Historical Lynchings and Contemporary Voting Behavior of Blacks

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Abstract

Cultural beliefs of a group, shaped by historical events, can impact a variety of behaviors of future generations with economic implications ranging from labor force participation to political activity. I analyze the extent to which political participation of blacks can be traced to historical lynchings that took place between 1882 and 1930 in the same counties. Using county-level voter registration data, I show that southern counties that experienced a higher number of historical lynchings have lower voter registration rates of blacks today. This relationship holds after accounting for a variety of historical and contemporary characteristics of counties and strengthen when lynchings are instrumented with historical measures of environmental suitability for growing cotton. Examining individual-level data shows that blacks who reside in counties with more historical lynchings are less likely to vote compared to their white counterparts. Lynchings have no impact on voting differences between other minority groups and whites.

*Many thanks to Naci Mocan, Louis-Philippe Beland, Chris Foote, Falk Brauning, Osborne Jackson, Geoffrey Tootell, Ross Hallren, Tamara Gurevich, Gary Hoover, Gregory Price, and seminar participants of the Southern Economic Association Conference in Washington D.C., the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and the United States International Trade Commission for useful comments and discussions.

"A lynching is much more than just a murder. A murder may occur in private. A lynching is a public spectacle; it demands an audience...A lynching is a majority's way of telling a minority population that the law cannot protect it."

- Aatish Taseer, *Anatomy of a Lynching* (2017)

1 Introduction

Lynchings, the killings of individuals by a group of people who ignore due process and take the law into its own hands (Price et al. 2008), were prevalent in the American South for centuries. This form of vigilantism reached its peak in the 1890's following the enactment of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution to prevent blacks from exercising their new freedoms to work and vote (DeFina and Hannon 2011; Price et al. 2008).[1] Despite explanations of norm-based voting (DellaVigna et al. 2017) and existing empirical evidence of habit-formation in voting (Gerber 2003; Fujiwara et al. 2016), little research has been done to examine whether these violent events of the past continue to influence the voting behavior of blacks.[2]

In this paper, I examine whether there exists a link between historical lynchings and the contemporary voting behavior of blacks. Considering that historical lynchings were aimed at preventing blacks from voting (Cook et al. 2017; Dickerson 2003), the emergence of cultural norms about the "right" thing to do to protect their well-being may have caused blacks to avoid voting and these norms may have been transmitted to subsequent generations.

To investigate whether lynchings have had a long-run impact on the voting behavior of blacks, I combine county-level lynching data with contemporary voter registration data. After accounting for a variety of

[1]The 13th Amendment abolished slavery, except for individuals convicted of a crime, in 1865. The 14th Amendment granted citizen rights to all persons born or naturalized in the U.S. in 1868. The 15th Amendment prohibited individuals be denied the right to vote based on race in 1870. According to Beck and Tolnay (1992) and Cook et al. (2017), lynchings were used to control the black labor force by instilling fear in blacks who could potentially compete for jobs against whites. Additionally, Hagen et al. (2009) find that lynchings were used by southern whites to vent economic frustration with inflation or decreases in cotton prices. Cook et al. (2017), Price et al. (2009) and Tolnay and Beck (1995) state that lynchings were used to maintain the social hierarchy that existed antebellum between blacks and whites. Cook et al. (2017) and Price et al. (2009) have employed the use of Blalock's (1967) power threat hypothesis, to argue that lynchings were used to protect the political resources of whites and to prevent blacks from contesting whites' political authority.

[2]DellaVigna et al. (2017) find that individuals are motivated to vote due to the social image received from family and friends. Gerber (2003) and Fujiwara et al. (2016) show that voting is a habitual act based on previous voting conditions and experiences.

historical and contemporary characteristics of counties, the results show that blacks who reside in counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of lynchings from 1882 to 1930 have lower voter registration rates today.[3] Motivated by the possibility that this negative relationship may be due to Republican party dominance in southern states, high incarceration rates of blacks, the paucity of polling places in counties, and institutional structures that remained after slavery, the analysis includes an additional specification that accounts for these potential mechanisms. The results remain virtually unchanged after the inclusion of these potential cofounders.

An alternative explanation for the relationship between historical lynchings and the voting behavior of blacks is that geographic sorting during the Great Migration may have caused blacks with higher voting propensities to migrate away from violent southern areas while blacks who were less likely to participate in voting remained. Using data from the 1940 100% IPUMS-USA, I examine whether black migrants out of (and into) southern counties with higher lynching rates differ from individuals who did not migrate from these counties. I find no evidence of geographic sorting as a function of lynching rates which suggests that the relationship between lynchings and voting behavior of blacks is not explained by sorting.

Alternatively, counties with a relatively higher number of historical lynchings may have contemporary barriers that suppress the voting of blacks. For example, if counties that experienced more historical lynchings also have fewer polling places in areas where blacks live today, then the results may be an artifact of this phenomenon. To understand whether the paucity of polling places in black areas explains the relationship between lynchings and the voting behavior of blacks, I use data on polling locations.[4] I find no evidence that counties with a relatively higher number of historical lynchings have fewer polling places in areas where blacks reside.

To address the concern that the estimates may be biased by measurement error or omitted variables, I employ instrumental variables. Using geo-climatic suitability data from Acharya et al. (2016), as originally obtained from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), I use historical measures for the environmental suitability of growing cotton as an instrument for lynchings. In addition to suppressing voting among blacks in the past, lynchings were used to vent economic frustration (Cook et al. 2017; Hagen et al. 2009). Acharya et al. (2016) find that counties that were more heavily engaged in slavery experienced more lynchings. Given

[3]These results are robust to different measures of lynchings. See Appendix B for results.

[4]Polling locations are obtained from the Secretary of State Offices in 2017 and reflect polling place locations in the 2016 Presidential Election.

that in 1840, cotton harvested by slaves generated more revenue than all other US exports combined (The United States National Park Service Southeast Regional Office 2011), measures of cotton suitability should be correlated with lynchings yet uncorrelated with unobservables that affect the contemporary voting behavior of blacks. The instrumental variables estimates support the OLS estimates in that blacks who currently reside in counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of lynchings have lower voter registration rates. Moreover, the instrumental variables estimates are larger in magnitude than the OLS estimates.

Considering that lynchings were aimed at preventing blacks from voting in the past, the findings indicate that the historical lynching environment created voting norms among blacks that persists today. However, this finding is consistent with other interpretations. For example, if historical lynchings were the by-product of a distaste for blacks which also resulted in discriminatory practices towards blacks, then the negative relationship between lynchings and contemporary voting may the result of this effect. To examine the relationship between lynchings and contemporary voting further, I perform a number of falsification exercises using the same instrumental variable strategy. First, I examine whether lynchings impact additional contemporary outcomes of blacks, such as earnings and education. If there exists a relationship between lynchings and these outcomes, then this would suggest that lynchings are proxies for discrimination rather then the persistence of cultural voting norms among blacks. The results show that there is no significant relationship between lynchings and earnings or lynching and levels of education of blacks. Second, I estimate the relationship between lynchings and the contemporary voting behavior of whites. Given that blacks were disproportionately lynched, lynchings should not affect the contemporary voting behavior of whites. The estimates obtained from this exercise are close to zero and statistically insignificant. Finally, I conduct a placebo exercise and randomly distribute lynching rates across counties and instrument these lynching rates with measures of cotton suitability. The distribution of the 500 estimates obtained from this exercise shows that they are statistically insignificant indicating that there does not exist a significant relationship between lynchings and voter registration among blacks when lynching rates are randomly distributed across counties.

After establishing that historical lynchings adversely affect the voting behavior of blacks today, I examine whether this relationship can be mitigated. For example, Tate (1991) found that blacks with higher income, more education, and stronger social ties to the black community were more likely to participate in voting. To investigate this, I interact lynching rates with county-level measures of earnings, education, and

the black church rate.[5] The results show that earnings and the black church rate do not change the relationship between lynchings and voting. However, the relationship between lynchings and voting behavior of blacks is mitigated by higher levels of education of blacks.

The final exercise of this paper uses instrumental variables to examine the individual-level voting behavior of blacks and whites. The individual-level voting data are obtained from the Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplement. Using county and state identifiers of respondents, I assign each respondent a historical lynching rate based on his or her current residence. As done previously, lynching rates are instrumented with historical measures of cotton suitability. After accounting for individual-level characteristics and contemporary county-level controls, the results show that blacks who currently reside in counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of lynchings are less likely to vote in an election compared to their white counterparts who live in the same county.[6] To test whether similar differences in voting behavior exist in groups that were not directly affected by lynchings, I examine the impact of historical lynchings on voting differences between other minority groups and whites.[7] The minority groups included are foreign-born blacks, Native Americans, Asians, and Hispanics. The estimates obtained from this exercise show that there does not exist a significant difference in voting between individuals belonging to minority groups and whites for higher rates of lynchings. This indicates that historical lynchings negatively affect voting differences between blacks and whites but does not affect voting differences between other minorities and whites.

There are two main contributions of this paper. First, it adds to recent findings in economics by helping us understand how an initial shock that alters behavior can have a persistent impact (Acemoglu et al. 2012; Acharya et al. 2016; Nunn and Wantchekon 2011; Voigtlnder and Voth 2012). Second, the paper increases our understanding of the determinants of voting by measuring the extent to which a violent event, aimed at preventing voting, can deter the target group from voting in the future.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes voting trends in the United States. Section 3 provides the historical background and conceptual framework. The empirical framework, presented in Section 4, is used to motivate the empirical analysis to follow. The data description is given in Section 5.

[5]The black church rate is the number of blacks churches per black population in 2010.

[6]The analysis compares blacks eligible to vote in US elections with whites eligible to vote in US elections. The analysis does not use historical county-level data due to the decrease in sample size.

[7]Blacks were disproportionately lynched compared to other groups. Nearly 90% of the victims of lynchings were black.

Section 6 presents the OLS and IV results as well as well as the falsification exercises. Section 7 shows the heterogeneity results and Section 8 presents the individual-level results. Section 9 concludes.

2 Voting Trends

Figure 1 displays self-reported voter turnout in U.S. elections for blacks and whites from the CPS.[8] While there exists a large and persistent voting gap between races in Presidential Elections in the earlier half of the sample period, turnout among blacks begins an upward trend in the 1992 election and becomes nearly equal to the turnout of whites in the 2012 election. In Midterm Elections, blacks have lower turnout when compared to whites throughout the entire sample period.

Similarly, Figure 2 depicts self-reported registration rates for blacks and whites as obtained from the CPS. In both Presidential and Midterm Elections, the gap between black and white registration rates is persistent and stable across years.[9] Taken together, Figures 1 and 2 show that blacks have lower self-reported turnout and registration rates when compared to whites although, with the exception of the 2016 election, turnout rates of blacks was nearly equal to that of whites after 2008.

Turning the focus to voting behavior of blacks based on area of residence, Figure 3 displays turnout and registration rates in Presidential Elections for blacks who reside in the south compared to blacks who reside elsewhere in the country as obtained from the CPS.[10] This figure shows lower voter turnout among blacks who reside in the south compared to blacks who reside elsewhere throughout the 1980's with rates that are roughly the same beginning in the early 1990's. Yet Figure 3 displays similar registration rates between both groups throughout the 1980's with registration rates of southern blacks surpassing rates of blacks who reside elsewhere 1990 onward.

Considering that historical lynching were aimed at preventing blacks from voting in the past and a vast majority of lynchings took place in the south, Figure 4 examines the voting and registration behavior of

[8] Voter turnout is defined as the percentage of individuals who reported having voted in an election per voting age population. Voting data by race are available in 1964 onward from the CPS. In 1978, the CPS began separating white into two categories: white and white non-Hispanic. Since the analysis to follow will compare voting measures of blacks and whites of European descent, Figure 1 begins in 1978 rather than 1964.

[9] Due to the stable nature of registration rates as seen in figure 2, registration rates will be the preferred measure of voting in the analysis to follow.

[10] Southern states include Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Washington DC, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virgina, West Virgina.

blacks who reside in the south as a function of lynching rates. It is worth noting that the registration data used in the right panel of Figure 4 come from the Secretary of State Offices which are available from 2000 onward. For comparison purposes, the left panel of Figure 4 depicts voter turnout among blacks in southern counties from the CPS from 2000 onward. Figure 4 shows that current voting and registration of blacks is lower in counties that had historically high lynching rates when compared to counties that had historically low lynching rates. This gap in voting is large and persistent in the 2000 - 2012 Presidential Elections. Figure 4 suggests that voting behavior is lower for blacks who reside in counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of lynchings and motivates the empirical analysis to follow.

3 Historical Background and Conceptual Framework

3.1 Historical Background

Lynchings, a form of vigilante justice where a group of people ignore due process and takes the law into its own hands (Price et al. 2008), began to rise postbellum to remind blacks of their inferior status and to prevent them from exercising their new freedom to work and vote (DeFina and Hannon 2011). Three theories have been proposed to explain lynching behavior. The first theory hypothesizes that blacks were lynched because they were seen as an economic threat (Beck and Tolnay 1992; Cook et al. 2017). By lynching blacks, whites vented economic frustration due to inflation or decreases in cotton prices (DeFina and Hannon 2011) and instilled fear in blacks who could compete for jobs (Cook et al. 2017). The second theory hypothesizes that blacks were lynched because they were viewed as a social threat (Cook et al. 2017 and Price et al. 2009). Cook et al. (2017) state that whites feared losing their social status to blacks and used lynching as a way of maintaining social order. The third theory, Blalock's (1967) power threat hypothesis, proposed that violence arouse when the dominant group perceived the subordinate group contested their political authority (Price et al. 2008).

Many lynchings were carried out by members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a group initially created as a social club by former Confederate Generals that quickly changed to a group whose mission was to avenge the defeated Democratic Party (Dickerson 2003; Lester 1884). Following the enactment of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which granted newly freed black men the right to vote, blacks

voted for white Republican politicians who filled seats once held by Democrats. Additionally, blacks began holding political offices. For example, during the Reconstruction Era, in South Carolina, blacks comprised the majority of the state's legislature and over 2000 blacks held some type of public office throughout the United States (Poverty and the Government in America: A Historical Encyclopedia 2009; History.com 2016). This change in southern politics along with blacks being compensated for their labor created a hostile environment in the former Confederacy where whites felt threatened by blacks' new freedom (Price et al. 2008; Cook 2017).

Violence from the KKK in the form of beatings, burnings, and lynchings were used to prevent blacks from exercising their new freedom to work and vote (DeFina and Hannon 2011). During the Presidential campaign season of 1868, KKK members rode around on horses wearing white hoods and robes threatening blacks that if they did not vote for the Democratic ticket, they would be lynched (Dickerson 2003). In 1868, the KKK killed more than 2,000 blacks in Louisiana, two South Carolina legislators, and the President of the Urban League, causing black voter turnout to be reduced by 20 percent between the 1867 and the 1868 election (Dickerson 2003).[11] These KKK terrorists' acts helped the south regain Democratic control in the statehouse in 1870 (Dickerson 2003). DeFina and Hannon (2011) quote Senator Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina in 1900 discussing the disenfranchisement of blacks:

> "We did not disfranchise the negroes until 1895. Then we had a constitutional convention convened which took the matter up calmly, deliberately, and avowedly with the purpose of disfranchising as many of them as we could under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. We adopted the educational qualification as the only means left to us, and the negro is as contented and as prosperous and as well protected in South Carolina to-day as in any State of the Union south of the Potomac. He is not meddling with politics, for he found that the more he meddled with them the worse off he got. As to his rights - I will not discuss them now. We of the South have never recognized the right of the negro to govern white men, and we never will. We have never believed him to be equal to the white man, and we will not submit to his gratifying his lust on our wives and daughters without lynching him."

According to Allen et al. (2000), blacks were aware of lynchings that took place by the depiction of lynchings in newspapers and on postcards.

[11]The Urban League was an organization that helped blacks register to vote and was headed by northern Republicans.

Figure 5a presents a county-level mapping of the total number of lynchings between 1882 and 1930 and shows that some counties experienced as many as 35 lynchings during this time period with variation across counties and states.[12] Figure 5b presents the total number of lynchings normalized by the total black population in 1900.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

The foundational model of voting was developed by Downs (1957) where individuals vote when the benefit of voting exceeds the cost. Benefit is the probability that an individual's vote will make a difference in the outcome of an election times the utility received from the individual's favorite candidate winning the election; and the payoff an individual receives from exercising his social duty. Recent models have expanded Downs' (1957) framework of voting costs to include logistical cost and information cost (Ashworth 2011; Charles and Stephens 2011; Matswaka 1995). The logistical cost of voting is the cost associated with the act of voting (i.e. traveling to the poll, waiting in line, etc.) and the information cost of voting is the cost associated with having limited information regarding a candidate or an election (Charles and Stephens 2011).

Within this framework, the historical lynching environment raised the cost of voting for blacks because gathering information on elections as well as traveling to election polls could lead to death for many blacks. Figure 6 demonstrates that lynchings were powerful messages sent to thousands of blacks that exercising their right to vote would be met with death (Fryer and Levitt 2012). Considering that cultural beliefs are viewed as decision-making heuristics or "rules-of-thumb" which are optimal when information acquisition is either costly or imperfect (Alesina et al. 2013; Nunn and Wantchekon 2011), general beliefs about the "right" action caused blacks to refrain from voting - thus allowing blacks to save on the cost associated with voting. Within this environment, cultural beliefs about voting were beneficial to blacks and lowered their voting behavior patterns. I hypothesize that these cultural voting norms persisted and were transmitted to subsequent generations.

A natural question is why would one expect lower voter participation among blacks to persist more than 100 years after the historical lynching time period. One explanation can be found in the cultural economics

[12] A map of lynchings is presented for county state pairs that have voting data separated by race namely Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

literature, which demonstrates that historic events have long-run impacts by permanently affecting culture or norms of behavior.[13] For example, Nunn and Wantchekon (2011) showed that a culture of mistrust persisted in individuals whose ancestors were heavily targeted during the slave trade in Africa which continues to effect economic development in Africa over 400 years later. Mocan and Raschke (2016) analyzed whether a culture of racist and xenophobic feelings persisted in Germany following World War II, and found that people who live in states that provided above-median support for the Nazi Party in the 1928 elections have stronger anti-Semitic feelings today. Similarly, Voigtlaender and Voth (2012) reported a strong positive relationship between violent attacks on Jews during the Black Death in 1348 and support for the Nazi Party in 1928, demonstrating a culture of anti-Semitic views that have persisted more than 500 years. Furthermore, Acharya et al. (2016) showed that political attitudes could be traced to slavery's prevalence over 150 years ago. Specifically, these authors report that white southerners who currently reside in counties that have a higher share of slaves in 1860 were also less likely to identify as Democrats, less likely to support Affirmative Action and have higher levels of racial resentment towards blacks. Taken together, research in cultural economics has shown that cultural beliefs are sticky and are transmitted across generations (Alesina et al. 2013).

A second explanation for persistence can be found in the voting literature. Research has shown that voting is habit forming in that voting in one election increases an individual's propensity to vote in future elections. Gerber et al. (2003) used a randomized field experiment that randomly assigned individuals to treatment and control groups to isolate the causal role in voting. Individuals in the treatment group were encouraged to vote via mail or via face to face campaigning whereas individuals in the control group were not encouraged to vote. These authors found that this randomized change produced an increase in voting in the upcoming election and increased the likelihood of voting in the future. Fujiwara et al. (2016) also showed that voting is habit-forming by empirically disentangling habit formation in voting from other channels of voter persistence. These authors model rainfall, an unexpected and transitory shock, into the cost of voting and find that rainfall on election day decreases voter turnout in the current and future elections.

[13]For a more detailed discussion, see Nunn (2009).

4 Empirical Framework

To estimate the relationship between historical lynchings and the contemporary voting behavior of blacks, the baseline equation uses county-level voting registration data from the Secretary of State Offices in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina.[14] I estimate the following equation:

$$voter\ registration\ rate_{cst} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 lynching\ rate_{cs} + \beta_2 X_{cs}^{H} + \beta_3 X_{cs}^{C} + \beta_4 X_{cst}^{C} + \delta_s + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{cst} \quad (1)$$

where c indexes counties, s indexes states, and t indexes years; $voter\ registration\ rate_{cst}$ is the percentage of black registered voters per black voting-age population; $lynching\ rate_{cs}$ is the total number of lynchings between 1882 and 1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. X_{cs}^{H} represents the vector of observed historical county characteristics that vary across counties, namely the proportion of black illiterate men of voting age, the proportion of individuals born in Scotland or Ireland, the average number of newspapers per total population in 1840, and the year in which a county was formed.[15] X_{cst}^{C} represents the vector of observed contemporary county characteristics that vary across county and time, such as the unemployment rate, the crime rate, and the monthly earnings of blacks. X_{cs}^{C} represents the vector of observed contemporary county characteristics that vary across counties which are the proportion of blacks with at least some college experience, the median age of blacks, and the proportion of married individuals.[16] δ_s is the set of state fixed effects, γ_t is the set of year fixed effects, and ϵ_{ct} is the error term. Standard errors in Equation (1) are clustered at the county level. The main coefficient of interest, β_1, estimates the impact of one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900 on the percentage of black registered voters per black voting-age population.

County-level measures for four potential mechanisms, namely Republican party dominance, incarceration rates of blacks, the number of polling places, and the proportion of slaves, are included in an additional

[14] These are the only states in the former Confederacy where individuals indicate their race when they register to vote.

[15] Newspaper circulation and the year in which a county was formed are included in the regression since they have been shown to be a proxy for institutional quality (Grosjean 2014). The proportion of individuals of Scots-Irish descent is included as a control since it is associated with more homicides by white offenders (Grosjean 2014).

[16] The proportion of blacks with at least some college experience, the median age of blacks, and the proportion married are available for each Decennial Census. I choose the 2000 Census, rather than the 2010 Census, since the voting registration data come from before 2010, with the exception of the 2012 election.

specification to Equation (1). Party dominance has been shown to impact voter participation (Redding 2003). Given that many of the states in my sample are Republican states, yet many blacks vote Democratic, blacks may choose to refrain from voting in these states since they believe that their vote will not be pivotal in the election. Because blacks have higher incarceration rates when compared to other racial groups and individuals cannot vote when they are incarcerated, not accounting for incarceration rates may bias the estimates.[17] The number of polling places is included to serve as a proxy for accessibility to voting which has been shown to positively affect voter participation. Considering Acharya et al. (2015) found that slavery left behind formal and cultural institutions (i.e. black codes, racial violence, Jim Crow, etc.) that made it difficult for blacks to vote which continue to affect voter turnout of blacks today, I include the proportion of slaves in 1860 to serve as a proxy for these institutional structures.[18] See Data Description for discussion of Republican party dominance, incarceration rates of blacks, polling places, and the proportion of slaves.

Given that the lynching rate in Equation 1 and some of the county-level characteristics do not vary across time, I include an additional specification that converts Equation 1 into a cross-section equation. This is done by averaging each variable in Equation 1 across the years in the sample.

[17] In Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina ex-offenders can register to vote after completion of their full sentence. In Alabama, ex-offenders can register to vote after completing their full sentence except those convicted of murder, rape, incest, sexual crimes against children, and treason. In Florida, ex-offenders can register to vote 5 years after completing their sentence except those convicted of murder, assault, child abuse, drug trafficking, and arson. Ex-offenders convicted of these crimes can register to vote 7 years after completing their full sentence.

[18] Acharya et al. (2015) use county-level data from Catalist, LLC. Catalist provides voting data by merging voter registration files with state voter turnout data and commercial databases. Because Catalist does not contain demographic characteristics, the county-level regressions seen in Acharya et al. (2015) do not include social economic status factors such as education and income, however, the regressions include county-level controls for geography factors (i.e. latitude, longitude, terrain ruggedness, access to waterways, and county acreage) and economic factors (i.e. proportion of small farms, land inequality, farm value per capita, and access to railways). Additionally, Acharya et al. (2015) uses the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) which reports individual-level self reported measures of voting. Since the CCES contains a respondent's characteristics, the individual-level regressions includes measures of education, income, age, race, and gender.

5 Data Sources and Description

5.1 Lynching Measure

The lynching data are obtained from the Historical American Lynching Data Collection Project (Project HAL) and include all lynching victims' records in southern counties from 1882 to 1930.[19] For each lynching record, the information includes the victim's name, race, gender, and alleged offense. The data set also includes the county, state, month, day, and year that the lynching occurred. The victim records are aggregated to the county-level to create a lynching measure that represents the total number of lynchings that occurred in a county from 1882 to 1930.

I link the aggregated lynching data with population data from the 1900 Census. The 1900 Census population data are obtained from the National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) and contain county-level measures for the black, white, and total population. The lynching and population data are used to construct the main explanatory variable, lynching rate, which is the total lynchings per 100,000 black population in 1900.

5.2 County-Level Voting Measure

The voter registration data are obtained from the Secretary of State Offices in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina.[20] Ideally, the sample would include all counties in the former Confederate States, however, these are the only states in the former Confederacy in which individuals are asked to identify their race when they register to vote.

The Alabama Secretary of State Office reports the number of black (white) registered voters at the county-level for active and inactive voters separately on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012.[21] The number of black (white) registered voters in Florida in 2016 were obtained from voter statistics files provided

[19] Southern counties include counties in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

[20] The data for Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina are obtained for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. Voter registration data in North Carolina are obtained in 2004, 2008, and 2012 since North Carolina does not report race until 2002. The voter registration data in Florida are obtained from its Secretary of State Office in 2016. The method used for extracting voter registration for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 is explained in detail below.

[21] The Alabama Secretary of State Office website is http://www.alabamavotes.gov/Voterreg.aspx?m=voters. Inactive voters are voters who have not voted in four years in their county whereas active voters are voters who are not on the inactive voters list. I use the number of active black voters as the measure of registered black voters and define the measure of registered white voters similarly.

by the Florida Secretary of State Office.[22] The Georgia Secretary of State Office reports the number of black (white) registered voters at the county-level for females and males separately on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012.[23] The Louisiana Secretary of State Office reports the number of black (white) registered voters at the parish (county) on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012.[24] The number of black (white) registered voters from North Carolina are obtained from voter statistics files provided by the North Carolina Secretary of State Office in 2004, 2008, and 2012.[25] The South Carolina Secretary of State Office reports the number of white and nonwhite registered voters at the count-level on its website in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012.[26]

The voter registration data are merged with population data from the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results Program (SEER) of the National Cancer Institute for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. The SEER data contain county-level population counts by age and race. To focus on individuals who are of voting age, the data is restricted to population counts for individuals who are 18 or older. The registration and SEER data are used to construct the outcome measure, voter registration rate, as the county-level percentage of black registered voters per black voting age population. Similarly, voter registration rate among whites is measured as the percentage of white registered voters per white voting age population.[27]

5.3 Historical County Attributes

The primary source for historical measures in this study is the NHGIS which provides Census data from 1790 to the present. The proportion of black (white) illiterate men of voting age is obtained from the 1910 Census. The proportion of individuals who were born in Scotland or Ireland is obtained from

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

[23]The Georgia Secretary of State Office website is http://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections. I compute the total number of black registered voters at the county-level by summing the number of black (white) female and black (white) male registered voters.

[24]The Louisiana Secretary of State Office website is http://www.sos.la.gov/ElectionsAndVotings.

[25]These files contain the number of registered voters by county, race, and age. Summing across age groups in each county for blacks and whites separately gives the number of black and white registered voters.

[26]The South Carolina Secretary of State Office webiste is https://www.scvotes.org/data/voter-history.html. The number of nonwhite registered voters is used to represent the number of black registered voters.

[27]Voter registration rate is more than 100% in some counties. The results to follow use voter registration as is. Appendix B shows the results when voter registration rates are top-coded to 100 and when counties with voter registration rates that exceeds 100 are removed from the sample.

the 1870 Census. Information on the number of daily, weekly, and triweekly newspapers in each county is obtained from the 1840 Census and the newspaper rate is defined as the average number of daily, weekly, and weekly newspapers per total population in 1840. The year in which a county was formed is obtained from Grosjean (2014) as originally obtained from the National Association of Counties. The proportion of slaves is obtained from the 1860 Census is defined as the number of slaves per black population in 1860.

Measures of environmental stability for growing cotton are obtained from Acharya et al. (2016) as originally obtained from the FAO. Cotton suitability is measured in tons/hectare at the county-level and indicates the maximum potential cotton yield based on soil, climate, and growing conditions. The earliest year in which cotton suitability is available for states in the sample is 1961 and hence, as in Acharya et al. (2016), cotton suitability is defined as the average value from 1961 to 1990.[28] The cotton suitability rate is the measure of cotton suitability per 100,000 black population in 1900.

5.4 Contemporary County Attributes

The county-level proportion of blacks (whites) with at least some college education, the median age of blacks (whites), and the proportion of individuals who are married are obtained from the 2000 Census. The county-level unemployment rates as reported in the month of June for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 are obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The county-level monthly earnings for blacks (whites) for the years 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 are obtained from the Census Bureau's Quarterly Workforce Indicators (QWI). The crime rate, defined by the number of crimes reported per 100,0000 population is obtained from the 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 Uniform Crime Reporting Program. County-level lagged Republican party dominance data are obtained from David Leip's Atlas of US Presidential Elections.[29] Party dominance is defined as the percentage of votes awarded to the Republican Presidential Nominee minus the percentage of votes awarded to the Democratic Presidential Nominee for the years 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008.[30] For example, in DeKalb County, if the Republican Presidential Nominee was awarded 58% of the votes and if the Democratic Presidential Nominee was awarded 42% of the votes in 2000, then the party dominance in

[28] Acharya et al. 2016 use this time period since it is expected that changes to the suitability between 1860 and 1960 will be uniform shifts across the entire region as a result of climate change.

[29] Lagged party dominance is used so that party dominance will not be correlated with the outcome variable.

[30] Redding (2003) finds that voter turnout is lower when one party is dominant since the outcome appears to be certain argues that party dominance accounts for declines in voter turnout more than race, election laws, or economic class.

DeKalb County in 2000 is 16%. The incarceration rate of blacks is obtained from the 2010 Vera Institute of Justice which reports the number of black individuals in jail per 100,000 county residents. The number of black churches is obtained from the 2010 U.S. Religion Census.[31] The U.S. Religion Census classifies black churches as churches with the largest historically black denominations.[32]. The black church rate is defined as the number of black churches per 100,000 black population in 2010. The number of polling places is obtained from the Secretary of State Offices in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina.[33]

Table 1 presents the Descriptive Statistics. Although Table 1 shows that the voter registration rate of blacks is close to that of whites with rates of 74.32% and 75.71% respectively, this phenomenon is a result of high voter registration rates and voter turnout among blacks in the 2008 and 2012 Presidential Elections.[34] While voter registration rates among blacks (whites) exceeds 100% in some counties, the result remains when these counties are excluded from the sample or when they are top-coded at 100%.[35]

6 Results

6.1 OLS Estimates

Estimates of Equation 1 are reported in Table 2. The dependent variable is the voter registration rate of blacks which is defined as the percentage of black registered voters per black voting-age population. Column (1) reports the results when only state and year fixed-effects are included. Column (2) reports the baseline results which account for state and year fixed effects as well as historical and contemporary controls. The baseline results show that for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, the percentage of black registered voters per black voting-age population decreases by 0.034 percentage points and this result is significant at the 5% level.[36] This suggests that blacks who reside in counties that were exposed to

[31]Tate (2001) finds that voting propensity is higher for blacks who attend church.

[32]The list of blacks churches include the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of God in Christ, the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., the National Missionary Baptist Convention, Inc., and the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.

[33]This data are from 2017.

[34]The 2008 and 2012 Presidential Elections included the first African American Presidential Nominee, Barack Obama.

[35]See Appendix B for results.

[36]It is worth noting that the inclusion of historical controls reduces the sample size.

a relatively higher number of historical lynchings are less likely to register to vote today.

Motivated by the possibility that this relationship may be explained by additional characteristics of counties, I examine four potential mechanisms - Republican party dominance, incarceration rate of blacks, the number of polling places per 100,000 total population in 2010, and the proportion of slaves in 1860. Column (3) of Table 2 includes a 4-year lag of Republican party dominance.[37] Republican party dominance is negatively and significantly associated with voter registration rates of blacks indicating that fewer blacks register to vote in areas where a larger proportion of residents voted for the Republican nominee in the previous Presidential Election. Column (4) includes the incarceration rate of blacks into the baseline specification and shows that the incarceration rate is negatively associated with voter registration rates yet this association is insignificant. Column (5) includes the number of polling places into the baseline specification. The results show that the number of polling places is positively and significantly associated with voter registration rates of blacks indicating that registration rates of blacks are higher in areas with more polling places. Column (6) accounts for the proportion of slaves in 1860. The proportion of slaves is negatively associated with voter registration rates of blacks yet this association is insignificant. With each specification in columns (3)-(6), the main coefficient of interest remains stable and insignificant. The final column of Table 2 presents the preferred specification which includes potential mechanisms, historical and contemporary controls, year and state fixed effects. The results show that for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, the voter registration rate of blacks decreases by 0.029 percentage points and this result is significant at the 5% level. In summary, Table 2 shows that there exists a link between historical lynchings and the contemporary voting behavior of blacks.

Considering that the lynching rate and some of the characteristics of counties do not vary over time, an additional specification converts Equation 1 into a cross-section. The results are presented in Table A.1 in Appendix A. Similar to the estimates obtained in Table 2, the cross-section estimates show a negative and significant relationship between lynching rates and black voter registration rates. Specifically, the results from the preferred specification show for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, voter registration rates of blacks decrease by 0.033 percentage points.

[37] A 4-year lag is included since current measures of Republican party dominance will include current shares of voters.

6.2 Migration Results

Next, I examine whether these results can be explained by geographic migration. For example, during the Great Migration, which lasted from 1916 to 1970, millions of blacks migrated away from southern states to northern and western states in search of better economic and social conditions. If blacks who were more likely to participate in voting were also more likely to migrate away from violent southern counties, blacks with lower voting propensities remained.

Following Acharya et al. (2016), I use the 1940 100% sample obtained from the IPUMS-USA. This sample is unique in that it provides a respondent's current county of residence as well as the county of residence five years prior (Acharya et al. 2016) allowing for individuals who migrated from (to) southern counties to be identified. Once identified, I can test whether migrants' individual attributes differ from individuals who remained in southern counties. In order for geographic sorting to explain the results, patterns of mobility out of (and into) southern counties would need to differ as a function of lynchings.

To examine whether geographic sorting explains the results, I restrict the data to blacks and estimate:

$$\begin{aligned} attributes_i =& \gamma_1 out{-}migration_i + \gamma_2 lynching\ rate_{1935i} \\ &+ \gamma_3 (out{-}migration_i * lynching\ rate_{1935i}) \\ &+ \gamma_4 X^H_{1935c} + \gamma_5 X^C_{1935c} + \delta_{1935s} + \epsilon_{ict}, \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

where $attributes_i$ represents a respondent's wage, age, gender, education level, weeks worked, and rent; $out-migration_i$ represents whether an individual migrated out of a southern county.[38] This regression also includes historical and contemporary controls based on a respondent's 1935 county of residence and his or her 1935 state fixed effects. The main coefficient of interest, γ_3, estimates how differences between out-migrants and those who did not migrate varies as a function of the lynching rate. Table 3 Panel A shows the results from Equation (2) and shows that there is no significant difference between "migrants" from southern counties and "stayers" as a function of the lynching rate for any of the selected attributes.

Table 3 Panel B shows the results for individuals who migrated into southern counties which is obtained by replacing a respondent's 1935 county of residence with his or her 1940 county of residence in Equation (2). The results show that individuals who migrated into southern counties earn 2% less than stayers as the

[38] Southern counties include counties in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

lynching rate increases and in-migrants work more hours than stayers as the lynching rate increases. Taken together, Panels A and B of Table 3 show that migrants' attributes do not differ from stayers for higher lynchings rates. This finding suggests that sorting does not explain the relationship between lynching and the voting behavior of blacks.

6.3 Polling Locations

To examine whether counties that experienced a relatively higher number of lynchings have contemporary barriers that suppress voting, I examine one potential barrier - the paucity of polling places in black areas. That is, I estimate the extent to which counties with more historical lynchings have fewer polling places in areas where blacks live. If the number of polling places varies as a function of lynching rates and the proportion of blacks in an area, then my results may be a result of this phenomenon. However, if no relationship exists, then this exercise will strengthen the claim that historical lynchings have had a long-run impact on the voting behavior of blacks.

To examine this relationship, I obtain the GIS boundary census-tract map along with census-tract population data from the 2010 Census. Polling place information comes from the Secretary of State Offices in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina and includes the name of the polling place, address, and county and state identifiers. Using an address locator from ArcGIS, each polling place address is geocoded into its equivalent latitude and longitude coordinate. As shown in Figure 7, these pair of coordinates are overlaid onto the 2010 United States census-tract boundary map. Figure 8 shows an enlarged mapping of geocoded addresses in Louisiana and shows that the number of polling places varies across census-tracts. Using this mapping, I tally the number of polling places that lie within the GIS census-tract and merge this data set with the 2010 population data and the lynching data to be used in Equation 3.[39]

To examine whether the number of polling places varies as a function of the proportion of blacks and

[39]To merge the geocoded address (point) layer with the NHGIS census-tract boundary layer, I use the intersect tool in ArcGIS. The intersect tool takes two layers as input and returns the features that belong to both layers as output. Census-tract boundaries that do not contain any points from the point layer are assumed to have no polling places. The merged point and boundary layer file is aggregated to the census-tract level which yields the total number of polling places in each census tract.

the lynching rate, I consider:

$$\begin{aligned} polling_t = &\kappa_0 + \kappa_1 share\ black_t + \kappa_2 lynching\ rate_c + \\ &\kappa_3(share\ black_t * lynching\ rate_c) + \epsilon_t \end{aligned} \tag{3}$$

where $polling_t$ is the number of polling places which varies across census tracts, $share\ black_t$ is the proportion of blacks which varies across census tracts, and $lynching\ rate_c$ is the number of lynchings between 1882 and 1930 per black population in 1900 which varies across counties. The coefficient of interest, κ_3, measures the relationship between lynchings and the number of polling places as a function of the proportion of blacks. Table 4 shows two important facts. First, the number of polling places decreases as the share of blacks increases indicating that there are fewer polling places in areas where more blacks reside. Second, there is no significant difference in the number of polling places as the share of blacks and lynching rate vary. Figure 9 shows this relationship for counties with high and low lynching rates.[40] The result from this exercise rules out the possibility that counties with more historical lynchings have fewer polling places in areas where blacks live.

6.4 IV Estimates

Since the negative relationship between lynchings and the voting behavior of blacks may be the result of measurement error or omitted variables, the next strategy employs instrumental variables. This requires an instrument that is correlated with the number of lynchings in a county between 1882 and 1930 but that is uncorrelated with any unobservables in a county that may affect contemporary voting behavior. I use measures of the environmental suitability for growing cotton between 1961 and 1990 as instruments for lynching rates. This instrument captures a county's exposure to lynchings since counties that were more dependent on slave labor were also counties that experienced more lynchings following the American Civil War (Acharya et al. 2016). Given that in 1840, cotton harvested by slaves generated more revenue than all other US exports combined (The United States National Park Service Southeast Regional Office 2011), it is plausible that lynchings and cotton suitability are positively correlated. Yet historical measures of cotton suitability are plausibly uncorrelated with other factors that affect contemporary voting behavior.

[40]The high lynching rate indicates the 75th percentile lynching rate and the low lynching rate indicates the 25th percentile lynching rate.

Table 5 reports the IV estimates. Column (1) depicts the estimates when only state and year fixed effects are included. Although this estimate shows a negative relationship between lynching rates and voter registration rates of blacks, this column is undesirable since it does not include characteristics of counties. Column (2) presents the baseline estimates and columns (3)-(6) shows the estimates obtained from including each potential mechanism. As seen in the OLS analysis, columns (3)-(6) show that the estimates are not sensitive to the inclusion of these potential mechanisms. Column (7) shows the preferred specification which includes historical and contemporary controls, year and state fixed effects, as well as potential mechanisms. The first stage estimates are reported in Panel A which show a positive relationship between lynching rates and cotton suitability rates which is significant at the 1% level. The F-statistic of the excluded instrument is 16.46 indicating a strong first stage. The second stage estimates are reported in Panel B. The second-stage estimates report a negative and significant affect of lynchings on voting behavior of blacks. Specifically, the estimates indicate that for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, voter registration rates of blacks decrease by 0.15 percentage points. This result is significant at the 5% level. In summary, this result is consistent with the OLS estimates indicating that historical lynchings negatively affect voter registration rates of blacks. Additionally, the IV estimates are larger in magnitude compared to the OLS estimates.[41]

Considering that the lynching rate and some of the characteristics of counties do not vary over time, I include a cross-section instrumental variables analysis. The results are presented in Table A.2 in Appendix A. Similar to the estimates obtained in Table 5, the cross-section estimates show a negative and significant relationship between lynching rates and black voter registration rates. Specifically, the results obtained from the preferred specification show that for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, voter registration rates of blacks decrease by 0.21 percentage points.

6.5 Falsification Exercises

Although the previous finding supports the hypothesis that cultural voting norms persisted in areas that experienced historical lynchings, this finding is consistent with other interpretations. For example, I would observe the same relationship if counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of historical

[41]The Hausman test shows that the IV coefficient on the lynching rate is different that the OLS coefficient at the 1% significance level.

lynchings are more likely to have negative attitudes toward blacks that affect a variety of outcomes of blacks. To better understand whether historical lynchings has a causal impact on the voting behavior of blacks, I perform a number of falsification exercises that use the same instrumental variables strategy as seen in the previous section.

First, I examine whether lynchings are associated with additional outcomes of blacks, namely earnings and education. If there exists a relationship between lynchings and additional outcomes of blacks, then this would suggest that the negative relationship between lynching and contemporary voting of blacks may be the result of discrimination rather than past lynchings. Table 6 presents the IV estimates when earnings is the outcome variable. Panel A of Table 6 shows a positive first stage relationship between lynchings and cotton suitability. However, while Panel B shows a negative relationship between lynchings and earnings of blacks, this relationship is statistically insignificant and the coefficients are close to zero. Table 7 shows the IV estimates when the percent of blacks with at least some college experience is the outcome variable. The estimates show that there does not exist a significant relationship between lynchings and education. In summary, Table 6 and Table 7 show that there does not exist a significant relationship between lynchings and additional outcomes of blacks, which further suggests that the link between lynchings and the voting behavior of blacks is causal.

Second, I consider whether there exists a relationship between lynchings and the contemporary voting behavior of whites. Considering that blacks were disproportionately lynched compared to whites following the American Civil War (Price et al. 2008), there should not exist a significant relationship between lynchings and the voting behavior of whites. Table 8 shows the IV estimates. As seen in Table 5, Panel A of Table 8 shows a positive first stage relationship between lynchings and cotton suitability. However, Panel B shows that the impact of lynchings on voter registration of whites is close to zero and insignificant.

The final falsification exercise randomly distributes lynching rates across counties. It is worth noting that the outcome and control variables are not randomly distributed. Since, I hypothesize that lynchings negatively affect voter registration of blacks, there should not exist a significant relationship in this exercise. Table 9 reports the average IV estimates from this exercise repeated 500 times with two noteworthy points. First, the relationship between cotton suitability and lynchings is insignificant. Second, the F-statistic from the first stage is close to zero. While these falsification exercises does not rule out the possibility that other factors contributed to the relationship between lynchings and the voting behavior of blacks, Tables 6,7,8 and

9 demonstrate that this relationship does not exist for additional outcomes of blacks, the voting behavior of whites or when lynching rates are randomly distributed.

7 Heterogeneity

The analysis thus far has established that historical lynchings adversely affect the voting behavior of blacks. This section examines whether this relationship can be mitigated. For example, Tate (1991) found that blacks who had more education, higher incomes, and were more engaged in social activities that create strong social bonds between blacks (i.e. church attendance) were more likely to participate in voting.

I investigate whether the relationship between historical lynchings and the voting behavior of blacks varies as a function of education, earnings, and the black church rate. Table 10 presents the results. Column (1) reports the estimates when the lynching rate is interacted with the proportion of blacks with some college experience. The results show that the relationship between lynchings and voter registration increases with higher levels of education among blacks indicating that higher proportions of blacks with some college experience mitigates the relationship between lynchings and voting of blacks. Column (2) and column (3) presents the results when earnings and the black church rate are interacted with the lynching rate respectively. However, both variables do not change the relationship between lynchings and voter registration. In conclusion, Table 10 shows that the relationship between lynchings and black voter registration rates is mitigated by higher levels of education of blacks.

8 Individual-Level Results

The last exercise of this paper uses individual-level data to examine whether cultural voting norms linked to lynchings exist for other minorities when compared to whites. I use individual-level voting data from the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement to examine differences in voting as a function of lynching rates. Participants in the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement are surveyed two weeks following a November Midterm or Presidential Election and indicate whether or not they voted in the most recent election. Additionally, participants provide their race, income, education, sex, martial status, county, and state of residence. I use Midterm and Presidential Elections from 2000 to 2014 which results in eight waves of CPS

data. Individuals are assigned historical lynching rates along with contemporary county-level controls based on their county and state of residence.[42] As seen above, lynching rates are instrumented with measures of cotton suitability.

The IV estimates are reported in Table 11. Column (1) shows voting differences between blacks and whites as a function of lynching rates. The first stage shows a positive and significant relationship between lynchings and cotton suitability. The second stage shows that for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, blacks are 0.1 percentage points less likely to vote compared to whites who live in the same county. This result is significant at the 5% level. Column (2) shows voting differences for other minority groups and whites. Minority groups include Native Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and foreign-born blacks. The second stage estimates show that minorities who live in counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of lynchings do not have voting behavior that is significantly different from that of whites who live in the same county. Taken together columns (1) and (2) of Table 11 show that while lynchings negatively impact voting differences between blacks and whites, this relationship does not exists for minorities in general and whites. This suggests that lynchings, aimed at preventing blacks from voting in the past, successfully deterred the target group from voting in the future.

9 Summary and Conclusion

Economists have shown that historic events can have long-run impacts by permanently changing culture or norms of behavior. This paper contributes to the literature in economics by understanding the extent to which a violent event, aimed at preventing blacks from voting, can deter the target group from voting in the future. The results show that counties that were exposed to a relatively higher number of lynchings have lower voter registration rates of blacks today. Specifically for one additional lynching per 100,000 black population in 1900, voter registration rates of blacks today decrease by 0.15 percentage points. Additional analyses suggest that this effect is unlikely to be driven by Republican party dominance, incarceration rates of blacks, institutions that remained after slavery, geographic sorting, or contemporary barriers to voting. Examining individual-level variation in voting shows that blacks who reside in counties with a relatively higher number of lynchings are less likely to turnout to vote compared to their white counterparts. However,

[42]The analysis does not use historical county-level data due to the decrease in sample size.

this relationship does not exist between other minority groups, which were not heavily targeted with lynchings, and whites.

In addition to understanding the determinants of voting, this research has important policy implications. In 2013, a key provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was overturned. This provision required areas with a history of racial discrimination in voting to receive pre-clearance from a federal court to change election laws. Given that this paper documents the persistence of cultural voting norms linked to historical lynchings, these findings can be used to inform policies and laws that protect the voting rights of minorities such as the Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2015 which seeks to reinstate the key provision of the 1965 Act as well as expand election law violations. Additionally, this paper documents that blacks who reside in counties with a relatively higher number of lynchings are underrepresented in voting which suggests that their interests are also underrepresented in American policies. Increasing voter participation among blacks may lead to more policies that address income, occupation, and health disparities between blacks and whites.

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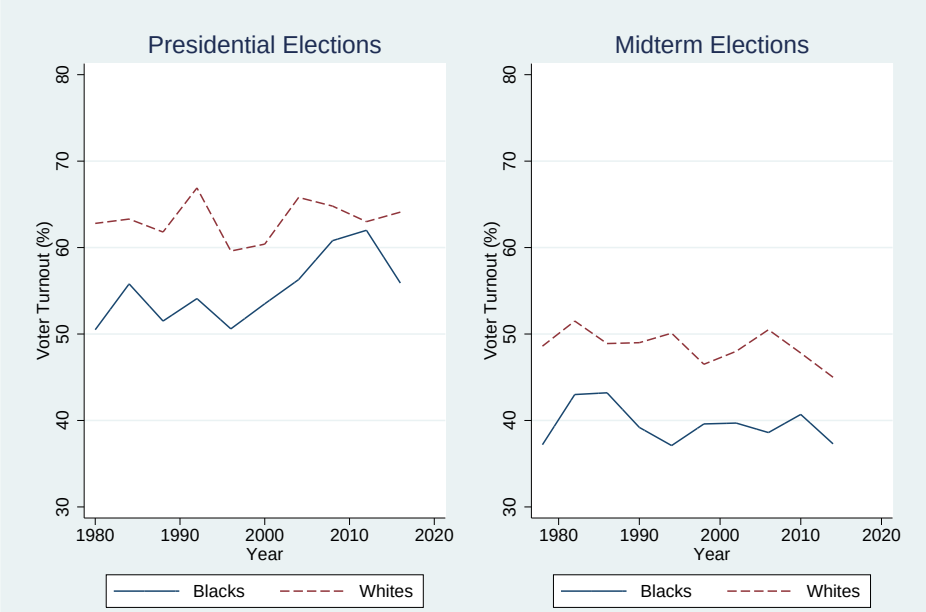
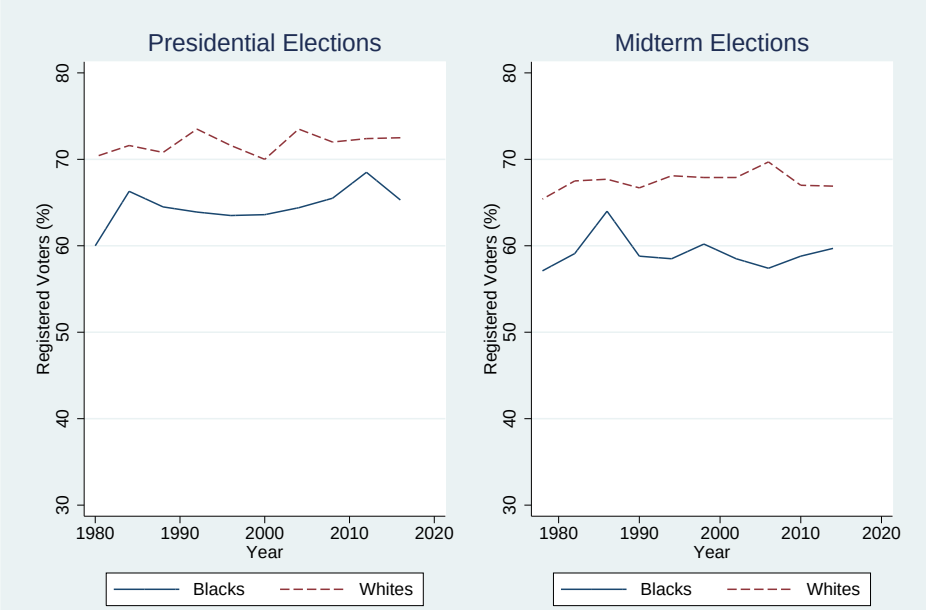
Figure 1: Voter Turnout by Race



Data Source: CPS Voting and Registration Supplement

Figure 2: Registered Voters by Race



Data Source: CPS Voting and Registration Supplement

Figure 3: Voting Measures for Blacks by Area

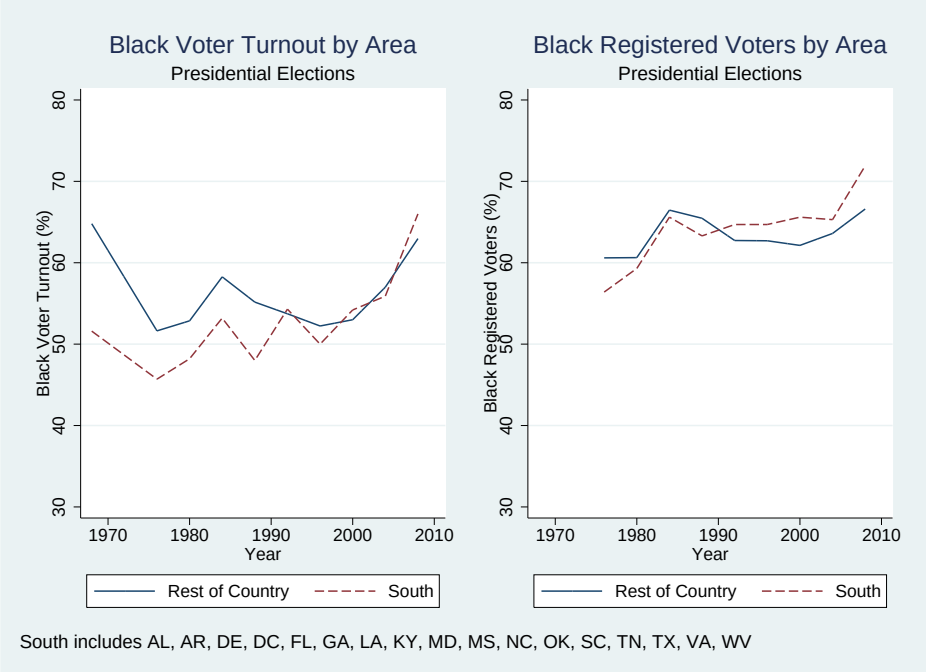


Figure 4: Contemporary Voting Measures for Blacks by Lynching Rate in Southern Counties

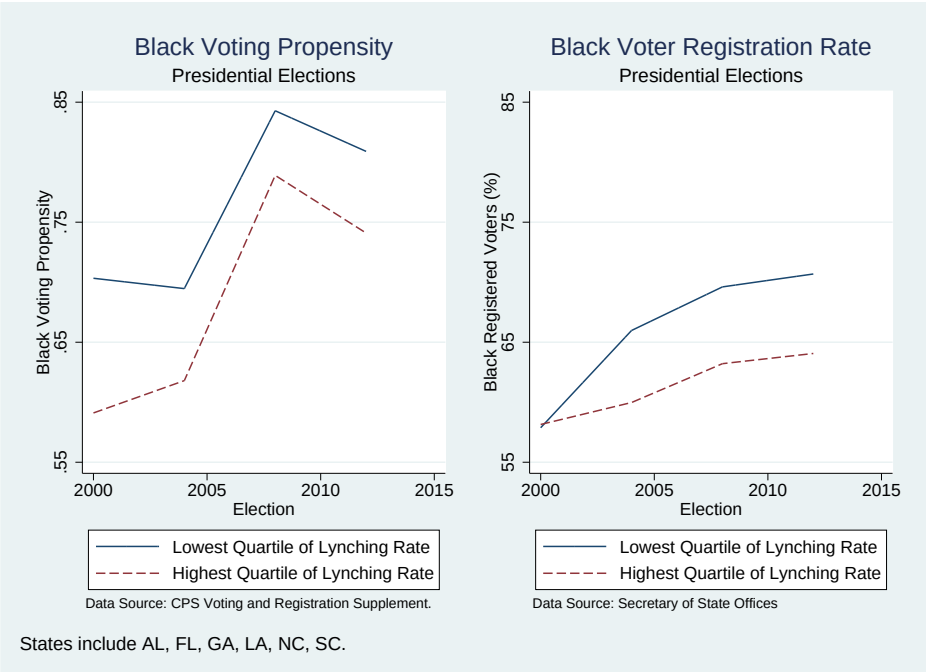
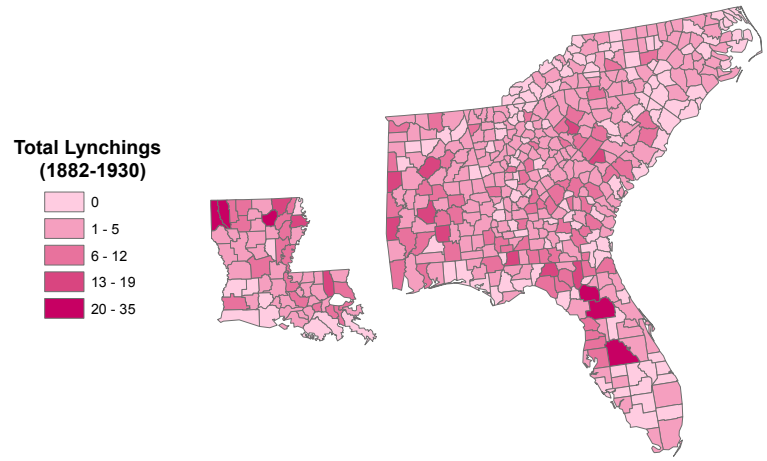
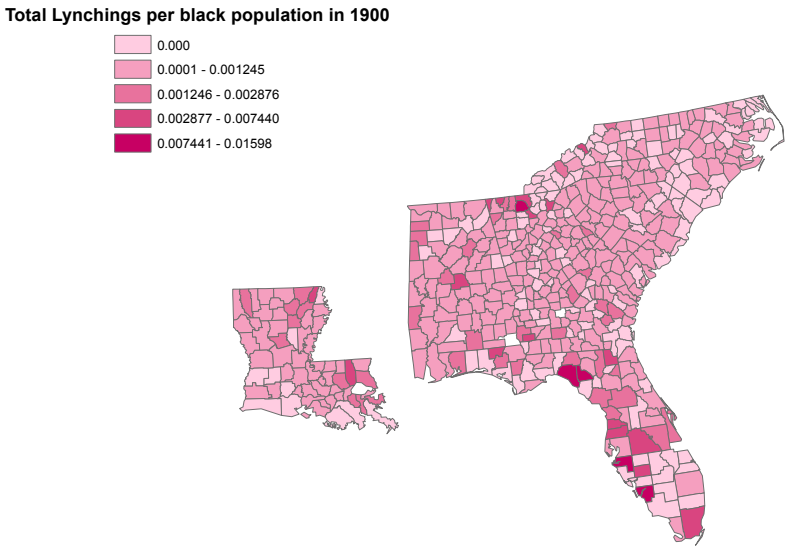


Figure 5: Map of Lynchings



(a) Total Lynchings



(b) Total Lynchings per Black Pop. in 1900

Figure 6: Lynching Message

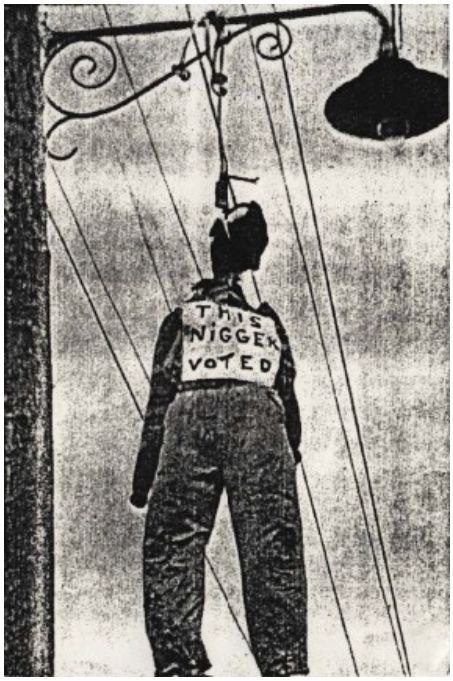


Figure 7: Polling Place Locations Geocoded

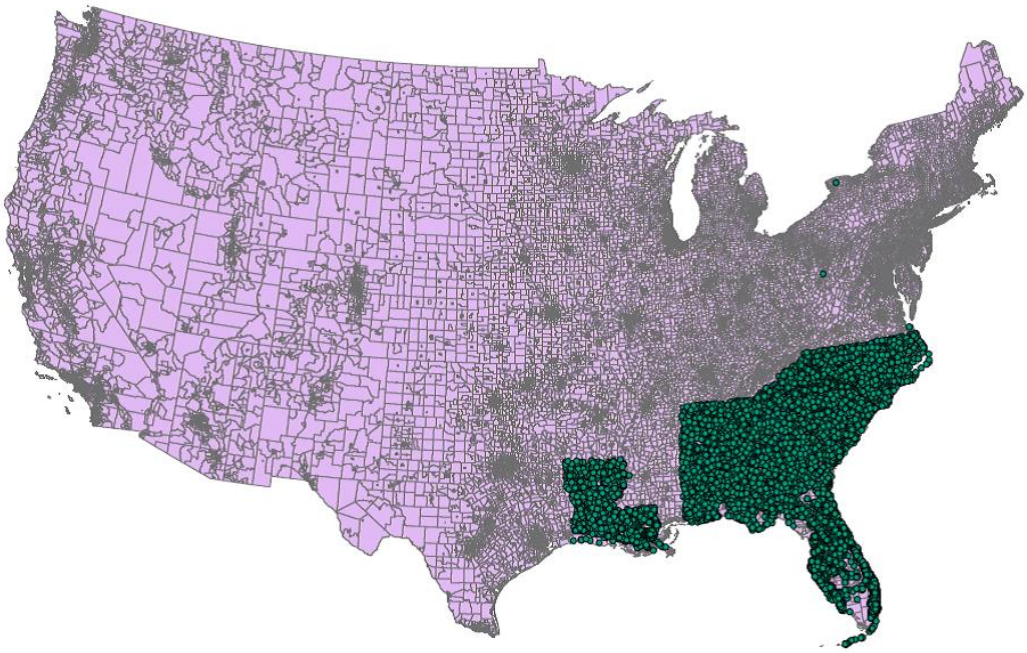


Figure 8: Polling Place Locations Geocoded (Enlarged Louisiana Sample)

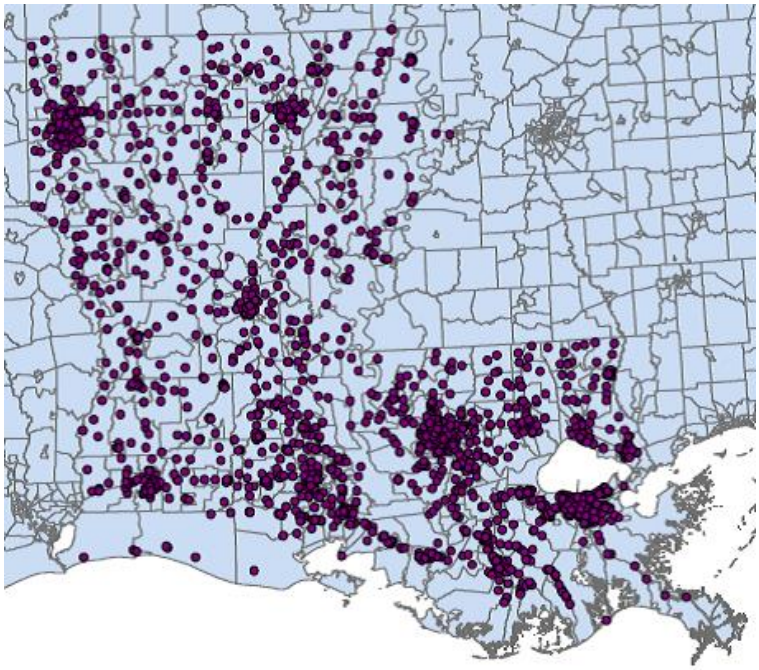


Figure 9: Number of Polling Places

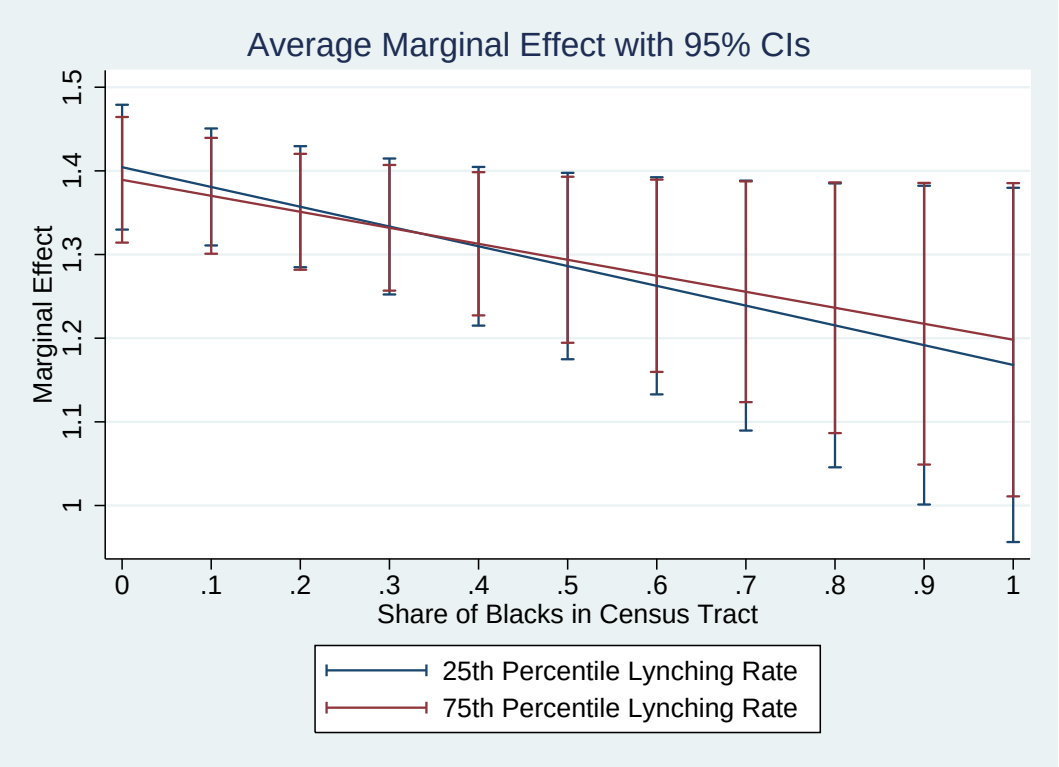


Table 1
Descriptive Statistics

Panel A: Outcome Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max	N
Black registered voter rate	74.329	18.659	17.222	324.740	1,018
White registered voter rate	75.715	12.285	17.444	138.993	1,048
Panel B: Historical Controls					
Lynchings	3.783	4.081	0	23	1,018
Lynching rate	44.854	53.881	0	334.821	1,018
Black population in 1900	11,608.300	9,354.212	432	60,312	1,018
Average newspapers rate	1.288	4.525	0	48.543	1,018
County formation	1780.546	50.402	1664	1836	1,018
Proportion of black illiterate men in 1910	0.433	0.099	0.150	0.723	1,018
Proportion of white men illiterate in 1910	0.307	0.252	0.009	0.991	1,048
Proportion of Scots-Irish in 1870	0.003	0.007	0.000	0.060	1,018
Proportion of Slaves in 1860	0.455	0.192	0.049	0.908	1,018
Panel C: Contemporary Controls					
Proportion of individuals married	0.578	0.055	0.419	0.718	1,018
Proportion of blacks	0.292	0.169	0.006	0.846	1,018
Proportion of whites	0.715	0.173	0.153	0.996	1,048
Proportion of blacks w/ some college	0.274	0.106	0.101	0.696	1,018
Proportion of whites w/ some college	0.429	0.105	0.246	0.770	1,048
Median age of blacks	31.396	3.086	22.5	41.5	1,018
Median age of whites	38.827	3.422	26.2	48.4	1,048
Monthly earnings of blacks	2,058.392	399.201	1,151	5,025	1,018
Monthly earnings of whites	3,008.019	645.134	1,692	6,037	1,048
Crime rate	4,039.310	2,071.892	0	10,591.660	1,018

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics (continued)

Panel C: Contemporary Controls (continued)	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max	N
Unemployment rate	7.399	2.722	2.400	21.400	1,018
Polling place rate	51.935	34.068	7.976	257.069	1,018
Republican party dominance (4-year lag)	9.911	25.030	-77	72	1,018
Black church rate in 2010	105.573	79.187	0	455.927	1,018
Cotton suitability (1961-1990)	0.479	0.104	0.034	0.763	1,004
Cotton suitability rate	7.366	7.034	0.422	50.022	1,004

Data Sources: Registered voters data and polling location data come from the Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina Secretary of State Offices. The lynching data come from the Historical American Lynching Project. The National Historical Geographic Information System contains the black population in 1900, the total population in 1840, the average number of newspapers in 1840, the share of black (whites) illiterate men in 1910, and the share of individuals of Scots-Irish descent in 1870. Grosjean (2014) provides the year of county formation. Contemporary measures of population are obtained from the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results Program. The 2000 Census provides the share of blacks (whites) with at least some college experience, the median age of blacks (whites), and the share married. The monthly earnings of blacks (whites) are obtained from the 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 Census Quarterly Workforce Indicators. The crime rate in 2000 is obtained from the Uniform Crime Reporting Data via the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. The unemployment rate in 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 is obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Republican party dominance is obtained from David Leip's Atlas in 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008. The number of streets named after prominent Confederate Generals are obtained from the 2015 Census Tiger/Line Shapefiles. The black church rate is obtained from the 2010 Religion Census and measures of cotton suitability from 1961-1990 are obtained from Acharya et al. (2016). The black (white) registered voter rate is the percentage of black registered voter per black (white) voting age population. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings per 100,000 black population in 1900. The cotton suitability rate is the measure of cotton suitability per 100,000 black population in 1900. The average newspaper rate is the average number of newspapers per 100,000 total population in 1840. The polling location rate is the number of polling locations per 100,000 total population in 2010.

Table 2
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - OLS Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	-0.017***	-0.032**	-0.028*	-0.032**	-0.034**	-0.031**	-0.031**
	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Republican party dominance (4-year lag)			-0.176***				-0.147***
			(0.044)				(0.041)
Incarceration rate of blacks				-0.000			-0.000
				(0.000)			(0.000)
Polling place per 100k population					0.116***		0.112***
					(0.028)		(0.028)
Proportion of Slaves in 1860						-4.559	-5.809
						(15.518)	(13.761)
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	1,912	1,018	1,018	1,014	1,018	1,018	1,014
R-Squared	0.414	0.480	0.492	0.480	0.502	0.480	0.512

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 3
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Differences in Attributes between Migrants and Stayers

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
			Dependent Variable:			
Panel A: Out-Migrants vs. Stayers	Log(wage)	Age	Female	Some-College	Full-time	Rent
Lynching rate*Out-Migrant status	0.001	-0.004	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.027
	(0.000)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.029)
Republican Party Dominance	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incarceration Rate	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Proportion of Slaves in 1860	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	77,360	197,677	197,677	164,975	197,677	152,385
R-Squared	0.016	0.006	0.001	0.013	0.006	0.002
Panel B: In-Migrants vs. Stayers						
Lynching rate*In-Migrant status	-0.002***	-0.003	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000**	-0.057
	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.036)
Republican Party Dominance	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incarceration Rate	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Proportion of Slaves in 1860	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	707,376	2,535,619	2,535,619	1,873,079	2,535,619	1,816,433
R-Squared	0.059	0.008	0.001	0.003	0.006	0.003

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. Data on the dependent variable come from the 1940 IPUMS-USA.

Table 4

The Impact of Lynchings Rates on the Number of Polling Locations

Dependent Variable: Number of Polling Locations	(1)
Proportion of blacks in census tract	-0.189**
	(0.086)
Lynching rate	-0.000
	(0.000)
Proportion of blacks in census tract $\times$ Lynching rate	0.000
	(0.001)
Constant	1.987***
	(0.142)
State Fixed Effects	Yes
Number of observations	11,712
R-Squared	0.060

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, number of polling locations, come from the Secretary of State Offices in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC. The proportion black comes from the 2010 Census.

Table 5
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	0.015	2.293***	2.300***	2.296***	2.289***	2.287***	2.274***
	(0.025)	(0.563)	(0.562)	(0.559)	(0.561)	(0.569)	(0.560)
First stage F-statistic	0.37	16.58	16.76	16.88	16.66	16.16	16.46
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	-0.480	-0.157**	-0.158**	-0.157**	-0.157**	-0.124**	-0.187**
	(0.703)	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.070)	(0.082)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 6
The Impact of Lynching Rates on the Natural Log of Black Earnings - IV Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	0.015	2.324***	2.327***	2.328***	2.309***	2.316***	2.292***
	(0.025)	(0.562)	(0.560)	(0.560)	(0.560)	(0.568)	(0.561)
First stage F-statistic	0.37	17.07	17.23	17.29	17.00	16.60	16.71
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: ln(Black Earnings)						
Lynching rate	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable is ln(Black Earnings). See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 7
The Impact of Lynching Rates on the Percent of Blacks with Some College Experience - IV Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	0.176	2.209***	2.223***	2.209***	2.192***	2.202***	2.183***
	(0.221)	(0.581)	(0.578)	(0.577)	(0.579)	(0.586)	(0.577)
First stage F-statistic	0.37	14.46	14.78	14.62	14.33	14.12	14.29
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: The Percent of Blacks with Some College Experience						
Lynching rate	0.010	0.053	0.051	0.053	0.061	0.053	0.061
	(0.023)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.044)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,578	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable is percent of blacks with at least some college experience. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 8
The Impact of Lynching Rates on White Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	0.016	5.802***	5.800***	5.802***	5.810***	5.805***	5.808***
	(0.026)	(1.744)	(1.748)	(1.744)	(1.744)	(1.748)	(1.754)
First stage F-statistic	0.37	11.06	11.00	11.06	11.10	11.03	10.97
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: White Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.010	0.009	0.011	0.009
	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	0.007
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of whites	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,031	1,031	1,027	1,031	1,031	1,027

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, white registered voters rate, is the percentage of white registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per white voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 9
The Impact of Randomly Assigned Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates 500 repetitions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	-0.000	0.075	0.075	0.074	0.078	0.074	0.076
	(0.004)	(0.817)	(0.817)	(0.816)	(0.818)	(0.817)	(0.819)
First stage F-statistic	7.499	1.093	1.093	1.092	1.107	1.096	1.113
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	0.751	1.701	1.702	1.979	0.278	0.079	-0.122
	(275.099)	(2350.332)	(2350.332)	(6642.038)	(197.618)	(59.181)	(127.259)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 10
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - Heterogeneity Analysis

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate		
Lynching rate	-0.105**	-0.003	-0.034
	(0.041)	(0.054)	(0.028)
Proportion of blacks w/ at least some college experience	8.078	18.883***	18.694***
	(8.313)	(6.708)	(6.706)
Lynching rate*Proportion of blacks w/ at least some college experience	0.295**		
	(0.137)		
Monthly earnings of blacks	0.005***	0.006**	0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Lynching rate*Monthly earnings of blacks		-0.000	
		(0.000)	
Black church rate in 2010	0.010	0.012	0.010
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Lynching rate*Black church rate in 2010			0.000
			(0.000)
Republican party dominance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	Yes	Yes	Yes
Share of slaves in 1860	Yes	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	1,014	1,014	1,014
R-Squared	0.515	0.512	0.512

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table 11
The Impact of Lynching Rates on
Voting Propensity - IV Estimates (CPS Data)

	(1)	(2)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Race*Lynching rate	
	Black	All Minorities (Except Blacks)
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.55	0.53
Race*Cotton suitability rate	1.891***	1.489***
	(0.681)	(0.557)
First stage F-statistic	7.72	7.16
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Voting Indicator	
Race*Lynching rate	-0.001**	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.001)
Race	0.177***	-0.036
	(0.025)	(0.054)
Republican party dominance	Yes	Yes
Incarceration rate	Yes	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	Yes	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	Yes	Yes
Individual-Level Controls	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Number of Observations	14,099	11,154
% Race	25.05	5.26
% White	74.95	94.74

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable is a voting indicator for whether or not an individual voted in an election. The dependent variable and individual controls come from CPS. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Appendices

A Cross-Section Results

Table A.1
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - OLS Estimates (Cross-Section)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	-0.017***	-0.032**	-0.029*	-0.033**	-0.033**	-0.032**	-0.033**
	(0.006)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Republican party dominance (4-year lag)			-0.140**				-0.090
			(0.069)				(0.066)
Incarceration rate of blacks				-0.000			-0.000
				(0.000)			(0.000)
Polling place per 100k population					0.115***		0.113***
					(0.031)		(0.032)
Proportion of Slaves in 1860						-2.121	-5.290
						(15.296)	(13.035)
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	503	271	271	270	271	271	270
R-Squared	0.476	0.595	0.601	0.596	0.623	0.595	0.628

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters averaged across the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table A.2
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates (Cross-Section)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	0.015	2.058***	2.088***	2.058***	2.068***	2.053***	2.068***
	(0.026)	(0.573)	(0.570)	(0.567)	(0.571)	(0.576)	(0.569)
First stage F-statistic	0.36	12.89	13.40	13.18	13.09	12.67	13.21
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	-0.488	-0.176**	-0.179**	-0.175**	-0.207**	-0.176**	-0.207**
	(0.712)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.095)	(0.082)	(0.096)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	432	267	267	266	267	267	266

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters averaged across the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

B Robustness Checks

Table B.1
The Impact of Black Lynching Rates (using 1900 Black Population) on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate						
Cotton suitability rate	0.008	1.910***	1.918***	1.914***	1.902***	1.905***	1.884***
	(0.019)	(0.574)	(0.580)	(0.571)	(0.572)	(0.580)	(0.579)
First stage F-statistic	0.21	11.07	10.93	11.03	11.82	10.76	10.56
	Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate						
Lynching rate	-0.860	-0.188**	-0.189**	-0.187**	-0.226**	-0.188**	-0.225**
	(1.715)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.085)	(0.076)	(0.086)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table B.2
The Impact of Black Lynching Rates (using 1910 Black Population) on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate				
Cotton suitability rate	-0.004	2.140***	2.141***	2.145***	2.130***	2.141***	2.155***
	(0.004)	(0.775)	(0.775)	(0.775)	(0.709)	(0.787)	(0.801)
First stage F-statistic	1.02	7.62	7.63	7.66	7.27	7.40	6.97
			Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate				
Lynching rate	1.725	-0.168**	-0.170**	-0.167**	-0.201**	-0.167**	-0.200**
	(1.963)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.078)	(0.066)	(0.078)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the number of black lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1910. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table B.3
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates
Black Voter Registration Rate Top-Coded to 100

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate				
Cotton suitability rate	0.015	2.293***	2.300***	2.296***	2.289***	2.286***	2.274***
	(0.025)	(0.563)	(0.561)	(0.558)	(0.560)	(0.568)	(0.560)
First stage F-statistic	0.37	16.58	16.76	16.88	16.66	16.16	16.46
			Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate				
Lynching rate	-0.475	-0.157**	-0.158**	-0.157**	-0.187**	-0.157**	-0.186**
	(0.691)	(0.068)	(0.069)	(0.068)	(0.079)	(0.069)	(0.079)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,637	1,004	1,004	1,000	1,004	1,0004	1,000

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.

Table B.4
The Impact of Lynching Rates on Black Voter Registration Rates - IV Estimates
Includes Counties with Black Voter Registration Rate < 100

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			Panel A: First Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Lynching rate				
Cotton suitability rate	0.015	2.318***	2.322***	2.314***	2.273***	2.312***	2.235***
	(0.025)	(0.575)	(0.573)	(0.569)	(0.575)	(0.581)	(0.573)
First stage F-statistic	0.34	16.25	16.41	16.51	15.63	15.79	15.18
			Panel B: Second Stage Estimates Dependent Variable: Black Voter Registration Rate				
Lynching rate	-0.468	-0.159**	-0.159**	-0.157**	-0.198**	-0.159**	-0.198**
	(0.713)	(0.069)	(0.070)	(0.069)	(0.085)	(0.069)	(0.087)
Republican party dominance	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Incarceration rate of blacks	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Polling place per 100k population	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Proportion of slaves in 1860	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Historical Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contemporary Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	1,570	960	960	956	960	960	956

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the county level. *p<0.10,**p<0.05,*** p<0.01. The lynching rate is the total number of lynchings in a county between 1882-1930 per 100,000 black population in 1900. The dependent variable, black registered voters rate, is the percentage of black registered voters in the 2000, 2004, 2008 or the 2012 Presidential Election per black voting age population. See Table 1 for a complete list of data sources.