

# ONLINE APPENDIX: Historical Lynchings and the Contemporary Voting Behavior of Blacks

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## APPENDIX A: DATA APPENDIX

The Alabama Secretary of State Office reports the number of black (white) registered voters at the county-level for active and inactive voters separately on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. The Alabama Secretary of State Office website is

<http://www.alabamavotes.gov/Voterreg.aspx?m=voters>. Inactive voters are voters who have not voted in four years in their county whereas active voters are voters who are not on the inactive voters list. I use the number of active black voters as the measure of registered black voters and define the measure of registered white voters similarly.

The number of black (white) registered voters in Florida were obtained from the 2016 voter statistics files provided by the Florida Secretary of State Office. These files contain individual records that include the registration date, race, birth date and county of residence for registered voters in 2016. The Florida Secretary of State Office removes individuals who have passed away from its voter files. To compute the number of registered voters in 2000, I aggregate the number of registered voters with a registration date on or before 2000 at the county-level. Similarly, the number of registered voters in 2004, 2008, and 2012 is computed.

The Georgia Secretary of State Office reports the number of black (white) registered voters at the county-level for females and males separately on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. The Georgia Secretary of State Office website is <http://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections>. I compute the total number of black registered voters at the county-level by summing the number of black (white) female and black (white) male registered voters.

The Louisiana Secretary of State Office reports the number of black (white) registered voters at the parish (county) on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. The Louisiana Secretary of State Office website is <http://www.sos.la.gov/ElectionsAndVotings>.

The number of black (white) registered voters from North Carolina are obtained from voter statistics files provided by the North Carolina Secretary of State Office in 2004, 2008, and 2012. It is worth noting that the North Carolina Secretary of State Office does not report voter information separated by race until 2002. These files contain the number of registered voters by county, race, and age. Summing across age groups in each county for blacks and whites separately gives

the number of black and white registered voters.

The South Carolina Secretary of State Office reports the number of white and nonwhite registered voters at the count-level on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. The South Carolina Secretary of State Office website is <https://www.scvotes.org/data/voter-history.html>. The number of nonwhite registered voters is used to represent the number of black registered voters.

Information on the number of daily, weekly, and triweekly newspapers in each county is obtained from the 1840 Census and the newspaper rate is defined as the average number of daily, weekly, and weekly newspapers per total population in 1840. The year in which a county was formed is obtained from Grosjean (2014) as originally obtained from the National Association of Counties. The proportion of slaves is obtained from the 1860 Census and is defined as the number of slaves per total population in 1860. The average farm value in 1860, the proportion of small farms in 1860, land inequality in 1860, and the proportion of free blacks in 1860 are obtained from Acharya, Blackwell and Sen (2016) as originally obtained from the 1860 Census with the exception of land inequality which was originally obtained from Nunn (2008).

The contemporary measures in the study come from a variety of sources. The county-level proportion of blacks (whites) with at least some college education is obtained from the 2000 Census. The share of blacks (whites) married come from the 2010 Census. The county-level monthly earnings for blacks (whites) for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 are obtained from the Census Bureau's Quarterly Workforce Indicators (QWI). County-level lagged Republican party dominance data are obtained from David Leip's Atlas of US Presidential Elections.<sup>1</sup> Party dominance is defined as the percentage of votes awarded to the Republican Presidential Nominee minus the percentage of votes awarded to the Democratic Presidential Nominee for the years 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008.<sup>2</sup> For example, in DeKalb County, if the Republican Presidential Nominee was awarded 58% of the votes and if the Democratic Presidential Nominee was awarded 42% of the votes in 2000, then the party dominance in DeKalb County in 2000 is 16%. The incarceration rate of blacks is obtained from the 2010 Vera Institute of Justice which reports the number of black individuals in jail per 10,000 county residents. The number of black church members is obtained from the 2010 U.S. Religion Census.<sup>3</sup> The U.S. Religion Census classifies black churches as churches with the largest historically black denominations.<sup>4</sup> The black church member rate is

<sup>1</sup>Lagged party dominance is used so that party dominance will not be correlated with the outcome variable.

<sup>2</sup>Kent (2003) finds that voter turnout is lower when one party is dominant since the outcome appears to be certain argues that party dominance accounts for declines in voter turnout more than race, election laws, or economic class.

<sup>3</sup>Tate (1991) finds that voting propensity is higher for blacks who attend church.

<sup>4</sup>The list of blacks churches include the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of God in Christ, the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., the National Missionary Baptist Convention, Inc., and the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.

defined as the number of members who attend black churches per 10,000 black population in 2010. The number of polling places is obtained from the Secretary of State Offices in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina. This data represent polling locations in the 2016 Presidential Election.

## APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

TABLE B1—THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN VOTER REGISTRATION RATES IN 1867/1868 AND HISTORICAL LYNCHING RATES

	Black lynching rate (1)
Percentage of black registered voters in 1867 and 1868	0.268 (0.106)
Percentage of black residents in 1860	-0.099 (0.030)
State Fixed Effects	Yes
Number of observations	375
R-Squared	0.170

*Note:* Standard errors are in parentheses. The dependent variable, black lynchings, is the number of lynchings that occurred in a county from 1882-1930 in which the victim was black and the mob was white. Note that free colored and slave populations are used to compute the number of black residents. *Source:* Lynching data come from Hines and Steelwater (1882-1930). Voter registration data come from John Clegg and are based on tables in Hume and Gough (2008). The percentage of black residents in 1860 come from Manson et al. (2019).

TABLE B2—THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LYNCHING RATES AND BLACK VOTER REGISTRATION RATES NORMALIZING WITH DIFFERENT YEARS

	Black Voter Registration Rate		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Black lynching rate (in 1910)	-0.416 (0.099)		
Black lynching rate (in 1920)		-0.086 (0.034)	
Black lynching rate (in 1930)			-0.040 (0.020)
Historical Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
# of counties	267	267	267
R-Squared	0.560	0.540	0.536

*Note:* Standard errors are in parentheses. The black lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county from 1882-1930 per 10,000 black population in 1910, 1920, or 1930. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources. *Source:* Lynching data come from Hines and Steelwater (1882-1930). Registered voters data come from Alabama Secretary of State (2000-2012), Florida Secretary of State (2000-2012), Georgia Secretary of State (2000-2012), Louisiana Secretary of State (2000-2012), North Carolina Secretary of State (2004-2012), South Carolina Secretary of State (2000-2012). Population data come from Manson et al. (2019).

TABLE B3—THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LYNCHING RATES AND BLACK VOTER REGISTRATION RATES (RATES CONVERTED)

	Black Voter Registration Rate	
	Black reg converted to 100	Black reg less than 100
Black lynching rate	-0.467 (0.132)	-0.457 (0.130)
Historical Controls	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
# of counties	267	259
R-Squared	0.579	0.575

*Note:* Standard errors are in parentheses. The black lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county from 1882-1930 per 10,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources. *Source:* Lynching data come from Hines and Steelwater (1882-1930). Registered voters data come from Alabama Secretary of State (2000-2012), Florida Secretary of State (2000-2012), Georgia Secretary of State (2000-2012), Louisiana Secretary of State (2000-2012), North Carolina Secretary of State (2004-2012), South Carolina Secretary of State (2000-2012).

TABLE B4—THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LYNCHING RATES AND BLACK VOTER REGISTRATION RATES (EJI DATA)

	Black Voter Registration Rate (1)
Black lynching rate (EJI)	-0.314 (0.101)
Historical Controls	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes
# of counties	267
R-Squared	0.546

*Note:* Standard errors are in parentheses. The black lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county from 1882-1930 per 10,000 black population in 1900. The lynching data are obtained from the Equal Justice Initiative and contain the number of lynchings from 1877-1950. The black lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county from 1877-1950 per 10,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

*Source:* Lynching data come from Equal Justice Initiative (1877-1950). Registered voters data come from Alabama Secretary of State (2000-2012), Florida Secretary of State (2000-2012), Georgia Secretary of State (2000-2012), Louisiana Secretary of State (2000-2012), North Carolina Secretary of State (2004-2012), South Carolina Secretary of State (2000-2012).

TABLE B5—USING SELECTION ON OBSERVABLES TO ACCESS THE BIAS FROM UNOBSERVABLES

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
No controls effect	Controlled effect	Coeff. set from psacalc	Ratio: $\frac{\beta^F}{(\beta^R - \beta^F)}$
-0.628 (0.148)[0.479]	-0.434 (0.133)[0.629]	[-1.009, -0.434]	2.945

*Note:* Column (1) shows the coefficient from the model that includes no controls (together with standard errors in parentheses and R-squared in brackets). Column (2) shows the coefficient for the model that includes all explanatory variables. Columns (1) and (2) both include state fixed effects. Column (3) reports the identified set using psacalc provided by Oster (2017). The identified set displays the main coefficient of interest, lynching rate, using psacalc for the model with no controls and the model with all explanatory variables respectively and excludes zero. Column (4) shows the ratio building from Altonji, Elder and Taber (2005).

TABLE B6—LYNCHING RATES AND DIFFERENCES IN ATTRIBUTES BETWEEN MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS  
LINKED CENSUS DATA (1910 TO 1930)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Out-Migrants vs. Stayers	Earnings 1928	Earnings 1960	Age	Own Home	School	Literate	Employed
Black lynching rate* Outmigrant Status	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.009)	0.195 (0.169)	-0.008 (0.005)	0.003 (0.008)	0.014 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)
Outmigrant	0.053 (0.030)	0.075 (0.042)	-2.254 (0.744)	0.097 (0.031)	-0.041 (0.042)	-0.054 (0.033)	0.081 (0.036)
Black lynching rate	0.003 (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)	-0.063 (0.080)	0.006 (0.003)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.003)	0.001 (0.005)
Historical Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
# of observations	1,178	895	2,043	2,043	1,355	2,043	1,200
R-Squared	0.126	0.166	0.022	0.019	0.025	0.008	0.031

*Note:* Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. The black lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county from 1882-1930 per 10,000 black population in 1900. Data on migrants come from Collins and Wanamaker (2014). This data link southern black male migrants and non-migrants from the 1910 Census to the 1930 Census. The dependent variables are as follows: Column (1) real earnings score based on Lebergott (1964), Column (2) real earnings score based on IPUMS (1960), Column (3) age, Column (4) indicator for owning a home, Column (5) indicator for attending school, Column (6) literacy indicator, and Column (7) employment indicator. Dependent variables are based on information contained in the 1910 Census.