think that only a white man can win an election, this makes it harder for female and minority candidates to launch their campaigns and establish their viability. Strategic discrimination is a subtle form of bias. Even people who value diversity sometimes unintentionally engage in strategic discrimination.”
Role Model	438	“As Democrats think about how to beat Donald Trump in 2020, they should learn from the 2018 midterms. In 2018, the Democrats won control of the US House of Representatives. Thirty GOP incumbents lost their House seats to Democratic challengers. Many of these successful challengers were women and people of color who won in districts that had voted for Donald Trump in 2016. [screen break] For example, Lauren Underwood won in Illinois’ 14 <sup>th</sup> District, a traditionally Republican area. Illinois’ 14 <sup>th</sup> District is 86% white, and in 2016 local voters supported Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton. [Portrait of Underwood.] In 2018, Underwood ran a smart campaign that harnessed national energy while also focusing on local issues. She beat incumbent Congressman Randy

Hultgren, and she is now a member of Congress. Underwood's victory shows that when the Democrats run strong candidates, they can win – even in places that voted for Trump in 2016.”

Black Voters

447

“In 2016, the majority of African-Americans voted for Hillary Clinton. To beat Donald Trump in 2020, the Democratic nominee must be able to keep these black voters engaged and energized. High African-American turnout is the path to victory in key swing states.”



PART II: Additional Information about Studies I, II, and III

**2.1 Screenshots from Study I**

Here are several screenshots that give a sense of what subjects saw while taking Study I:

Please consider the following candidate profile:

<b>Current Position</b>	CEO
<b>Prior Elected Offices</b>	None
<b>Profession</b>	Entrepreneur
<b>Education</b>	BA; MBA
<b>Gender</b>	Male
<b>Race</b>	Black
<b>Age</b>	52 years old

If this candidate ran for governor in your state, how electable would he be?

Very electable

Somewhat electable

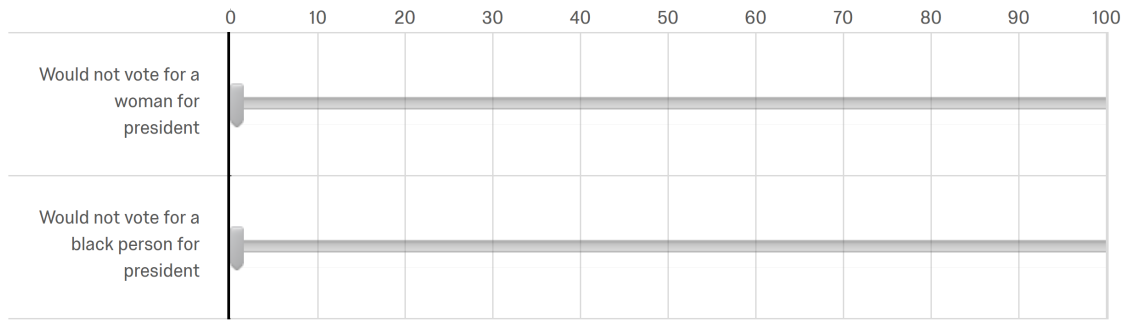
Somewhat unelectable

Very unelectable

Q188



Please estimate the percentage of Americans who would **not** be willing to vote for the following types of candidates for president.  
We realize this is difficult to estimate, but please make your best guesses.



## 2.2 Screenshot from Study II/Study III

Studies II and III used the exactly same setup online, just with different priming messages.

This screenshot is an example of the candidate ranking exercise that provided the data for the dependent variables in both studies. Subjects were able to drag and drop candidates into the response box, where their choices were clearly labelled #1, #2, and #3. They could re-order and swap candidates until they were satisfied with their answer. Then, they clicked to continue to the last module of the survey, where they answered some basic demographic questions.

In your opinion, which Democratic candidates have the **best chance** of beating Donald Trump in 2020?

Please drag and drop your top three candidates into the box on the right. The top candidate should be the person you think has the best chance of beating Trump. The next candidate has the second-best chance of beating Trump. The third candidate has the third-best chance of being Trump.

Items	
Sen. Elizabeth Warren	1 Sen. Cory Booker
Sen. Kamala Harris	2 Former Rep. Beto O'Rourke
Mayor Pete Buttigieg	3 Sen. Amy Klobuchar
Former VP Joe Biden	
Sen. Bernie Sanders	