The Power of Narratives: Anti-Black Attitudes and Violence in the US South*

Federico Masera† Michele Rosenberg‡ Sarah Walker§

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Abstract

Systematic discrimination and violence against minorities are enduring phenomena. This paper investigates the role of racist narratives in sustaining discriminatory attitudes and collective violence against the Black population in the United States South from 1865 to today. Leveraging plausible exogeneity in excess deaths from the Civil War, we show that white sex imbalances precipitated a fear of racial mixing, fostering an increase in the prevalence of an association between "Black men" and "sexual predators" in local newspapers. Sex imbalances also increased the demand for segregation, incidence of lynching for alleged sexual offenses, and explicit racial attitudes. This narrative persisted beyond the immediate aftermath of the war, shaping discrimination and collective violence over 150 years.

Keywords: narratives, discrimination, racial violence, persistence, sex imbalances
JEL Codes: N32, Z10, D70

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†University of New South Wales. E-mail: f.masera@unsw.edu.au
‡University of Essex. E-mail: michele.rosenberg@essex.ac.uk
§University of New South Wales. E-mail: s.walker@unsw.edu.au

1 Introduction

Systematic discrimination and violence against minorities are enduring phenomena in many societies. These practices are often justified by the belief that the targeted groups impose a social cost to be eradicated. For example, throughout early modern Europe and Colonial New England, women were tried and publicly executed for the alleged practice of witchcraft. For centuries, the story of the greedy Jew has justified recurring acts of anti-Semitic persecution. In the contemporary United States, stereotypes and misrepresentation of minorities are still prevalent in the news and political discourses (Ash et al., 2021).

While several studies have focused on the origins and persistence of attitudes toward minorities, the mechanisms through which persistence occurs are not fully understood. In this paper, we investigate the role of racist narratives in sustaining discriminatory attitudes and collective violence, focusing on the belief that "Black men are rapists" and its role in shaping the demand for segregation and collective violence in the US South.

Consistent with recent theory (Eliaz and Spiegler, 2020; Schwartzstein and Sunderam, 2021), we propose that narratives are causal models that individuals use to interpret reality, form beliefs, and evaluate actions. Narratives become salient when the underlying model fits observations from the surrounding environment. When salient, narratives induce beliefs that are consistent with the model and provide a framework to evaluate actions.

Narratives can facilitate collective violence in two main ways. First, because the prevalence of a particular narrative is effectively realized through recurrent exposure to information, narratives act as coordination devices, inducing correlated beliefs over the willingness to participate in collective action and sustaining social norms (Campante et al., 2021). Second, narratives induce motivated beliefs to justify actions, thereby reducing the cost of violence (Bénabou and Tirole, 2016). Moreover, because the beliefs tend to persist through history-dependence and correlated beliefs, violence may persist beyond the context in which the narrative arose.

In the context of the US South, concerns over racial purity have been widespread since the colonial period.[1] Prior to 1865, slavery institutionalized the separation of the races and imposed *de jure* and *de facto* white domination over the Black population. With the end of the Civil War, and emancipation of the formerly enslaved, a new *de jure* equilibrium emerged, spreading fear among many white southerners over their waning power. It has been widely argued by social scientists and historians that in this environment, racial mixing posed a tangible threat to the preservation of *de facto* white power (Myrdal, 1944; Tolnay and Beck, 1995; Hodes, 1997; Wilkerson, 2020), such that in the years during and immediately following the war, white anxiety about interracial affairs between white women and Black

[1] The colony of Virginia instituted the first anti-miscegenation law in 1691. By 1837, all of the states that would be eventually become the Confederacy had instituted such laws. Interracial marriage remained illegal in most Southern states until the Supreme Court ruling on *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967.

men rose to unprecedented levels (Hodes, 1997).[2]

We argue that in places with greater Civil War casualties, the belief that "Black men are rapists" was constructed from a narrative linking the emancipation of Black people to the loss of white power through the threat that racial mixing posed to the Southern social order. To test this claim, we first investigate how white *excess deaths* during the war, and the consequent shift in the demographic balance of white women to men, affected both the demand for segregationist policies, as well as the prevalence of an association between Black men and rapists in local newspapers. Second, we present evidence on the use of this belief to justify anti-Black violence, both immediately after the war, and in later periods. We then investigate the channels that sustained this narrative by studying the impact on white women's labor force participation, the white marriage market and racial mixing between Black men and white women. Finally, we show that the narrative persists beyond the immediate wake of the war, shaping the dynamics of discrimination and collective violence over the last 150 years.

While precise death tolls do not exist, the best available estimates suggest that over 300,000 Southern men died in the Civil War (Hacker, 2011). Drawing on the method proposed by Hacker (2011) and the assumption that white women of marriage age did not migrate alone, we calculate *excess deaths* by computing the county-level change in the white female-to-male sex ratio for individuals aged 15 to 34. We show that by this measure the white casualty rate induced a decrease of 14 men per 100 women in the average county, which is balanced with respect to white sex ratios in 1840–1860.

We argue that this measure cleanly captures *excess deaths* and the consequent sex imbalance between white women and men for two main reasons. First, because over two-thirds of casualties resulted from non-combat causes, such as disease (Neely, 2007), and because most of the battles took place in the Border states,[3] measures of excess death in the South are not correlated with deadly and traumatic events or destruction of physical capital that could affect local outcomes independently of white sex imbalances. Second, we show that our measure is uncorrelated with pre-war county-level observables that explain post-war attitudes toward Black people, political outcomes, or the prevalence of collective violence, indicating that this measure is as good as random in our setting.

Exploiting these variations in the war-induced white sex imbalance, we study the immediate and long-term effects on the prevalence of anti-Black narratives, demand for segregation, and collective violence. In our hypothesis, a high excess death rate increased white women's contact with Black men by affecting the nature of women's economic roles, as well as marriage patterns (Faust, 1996). During and after the war, white women from all socio-economic backgrounds were forced to take up economic enterprises outside of the home, while exten-

[2]The hypocrisy of this fear is notable given the centuries of sexual assault endured by Black women at the hands of white men under slavery.

[3]With the notable exception of the Sherman March.

sive casualties of white men led to a generation of widowed or single white women. As young white women faced the changes in their domestic life, widespread conjecture about the possibility of interracial liaisons emerged (Faust, 1996; Hodes, 1997); and in some places, as our evidence suggests, such liaisons occurred. We argue that this observable transformation of the social landscape increased the *fitness* of a narrative that connected the freedom of newly emancipated Black men to engage with white women to the loss of white men's *de facto* power. Variation in the *fitness* of this narrative increased its prevalence, as well as the demand for segregation as a way to prevent the loss of white men's *de facto* power by severing the link between Black men's freedom and racial mixing. An extreme expression of the demand for segregation occurred through lynchings, often justified by the belief that Black men are sexual predators. Moreover, we propose that, while the war-induced sex imbalance has a direct effect on both the fitness of the narrative and associated actions, it may continue to affect behavior through persistence of the narrative long after the war. To test this hypothesis, we collect three main sets of information.

First, we leverage information on voting behavior in favor of the Democratic party from 1852 to 2018, exploiting the party's shift toward a Civil Rights platform in the mid-20th century, to identify political behavior motivated by racial attitudes (Kuziemko and Washington, 2018). Second, we construct a measure of *narrative prevalence* by building and analyzing a new database of local newspaper content, including the political affiliation and geolocation of each paper, ranging from 1860 to 1900 (soon to be expanded to 1850–1930). Finally, we construct a novel database of lynchings ranging from 1865 to 1881 by digitizing reports from newspapers during the period. We combine this information with publicly available data on lynchings from 1882 to 1930 from the Historical American Lynching Data Collection Project (Project HAL) to examine the dynamics of racial violence in the US South over 65 years. We specifically code whether the reason for the lynching was an alleged sexual offense or other offense, as well as the race of the victim, to understand how the narrative facilitates collective violence.

With these data at hand, we first investigate the effect of *excess deaths* on voting behavior in favor of the Democratic party. We find that since the end of Reconstruction, when the Democratic party reestablished its racist platform after the Civil War, *excess deaths* are strongly correlated with a higher vote share in favor of the Democratic party. The relationship declines in correspondence with the shift in party platform away from segregation policies, suggesting that the white casualty shock sustained during the war had a lasting effect on the demand for segregation.

Second, we show that in local newspapers the association between "Black men" and "rapists" becomes prevalent in counties with a larger war-induced sex imbalance. With a standard deviation rise in the white sex imbalance, newspapers affiliated with the Democratic party — the party that represented slave-owners' interests prior to the war and

segregationist policies afterward — increase the association of Black men with rape by 20 percent,[4] with effects persisting beyond the immediate wake of the war. Our measure is the share of issues in which at least one article mentions the word "Negro" and the word "rape/rapist" within ten words from each other. We find no effect on the use of "rape" alone, "lynch", "negro" and several other words. We interpret these results to suggest that the white sex imbalance induced an increase in the demand for a narrative linking the emancipation of Black people to the loss of white *de facto* power, specifically pointing to racial mixing as a causal channel of this loss and proposing a rationalization of violence based on the belief that Black men are rapists.

We then study the use of this belief to justify racial violence by investigating the effect of white sex imbalances on lynchings of Black men for alleged sexual offenses against white women. We find that both during Reconstruction and throughout the Jim Crow era, the impact of white sex imbalances on anti-Black violence is justified entirely by the notion that Black men are sexual predators. In the immediate wake of the war, from 1865 to 1877, the impact is highest, where a standard deviation increase in the white sex imbalance corresponds to a 35 percent increase in the likelihood of a lynching for a sexual offense in a given year. The effect persists throughout the Jim Crow era, where a standard deviation in the war-induced sex imbalance corresponds to a 9.5 percent increase in the likelihood of a sexual lynching. Importantly, we find no effect of sex imbalances on lynchings for other offenses, such as murder, labor disputes, or political reasons. Moreover, there is no impact on lynchings of white men for sexual or other offenses, nor do we see changes in other types of violence, such as executions performed by the criminal system. These findings suggest that the results are specifically associated with the increased *fitness* of an anti-Black narrative in places where the white casualty shock occurred.

Finally, we analyze the narrative as a channel of persistence. We first investigate the effect of new and unrelated shocks over time on the likelihood of sexual vs. non-sexual lynchings. Leveraging the historical literature, we exploit the fact that economic downturns in the cotton economy are associated with increased conflict between Black and white laborers, often resulting in lynchings (Tolnay and Beck (1995); Christian, 2017). Because economic shocks occur independently of the historical exposure to white sex imbalances, this variation allows us to investigate the interaction between the two effects. We find that economic shocks induce lynchings for sexual offenses only when associated with the historical sex ratio imbalances. Moreover, we show long-term effects on contemporary racial attitudes of white southerners as measured by responses in the Implicit Association Test for racial bias. We find an effect in those responses specifically related to the underlying narrative: the association between Black males and violence, as well as attitudes toward interracial sex.

[4] Compared to the non-affiliated newspapers.

How did the narrative become prevalent, and why did it persist? We find results consistent with the hypothesis that *excess deaths* induced a change in the white marriage market that affected the fear of racial mixing among the white population. First, we find that, consistent with predictions from a standard marriage market model, there is a reduction the share of white men who are unmarried after the war in places with greater *excess deaths*, which persists over several decades. We also find an increase in white women's labor force participation, the share of unmarried and widowed white women, single white mothers, and an increase in racial mixing between white women and Black men. This last effect is measured by an increase in the number of white mothers enumerated in the census with a Black child, as well as the prevalence of white women with Black spouses. Finally, we investigate several potentially alternative and complementary mechanisms. In particular, we show that patterns of migration are inconsistent with the dynamics of the main results, while trends in income across races might have increased demand for anti-Black narratives.

In the last section, we run a battery of robustness checks. First, we control for demographic and economic changes in the relative power of Black to white men as a result of the war and show that controlling for these outcomes does not alter the qualitative interpretation of our main findings for the impact of white sex imbalances on lynchings. Second, we run specifications including controls for important potential predictors of racial attitudes, such as enlistment in the Confederate Army and distance to the war front, as well as the federal military occupation of southern counties and location of refugees camps during Radical Reconstruction, and find that the main impact of white sex-imbalances on lynchings does not change.

We contribute to several strands of the literature. First, by investigating the role of anti-Black narratives in the dynamic of racial attitudes and political preference, we are part of a growing literature studying the role of narratives and rationalizing beliefs as determinants of behavior (Akerlof and Snower, 2016; Bénabou, 2013; Shiller, 2017; Bénabou et al., 2018; Cantoni et al., 2017; Eliaz and Spiegler, 2020; Schwartzstein and Sunderam, 2021; Esposito et al., 2021; Bursztyn et al., 2020).

Our paper is closely connected to the literature on media effects on political preferences, attitudes and beliefs (DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007); Enikolopov et al., 2011; DellaVigna et al., 2014; Adena et al., 2015; Martin and Yurukoglu, 2017, Blouin and Mukand, 2019; Wang, 2021) and social capital and collective action (Gentzkow, 2006; Gentzkow et al., 2011; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014; Campante et al., 2018). While this set of literature looks at the effect of information consumption and exposure, other works highlight the importance of demand for likeminded views in determining media slant (e.g. Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2010). We contribute to this literature by analyzing how changes in observable conditions affect the demand for specific narratives that rationalize observations and justify behavior.

By investigating racial violence and the demand for segregation, we also connect to

the literature studying collective violence and minority persecution (Becker and Pascali, 2019; Grosfeld et al., 2019; Jha, 2013). In particular, our work relates to the historical and sociological literature on the determinants of lynchings and racial segregation in the United States. This work, empirically led by sociologists, has focused on the role of economic competition (Raper, 1933; Blalock, 1967; Tolnay and Beck, 1995; Christian, 2017), political suppression (Hagen et al., 2013; Beck et al., 2016; Jones et al., 2017; Logan, 2019; Williams, 2020), the maintenance of social boundaries (Price et al., 2008; Bailey et al., 2011; Smangs, 2016), segregation (Cook et al., 2018a,b), and paternalism (Alston and Ferrie, 1999). We contribute to this literature by studying the role played by the narrative-induced belief of the "Black male as a rapist" in determining lynchings and political preferences. Our analysis conceptually develops and empirically tests the psychosexual hypothesis discussed in the historical and economic literature (Williamson, 1984, 1997; Hodes, 1993, 1997; Christian, 2017) and provides a long-term perspective on political behavior and preference for racial segregation.

Our results also contribute to the understanding of the political legacy of slavery (Nunn, 2008; Acharya et al., 2016; Ramos-Toro, 2021) and, more generally, the long-term persistence of economic events (Voigtländer and Voth, 2012, Guiso et al., 2016, Becker et al., 2016). We contribute to the recent debate on the mechanisms of persistence, expanding the focus on activation (Cantoni et al., 2019; Fouka and Voth, 2021) to incorporate the notion of narratives as a mechanism that persistently shapes attitudes.

Finally, we contribute to the literature studying the consequences of demographic shocks on economic outcomes. Several studies have looked at the short and long term effect of sex imbalances on female labor force participation (Goldin, 1991; Teso, 2019; Boehnke and Gay, 2020), fertility (Doepke et al., 2015), marriage markets (Abramitzky et al., 2011) and gender norms (Grosjean and Khattar, 2019). Few works focus on the effect of white casualty shocks on the outcomes of racial minorities (Ferrara, 2020). We contribute to this literature by investigating how white sex imbalances impact preferences for segregation, racial attitudes, and collective violence by shaping interactions between white women and Black men. Consistent with our hypothesis, a recent study by Dancygier et al. (2020) finds supportive evidence for a link between hate crimes against refugees in Germany and competition in the marriage market.

2 Background

2.1 Civil War

In February 1861, seven slave states seceded from the United States (the Union), establishing the Confederate States of America.[5] The Confederacy declared its secession in response to the election of Abraham Lincoln, who ran on a platform that opposed the expansion of slavery into the western territories. Civil War broke out on April 12, 1861 when Confederate forces attached Fort Sumter, a Union fort outside Charleston, South Carolina, spurring the secession of four additional slave states.[6]

At the start of the war, Confederate President, Jefferson Davis, called for an army of 100,000 volunteers and by August 1861, an additional 400,000 volunteers were requested to serve for one to three years. Unable to meet these demands, the Confederate Congress passed the First Conscription Act in April 1862, enlisting white men ages 18 to 35 for the duration of hostilities and extending all previous one year terms of service to three years. The Act was amended again in September of the same year, extending the maximum age to 45 years.

2.1.1 Conscription

While all white men were expected to serve, important exemptions existed for certain classes. Strategically, men employed in specific occupations, including railroad and river workers, civil officials, telegraph operators, miners, pharmacists, teachers, ministers, textile factory workers, and hospital attendants were exempt from conscription. In a move that reflected the deep class divisions of the antebellum South, the Confederate Congress passed the Twenty Negro Law in October 1862, exempting anyone owning 20 or more slaves from service, an act that stirred deep resentment among poorer conscripts. In addition, wealthy men could hire a substitute to fight for them, though this policy was abolished in December 1863. After sustained losses, low morale, and widespread desertion, the conscription acts were amended again in 1864 to extend the age limits from 17 to 50. By March 1865, the Confederate Congress authorized the conscription of up to 300,000 Black men, but the plan was never implemented due to the surrender of Confederate forces at Appomattox in April 1865.[7]

Confederate military units were organized at a highly localized level, where the smallest unit, a company, consisted of 35 to 40 men recruited from the same community. A regiment comprised 10 companies, and four regiments usually formed a brigade. Two to four brigades

[5] In order of secession, these states included: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

[6] These states included: Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. The Confederacy later accepted Missouri and Kentucky as members, but neither state officially declared secession and were thus never formally controlled by Confederate shadow governments.

[7] Nearly 200,000 Black men served in the Union Army.

formed a division, and two to four divisions formed a corps. An army comprised two to four corps and was named after its primary area of operation (e.g., Army of Northern Virginia). The assignment of armies to areas of operation was based purely on military strategy and independent of the geographic origins of the companies that comprised the various units. The vast majority of Civil War battles occurred on the northern border between Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, such that local communities in the deep South sustained limited physical damage from war and very few civilian casualties. Notable exceptions include Sherman's March through Georgia in 1864, which has been shown to have induced long-run impacts on agricultural investment and manufacturing activity (Feigenbaum et al., 2018).

Confederate records on enlistment and casualties are notoriously inaccurate and incomplete. The best estimates of Civil War deaths come from historian J. David Hacker who estimates the number of missing white men at a national level, as well as in the North and South separately, from full count census records. His calculations suggest that in the Confederacy, over 300,000 white men died in during the war (Hacker, 2011).[8] Civil War historians further assert that over two-thirds of casualties were sustained as a result of non-combat causes, such as disease (Neely, 2007), and that these casualties would have been particularly acute for Confederate soldiers who were less likely to have been previously exposed to infectious diseases due to the South's much lower urbanization and population density (Hacker, 2011). The median age of a Civil War soldier was 23.5 and nearly two-fifths of all soldiers were age 21 or younger at the time of enlistment (McPherson, 1992). The casualty estimates by Hacker (2011) suggest that men aged 16-19 at the time of conscription sustained the highest casualties, tapering off in intensity up to the 40-45 age range.

2.2 Emancipation, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation

On January 1, 1863 President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, an executive order that emancipated 3.5 million Black people from slavery. When the war ended in 1865, Congress passed the 13th amendment, officially abolishing the institution of slavery in the United States. Following the assassination of President Lincoln days after the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency.

While Republican political leaders called for radical plans for Reconstruction in the aftermath of the war, the Johnson era, known as Presidential Reconstruction, was marked by general inaction by the Federal government and a return to power of the white planter class through policies known as the Black Codes, as well as widespread vigilante violence. After an impeachment trial that almost removed him from office, Johnson did not receive the backing of Republicans during the 1868 presidential election, who instead unanimously

[8]Note that these calculations are subject to important assumptions about migration, Black casualties, and civilian casualties that would not allow us to reproduce these estimates at a disaggregated level, such as the county.

nominated Union Army general Ulysses S. Grant. Upon Grant's victory, a period of Radical Reconstruction was ushered in. These years saw the passing of the 14th and 15th amendments, which granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States and suffrage to Black men, as well as the military occupation of former Confederate states by federal troops. In addition, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands (the Freedman's Bureau), established in 1865, assisted millions of Black Americans and poor whites with navigating the rapid changes in their communities by providing food, clothing, shelter, literacy training, jobs, banking, and communication with separated family members.

By 1868, all of the former Confederate states had ratified their re-entry into the Union, and slowly support for radical Reconstruction began to deteriorate. By 1872, the Freedman's Bureau was abolished, and in 1877, a compromise among US Congressmen, in an attempt to settle an intensely disputed 1876 presidential election, called for the removal of all federal troops from the South. This event is widely regarded as the official end, and failure, of Reconstruction (Foner, 1988).

The following decades saw a slow unravelling of the civil liberties granted to Black Americans during Reconstruction, and by the mid 1890s most Southern state governments had introduced a series of Jim Crow laws that enforced racial segregation in most aspects of society. These laws were upheld by the US Constitution with the ruling on *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in which the Supreme Court laid out its "separate but equal" legal doctrine on segregation. The Jim Crow era institutionalized economic, social, and political discrimination toward Black Americans that did not end until the Civil Rights Act of the 1964. During this era, the sexual separation of the races, and violent repression of it, were considered of utmost importance, guiding both the laws and social norms of the times (Myrdal, 1944; Williamson, 1984, 1997; Hodes, 1997).

3 Data

3.1 Voting Data

We incorporate data on voting behavior in congressional elections from the Constituency-Level Elections Archive (Kollman et al., 2019). The data include information on the total eligible votes, as well as the total votes cast for a given candidate/party from each congressional district in every election. We incorporate data from 1852 to 2018 and construct the share of total votes cast for the Democratic party in a given congressional district in each election.

3.2 Newspaper Data

We assemble a dataset of word counts from *Newspapers.com* for all former Border and Confederate states 1860-1900 (to be expanded to the period 1850-1930). We collect information on the following words: lynch, rape, negro, and their variants.[9] We count the number of times each word is mentioned in a given issue, normalized by the total number of words in that issue (per 100,000 words). We geocode coordinates for each newspaper in the database and map newspaper location to the 1940 county in which it was published. We determine each newspaper's political affiliation using information available from the Library of Congress, the Directories George P. Rowell and Company's American Newspaper Directory (1869-1876) and the N.W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual (1880- 1928).

3.3 Lynchings Data

For the period 1882-1930, we incorporate data on lynchings from the Historical American Lynching Data Project (Project HAL). These data are largely based on the work of Tolnay and Beck (1995) and considered to be the most extensively verified, publicly available data on lynchings (Cook, 2012). Further, this dataset informs the existing empirical work on lynching to date. The data cover 10 Southern States, including Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, and include information on the race and sex of the victim, as well as a brief description of the reason the victim was lynched.

We supplement this information with a novel dataset of lynchings from 1865-1881, which we construct through systematic searches of newspapers during the time. Using the *Chronicling America* database, we searched for the words "negro" and "lynch" within 5 words of each other and hand-coded all lynching events that the search returned. We followed the same definition of lynching and structure of the HAL dataset, recording the race and sex of the victim, and a description of the reason for the lynching.[10] We collected this information for lynchings in all locations returned by the newspaper search, but limit our analysis to the same 10 states as the HAL dataset for consistency over time.

Specifically, we code whether the lynching occurred for an alleged sexual offense or other offense, and whether the victim was a white or Black male. In the lynching of Black men, sexual offenses primarily include accusations of rape of a white woman, but also include known cases of interracial affairs or "miscegenation", unsavory words spoken toward a white woman, and "outrages" of white women. Other offenses largely include accusations of murder or assault (40% of total lynchings), and robbery or arson (10%).

[9] "Lynch" refers to the following variations: lynch, lynching, lynches, lynched. "Rape" refers to the following variations: rape, raping, raped, rapes.

[10] Project HAL follows the NAACP definition of lynching: 1) There must be evidence that someone was killed; 2) The killing must have occurred illegally; 3) Three or more persons must have taken part in teh killing; and 4) The killers must have claimed to be serving justice or tradition.

In Figure 1, we plot the time variation in the total lynchings of Black men, as well as lynchings for a sexual offense, normalized by total population from 1865 to 1930. A striking pattern emerges. Over the full time period, in 38% of total lynchings, the victim had been accused of a sexual crime against a white woman. In the first 5 years following the Civil War (1865-1869) the share of total lynchings for a sexual offense is 60%. Over time, sexual lynchings follow the same general pattern as total lynchings, peaking in the mid 1890s and tapering off after 1920.

3.4 Socio-economic and Geographic Data

We combine our lynchings data with socio-economic information available in the full count US census records for the years 1860 to 1930, which we aggregate to county-level measures in each decade. Given shifting boundaries over the years, we harmonize all data to the 1940 level, using crosswalks constructed by Ferrara et al. (2021).

We supplement this data with information on crop suitability from the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. Using GIS software, we assign the average suitability of cotton and wheat production to county borders in 1940.[11] The suitability index ranges from 0 to 100, where a higher index value indicates better suitability. We construct a measure of the relative suitability of cotton to wheat, based on the evidence that the comparative advantage of cotton production relative to wheat is a significant driver of the expansion and decline of slavery in the antebellum South and is furthermore associated with racist attitudes (Masera and Rosenberg, 2020). We also include time-series data on crop prices using indexes created by Blattman et al. (2007) to construct measures of shocks to agricultural markets.

3.5 Civil War Data

We incorporate data relating specifically to the Civil War, including confederate enlistments, constructed by Hall et al. (2019), as well as information on whether a Freedman's Bureau refugee camp was established in a given county (Ramos-Toro, 2020), which are both available for former Confederate states, only. We also include information on the intensity of federal troop occupation in a given county during the military occupation of 1868-1877 (Downs and Nesbit, 2015).

3.6 Summary Statistics

The statistics for our main pre-war, geographic, and war covariates are summarized in Table 1 at the county level for all former Border and Confederate states. In 1860, the average

[11] The FAO constructs these measures using a method that considers the soil quality, temperature, and rainfall of the agro-ecological zone in which the area falls.

white sex ratio (15-34) is 94 women for every 100 men.[12] Our measure of *excess deaths* indicates that the demographic shock to the conscription-age white population was large, with the white sex ratio increasing by 13.6 additional women per 100 men between 1860 and 1870 in the average county, where the mean population was 11,000 people.

We report the statistics for several socio-economic factors in 1860 that could potentially impact racial attitudes in later years. On average, 29 percent of the population was enslaved. Because slaves represented a significant measure of wealth in the antebellum South, we construct a Gini index of slave owners, based on the number of slaves each owned, to measure average inequality in each county. The Gini index does not have a qualitative interpretation, but in general, a higher value represents more inequality. On average, the Gini index of slave owners is 0.55, ranging from a minimum of 0.00 (no inequality) to 1.00 (full inequality in which one person owns all slaves). As a measure of non-slave wealth, the average value of per capita real estate in 1860 dollars was $253 USD, which is well below the national average of $333 outside of the South at the time, indicating the relative poverty of the South compared to the rest of the county.

Turning to geographic factors, the mean relative suitability of cotton to wheat is less than one (0.79), suggesting that on average these counties have a slight comparative advantage in wheat production. Most counties are far away from the Northern border, i.e., the Mason-Dixon line, where most of the Civil War battles occurred, at an average distance of 372 km (or 231 miles).

The Civil War variables show that in the average county, 14 men for every 100 people enlisted in the Confederate Army. Almost half of these counties were occupied by military troops during Radical Reconstruction, with an average of 2 soldiers for every 100 people, while only 7 percent of counties had a refugee camp after the war.

Lastly, only 7 percent of counties had a local newspaper in circulation in 1860.

4 Empirical Framework

4.1 Civil War Casualties and Racial Attitudes

We estimate the effect of excess Civil War deaths on racial attitudes and anti-Black sentiment from the end of the war until today. We argue that the demographic shock to white men increased the white population's fear of losing *de facto* power to the Black population, and in particular Black men. Greater Civil War casualties induced stronger anti-Black sentiment, reinforcing racist attitudes and demand for segregation. Moreover, because the demographic shock simultaneously altered the balance between white women and men, the disruption to the white household induced by the Civil War provided the elements upon

[12]The natural sex ratio at birth is 105 boys for every 100 girls, which corresponds to a female-to-male ratio of 95.

which a powerful anti-Black narrative was constructed: the idea that white men needed to protect white women from assault, or "outrage" as it was often called at the time, at the hands Black men. This narrative was rationalized by the belief that "Black men are rapists" and eventually served as the basis for segregation laws and an excuse for anti-Black violence. As Wells (1895), one of the great female leaders of the early civil rights movement, put it in 1895, "Negroes had to be killed to avenge their assaults upon women."

Our empirical strategy builds as follows. First, we construct a measure of excess death capturing both white Civil War casualties and changes in the balance between sexes. Second, we investigate both the effect on racist attitudes and behavior and the prevalence of the specific anti-Black narrative associating Black men to rapists. Finally, we present evidence on the channels that sustained this specific narrative and investigate its long run effect.

4.1.1 Measure of Civil War Casualties and Sex Imbalances

Given the lack of enlistment records, we measure Civil War casualties by estimating the excess white death rate from the 1860 and 1870 full count census. Because differences in the number of males of conscription age in a given county could be determined either by migration or death, we compute differences between the ratio of white women to men between 1860 and 1870 as our main estimate of excess deaths. Under the assumption that women of marriage age did not migrate alone, this measure offers the best estimate of excess white deaths in the Civil War by netting out household migration and differences in fertility across counties. We further restrict our measure to individuals between 25 and 44 years old in 1860 and 1870. This computation allows us to estimate changes in the white sex ratio among individuals of conscription age when the Civil War started (15-34) compared to those in the same age range in the previous census. Figure 3 shows that *Excess Deaths* is uncorrelated with the white sex ratio before the war, demonstrating that our measure of excess deaths is not driven by previous county level sex imbalances. The coefficients from equation 2 indicate that this measure not only provides an accurate estimate of excess deaths from the Civil War, but also provide an unbiased measure of changes in the white female to male sex ratio among individuals of marriage age.

$$\text{Sex Ratio}_{i,t} = \alpha_s + \gamma_t + \sum_{t=1840}^{1930} \beta_t \text{Excess Deaths}_i \times \gamma_t + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

4.2 Identification Strategy

We study the effect of the white Civil War demographic shock on racial attitudes, estimating two complementary specifications depending on the outcome of interest. First, for outcomes that are observable before the war, in particular voting behavior and newspaper content, we estimate the effect of Excess Deaths on trends in the outcome, focusing on changes in trends

after the Civil War as a result of greater war casualties. The following equation captures this specification:

$$y_{it} = \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \sum_{t=\underline{\tau}, t\neq 1860-1870}^{t=\bar{\tau}} \beta_t \text{ Excess Deaths}_i \times \gamma_t + \mathbf{X}_i^{1860} \times \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it}, \tag{2}$$

where a geographic unit fixed effect, α_i, captures county or congressional district characteristics that do not vary over time, time fixed effect, γ_t, captures aggregate changes that occur over time common to all the sample, and $\mathbf{X}_i^{1860}$ represents a set of pre-war covariates measured in 1860, interacted with year fixed effect γ_t,. We report standard errors clustered at the level of the geographical unit, county or congressional district, depending on the outcome of interest.

When the outcome is not observed before the Civil War, we estimate the effect of *Excess Deaths* comparing the outcome across counties within years. This is the case for lynchings in particular, a practice that was not observed before the war. When studying the effect of *Excess Deaths* on lynchings, we estimate the following equation:

$$y_{ist} = \delta_s + \gamma_t + \beta \text{ Excess Deaths}_i \times + \mathbf{X}_i^{1860} \times \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it}, \tag{3}$$

where δ_s indicates a state fixed effect and γ_t indicates year fixed effects. Results report standard errors clustered at the state-year level.

In both equations, our parameter of interest, β, captures the causal effect of *Excess Deaths* on racist attitudes and behavior depending on one key assumption: our measure of excess deaths must be uncorrelated with changes in unobservables that explain racial attitudes and behavior after the war. Second, excess deaths must be uncorrelated with pre-war covariates that may also impact our outcomes of interest. In Table 2 we show that our measure is orthogonal to critical economic and demographic county-level characteristics measured in 1860, the year before the start of the Civil War. The coefficients for the log of population, value of real estate wealth per capita, the level of racial mixing (which we proxy for using the number of white mothers with a black child), white male labor force participation, cotton relative to wheat suitability, distance to the Mason-Dixon line (the North), confederate enlistments per capita, and presence of newspapers are all uncorrelated with *Excess Deaths*.

We also include two variables capturing the presence of slaves: the share of enslaved population and the concentration of slave ownership. The share of the enslaved population is the only variable that correlates with our measure of excess deaths. While this variable is a crucial determinant of racial attitudes and voting behavior (Acharya et al., 2016; Masera and Rosenberg, 2020), the direction of the correlation in Table 2 is reassuring for interpretation of the introduced bias. We find that a higher excess white death rate is negatively correlated with the share of the enslaved population, therefore likely reducing the magnitude of the

effect of war casualties on racist attitudes and behaviors. The reason for this relationship is given by the fact that a high proportion of slaves correlates with a higher concentration of skilled workers among the white population (Clegg, 2019; Masera and Rosenberg, 2020), thus increasing the share of men who could not be drafted because of their strategic role (see discussion in Section 2.1.1). Nonetheless, we address this issue by including the 1860 share of the enslaved population in our baseline specifications.

5 Main Results

5.1 Democrat Votes

We begin by looking at the impact of excess white deaths on support for the Democratic party over time. In the years leading up to the Civil War, Southern Democrats were staunchly opposed to the abolition of slavery and ultimately led the movement to secede from the Union in 1861. In the decades following the war, from Reconstruction through Jim Crow, the Southern Democratic party represented the interests of white supremacists, championing segregationist policies and the disenfranchisement of the Black population in both local and national politics.

By the late 1940s, Southern Democrats began to break with the national party as Northern liberals gained power. The move was catalyzed by the introduction of Civil Rights legislation by Democratic President Truman in 1948, followed by a pro-Civil Rights platform delivered by Northern liberals at the party convention later that year. The shift inspired many Southern delegates to walk out of the Convention, following the lead of Senator Strom Thurmond (D-SC), and form the short-lived State's Rights Democratic Party (or Dixiecrat party as it is commonly known). By the time the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, the national Democratic party had famously "lost the South" (Kuziemko and Washington, 2018).

We examine the correlation between excess white deaths and support for the Democratic party estimating equation 2 using voting data in all US congressional elections from 1852 to 2018. The outcome of interest is the Democrat vote share in a given congressional district and election year. *Excess Deaths* is harmonized to the current district boundaries in each year and standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. We drop the years 1860 to 1877 to account for the fact that during the Civil War and Reconstruction the Southern Democratic party lost its political independence, hence voting behavior in this period does not clearly reflect racist political preferences. We omit the election year prior to the Civil War (1858) as the reference year.

Results are reported in Figure 4. Excess white deaths are strongly correlated with support for the Democratic party in the years when the Southern platform was firmly rooted in segregationist policy. The decline begins shortly after 1948, and in 1964 the correlation is negative. To examine this association further, we run an alternate specification, to un-

derstand the impact on support for the Democratic party before and after the 1948 split with the national party. To do so, we estimate a version of equation 3, in which we interact *Excess Deaths* with a dummy variable equal to one in the years following the 1948 split with the national Democratic party ($Post_t^{1948}$). Again, we exclude the years during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

The results in Table 3 show that excess white deaths are associated with greater support for the Democratic party, particularly during the segregationist period. The results in column (2) suggest that during the height of the segregationist platform, a standard deviation increase in excess white deaths is associated with a 3 percentage point increase in support for the Democratic party. After the 1948 change in the national platform, this relationship is entirely reversed.

5.2 Narrative in the Newspapers

To estimate the effect of *Excess Deaths* on the prevalence of anti-Black narratives, we investigate patterns in newspaper content. In our hypothesis, Civil War casualties increase local demand for a narrative that justifies anti-Black policies and violence. As a result of a changing social landscape in the war's aftermath, the fitness of the narrative associating Black men with rapists is higher in places with more white casualties. We, therefore, expect that in response to rising demand, newspapers increase their use of this narrative in counties with greater excess white deaths.

Newspapers in this era often had strong ties to political parties. We leverage this information to estimate a specification that allows us to parse the effect of *Excess Deaths* by political affiliation, focusing specifically on association with the Democrat or Republican party. Figure 5 (right panel) shows the distribution of the newspapers available in our sample.

We test our hypothesis by estimating a version of equation 2, where we include the interaction between political affiliation and *Excess Deatsh*.

$$Narrative_{i,p,r,t} = \alpha + \sum_t \sum_p \beta_{tp} \text{Excess Deaths}_i \times \mu_p \times D_t + \theta_i + \mu_p + \tau_t + \tau_r + \varepsilon_{i,s,r,t} \quad (4)$$

where $\text{Narrative}_{i,p,r,t}$ represents the share of issues mentioning our words of interest in newspaper i, county c, and year t, region r and political affiliation p. We investigate the frequencies of several words, including: "miscegenation", "lynch", "rape", "negro", and their combinations. The impact of excess white deaths on these words is only significant when examining the share of issues in a given newspaper-year that mention the words "rape" and "negro" within ten words of each other – words consistent with the narrative that depicts Black men as sexual predators.

Figure 6 shows the effect of a one standard deviation increase in *Excess Deaths* on the use of the sexual predator narrative by political affiliation. Our results indicate a seven percentage point increase in the narrative prevalence among Democrat newspapers compared to the period right after the war. Although we cannot yet compare this trend to the pre-war periods, these results indicate an effect of *Excess deaths* on the demand for this racist narrative, concentrated in Democratic newspapers relative to newspapers without political affiliation. Moreover, Figure 5 (left panel) shows that the timing of the use of this particular narrative is consistent with our hypothesis.

5.3 Lynchings

We now turn to the use of the sexual predator narrative to justify anti-Black violence by investigating the impact of white sex imbalances on lynchings of Black men for alleged sexual offenses. We estimate these effects using 3, where the dependent variable, Y_{ist}, is a dummy variable equal to one if a sexual lynching occurred in county i, state s, and year t.[13] We regress this on *Excess Deaths* that occurred in a given county, standardized to mean zero standard deviation one. In some specifications, we also include additional time-invariant controls interacted with year fixed effects, as well as time-varying covariates, including the Gini index of slave owners in 1860, the suitability of cotton relative to wheat, distance to North, the Black sex ratio in each decade, and the intensity of federal military occupation during Reconstruction.

We break our estimation out into two periods. First, we examine the impact of white sex imbalances on sexual lynchings during Reconstruction (1865-1877) - a time marked by watershed advancements in the civil rights of Black citizens, and in particular Black men, as well as federal military occupation that was intended to uphold these rights. Then, we look at the relationship during the Jim Crow era (1878-1930), when many of the advancements to Black civil liberties were overturned by segregationist state governments and vigilante violence was largely overlooked.

The results are presented in Table 4. We present the results for sexual lynchings in Panel A. In columns (1)-(3) we find that during Reconstruction, a standard deviation rise in the war-induced white sex imbalance increases the likelihood of a sexual lynching by 0.19 percentage points in a given county and year. Relative to a mean likelihood of 0.55 percent, this corresponds to a 35 percent increase in the probability of a sexual lynching in these places. It is notable that controlling for the intensity of federal military occupation, which we measure as the per capita number of federal troops stationed in the county, has little effect on the magnitude of this relationship, nor does it have any impact on the likelihood of a sexual lynching during Reconstruction.

[13] In a given year and county, sexual lynchings are rare events. Over the entire 65 year period from 1865 to 1930, the average likelihood of one occurring is 0.6 percent with a standard deviation of 7.8 percentage points.

Next, in columns (4)-(6), we examine this relationship during the Jim Crow era. Here, we find that the relationship persists. The coefficients suggest that a standard deviation rise in the war-induced white sex imbalance increases the likelihood of a sexual lynching by 0.17 percentage points, which relative to a mean likelihood of 1.8 percent suggests a 9.5 percent increase in the probability of a sexual lynching in these places during the Jim Crow era. Again, the historical presence of federal military occupation does not alter this effect, nor does it have a direct impact on sexual lynchings.

In Panel B, we examine the impact of white sex imbalances on the likelihood of a lynching for other offenses, such as murder, robbery, assault, etc. Here, we find that there is no impact on lynchings for other offenses in any period. In the OLS estimates for the Jim Crow period, we find that the white sex ratio is negatively correlated with non-sexual lynchings, again revealing the lower capacity for violence in places with fewer men. However, in the IV specifications in Panel B, we find no evidence of a statistically significant or qualitatively meaningful impact of white sex imbalances on lynchings that occurred using other narratives.

It is worth noting here that the white sex imbalances have no impact on white lynchings for a sexual or other offense. In Table A.1 we replicate our estimation, replacing the dependent variable with the probability that a white sexual or non-sexual lynching occurred in a given county and year. White lynchings are extremely rare events, with only 40 sexual and 240 non-sexual lynchings over the entire 65-year period. For this reason, we only estimate the impact of the sex imbalances on white lynchings over the full period (1865-1930). We nonetheless find that there is no impact on the likelihood of a white lynching. If anything, this relationship is negative, suggesting that in places with fewer white men, there is less violence.

6 Mechanisms

Because our main variation simultaneously captures changes in the white sex ratio and excess deaths, the interpretation of the main effects hinges on the size and dynamics of the impact that our variable of interest has on white women on the one hand and on Black men on the other.

We investigate two main mechanisms that link the changes in the number of marriage-age white men to the increased salience of anti-Black narratives. First, we explore the hypothesis that disruptions to the structure of the white marriage market induced by changes in the white sex ratio increased the fear of racial mixing, increasing both the demand for and supply of the sexual predator narrative discussed above. Second, we estimate the effect of *Excess Deaths* on the ratio of Black to white men and their relative labor market outcomes. While we hypothesize that the specific narrative associating Black men with rapists became more salient in places where interactions between white women and Black men were more likely,

overall anti-Black sentiment could have also been driven by shifts in the relative economic positions of Black and white men.

In particular, a shortage of white men in places where excess white deaths were relatively high could have raised demand for labor, increasing wages for both Black and white men, and altering their relative income. In these cases our effects operate through two channels simultaneously: an increase in the demand for anti-Black narratives due to the changing relationship between Black and white men, and an increase in both the demand for and fitness of the specific narrative associating Black men with rapists by altering the balance of sexes in the white population.

6.1 Female Labor Force Participation, Marriage Market, and Racial Mixing

We examine the impact of textitExcess Deaths on white female labor force participation and the white marriage market by estimating equation 2. We present the results in Table 5. The war-induced sex imbalances increase the labor force participation of white women and also increase the share of marriage-age women who are unmarried.[14] At the same time, white men are less likely to be unmarried, consistent with standard predictions from a marriage market model in which a scarcity of men improves their matches in the marriage market. We also find evidence of an increase in single white mothers of marriage age in places where the white sex imbalance was higher, though there is evidence of a small pre-trend prior to the war. We interpret these results to suggest that the belief associating Black men with rapists would have been easier to construct in these places, as the objective data – working, single mothers – suggests that young white women may have had more opportunities to interact with Black men in these places.

We investigate the incidence of racial mixing directly by examining two measures. Given that interracial marriage was illegal in all Southern states during the time, there was an incentive to misreport interracial relationships to census enumerators, particularly in places where violent narratives around miscegenation prevailed. However, if children were born out of an interracial relationship and remained living with their white mother, we can observe racial mixing in the census data through the enumeration of a white mother with a Black child, which we aggregate to the county level, and standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. This occurrence is rare, but increases sharply after the war. In 1850 and 1860, there were roughly 2 white mothers with a Black child in the average county (where the average number of white mothers age 15-34 was nearly 500). By 1870, this increased to 17 mothers with a Black child (relative to 631 white mothers age 15-34).

The results in Figure 7 reveal an increase in racial mixing as a result of white sex

[14] We cannot distinguished between women who are never married and women who are widows before 1880 and thus use the categorization of unmarried in all decades.

imbalances that persists over time. The effect in 1870 is positive, but the estimates are noisy. However, by 1880, there is a striking and persistent effect on racial mixing in counties with larger war-induced sex imbalances. In 1880, a standard deviation increase in the white sex imbalance corresponds to a 0.10 standard deviation increase in white mothers with a Black child relative to 1850.

In spite of the issues with measuring interracial relationships, we also examine the impact of white sex imbalances on the incidence of white women with a Black spouse reported in the census, noting the under-reporting bias that likely attenuates our results. Nonetheless, Figure 8 shows an increase over time in the number of white women with Black spouses in places with a larger war-induced white sex imbalance. By 1920, a standard deviation increase in the war-induced white sex imbalance corresponds to a 0.10 standard deviation increase in white-female / Black male interracial couples.

6.2 Black to White Male Ratio and Labor Market Outcomes

Excess white deaths should, by construction, increase the relative balance of demographic power between Black and white men, especially in the absence of migration. While we do not have a direct measure of inter-county migration, we are able to observe inter-state migration in the census by noting whether a person is living in the state where they were born. For white and Black men, we estimate the impact of excess white deaths on the percent of men who were born in a different state. For white men, we estimate this relationship using equation 2. For Black men, we estimate this relationship using within state variation from 1870 onward, since Black people were not enumerated in the census prior to the abolition of slavery and the publicly available slave schedules do not include information on nativity.

The results in Table A.2 suggest that excess white deaths actually lower migration of white men from out of state, both from within the South and from the North. For Black men, there is a negative, but insignificant correlation. Therefore, any shift in the relative demographic power between Black men and white men as a result of white war casualties is compounded by reduced white migration into these places.

Next, we examine the impact of excess white deaths on the change in the ratio of Black to white men by estimating equation 2. We plot the coefficients in Figure 9, which shows an 8 percentage point increase in the ratio of Black to white men immediately after the war for a standard deviation increase in excess white deaths, but no persistent effects thereafter. In Figure 10 we also find in specifications that leverage within-state variation in relative income that, consistent with a scarcity of white men, the relative income of Black to white men increases in in the decades following the war.

7 Activation and Persistence

7.1 Shocks to Cotton Markets

Next, we explore whether the belief that Black men are sexual predators facilitates anti-Black violence in times of economic downturn. The conventional wisdom in the existing empirical work on lynchings is that economic competition between Black and white workers is an important driver of racial violence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This finding has been established by examining how lynchings respond to time-series fluctuations in cotton prices, and how lynchings fluctuate in cotton-producing counties when cotton prices fall. There are two conceptual frameworks offered for motivating these methods. The first is that when cotton prices fall, profit margins are low, and plantation owners must coerce Black workers into laboring (Tolnay and Beck, 1995). The second is that when cotton prices (and hence wages) are low, Black and white farm workers compete for scarce jobs, leading white workers to violently intimidate Black workers into leaving the labor market (Christian, 2017).

Figure A.1 plots the time series variation in global cotton price indexes over our study period. The pattern is almost the perfect inverse of the lynchings time series presented in Figure 1, which likely inspired earlier work on lynchings. When cotton prices are low, lynchings are high.

We build on earlier empirical work by examining how lynchings respond to volatility in cotton prices, specifically in places with a greater exogenous suitability for producing cotton. We also examine whether there is a differential effect in places that experienced greater excess white deaths as a result of the Civil War. We construct a $Shock_{it}$ variable that represents the interaction of the cotton suitability index and global price index in a given county and year, standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. We estimate the following equation for the full period, 1865-1930:

$$Y_{it} = \mu_i + \tau_t + \beta_1 \text{Shock}_{it} + \beta_2 \text{Excess Deaths}_i * \text{Shock}_{it} + \beta_3 \text{Excess Deaths}_i * ln(\text{Price}_t) + \gamma X_{it} + \varepsilon_{st}$$

where Y_{it} is the probability of a lynching in county i and year t. We examine the average effect of the $Shock_{it}$ on lynchings, as well as the heterogeneity in places that experienced greater Excess Deaths. We include county (μ_i) and year (τ_t) fixed effects, controlling for various time-varying demographic covariates (X_{it}), and cluster standard errors at the state-year level.

We present the findings in Table 6. Some fascinating patterns emerge. The first is that for the average white sex imbalance, cotton shocks increase the likelihood of sexual lynchings, with no effect on lynchings for other offenses. Further, we find that the effect of the cotton shock is exacerbated by the war-induced white sex imbalance. A standard

deviation increase in the white sex imbalance nearly doubles the impact of cotton shocks on the likelihood of a sexual lynching. Again, there is no impact on non-sexual lynchings.

In columns (3) and (6) we control for the spatial lag of the dependent variable (*Spillover*) to address possible spillover effects in anti-Black violence. Here, we find that both sexual and non-sexual lynchings are spatially correlated, but that controlling for this spillover does not alter the qualitative interpretation of the main results.

7.2 Racial Preferences Today

We incorporate data from the Implicit Association Test (IAT) for race, conducted by Harvard's Project Implicit,[15] for the years 2015 to 2019 to understand whether preferences for segregation and the belief that Black men are associated with sexual predators persists today. The IAT is a computer-based assessment that requires respondents to rapidly categorize stimuli into one of two categories that appear on the left and right hand side of the screen. In the IAT for race, respondents are asked to associate stimuli (i.e., words or images) that have a positive or negative connotation with the categories "Black" and "White". The test measures these associations, as well as the reaction times of the respondent to make the association, to calculate an overall score of implicit bias. A higher score represents a stronger preference for white people over Black people. In addition, a randomly selected subset of respondents answer stated preference questions about explicit racial preferences. We examine responses to the following preferences: a perception that Black people are violent, feeling worried around Black people, willingness to have a Black roommate, feeling uncomfortable dancing with a Black person, and willingness to have a sexual relationship with a Black person.

For a respondent i, living in county c, state s, in month m and year t, we estimate the following correlation between the measure of implicit or explicit anti-Black bias (Y_{icsmt}) and the war-induced sex imbalances in the county where the respondent currently resides (Excess Death$_c$):

$$\mathrm{Y}_{icsmt} = \psi_s + \mu_m + \tau_t + \beta \text{Excess Death}_c + \gamma \mathrm{X}_{ict} + + \epsilon_{icst}$$

We include state fixed effects (ψ_s), as well as fixed effects for the month and year in which the test was taken (μ_m and τ_t), and cluster standard errors by state-year. We control for the following covariates (X_{ict}): the percent enslaved in 1860 in the respondent's county of residence, as well as the respondent's gender, test error percentage, whether this is their first IAT, and the order in which the White+Good or Black+Good stimuli were presented. We restrict the sample to white respondents living in former Border or Confederate states and standardize the dependent variable and excess deaths to mean zero, standard deviation

[15] https://www.projectimplicit.net/.

one.

The results in Table 7 suggest that anti-Black beliefs have persisted in places with greater white sex imbalances after the Civil War. In Panel A, we find no evidence that excess white deaths are correlated with the overall score on the IAT, suggesting that the historical shock is unrelated to implicit racial preferences. However, there is robust evidence of persistence in explicit anti-Black bias, particularly for preferences related to the belief that Black men are sexual predators. The results show that white respondents living in counties where the war-induced white sex-imbalance was higher have a greater perception that Black people are violent, feel more worried around Black people, are less willing to have a Black roommate, would feel more uncomfortable dancing with a Black person, and are less willing to have a sexual relationship with a Black person.

In Panel B, we look at heterogeneity by gender. The results on violence are striking and suggest that white men in counties with a historical sex imbalance have a greater perception that Black people are violent, while white women in these counties have a lower perception.

8 Robustness

8.1 Controlling for Relative Male Outcomes

As we demonstrate in Section 6.2, excess white deaths impacted the demographic and economic position of Black men relative to white men. This shift in political and economic power would have simultaneously impacted the demand for segregation policies and anti-Black violence. As a robustness check, we control for these outcomes in our estimation of the impact of white sex imbalances on lynching to evaluate the stability of our main findings. Table A.3 shows that the coefficients on war-induced sex imbalances remains statistically significant and almost identical in magnitude to our main estimates. Moreover, there is no evidence of a relationship between the war-induced change in the ratio of Black to white men and lynching. There is, however, evidence that higher relative income of Black to white men is associated with fewer lynchings, both sexual and non-sexual, only during the Reconstruction period, with no relationship thereafter.

8.2 Controlling for War Covariates

In addition to the role of excess deaths, the experience of war could have a direct impact on the demand for segregation and anti-Black violence. In particular, to the extent that enlistment in the Confederate Army is associated with support for slavery (Hall et al., 2019), a higher intensity of Confederate enlistment could represent latent racial attitudes. In Table A.4, we control for the number of Confederate enlistments (per 100 people) in our estimates of the impact of white sex imbalances on lynching, noting that these data are only available

for former Confederate states (i.e., the estimates exclude Kentucky). Not only is the main effect of sex imbalances on sexual lynchings robust to this specification, there is no evidence that Confederate enlistments impact any type of lynching.

Exposure to war, and Radical Reconstruction policies, could also impact racial attitudes. In our main specifications in Table 4, we control for distance to the Mason-Dixon line, where the majority of Civil War battles occurred, as well as the intensity of federal military occupation during Reconstruction. In Table A.4, we include a indicator variable equal to one if a refugee camp was established in a county after the war, again noting that this information is only available in former Confederate states. Again, we find that the main effect of sex imbalances on sexual lynchings is robust. The presence of a refugee camp does not appear to impact the likelihood of sexual lynchings, but is positively correlated with non-sexual lynchings during the Reconstruction period, only.

8.3 Executions

We examine the impact of excess white deaths on executions of Black and white men to elucidate whether the white demographic shock has an effect on crime in general. We leverage data on executions from 1845 to 1930 and estimate equation 2, where the dependent variable is a dummy variable equal to one if an execution occurred in a given county and year. We separate the analysis by executions of Black and white men, omitting the 5 year period prior to the Civil War (1856-1860) as the reference period. The coefficients plotted in Figure 11 indicate no impact of war-induced sex imbalances on Black or white executions. For both groups, there is a small and marginally significant decline in executions during Reconstruction, with no clear trend after 1873 for Black men and 1877 for white men.

9 Conclusion

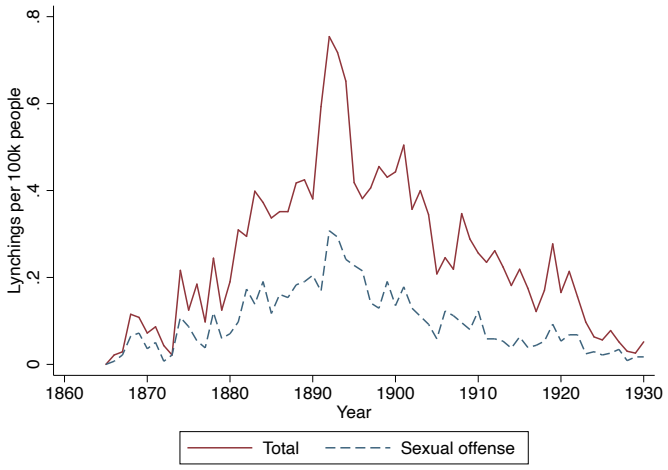
We investigate the role of racist narratives in sustaining discriminatory attitudes and collective violence against the Black population in the US South over the past 150 years, focusing on a particular narrative linking the freedom of Black men to the loss of white power through the role of racial mixing in upending the Southern social order. Leveraging exogenous variation in excess white deaths from the Civil War, we show that white sex imbalances led to a rise in the demand for segregation and increase in the prevalence of an association between "Black men" and "rapists" in local newspapers. Our findings further reveal that this belief justified collective violence against Black men both immediately after the war and for decades beyond, with a higher incidence of lynchings for sexual offenses against white women in places where the war-induced white sex imbalance was higher.

This narrative has persisted long after the immediate aftermath of the Civil War and still shapes explicit racial attitudes today – in particular, ones that associate Black men

with violence, as well as preferences for interracial sexual relationship. These findings shed important light on the cultivation an enduring racist narrative in American culture and the course of discrimination and anti-Black violence, which continues today.

10 Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Lynchings over time (per capita)



Source: Data for the years 1865-1881 obtained from authors' own data collection from the *Chronicling America* newspaper database. Data for the years 1882-1930 obtained from the Historical American Lynching (HAL) project.

Table 1: Summary of pre-war, geographic, and war covariates

	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
1860 White sex ratio (15-34)	1352	94.23	12.71	19.16	128.28
Δ White sex ratio	1352	13.57	9.97	-52.33	54.88
Percent enslaved (1860)	1352	28.61	21.78	0.00	92.42
Gini index of slave owners (1860)	1352	0.55	0.09	0.00	1.00
Population (1860)	1352	11208.22	11916.84	42.00	190524.00
Per capita value real estate (1860)	1352	251.36	159.03	0.00	1258.38
White mother with Black child (1860)	1352	1.98	5.49	0.00	65.00
White male LFP (1860)	1352	76.23	14.85	0.00	108.11
Suitability of cotton to wheat	1352	0.79	0.27	0.00	1.86
Distance to North (km)	1352	372.99	292.68	0.00	1405.54
Confederate enlistments (per 100 people)	1090	14.02	10.30	0.00	68.94
Federal troops (per 100 people)	1351	2.23	10.29	0.00	224.44
Refugee camp	1090	0.07	0.26	0.00	1.00
Newspaper presence (1860)	1352	0.07	0.25	0.00	1.00

Unit of observation is a County in 1860, harmonized to 1940 borders. Sample consists of all states former Border and Confederate states. Information on Confederate enlistments excludes Border states.

Figure 2: Excess white deaths

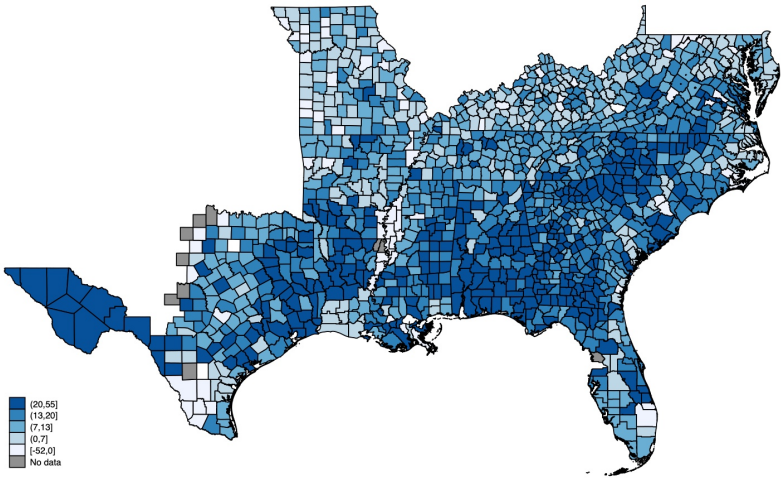


Figure 3: Effect of Excess Death on Sex Ratio over Time

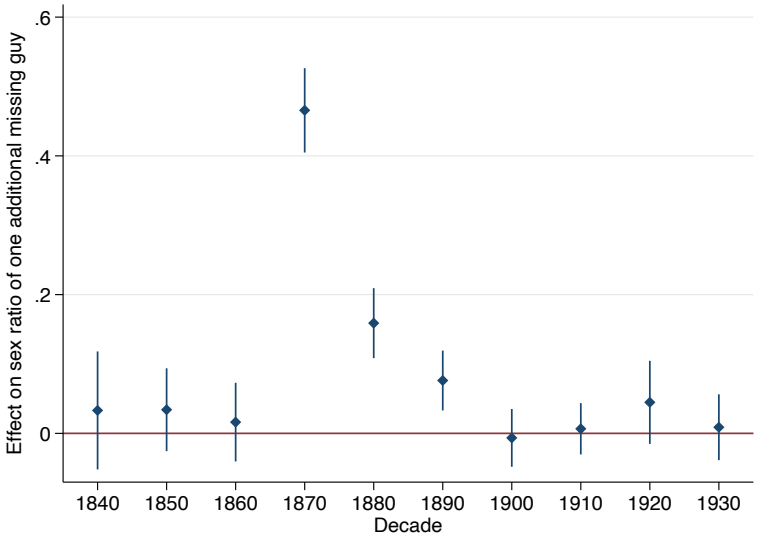
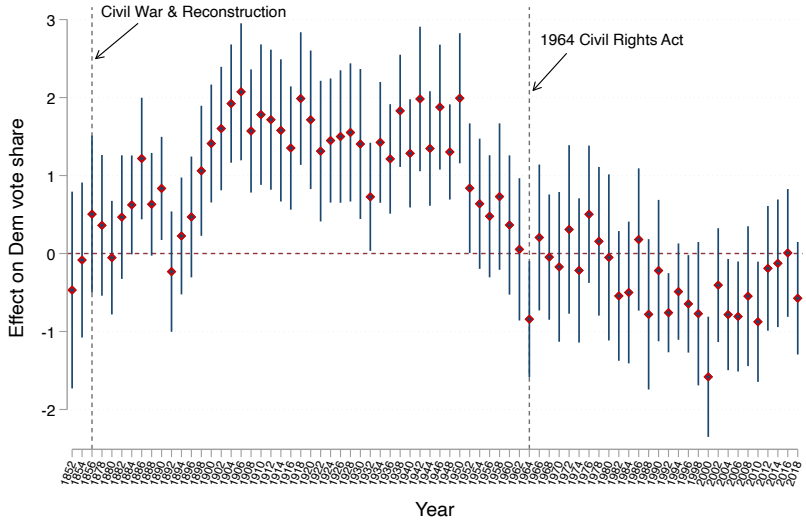


Table 2: Balance of Covariates

	% Enslaved	Wealth	Ln(Pop)	Gini	Racial mix	MLFP	Cotton/Wheat	Km to North	Confed enlist	Paper
Panel A: All Border and Confederate States										
Δ White SR (25-44)	-0.252	-0.498	0.003	0.000	0.005	-0.024	-0.001	0.031	0.059	0.001
	(0.130)	(0.518)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.014)	(0.097)	(0.001)	(0.878)	(0.039)	(0.001)
Wild p-value	0.03	0.34	0.43	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.34	0.97	0.10	0.20
Observations	1352	1352	1352	1352	1352	1352	1352	1352	1090	1352
Mean DV	28.61	251.36	9.67	0.55	1.98	76.23	0.79	372.99	14.02	0.07
SD DV	21.78	159.03	0.95	0.09	5.49	14.85	0.27	292.68	10.30	0.25
Panel B: HAL states, only										
Δ White SR (25-44)	-0.453	-0.319	0.002	-0.001	0.013	-0.054	0.000	0.022	0.099	0.002
	(0.159)	(0.766)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.013)	(0.146)	(0.001)	(1.570)	(0.062)	(0.002)
Wild p-value	0.02	0.68	0.75	0.35	0.47	0.73	0.70	0.99	0.14	0.23
Observations	871	871	871	871	871	871	871	871	751	871
Mean DV	33.36	239.78	9.79	0.56	1.49	75.68	0.83	422.32	16.69	0.09
SD DV	21.65	165.92	0.81	0.06	3.38	15.72	0.22	273.62	10.09	0.28

Unit of observation is a County in 1860, harmonized to 1940 county borders. Δ *SR (25-44)* is the change in the ratio of white women to white men aged 25-44 between 1860 and 1870. Standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. Wild cluster bootstrap p-values calculated over 999 repetitions using the Stata *boottest* command with Webb weights. All estimates control for state fixed effects. *Wealth* represents per capita real estate wealth.

Figure 4: Event study: Excess deaths and Democrat vote share (1852-2018)



Note: 90% confidence intervals.

Table 3: Excess deaths and Democrat vote share

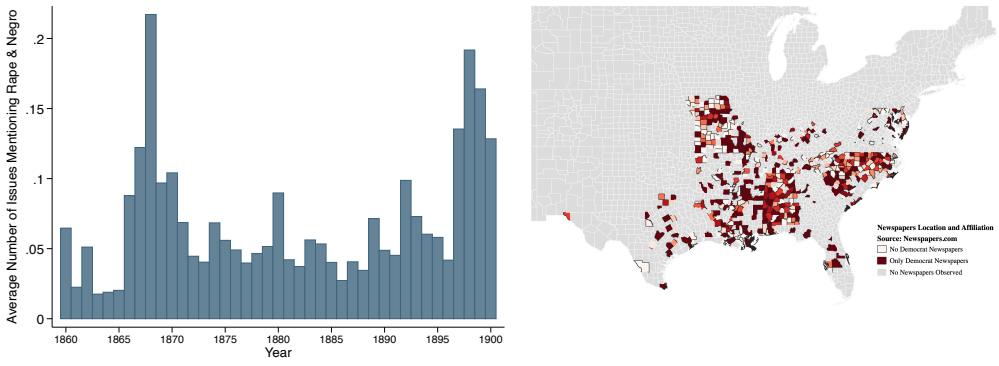
DV: Democrat vote share	(1)	(2)
Δ White SR (15-34)	0.938***	2.967***
	(0.276)	(0.373)
Δ White SR (15-34) x Post 1948		-3.276***
		(0.511)
Observations	8340	8340
Mean DV	60.99	60.99
SD DV	24.10	24.10

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Unit of observation is a congressional district in all former Border and Confederate states, for the years 1852-2018, excluding 1860-1872. Sex ratio standardized to mean 0, standard deviation 1. All estimates control for state and year fixed effects, and the percent enslaved in 1860. Standard errors clustered at the state-year level in parentheses.

Figure 5: Newspapers and Narrative

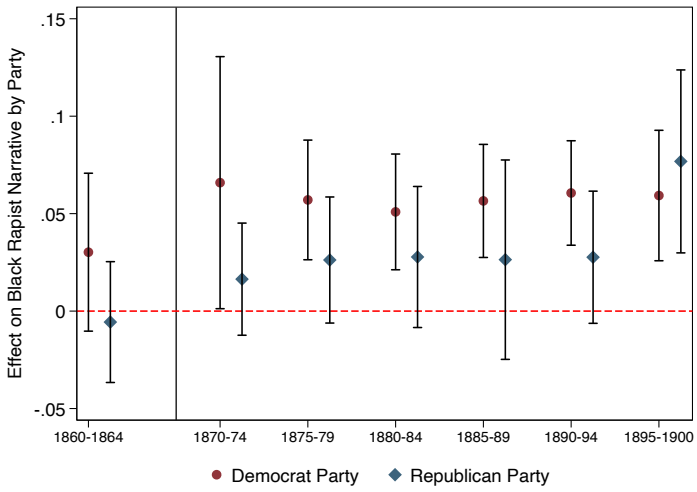
(a) Anti-Black Narrative over Time

(b) Newspapers Location and Affiliation



Note: The figure on the left represents the distribution of issues reporting articles associating Black men to rapist over time. Figure on the right represent the sample of Newspapers by political affiliation.

Figure 6: Narrative prevalence in Newspapers



Source: Effect of excess deaths on the prevalence of the association of Black males to rapist in Newspapers by political affiliation.

Table 4: Excess deaths and Black lynchings - Reconstruction v. Jim Crow

Any lynching:	1865-1877			1878-1930		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Sexual Lynching						
Δ White SR	0.0018**	0.0019***	0.0019***	0.0017**	0.0017**	0.0017**
	(0.0007)	(0.0007)	(0.0007)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)
Federal troops			0.0000			0.0003**
			(0.0001)			(0.0001)
Mean DV	0.0055	0.0055	0.0055	0.0179	0.0179	0.0179
SD DV	0.0724	0.0724	0.0724	0.1324	0.1326	0.1326
Panel B: Non-sexual lynching						
Δ White SR	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.0003	0.0004	0.0004
	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)
Federal troops			0.0000			0.0001
			(0.0001)			(0.0001)
Mean DV	0.0062	0.0062	0.0062	0.0241	0.0242	0.0242
SD DV	0.0769	0.0769	0.0769	0.1532	0.1534	0.1534
Observations	11323	11323	11323	46163	46061	46061
Counties:	871	871	871	871	871	871
Additional controls:	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

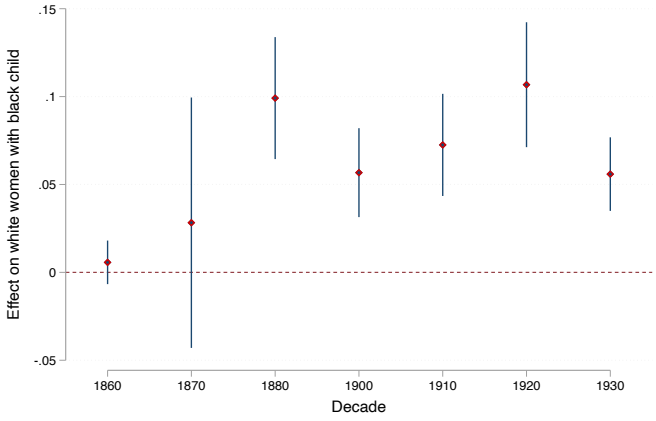
* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each year from 1865 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders, for the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the state-year level. All estimates include state and year fixed effects, and control for percent enslaved in 1860. Additional controls include: Black sex ratio, Gini index of slave owners, relative suitability of cotton to wheat, and log distance to North.

Table 5: Effect on white women's labor and marriage market outcomes (1850-1930)

	Women's LFP	% Unmarried women	% Unmarried men	% Single mothers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Δ White SR x 1860	0.320	0.022	0.382	0.280*
	(0.521)	(0.253)	(0.399)	(0.161)
Δ White SR x 1870	0.501***	2.070***	-1.137***	2.373***
	(0.176)	(0.243)	(0.161)	(0.226)
Δ White SR x 1880	0.047	0.297	-1.890***	0.800***
	(0.435)	(0.220)	(0.175)	(0.154)
Δ White SR x 1910	2.077***	-0.508*	-0.667***	0.423***
	(0.265)	(0.259)	(0.175)	(0.149)
Δ White SR x 1920	0.742***	0.050	-0.109	0.352**
	(0.199)	(0.254)	(0.193)	(0.147)
Δ White SR x 1930	0.517***	0.217	0.391*	0.438***
	(0.199)	(0.250)	(0.223)	(0.148)
Δ White SR x 1900		-0.213	-0.393**	0.381**
		(0.254)	(0.170)	(0.153)
County FE:	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade FE:	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Counties:	1352	1352	1352	1352
Mean DV	12.93	47.69	62.58	7.46
SD DV	11.88	7.29	6.30	5.14
Observations	8334	9522	9522	9519

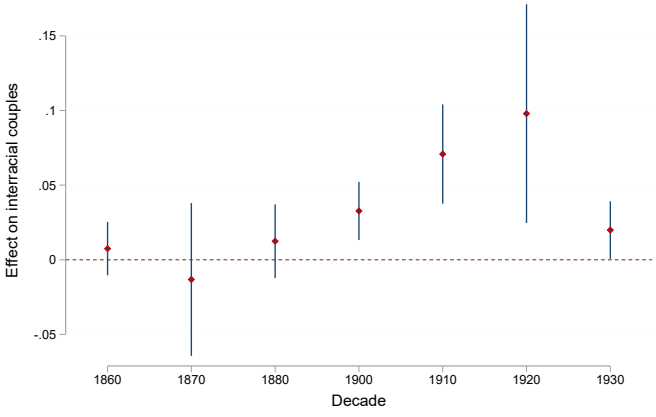
* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each decade from 1850 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders for all Border and Confederate states. The excluded decade is 1850 and data is missing for 1890. Unmarried and single mothers information is for people aged 15 to 34. All estimates include county and decade fixed effects, and control for the percent enslaved in 1860 interacted with decade fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses.

Figure 7: Effect on white mother with Black child (1850-1930)



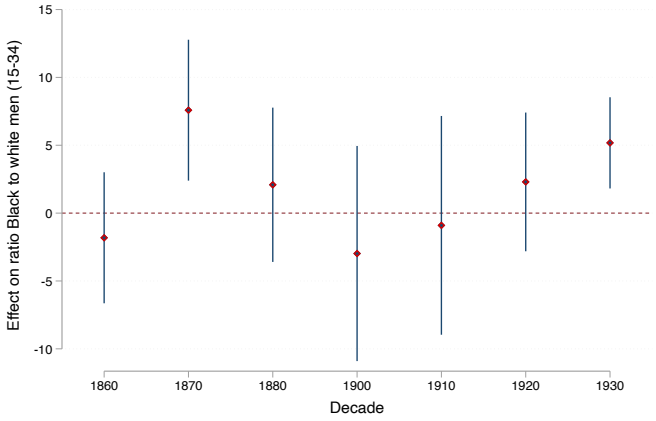
Note: 90% confidence intervals.

Figure 8: Effect on white woman with Black spouse (1850-1930)



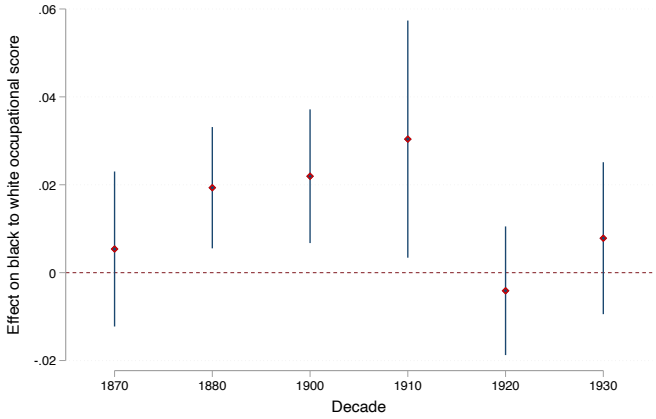
Note: 90% confidence intervals.

Figure 9: Effect of excess white deaths on Black to white male ratio (15-34)



Note: 90% confidence intervals.

Figure 10: Effect on Black to white income (within state variation)



Note: 90% confidence intervals.

Table 6: Excess deaths, cotton shocks, and lynchings (1865-1930)

	Any sexual			Any non-sexual		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Δ SR × Cotton Shock	0.0144***	0.0144***	0.0138**	0.0034	0.0052	0.0045
	(0.0055)	(0.0055)	(0.0054)	(0.0067)	(0.0070)	(0.0069)
Δ SR × Cotton Price	0.0062*	0.0062*	0.0059*	0.0034	0.0035	0.0032
	(0.0032)	(0.0032)	(0.0032)	(0.0038)	(0.0038)	(0.0038)
Cotton shock	0.0180***	0.0180***	0.0178***	-0.0006	-0.0039	-0.0041
	(0.0059)	(0.0064)	(0.0062)	(0.0057)	(0.0063)	(0.0061)
Spillover			0.0756***			0.0910***
			(0.0154)			(0.0193)
Mean DV	0.0154	0.0155	0.0155	0.0206	0.0206	0.0206
SD DV	0.1230	0.1232	0.1232	0.1416	0.1418	0.1418
County FE:	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Decade FE:	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional controls:	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

p< 0.15 * p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio and cotton shock standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each year from 1865 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders, for the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. All estimates control for percent enslaved in 1860 interacted with year fixed effects, and include county and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the state-year level. Additional controls include: the Black sex ratio in each decade, and the Gini index of slave owners in 1860 and log distance to North interacted with year fixed effects.

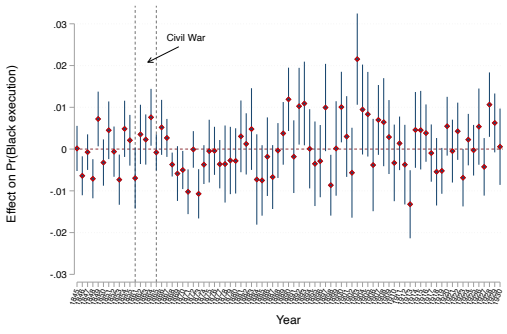
Table 7: Implicit Association Test (2015-2019)

DV: Bias against Black people	IAT Overall	Violent Perception	Worried Feeling	Willing Roomate	Uncomfortable Dancing	Willing Sex
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: White only						
Δ White SR	0.006	0.031***	0.019*	-0.025**	0.030***	-0.034***
	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Panel B: White only, female interaction						
Δ White SR	0.004	0.053***	0.029	-0.036***	0.031*	-0.043**
	(0.004)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Δ White SR x female	0.004	-0.037*	-0.015	0.019	-0.001	0.014
	(0.005)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Female	-0.080***	-0.007	-0.036*	0.006	-0.104***	-0.081***
	(0.004)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Observations	337388	11966	12465	12165	12138	11921

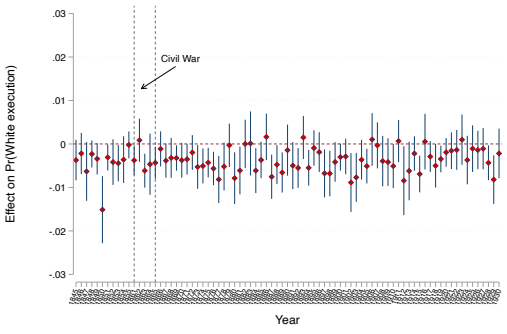
* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio and all dependent variables standardized to mean 0, standard deviation 1. Unit of observation is a white respondent in the racial Implicit Association Test (IAT), living in a former Border or Confederate state, for the years 2015-2019. Columns (1) is the respondent's overall score on the IAT for race, where a higher score reflects a stronger preference for White over Black people. Columns (2)-(6) are self-reported answers to questions about explicit racial preferences for a randomly selected sub-sample of respondents. Standard errors clustered by state-year in parentheses. All estimates control for state fixed effects and the percent enslaved in 1860 in the respondent's county of residence, as well as the respondent's gender, test error percentage, whether this is their first IAT, the order in which White+Good or Black+Good was presented, and fixed effects for the month and year in which the IAT was taken.

Figure 11: Executions of Black and white men (1845-1930)

(a) Black executions



(b) White executions



Note: The reference period is 1856-1860. 90% confidence intervals

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Appendix
For Online Publication

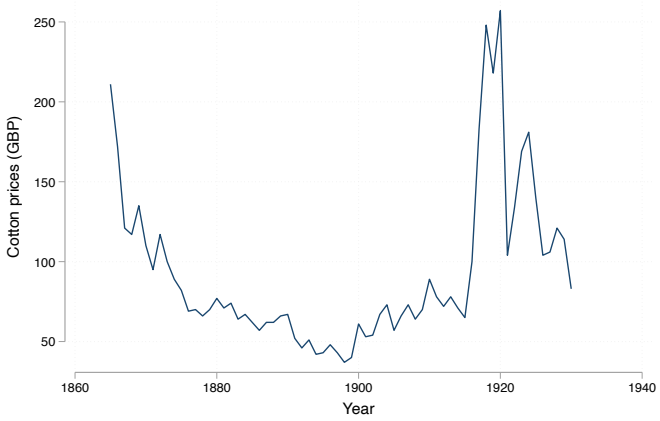
A Additional Figures and Tables

Table A.1: Excess deaths and white lynchings (1865-1930)

	Any white sexual lynching			Any white non-sexual lynching		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Δ White SR	-0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0001	-0.0002	-0.0005	-0.0009
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0005)	(0.0003)	(0.0004)	(0.0013)
Mean DV	0.0006	0.0008	0.0029	0.0033	0.0043	0.0156
SD DV	0.0244	0.0280	0.0530	0.0575	0.0657	0.1239
Observations	57486	43890	12210	57486	43890	12210
Counties:	871	667	185	871	667	185
Sample:	Full	Any lynch	Any white	Full	Any lynch	Any white

p< 0.15 * p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each year from 1865 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders, for the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. All estimates control for percent enslaved in 1860, and include state and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the state-year level. The restricted sample in columns (2) and (5) consists of counties that had at least one lynching between 1865 and 1930. The restricted sample in columns (3) and (6) consists of counties that had at least one white lynching between 1865 and 1930.

Figure A.1: Global cotton prices (1860-1930)



Source: Data obtained from Blattman, Hwang, and Williamson (2007).

Table A.2: Effect on male migration (1850-1930)

	% White Out of state (South) (1)	% White North (2)	% Black Out of state (South) (3)
Δ White SR x 1860	0.062	0.116	
	(0.204)	(0.079)	
Δ White SR x 1870	-0.563**	-0.744***	0.252
	(0.226)	(0.139)	(0.881)
Δ White SR x 1880	-0.480**	-0.574***	-0.278
	(0.218)	(0.094)	(0.668)
Δ White SR x 1900	-0.013	-0.272***	-0.251
	(0.299)	(0.095)	(0.459)
Δ White SR x 1910	0.038	-0.136	-0.139
	(0.321)	(0.096)	(0.302)
Δ White SR x 1920	-0.038	-0.077	-0.485
	(0.349)	(0.119)	(0.309)
Δ White SR x 1930	0.005	0.048	-0.425
	(0.355)	(0.094)	(0.391)
Fixed Effect:	County	County	State
Decade FE:	Yes	Yes	Yes
Counties:	1352	1352	1352
Mean DV	8.96	2.31	8.06
SD DV	10.04	3.47	11.18
Observations	10808	10808	8021

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each decade from 1850 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders for all Border and Confederate states. Data is missing for 1890. All estimates control for the percent enslaved in 1860 interacted with decade fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the county level in columns (1)-(2) and state-year level in column (3).

Table A.3: Robustness: Lynchings, controlling for Black relative to white male outcomes

Pr(lynching):	Sexual lynching				Non-sexual lynching			
	1865-1877		1878-1930		1865-1877		1878-1930	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Δ White SR	0.0017**	0.0019**	0.0016**	0.0017**	0.0002	0.0001	0.0002	0.0003
	(0.0007)	(0.0007)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0007)	(0.0008)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)
Δ Black / white men	0.0000		0.0000		-0.0000		0.0000*	
	(0.0000)		(0.0000)		(0.0000)		(0.0000)	
IHS(Black inc) - IHS(White inc) 1880		-0.0108**		-0.0048		-0.0103**		-0.0026
		(0.0045)		(0.0041)		(0.0052)		(0.0042)
Mean DV	0.0055	0.0055	0.0179	0.0179	0.0062	0.0062	0.0241	0.0241
SD DV	0.0724	0.0724	0.1324	0.1324	0.0769	0.0769	0.1532	0.1532
Counties:	871	871	871	871	871	871	871	871

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each year from 1865 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders, for the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the state-year level. All estimates include state and year fixed effects, and control for percent enslaved in 1860. Additional controls include: Black sex ratio, Gini index of slave owners, relative suitability of cotton to wheat, and log distance to North.

Table A.4: Robustness: Lynchings, controlling for Civil War covariates

Pr(lynching):	Sexual lynching				Non-sexual lynching			
	1865-1877		1878-1930		1865-1877		1878-1930	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Δ White SR	0.0012*	0.0014*	0.0018**	0.0019**	-0.0003	0.0001	0.0004	0.0004
	(0.0007)	(0.0007)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0009)	(0.0010)
Confederate enlistments (per 100)	0.0001		0.0000		0.0001		-0.0000	
	(0.0001)		(0.0001)		(0.0001)		(0.0001)	
Refugee camp (0/1)		0.0061		0.0020		0.0091*		0.0007
		(0.0042)		(0.0031)		(0.0053)		(0.0039)
Mean DV	0.0051	0.0051	0.0192	0.0192	0.0066	0.0066	0.0264	0.0264
SD DV	0.0690	0.0690	0.1372	0.1372	0.0790	0.0790	0.1600	0.1600
Counties:	753	753	753	753	753	753	753	753

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. Sex ratio standardized to mean zero, standard deviation one. Unit of observation is a county in each year from 1865 to 1930, harmonized to 1940 county borders, for the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered at the state-year level. All estimates include state and year fixed effects, and control for percent enslaved in 1860. Additional controls include: Black sex ratio, Gini index of slave owners, relative suitability of cotton to wheat, and log distance to North.