# 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

Data

**Empirical Strategy** 

Main Results

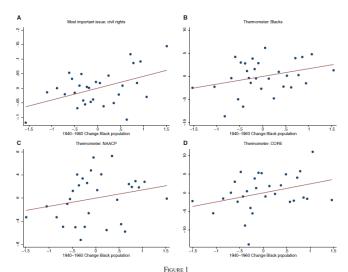
Mechanisms

Conclusions

## 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).



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 Cresus 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 when share. Source: ANES Comunitative File COID in the control include: Black population share, Democratic incumbency, share in manufacturing, share of workers in the CIO, and when share. Source: ANES Comunitative File COID in the Control in the Country of the Countr

## 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: Balcks 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**

## **Mechanisms**

## Contribution

## **Historical Background**

## Data

# **Empirical Strategy**

#### **Main Results**

## **Mechanisms**

## **Conclusions**