

# Racial Diversity and Racial Policy Preferences:

## The Great Migration and Civil Rights

Calderon, Fouka, and Tabellini (2022)

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# Abstract

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- Research Question: Is the Great Migration is causally linked with support for civil rights?
  - Between 1940 and 1970, more than 4 million African Americans moved from the South to the North of the US.
  - At the same period witnessed the struggle and eventual success of the civil rights movements.
- The (Second) Great Migration: Shift-share IV of Black inflows
  - raised support for the Democratic Party
  - increased Congress members' propensity to promote civil rights legislation
  - encouraged pro-civil rights activism outside the US South

Introduction

Historical Background

Data

Empirical Strategy

Main Results

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Conclusions

# Section 1

## Introduction

# Literature

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- The effect of the inflow of Black voters is puzzling.
  - may have shifted northern politicians incentives to introduce civil rights legislation.
    - ▶ African Americans were largely disenfranchised in the South but faced no voting restrictions in the North
    - ▶ Black population might have also expanded the organizational capacity of the Black civil rights movement (McAdam, 1982)
  - may have generated political opposition among northern whites
    - ▶ racial diversity often triggers backlash among members of the majority group (Alesina, Baqir and Easterly, 1999; Enos, 2016; Dustmann, Vasiljeva and Damm, 2019).
- in Economic Literature:
  - the Great Migration increased residential segregation (Boustan, 2010)
  - lowered the economic and social mobility of African Americans in the long run (Derenoncourt, 2022).

- This article shows a causal relationship between the Black inflow to northern counties (the Great Migration between 1940-1970) and support for civil rights.
  - Potentially endogenous migration: Blacks may have migrated to the counties that shows more support for civil rights.
  - Shift-share instrument (Card, 2001; Boustan, 2010): the expected number of the Black inflow conditional on the preexisting settlements before 1940.

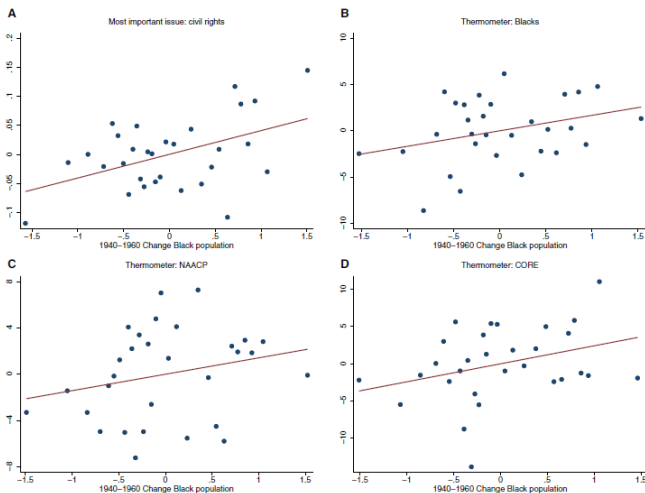


FIGURE 1  
Great migration and Northern Whites' attitudes

*Notes:* Each panel plots the relationship between the 1940 and 1960 change in the Black population across non-southern US states and racial attitudes of white ANES respondents in 1964. The underlying OLS regressions partial out Census divisions dummies, the 1940-60 change in state population, individual characteristics of survey respondents, and 1940 state-level socio-economic controls. Individual controls include: age, gender, educational attainment, and marital status. State-level controls include: Black population share, Democratic incumbency, share in manufacturing, share of workers in the CIO, and urban share. *Source:* [ANES Cumulative File \(2015\)](#).

# Summary of Results

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# Mechanisms

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# Contribution

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## Section 2

# Historical Background

## Section 3

# Data

## Section 4

# Empirical Strategy

## Section 5

# Main Results

## Section 6

# Mechanisms

## Section 7

# Conclusions