

Racial Diversity and Racial Policy Preferences:

The Great Migration and Civil Rights

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July 12th, 2022

Ohtake-Sasaki Seminar

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 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
- 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

Mechanisms

Conclusions

Section 1

Introduction

- 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).

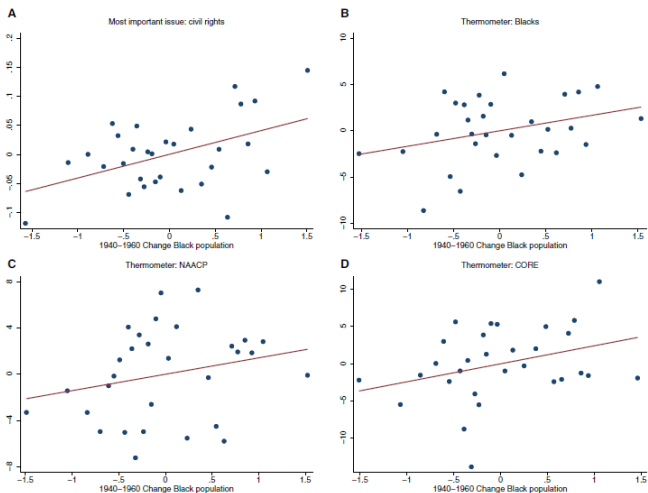


FIGURE 1
Great migration and Northern Whites' attitudes

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 a unique dataset that contains vote share, local support for civil rights, and whites' attitudes in 1,263 non-southern counties (285 Congressional Districts.)

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.
- These findings are characteristic of the temporal context of their study, but the developments that period (1940-1970) have persisted until today.

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.
 - Historical survey data show that the white in districts that received more Black inflows held more favourable views on race relations.
 - Not only Black, but also white individuals joined pro-civil rights protests

1. Whites had awared of conditions faced by Black people in the South.
 - "To get publicity is of the highest strategic importance to [Black people]" (Myrdal, 1944).
 - between 1940 and 1964, northern local newspapers were more likely to report the lynching in counties in the US south if they had received more African Americans.
2. A cross-race alliance between Black voters and progressive segments of the Democratic coalition (Adams, 1966; Schickler, 2016; Frymer and Grumbach, 2020).
 - CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) demonstrations were more frequent where, at baseline: the share of whites employed in manufacturing was higher.
 - the presence of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was stronger.
 - Elections were more competitive.
 - Pro-civil rights protests were concentrated in counties with a history of lower racial discrimination: presence of miscegenation laws

Contribution

- literature in economics and political science: the specific role of the Great Migration.
 - the civil rights movement
 - ▶ consequences of the Civil Rights and the Voting Rights (Cascio, Gordon, Lewis and Reber, 2010; Reber, 2011; Cascio and Washington, 2014; Bernini, Facchini and Testa, 2018; Aneja and Avenancio-Leon, 2019)
 - ▶ the causes of the southern “dealignment” (Besley, Persson and Sturm, 2010; Kousser, 2010; Trende, 2012; Wright, 2013; Kuziemko and Washington, 2018).
 - ▶ Schickler (2016) and Grant (2020): the incorporation of African Americans into the Democratic coalition after the New Deal and the rising pivotal role of Black voters due to the Great Migration.

- literature on the relationship between voters' demand and politicians' behaviour
 - Lott and Kenny, 1999; Miller, 2008; Mian, Sufi and Trebbi, 2010; Kroth, Larcinese and Wehner, 2016; Caughey and Warshaw, 2018; Jones and Walsh, 2018; Closest to our article, Cascio and Washington (2014): the Voting Rights Act (VRA) shifted the distribution of local spending across southern counties towards Black Americans' preferences
 - This article expanded on their findings by focusing on the US North rather than the South.
- the Great Migration:
 - Previous studies on whites' residential decisions, intergenerational mobility, immigrant assimilation, and public finance (Boustan, 2010; Tabellini, 2018; Shertzer and Walsh, 2019; Fouka, Mazumder and Tabellini, 2021; Derenoncourt, 2022)
 - This article adds its political effects.

Section 2

Historical Background

The Great Migration

- The Second Great Migration: between 1940 and 1970, more than 4 million African Americans left the US South for northern and western destinations.
 - The First: From 1915 to 1930, the First Great Migration brought to the North 1.5 million Black migrants.
 - Most Black migrants moved to urban centres in the Northeast and mid-West, but they also affected the West and less urbanized areas.
- Two factors which pulled Black Migrants (Boustan, 2016).
 1. economic opportunities
 - ▶ the outbreak of WWII increased demand for labour in northern and western factories
 - ▶ the mechanization of agricultural harvest in the 1940s and 1950s reduced demand for labour in the already depressed southern agricultural sector
 2. racial oppression by the South
 - ▶ political disenfranchisement
 - ▶ poor working conditions

- Out-migration from the South was strongest during the 1940s, with a Black emigration rate of almost 15%.
- As a result, the US South lost 40% of its 1940 Black population: the racial profile of the US changed dramatically.
 - Black population share of the population in northern and western cities moved from less than 4% to more than 15% in just three decades.
- Gibson and Jung, 2005: Chicago, Detroit, or St. Louis, where the Black population share of the population moved from 8, 9, and 11% to 32, 43, and 41%, respectively

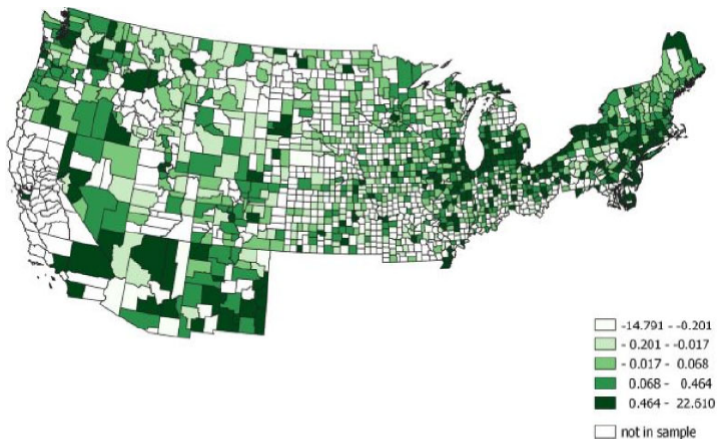


FIGURE 2
Change in Black population share, 1940–70

Notes: The map plots the 1940–70 change in the Black population share for the non-southern counties (1,263) in our sample. *Source:* Authors' calculations from Ruggles, Genadek, Goeken, Grover and Sobek (2020).

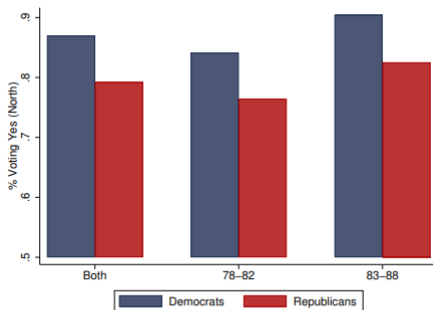
Black Migrants and Northern Politics

- The demographic change induced by the Great Migration had the potential to alter the political equilibrium
- The literature on social movements suggests that the enfranchisement of Black migrants may have increased:
 - the organizational capacity of the civil rights movement
 - the pressure exerted by the Black community on local politicians
- Consistently, the number of northern and western counties that had at least one local NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)).

- Politics:

- The New Deal had better equipped the Democratic Party to address the demands of Black Americans outside the US South (Schickler, 2016; Caughey et al., 2020): Democrats in the North were more likely to support civil rights bills
 - ▶ On the other hand, roll call votes do not serve enough information of legislator's preferences.
- Signatures on discharge petitions: to circumvent Congressional committees, and move bills to the floor for a vote.
- Non-southern Democratic Congress members were at least 30 percentage points more likely than their Republican counterparts to sign a discharge petition to promote civil rights legislation.
- Black residents were also more closely aligned to Democratic's economic agenda than to that of Republicans.

Figure A.4. Northern Legislators' Support for Civil Rights Bills, by Party



Notes: Blue (resp. red) bars plot the share of Democratic (resp. Republican) members of Congress in the non-South US voting in favor of bills in support of civil rights between Congress 78 (1943-1945) and Congress 88 (1963-1965). The first two bars refer to the average between the 78-82 and the 83-88 periods, while the remaining bars display results for each Congress period separately. The 9 bills voted upon in Congress between Congress 78 and Congress 88 are listed in Table A.2. See Table A.3 for the mapping of Congress numbers to calendar years. *Source:* Authors' calculations from ICPSR (2010).

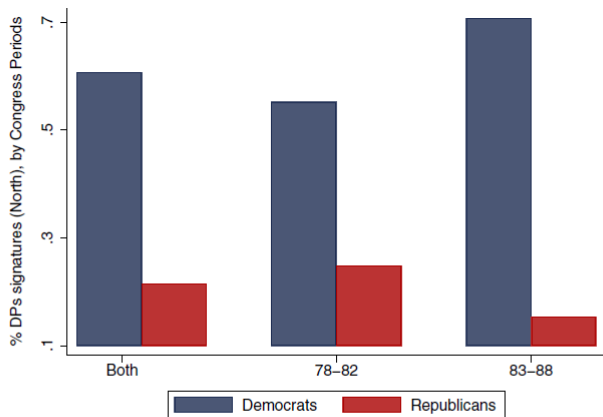


FIGURE 3

Discharge petitions on civil rights signed by non-southern legislators

Notes: Blue (respectively red) bars plot the share of non-southern Democratic (respectively Republican) members of Congress signing discharge petitions in favour of civil rights bills between Congress 78 (1943–45) and Congress 88 (1963–65). The first two bars refer to the average between the 78–82 and the 83–88 Congress periods, while the remaining bars display results for each of the two Congress periods separately. See [Supplementary Table A.3](#) for the mapping of Congress numbers to calendar years. *Source:* Adapted from [Pearson and Schickler \(2009\)](#).

Section 3

Data

Dataset

- Unique dataset composed of 1,263 non-southern counties that include:
 - Political outcomes
 - ▶ the county-level Democratic vote share in Congressional elections from 1940 to 1970
 - ▶ legislators' ideology on racial issues: Gregory and Estrada (2019)'s score
 - Local support for civil rights
 - ▶ the presence of chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP): 1940s-1960s from Gregory and Estrada (2019)
 - ▶ number of non-violent demonstrations organized between 1942 and 1970 by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
 - Whites' attitudes from American National Election Studies (ANES)
 - ▶ nationally representative survey that elicits individuals' preferences, political ideology, and socioeconomic and demographic characteristics over time. (late 1950s-, state-level)

Descriptive Statistics

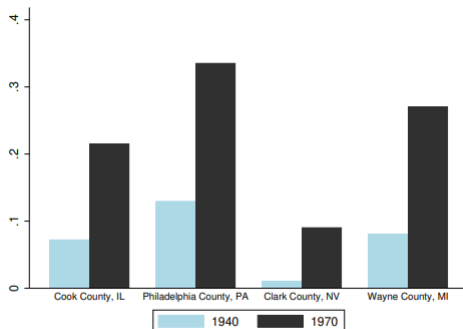
TABLE 1
Summary statistics

Variables	Mean	St. Dev.	Median	Min	Max	Obs
Panel A: 1940 levels						
Black Share (County)	0.04	0.04	0.02	0	0.47	1,263
Black Share (CD)	0.07	0.05	0.07	0	0.25	285
Democratic vote share	46.55	12.91	49.00	0	85.00	1,263
Turnout	69.39	8.30	69.60	23.00	97.90	1,263
Civil rights scores	-0.09	0.71	-0.81	-2.01	1.43	285
Panel B: Changes						
Black Share (County)	1.78	2.53	0.72	-11.88	12.79	3,789
Black Share (CD)	5.25	2.81	5.58	-1.26	12.86	570
Democratic vote share	1.53	11.12	0.67	-67.19	72.80	3,789
Turnout	-6.49	17.06	-13.50	-64.30	43.00	3,789
Civil rights scores	0.07	0.71	0	-2.91	1.95	570

Notes: The sample includes the 1,263 non-southern US counties (see [Supplementary Table A.1](#) for the list of southern states) for which electoral returns in Congressional elections are available for all Census years between 1940 and 1970, and with at least one African American resident in 1940. When relevant, county variables are collapsed at the Congressional District level, fixing boundaries to Congress 78 (1943–45) as explained in the text. Democratic vote share and turnout refer to Congressional elections, and civil rights scores are the agnostic ideology scores from [Bateman et al. \(2017\)](#). Panel A presents 1940 values (except for ideology scores, which refer to Congress 78, 1943–45), while Panel B reports decadal changes for each of the variables.

Descriptive Statistics

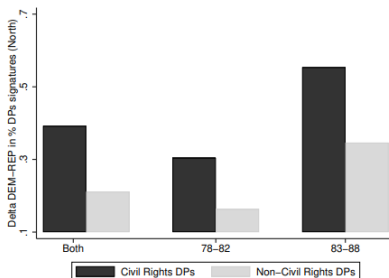
Figure A.8. Black Population Share in Northern Counties, 1940 vs 1970



Notes: Black population share for selected non-southern counties in 1940 (light blue) and in 1970 (black). *Source:* Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020).

Descriptive Statistics

Figure A.6. Discharge Petitions: Partisan Difference by Topic



Notes: The figure plots the partisan difference (Democrats – Republicans) in the share of non-southern Congress members signing discharge petitions on, respectively, civil rights issues (dark bars) and any other topic (light bars). The values plotted in this figure are computed as follows. First, we calculated the share of Democrats and Republicans who signed discharge petitions on issues that pertained to civil rights and on issues that did not. Then, we took the difference between these two numbers. The first two bars refer to the average between the 78-82 and the 83-88 periods, while the remaining bars display results for each Congress period separately. See Table A.3 for the mapping of Congress numbers to calendar years. *Source:* adapted from Pearson and Schickler (2009).

- While the poll tax and anti-discrimination employment (FECP) legislation were the most common topics during the 1940s, five of the eight discharge petitions filed between Congress 83 and Congress 88 concerned the CRA.

Section 4

Empirical Strategy

Empirical Model

- stacked first differences model for the three decades between 1940 and 1970:

$$\Delta y_{c\tau} = \delta_{s\tau} + \beta \Delta \text{Bl}_{c\tau} + \gamma X_{c\tau} + u_{c\tau}$$

- for county c in state s during decade τ .
- $\Delta y_{c\tau}$: change in the outcome of interest during the decade.
- $\Delta \text{Bl}_{c\tau}$: the change in the Black population share
- $X_{c\tau}$: a vector of interactions between decade dummies and 1940 county characteristics.
- Weighted regression by 1940 county population do not change the main results.
- Standard errors are clustered at the county level.
- In the CD-level analyses, they restrict attention to two periods: from Congress 78 (1943-45) to Congress 82 (1951-53); and, from Congress 82 (1951-53) to Congress 88 (1963-65).

Instrument for $\Delta \text{BI}_{c\tau}$

- Black migrants might have sorted in places that were already undergoing economic and political changes
 \Rightarrow the shift-share instrument (Card, 2001; Boustan, 2010)

$$Z_{c\tau} = \sum_{j \in \text{South}} sh_{jc} \text{BI}_{j\tau}$$

- for state j during period τ
- sh_{jc} the share of Black migrants born in southern state j and living in northern county c in 1940
- $\text{BI}_{c\tau}$ number of Black migrants who left state j during period τ .
- A large number of shocks are orthogonal to changes in outcomes in the destination (support for racial equality in non-southern counties) guarantee the validity of the shift-share design.

Section 5

Main Results

Congressional Elections

TABLE 2
Congressional elections

	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) 2SLS	(5) 2SLS	(6) 2SLS	(7) 2SLS	(8) 2SLS
Panel A: Change in democratic vote share (1940 mean: 46.55)								
Change black	0.537***	0.538***	0.611***	0.712***	1.255***	1.885***	1.938***	2.015***
Share	(0.108)	(0.124)	(0.146)	(0.162)	(0.277)	(0.439)	(0.464)	(0.626)
Panel B: Change in turnout (1940 mean: 69.39)								
Change black	-0.274**	-0.298***	-0.293***	0.094	0.399*	0.756**	0.809**	0.665
Share	(0.121)	(0.112)	(0.109)	(0.187)	(0.235)	(0.348)	(0.356)	(0.459)
Panel C: First stage								
Predicted change				0.976***	1.002***	0.758***	0.803***	0.859***
Black share				(0.261)	(0.260)	(0.233)	(0.249)	(0.283)
Specification	FD	FD	FD		FD	FD	LD	FD
Unit	County	County	County	County	County	County	County	CZ
1940 black share		X	X		X	X	X	X
1940 Dem incumbent			X			X	X	X
F-stat				13.95	14.88	10.57	10.42	9.21
Observations	3,789	3,789	3,789	3,789	3,789	3,789	1,263	1,200

Notes: The sample includes the 1,263 non-southern US counties (see [Supplementary Table A.1](#) for the definition of southern states) for which electoral returns in Congressional elections are available for all Census years between 1940 and 1970, and with at least one African American resident in 1940. The table reports stacked first difference regressions in Columns 1 to 6, and long difference regressions in Column 7. Column 8 replicates column 6 by aggregating the unit of analysis to the commuting zone (CZ). The dependent variable is the decadal change in the Democratic vote share (respectively turnout) in Congressional elections in Panel A (respectively Panel B). Panel C reports the first stage associated with 2SLS regressions. Columns 1–3 estimate equation (1) in the text with OLS, while remaining columns report 2SLS estimates. The main regressor of interest is the change in the Black population share, which is instrumented with the shift-share instrument described in equation (2) in the text from column 4 onwards. All regressions are weighed by 1940 county population, and include interactions between period dummies and state dummies. 1940 Black share (respectively 1940 Dem Incumbent) refers to interactions between period dummies and the 1940 Black population share (respectively a dummy equal to 1 if the Democratic vote share in 1940 was higher than the Republicans vote share). F-stat is the K-P F-stat for weak instruments. Robust standard errors, clustered at the county level, in parentheses. In column 8, controls and clustered standard errors are at the CZ level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Congressional Elections

- In all cases, the point estimate on the change in the Black population share is positive and statistically significant.
- 2SLS
 - Instrument: Black population share raises the actual Black population share by 0.75 percentage points (Column 6).
 - Effects are larger in magnitude.
- one percentage point increase in the Black population share raised the Democratic vote share by 1.88 percentage points, or 4% relative to the 1940 mean.
- Black migrants were quickly incorporated in the political life of northern and western counties.

Legislators' Ideology

TABLE 3
Changes in legislators' ideology

Dependent variable	Change in civil rights ideology (lower values = more liberal ideology)					
	Agnostic scores (Baseline mean: -0.873)			Constrained scores (Baseline mean: -0.854)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: OLS						
Change black share	0.008 (0.014)	-0.139*** (0.036)	0.049** (0.020)	0.002 (0.015)	-0.150*** (0.041)	0.044** (0.022)
Panel B: 2SLS						
Change black share	-0.051 (0.039)	-0.300*** (0.116)	0.046 (0.056)	-0.054 (0.041)	-0.337*** (0.124)	0.058 (0.059)
Panel C: First stage						
Predicted change	1.570*** (0.438)	1.054*** (0.377)	1.944*** (0.557)	1.553*** (0.442)	1.050*** (0.377)	1.917*** (0.564)
Black share	12.87	7.81	12.19	12.35	7.77	11.57
F-stat	570	285	285	570	285	285
Observations	78-82; 82-88	78-82	82-88	78-82; 82-88	78-82	82-88

Notes: The dependent variable is the change in the civil rights ideology scores from Bateman *et al.* (2017). Agnostic scores in Columns 1–3, and Constrained scores in Columns 4–6. Lower values of the score refer to more liberal ideology (see also Bateman *et al.*, 2017, for more details). Columns 1 and 4 (respectively 2–3, and 5–6) estimate stacked first difference regressions (respectively first difference regressions for Congress period 78–82 and 82–88). See [Supplementary Table A.3](#) for the mapping of Congress numbers to calendar years. Panel A reports OLS results and Panel B reports 2SLS results, while Panel C presents first stage estimates. The main regressor of interest is the change in the Black population share, which is instrumented with the shift-share instrument described in equation (2) in the text. All regressions are weighed by 1940 congressional district population, and include interactions between period dummies and: (1) state dummies; (2) the 1940 Black population share in the district; (3) a dummy equal to one for Democratic incumbency in the district in Congress 78; and (4) the ideology score in the district in Congress 78. First difference regressions do not include interactions with period dummies since these are automatically dropped. F-stat refers to the K-P F-stat for weak instruments. Robust standard errors, clustered at the Congressional district level, in parentheses. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Signatures on Discharge Petitions

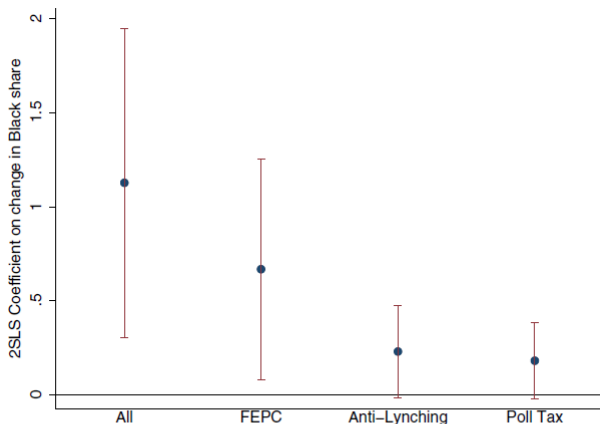


FIGURE 4
Change in signatures on discharge petitions

Notes: The figure plots the 2SLS coefficient (with corresponding 95% confidence intervals) for the effects of the 1940–50 change in the Black population share on the corresponding change in the number of signatures on discharge petitions per legislator. The first dot on the left (“All”) includes discharge petitions on employment protection legislation (FEPC), to promote anti-lynching legislation, and to abolish the poll tax. The three remaining dots refer to each of the three issues. Results and details of the specification are reported in [Supplementary Table A.6](#).

Legislators' Ideology

- Ideology Scores:
 - Black in-migration had a strong, negative effect on the ideology scores of legislators in the first Congress period (Column 2)
 - On the other hand, a negligible, positive, and not statistically significant effect in the second period (Column 3).
- Discharge Petitions:
 - A first difference regression for the 78-82 Congress period
 - Black in-migration increased the probability of signing a discharge petition on all topics: especially significant in FEPC (fair employment legislation)
 - Black in-migration has no effect on the change in the probability of signing a discharge petition on non-civil rights topics

Robustness Checks

- Black in-migration did lead to white departures in central cities, but not in counties in their sample.
- lack inflows were not associated with changes in the composition of white residents and did not have any impact on whites' labour market outcomes
- County-to-county migration matrix to construct the initial shares does not change the results.
- The instrument is uncorrelated with two potential pull factors: WWII spending and New Deal relief programs.
- There are no pre-trends in the outcomes.

Section 6

Mechanisms

Mechanisms

- Black organizations and pro-civil rights activism
 - Northern destinations of Black migrants also became centres of organized activism. (McAdam(1982) focused on the South).
- White political preferences and racial attitudes.
 - The increase in the Democratic vote share documented in Section 5.1 cannot be explained by the inflow of Black migrants alone.

Black Organizations and Pro-Civil Rights Activism

- 2SLS results indicate that Black in-migration had no effect on the presence of the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) as a whole
 - However, effects turn to significant for counties that did not have a chapter in 1940 (Column 3).
 - These identification do not capture the effects of Black in-migration on the change in the number of NAACP members.
- The frequency of protests organized by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) in support of civil rights are strongly affected by the Black migration.
 - One percentage point increase in the Black population share leading to a 5.7 percentage point (more than 60%) increase in the likelihood of protests

NAACP Chapters and CORE Demonstrations

TABLE 4
NAACP chapters and CORE demonstrations

Dependent variable	Change in					
	1[NAACP Chapter]			1[CORE Demonstrations]		
	(1) OLS	(2) 2SLS	(3) 2SLS	(4) OLS	(5) 2SLS	(6) 2SLS
Panel A: Main estimates						
Change Black share	-0.022** (0.008)	-0.029 (0.024)	0.070** (0.035)	0.025*** (0.007)	0.057*** (0.018)	0.033** (0.016)
Panel B: First stage						
Predicted change Black Share		0.780*** (0.231)	0.624** (0.247)		0.758*** (0.233)	0.758*** (0.233)
F-stat		11.41	6.39		10.57	10.57
Observations	1,263	1,263	1,069	3,789	3,789	3,789
No NAACP in 1940			X			
White participants						X

Notes: The sample includes the 1,263 non-southern US counties (see [Supplementary Table A.1](#) for the definition of southern states) for which electoral returns in Congressional elections are available for all Census years between 1940 and 1970, and with at least one African American resident in 1940. The dependent variable is the 1940–60 change in the presence of NAACP chapters (columns 1–3) and the change in the probability of non-violent demonstrations in support of civil rights coordinated by the CORE (Columns 4–6). Column 3 restricts attention to counties with no NAACP chapter in 1940. Column 6 defines the dependent variable as a dummy equal to one only for demonstrations that were joined by at least some white participants. The main regressor of interest is the 1940–60 (respectively decadal) change in the Black population share in Columns 1–3 (respectively Columns 4–6), which is instrumented with the shift-share instrument described in equation (2) in the text in Columns 2, 3, 5, and 6. All regressions are weighed by 1940 county population, and include interactions between period dummies and: (1) state dummies; (2) the 1940 Black population share; and (3) a dummy equal to one for Democratic incumbency in 1940. F-stat is the K-P F-stat for weak instruments. Robust standard errors, clustered at the county level, in parentheses. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

White Attitudes

- Disaggregated data on voting behavior by race is not available.
- They rely instead on estimates of Black voting patterns from areas of selected cities whose residents were disproportionately Black (Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Kansas City, New York City, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis). (Glantz, 1960)
 - Using these cities, they estimated voting behaviour among Black residents in the Presidential elections of 1948, 1952, and 1956.
 - Matching the estimated to each county, they calculate the number of white switchers per 10 Black inflows.
- The implied number of white northern residents who would have to switch to the Democrats in 1960 in order to match the estimated effect of the increase in the Black population is 7 (per 10 Black migrants).

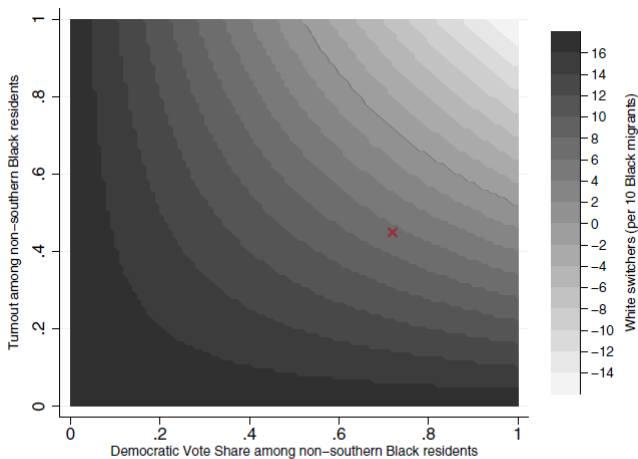


FIGURE 5
Estimates on the behaviour of White voters

Evidence from Historical Data

- American National Election Studies (ANES)
 - individual-level responses and the respondent's race.
- State-level analyses suggest a substantive effects between 1940 and 1960.
 - one percentage point difference across states in the change in the Black population share implies a 3.3 percentage point (5% relative to the mean) difference in respondents' thermometers.
- Black in-migration also increases support for Civil rights and the Democratic party among white respondents (Column 5).
- White residents also participated in CORE demonstration (Column 6 in Table 4).

Whites' Attitude

TABLE 5
Whites' attitude from the ANES

Dependent variable	Feeling Thermometer Towards			MIP	I[Vote]	
	Blacks (1)	NAACP (2)	Democrats (3)	Civil Rights (4)	Democratic (5)	(6)
Panel A. 2SLS						
Change Black share	3.262*** (1.169)	2.821** (1.404)	1.895* (1.041)	0.034** (0.014)	0.039*** (0.008)	0.080*** (0.015)
Panel B. First stage						
Predicted change	2.609*** (0.415)	2.763*** (0.458)	2.611*** (0.416)	2.748*** (0.439)	2.845*** (0.436)	2.490*** (0.392)
Black share						
F-stat	39.57	36.47	39.36	39.20	42.63	40.28
Observations	561	453	562	927	1,648	402
Mean Dep. variable	68.96	54.93	68.91	0.11	0.49	0.60

Notes: The sample is restricted to white ANES respondents living in the US North, and residing in their state of birth. All columns, except Columns 4 and 5, refer to 1964 only. Columns 4 and 5 include respondents interviewed in survey waves: 1960 and 1964; and 1956 to 1964, respectively. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the feeling thermometer towards each group at the top of the corresponding column. Higher values of the thermometer refer to warmer feelings. In Column 4, the dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the respondent reports that supporting civil rights is among the most important issues facing the country at the time of the interview. See [Supplementary Appendix C](#) for exact wording and additional details on the construction of the variable. In Columns 5 and 6, the dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the respondent voted (respectively intended to vote) for the Democratic Party in the previous (respectively upcoming) election. The main regressor of interest is the 1940 to 1960 change in the Black population share in the state, which is instrumented with the shift-share instrument described in equation (2) in the text. All regressions are weighed with ANES survey weights, include region fixed effects, and control for individual characteristics of respondents (gender, age and education fixed effects, and marital status) as well as for 1940 state characteristics (Black population share; Democratic incumbency in Congressional elections; share in manufacturing; share of workers in the CIO; urban share). Columns 4 and 5 include survey year fixed effects. F-stat refers to the K-P F-stat for weak instruments. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, in parentheses. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

What Made the Whites Support Civil Rights?

- Two prominent explanations identified by prior literature
 - increased awareness of Black oppression in the South (Myrdal, 1944)
 - the formation of a class-based cross-race coalition between white and Black members of the working class
- Evidence on information transmission
 - using a list of known lynchings against African Americans between 1940 and 1964 in the US South and non-southern newspapers.
- Evidence on cross-race political coalition.
 - Individual-level data from the ANES also support the idea of a cross-race coalition in which organized labour played a crucial role.

Evidence on information transmission

- Taking the dummy whether each lynching episode between 1940 and 1964 in the US South, is reported in 492 counties in 4-26 weeks.
 - This dataset comprises a total of 1,041 newspapers, only five of which explicitly targeted an African American audience
- Local newspapers of northern counties were more likely to report the episode in areas that had received more African Americans between 1940 and 1964.
- Event-study design revealed that the effect of Black in-migration jumps on the week of the lynching, and then gradually fades away, persisting for at least one month after the event.

TABLE 6
Evidence from northern newspapers: cross-sectional regressions

Dependent variable	1[Any mention]				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: Main estimates					
Change Black share	0.253** (0.128)	0.135 (0.086)	0.348** (0.163)	0.532** (0.235)	0.677** (0.301)
Panel B: First stage					
Predicted change	1.071*** (0.289)	1.032*** (0.287)	1.098*** (0.291)	1.093*** (0.291)	1.081*** (0.289)
Black share					
F-stat	13.76	12.95	14.26	14.08	13.96
Observations	311,803	141,332	170,471	79,721	59,665
State FE	X	X	X	X	X
Episode FE	X	X	X	X	X
Week FE	X	X	X	X	X
Sample	1940+	1940-1944	1945+	1950+	1955+

Notes: The sample is restricted to the 492 counties in our sample for which newspapers' data are available. The table reports county-week-episode level regressions where the dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if at least one mention about the lynching of a Black individual in the US South appeared in the local newspapers of the county in each week from 0 to 26. Week 0 is defined as the week in which the lynching occurred. The main regressor of interest is the 1940–60 change in the Black population share in the county, which is instrumented with the shift-share instrument described in equation (2) in the text. All regressions include state, week, and episode fixed effects and are weighed by 1940 county population. The last row of the table indicates the sample of lynchings considered. When the last year is not specified, it corresponds to 1964 (included). F-stat refers to the K-P F-stat for weak instruments. Robust standard errors, clustered at the county level, in parentheses. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

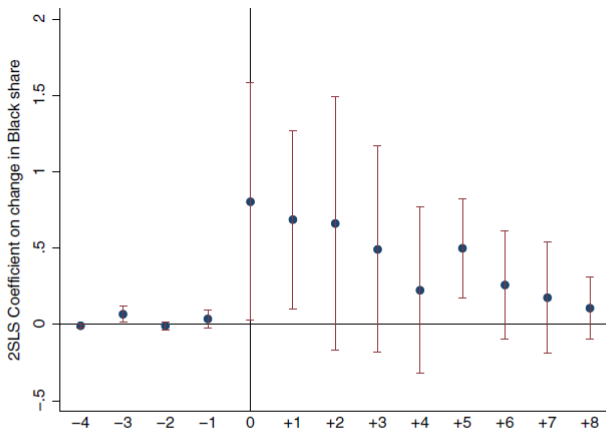


FIGURE 6
Newspapers—event study

Notes: The figure plots 2SLS coefficients (with corresponding 95% intervals) on the 1940–60 change in the Black population share in county-week level regressions where the dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if any mention about the lynching of a Black individual in the US South appeared in newspapers of the (non-southern) county in each week. Week 0 refers to the week when the lynching occurred. See the main text for more details. All regressions control for state and lynching episode fixed effects and are weighed by 1940 county population. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Crosspolitical coalition

- Effect heterogeneity in county-specific characteristics.
 - The surge in civil rights protests was in counties with a higher share of white workers in manufacturing.
 - Pro-civil rights protests were also more frequent where political competition (measured by the margin of victory).
 - Black in-migration led to more demonstrations only where predicted labour demand was stronger.
- Findings are consistent with that the Great Migration had no effect on the Democratic vote share in the 1950s.

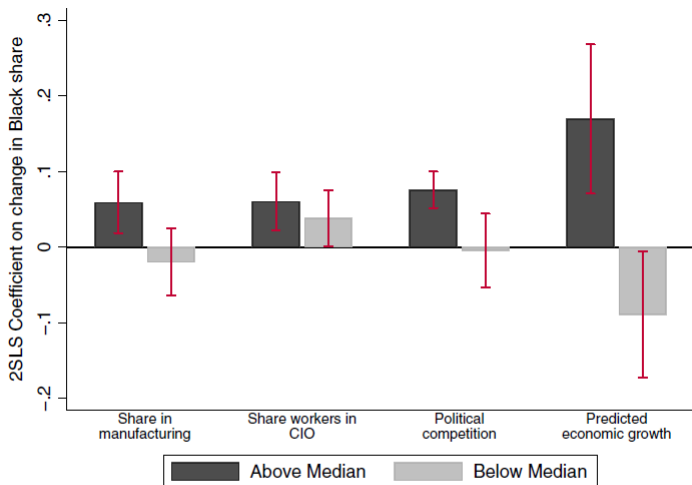


FIGURE 7

Heterogeneity by county characteristics—political and economic forces

Notes: The bars report the 2SLS coefficient (with corresponding 95% confidence intervals) on the change in the Black population share for the change in the probability of CORE demonstrations for counties with each 1940 variable above (respectively below) the sample median in dark (respectively light) grey. Section 6.3 describes how each variable is constructed. Coefficients and standard errors reported in [Supplementary Table A.10](#).

Additional Mechanisms

- It is likely that similar dynamics were at play in radio and TV programs.
 - It is possible that southern Black leaders strategically organized events in the South to attract attention of northern residents in migration destination counties.
- Correlation between selective sorting of white residents and the patterns of Black migration: the spread of air conditioning during the 1960s made the South a more attractive destination for older white residents
- Effect heterogeneity
 - An order of magnitude larger in counties with lower historical discrimination.
 - Support for civil rights increased more in counties where inter-group contact in the housing market was lower.
- Effects are persistent until today.

Section 7

Conclusions

Conclusions

- When contrasted with other works on the political effects of migration, our results raise an intriguing set of questions:
 - Under what conditions can migration and inter-group contact more broadly lead to the formation of cross-group coalitions?
: Cross-race cooperation can emerge when individuals belonging to different groups share similar goals and identities
 - This likely facilitated support for racial equality among northern whites who were not materially affected.