

**Experimental Stimuli: Text of Videotaped Political Speeches
(Used in Brazil experiment, Thad Dunning)**

TEXT OF SPEECHES 1, 2, 3, AND 4 (NO RACE OR CLASS MESSAGE)

[the text of the speech is to be read twice by each actor, once while wearing a suit, once while wearing a “macacão” or other working-class clothes]

Speech 1: White actors, wearing a suit

Speech 2: White actors, wearing “macacão” or other working-class clothes

Speech 3: Black actors, wearing a suit

Speech 4: Black actors, wearing “macacão” or other working-class clothes

My dear friends:

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: unemployment and a lack of good jobs, not because of a lack of interest or willingness to work, but because of a lack of opportunity; a health system that allows us to be threatened by epidemics and diseases, such as dengue; a school system that is not able to educate all of our sons and daughters; problems with our infrastructure; and of course, the poverty and frustration of so many. Our middle-class is too small, and even university graduates lack adequate employment opportunities. We all know that there is too much crime in our city, and too much corruption in our political system.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent city with a dignified past. Our country is

diverse yet peaceful, and Salvador exemplifies this. Yet so much more can be done to improve the quality of our lives.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight for goals we all believe in: greater employment opportunities so people can help themselves, better education, improved infrastructure, less corruption, and greater care for sick mothers and children. I will work with the other members of the municipal council, our state and federal deputies and senators and our governor to ensure that Salvador receives the resources it needs – the resources it deserves – to fund education and health care.

Economic development is key across all of Brazil, and it is equally important here in our Salvador. I will fight to improve our economy and sustain our healthy and peaceful democracy, and I will fight to improve the quality of life in our beautiful city.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination and skills to achieve them. So please allow me to humbly ask for your support and help. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

SPEECH 5 -- “Black/Poor” speech

[to be read once by each black actor while wearing “macacão” or other working class clothes]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras, though many of you will know me as Negão [Neguinho]. I have been a working person all of my life. I grew up in the popular neighborhoods of Salvador and completed my education here, up to middle school. I first worked as a taxi driver and a mechanic, and later, I was a political organizer and leader in the mechanics’ union for over 15 years. I know the struggles that ordinary people face in their daily lives, because I am part and parcel of the people [*o povão*].

Throughout my life, I have also been involved in many activities that benefit my Black [negro] brothers and sisters. For example, I have always struggled against racism and discrimination, and I have fought to make my brothers and sisters proud of their African heritage, which too often we do not valorize. In my chapter of the mechanics’ union, I organized a Front in Defense of Racial Equality. I have also received an award from the City of Salvador as a “friend of capoeira.”

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of popular neighborhoods in Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: unemployment and a lack of jobs; a health system overrun with epidemics, such as dengue; a struggling public school system that is not able to educate all of our sons and daughters; too much violence in our communities; and of course, the poverty and frustration found among so many.

It is important to recognize that many of these problems are especially relevant for our black [*negro*] brothers and sisters. For example, did you know that 3 out of 4 violent deaths in the periphery of the city are black people? And did you know that on average, black male workers make less than 40 percent of white male workers, and that black women workers earn less than 60 percent of white male workers? Although we do not like to admit it, we have a problem with racism in Brazil, even in our city of Salvador with its dignified Afro-Brazilian heritage. You can see that the government does not do enough to invest in the most needy areas of the city, which are mainly made up of the black population. Blacks and browns [*pretos e pardos*] are more than 70 percent of the city of Salvador, and we are the majority in the *favelas* and popular neighborhoods in Salvador, yet we do not see enough black or brown in the faces of our municipal councilors [*vereadores*]. We have too few blacks [*negros*] occupying spaces of political power in this city.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent and beautiful city with a dignified Afro-Brazilian [*negro*] past. Yet the government can do so much more to improve our lives. Our struggle is against racism, intolerance, and social inequalities, and in defense of the interests of all common people. This cause deserves your vote.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight for the goals shared by the people [*o povão*]: greater employment opportunities, expanded access to education, public housing projects, care for sick mothers and children and of course, decreased poverty among our brothers and sisters. We need to struggle to defend opportunities for needy people and communities [*comunidades carentes*]. When I am a city councilor, I

want to coordinate a program to increase work opportunities for black [negro] youth and to combat racism. We should also do more to promote the cultural resources that come from our proud Afro-Brazilian past. If you elect me, I will work to promote the spread of *afro* music and capoeira, and I will also support Hip-Hop events and other cultural programs for Afro-Brazilian youth. Finally, I will work with the other members of the municipal council, our state and federal deputies and senators and our governor to ensure that Salvador receives the resources it needs – the resources it deserves – from books to medication to jobs. Economic development is key across all of Brazil and it is equally important here in our Salvador. I will fight to improve our economy and to sustain our healthy and peaceful democracy, and I will fight to improve the quality of life in our beautiful city.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination, skills, and experience as a political organizer necessary to achieve them. So please allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I will not let you down. I thank you for your attention and your support during this election. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

SPEECH 6 -- “Black/Rich” speech

[to be read once by each black actor while wearing a suit]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras. I am a Bahian lawyer and have also been a professor in a private middle school [*profesor de ensino medio*]. I graduated from the Federal University of Bahia [UFBA] here in Salvador and did my post-graduate education there as well. As many of you know, throughout my life I have worked with many non-governmental organizations to improve the quality of life in our neighborhoods and especially to improve the quality of schools in our city.

I have also been involved in many activities that specifically benefit our Black [negro] brothers and sisters. For example, I have always struggled against racism and discrimination in our universities; as a student leader, I organized a Front in Defense of Racial Equality. I have always fought to help my brothers and sisters accept [*assumir*] and be proud of their African cultural heritage, which too often we do not valorize.

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: lack of employment opportunities for university graduates; a middle-class that is still too small; inadequate numbers of specialized hospitals and too little in the way of modern medicine; the high costs of private middle schools, which are the best alternative for parents who want their children to gain admittance to prestigious universities; and crime that too often threatens our property and way of life.

It is important for us to realize that many of these challenges are even greater for our black [negro] brothers and sisters. For example, did you know that in Brazil, blacks (*negros*) only make up 1.8% of university students, despite the recent policy of implementing quotas for university admissions? In addition, there is discrimination in the labor market. Blacks leave the university having grown intellectually, but when it's time for employment, the boss says, "Bring your resume with a photo," and you know he would like to choose a blond with blue eyes. We also have too few blacks [*negros*] occupying spaces of political power in this city. Blacks and browns [*pretos e pardos*] are more than 70 percent of the population of the city of Salvador, yet we do not see enough black or brown [*preto o pardo*] in the faces of our municipal councilors [*vereadores*]. Although we do not like to admit it, we still have a problem with racism in Brazil, even in our city of Salvador with its dignified Afro-Brazilian heritage.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent city with a dignified Afro-Brazilian [*negro*] past. Yet so much more can be done to improve life in our beautiful city.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight to defend the middle-class and to expand educational and employment opportunities for the people of Salvador. I want to increase the number of public hospitals and especially private clinics, where the best modern medicine is made available, and I want to improve access to private middle schools. I will work with the police to crack down on crime that too often threatens our property and our way of life. As an Afro-Brazilian, I will also defend quotas in public and private universities for blacks, and I will fight against racism and discrimination in the labor market. I would also like to see seats reserved for blacks in

political parties, so that blacks can occupy more prominent spaces of political power in this city. Finally, those of us who are more educated also have a special responsibility to promote the cultural resources that stem from our proud Afro-Brazilian past. If you elect me, I will work to promote education about black history as well as all of the issues facing blacks in Brazil today.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination, skills, and education necessary to achieve them. So allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

SPEECH 7 -- “White/Rich” speech

[to be read once by each white actor, while wearing a suit]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras. I am a Bahian lawyer and have also been a professor in a private middle school [*profesor de ensino medio*]. I graduated from the Federal University of Bahia [UFBA] here in Salvador and did my post-graduate education there as well. As many of you know, throughout my life I have worked with many non-governmental organizations to improve the quality of life in our neighborhoods and especially to improve the quality of schools in our city.

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: lack of employment opportunities for university graduates; a middle-class that is still too small; inadequate numbers of specialized hospitals and too little in the way of modern medicine; the high costs of private middle schools, which are the best alternative for parents who want their children to gain admittance to prestigious universities; and crime that too often threatens our property and way of life. Our best and most talented citizens often do not have the opportunities or rewards that they should have, because a dysfunctional system limits their economic opportunities.

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent and beautiful city. Yet so much more can be done to improve the quality of our lives.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight to defend the middle-class and to expand educational and employment opportunities for our children. I want to increase the number of private clinics, where the best modern medicine is made available, and I want to improve access to private middle schools. I will work with the police to crack down on crime that too often threatens our property and our way of life. I also want to defend a policy of merit in our schools and universities and in our labor markets and not a policy of quotas or special privileges. The law should not differentiate between citizens; it should protect all Brazilians. We should reward people who conquer spaces with their intelligence and ambition, not with government favors.

I have the determination, skills and education necessary to achieve my goals. So allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!

SPEECH 8 -- “White/Poor” speech

[To be read once by each white actor, while wearing “macacão” or other working-class clothes]

My dear friends:

I am José Paulo de Oliveiras. I have been a working person all of my life. I grew up in the popular neighborhoods of Salvador and completed my education here up to middle school. I first worked as a taxi driver and a mechanic, and later, I was a political organizer and leader in the mechanics’ union for over 15 years. I know the struggles that ordinary people face in their daily lives, because I am part and parcel of the people [*o povão*].

I am here today to ask for your vote in my candidacy for the Municipal Council. As a resident of our city of Salvador for over 30 years, I am familiar with the challenges we face: unemployment and a lack of jobs; a health system overrun with epidemics, such as dengue; a struggling public school system that is not able to educate all of our sons and daughters; too much violence in our communities; and of course, the poverty and frustration found among so many. Although our country strives for equality, Salvador is still highly unequal. Why is it that some areas have their electricity cut daily while others do not? Why is it that some of our children can go to school regularly while others do not? Why are some men and women able to find stable jobs with the government or in the private sector while others are forced to migrate outside of Salvador, even outside of Brazil to find opportunities to work?

It does not have to be this way. Brazil is an extraordinary country, rich in natural resources, and Salvador is a magnificent and beautiful city. Yet the government can do

so much more to improve our lives. My struggle is against social inequalities, and in defense of the interests of all common people. This cause deserves your vote.

If you elect me as a member of the city council, I will fight for the goals shared by the people [*o povão*]: greater employment opportunities, expanded access to education, public housing projects, care for sick mothers and children and of course, decreased poverty among our brothers and sisters. We especially need to struggle to defend opportunities for needy people and communities [*comunidades carentes*]. I will work with the other members of the municipal council to ensure that our resources benefit the people who need them the most.

These are attainable goals, and I have the determination, the skills, and the experience as a political organizer necessary to achieve them. I know what it means to be of the people [*do povão*], and I will never forget what it is that working families need from our government. So please allow me to humbly ask for your support and help in this upcoming election. If you vote for me, I will listen to your concerns and I will address them, because they are my concerns too. I thank you for your attention and your support. Long live Salvador and long live Brazil!