

Racial Diversity and Racial Policy Preferences:

The Great Migration and Civil Rights

Calderon, Fouka, and Tabellini (2022)

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Abstract

- 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

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Section 1

Introduction

Literature

- 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).

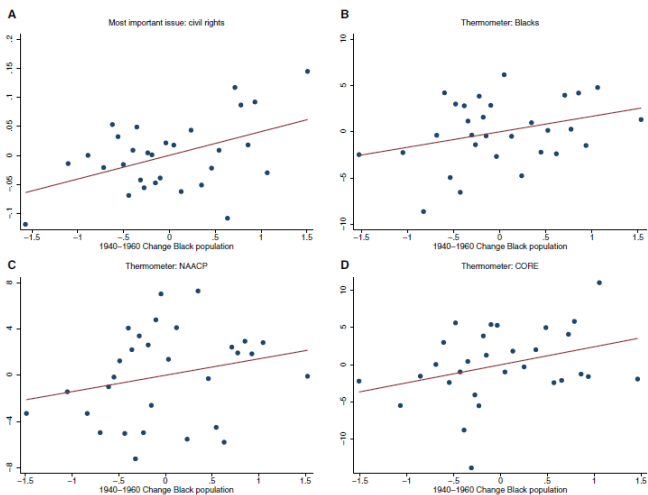


FIGURE 1
Great migration and Northern Whites' attitudes

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 \(2015\)](#).

Research Design

- 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.
- Using the

Summary of Results

- Black in-migration had a strong, positive impact on the Democratic vote share in Congressional elections.
 - 1 ppt increase in the Black population share raised the Democratic vote share by 1.8 percentage points (4% relative to the 1940 mean).
 - did not lead to white out-migration or to changes in the composition of white residents at the county level.
- Congressional Districts that received more African Americans were represented by legislators with a more liberal ideology on racial issues.

Mechanisms

- the direct effect of Black voters alone is not enough to explain the increase in the Democratic vote share caused by the Great Migration.
 1. the changed composition of the electorate (Schickler, 2016; Grant, 2020).
 2. local activism (McAdam, 1982; Biondi, 2021).
- Their dataset shows that approximately 7 white voters would have to switch to the Democratic Party for every 10 Black migrants.

Contribution

Section 2

Historical Background

Section 3

Data

Section 4

Empirical Strategy

Section 5

Main Results

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