

Symbols of Oppression: The Role of Confederate Monuments in the Great Migration

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Motivation

- ▶ **All over the world celebratory monuments shape public spaces**
- ▶ Some monuments unite communities, uncontroversial
- ▶ Some monuments divide: imposed by dominant group to assert power/narrative

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Some symbols unite communities: Brown University's Mascot



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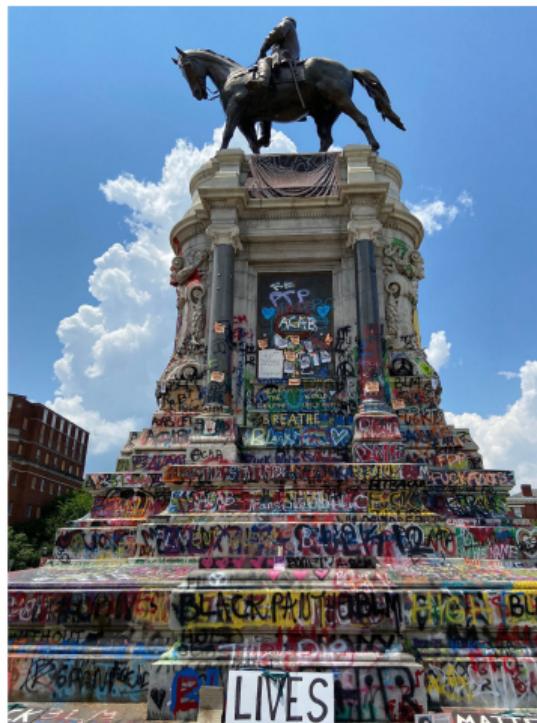
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Some symbols divide communities: Confederate monuments

Inauguration (1890)



George Floyd protests (2020)



Motivation

- ▶ Widespread phenomenon, attracts great political attention (protests, removals...)
- ▶ Impact of divisive symbols on groups opposing them: understudied in economics
 - ▶ Wellbeing
 - ▶ Location decisions [Tiebout (1956) and Hirschman (1970)]
 - ▶ ...
- ▶ Hard to separate causal effect of symbol from that of underlying shift in ideology
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- ▶ Do divisive monuments affect location choices of groups opposing them?
- ▶ Context: Confederate monuments in US South (racially divisive)
- 1. Historically (early 20th century)
 - ▶ Data on construction of 509 monuments (SPLC) & US decennial Census
 - ▶ Motivating evidence: compare county demographics before and after construction
 - ▶ IV to address endogeneity: transportation cost to main producer of monuments
- 2. Today
 - ▶ Online experiment: randomize monument in city depiction & ask willingness to move
 - ▶ Finds Confederate monuments affect migration, especially for African Americans

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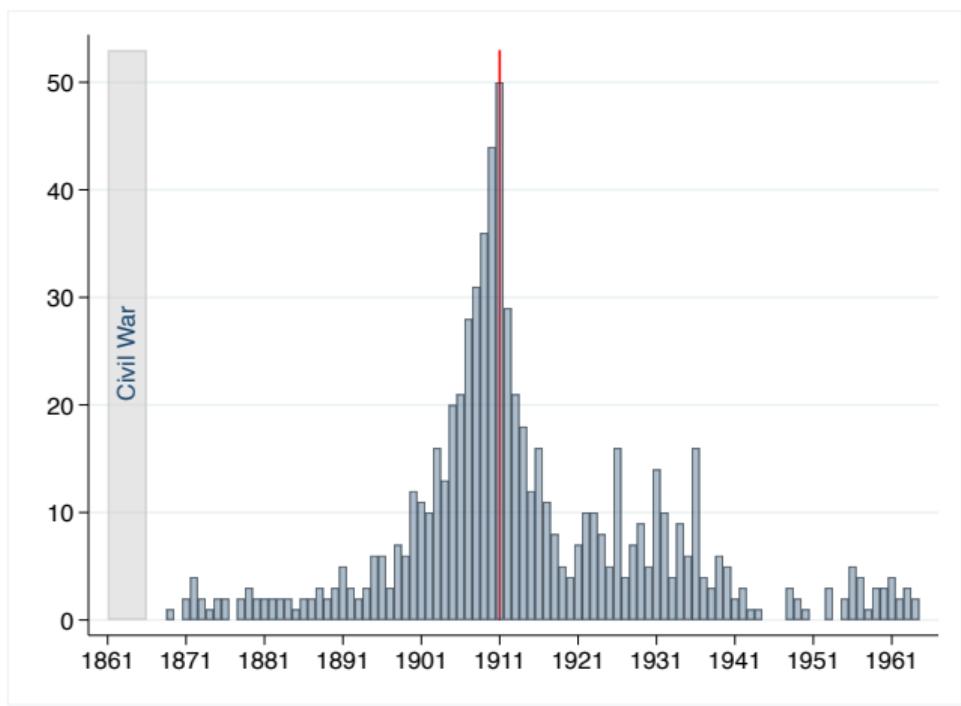
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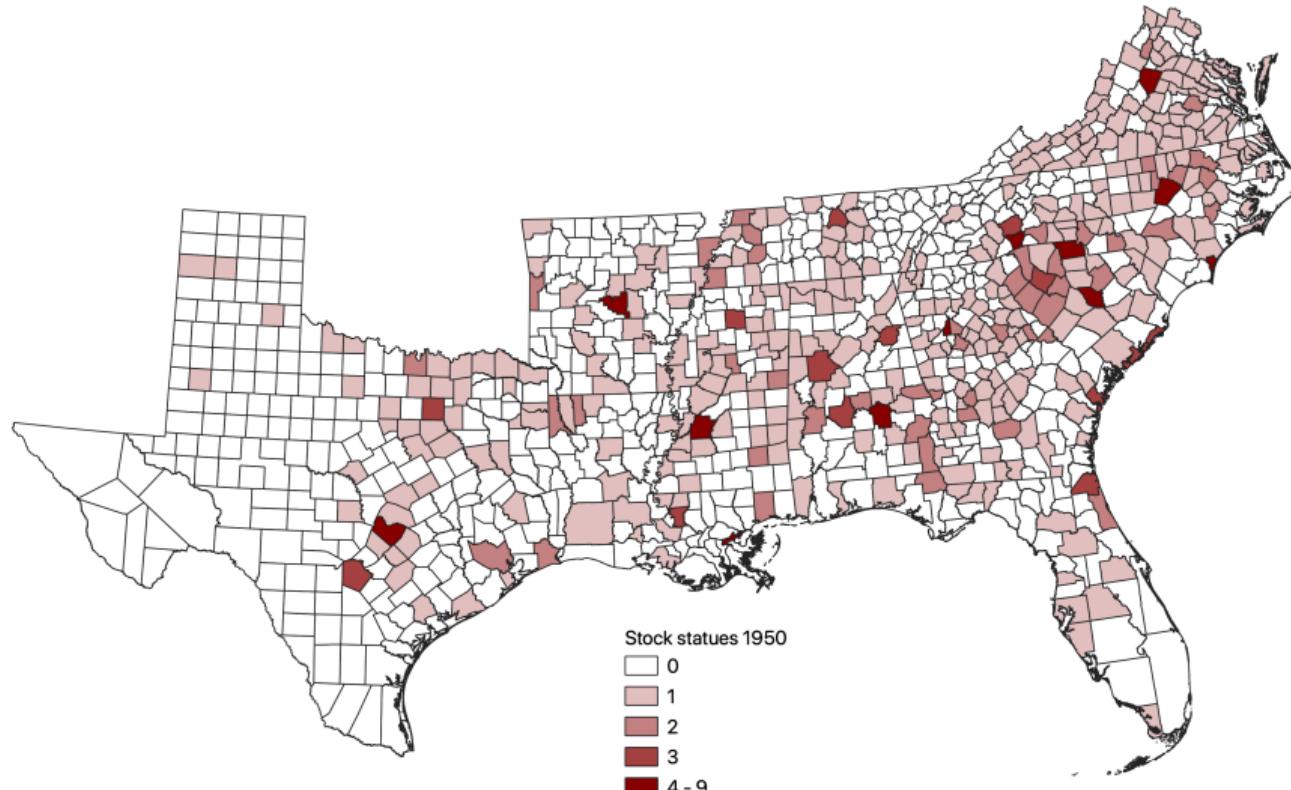
Construction of Confederate monuments: drivers and timing

- ▶ Jim Crow era (1877-1960s) → celebrates pre-Emancipation South
- ▶ Passing away of veterans → birth of memory-celebratory groups, UDC
- ▶ War 50th anniversary: peak in 1911

Number of constructions by year



Counties with Confederate monuments by 1950



Monuments were ethnically divisive: newspapers' reaction

Black newspapers

The Richmond *V.R.*, PLANET is making a bold and an effective fight against the Bourbon Democracy of the "Old Dominion." It is a large, well edited paper and has a habit of driving home many a stern truth. If the Republican party in Richmond had a dozen such men as John Mitchell, Jr., the Bourbon gang would cease having "no opposition," even in a municipal election. As it is, the PLANET, itself, is an opposing force which is proving quite a thorn in the Virginia Democratic carcass.—Springfield, Ill. *State Capital*.

The rebel flag floats proudly in the breeze at Richmond, Va. In no other country would this be tolerated. It is an insult to every Union soldier, and a defiance to the government and ought not to be allowed. "One flag and one country" should be the mother and a severe penalty should be insisted upon any one who dared to unfurl that rag, emblematic of rebellion and crime.—Indianapolis *World*.

The Senate has passed a bill for the protection of fish in the Potomac River. No steps have yet been taken by Congress for the protection of the lives of Colored men at the South. O! Lord. How long?—Washington, D. C. *People's Advocate*.

"Lee was one of the greatest generals... and gave his magnificent abilities to the infamous task of ... perpetuating the system of slavery"

White newspapers

THE DALTON MEMORIAL

TO THE SLEEPING HEROES OF THE CONFEDERACY.

A COSTLY MONUMENT UNVEILED YESTERDAY—WITNESSED BY GREAT CROWDS.
MILITARY PARADE—ELOQUENT ADDRESS BY COL. AVERY.

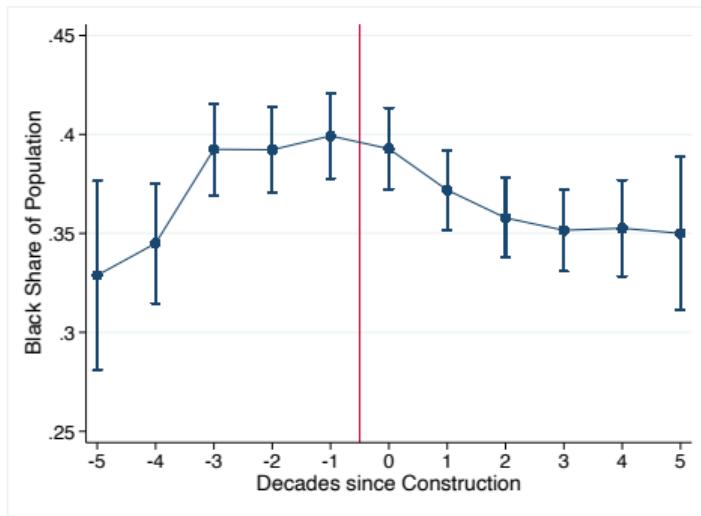
DALTON, Ga., May 10.—[Special.]— Dalton had her Confederate monument unveiling today. It was a big affair. The city was packed in spite of the rain, and the enthusiasm was overwhelming. Two thousand people were out, of all ages. Captain A. P. Craberta, commander of the Veterans, and Mrs. Brasdleton, president of the

"The enthusiasm was overwhelming"

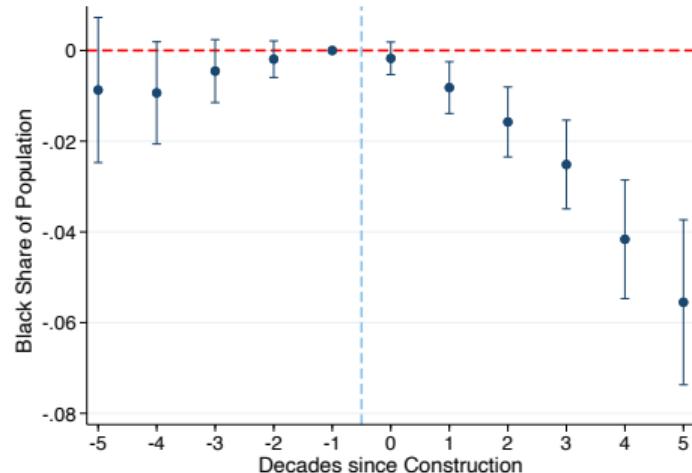
▶ Newspaper quantitative analysis

Motivating evidence: African-American share in population

Raw means



Event study ▶ Event study, details



- ▶ DID, peak years
- ▶ Black pop, DID
- ▶ White pop, DID
- ▶ Individual
- ▶ Exclude 1905-1914, ES
- ▶ No compositional change, ES
- ▶ Black pop, ES
- ▶ White pop, ES
- ▶ Staggered DID

IV: (1/Transportation cost to MMC) * (Time when MMC in business)

Constraints to construction:

1. Cost: 530%-7000% average southern yearly income (through private fund-raises)
2. Transportation: difficult and costly due to size, weight, and technology
3. Supply: McNeel Marble Co. (MMC) quasi-monopolist (est. 1892 in Marietta, GA)
 - ▶ Produces Confederate monuments since 1905: sold more than 100 by 1910
 - ▶ **More than 95% of all orders for confederate monuments... in the South in 1909**

▶ Advertisement

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Access to MMC when MMC in business → pre-determined variation in cost

[Cantoni (2012); Neumark et al. (2008)]

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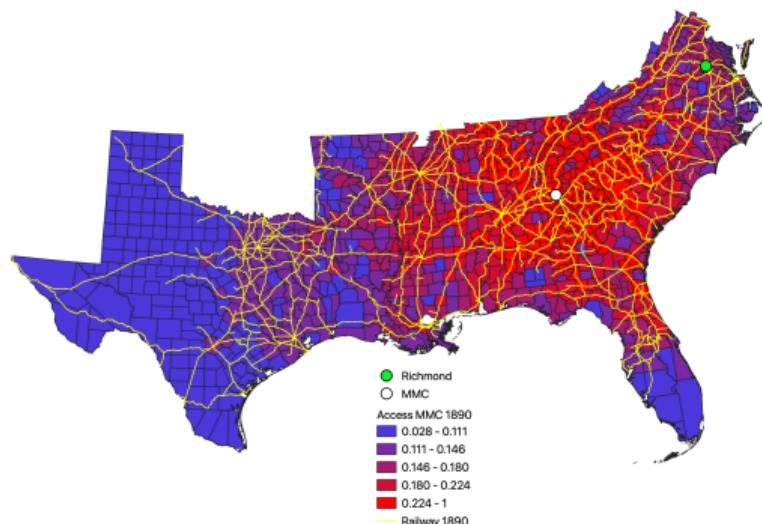
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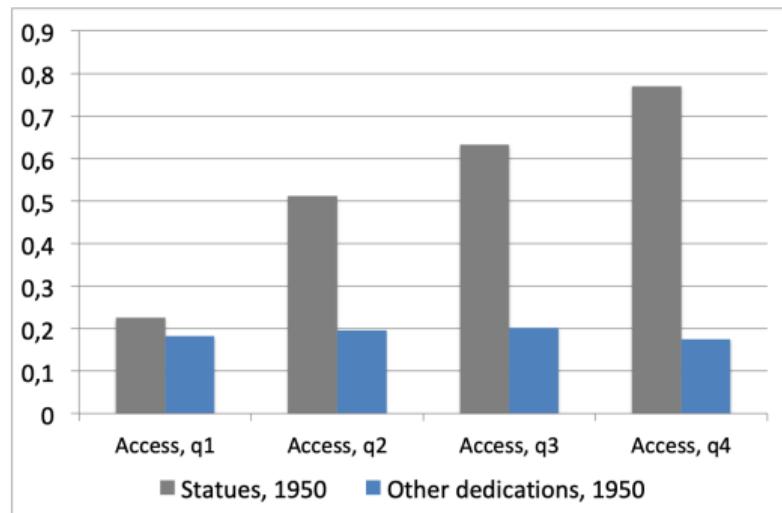
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Instrument and exclusion restriction (for ideology)

Instrument: inverse of county-to-county minimum-cost-path (water, train, wagon, transfers) in 1890 [Donaldson and Hornbeck (2016)]



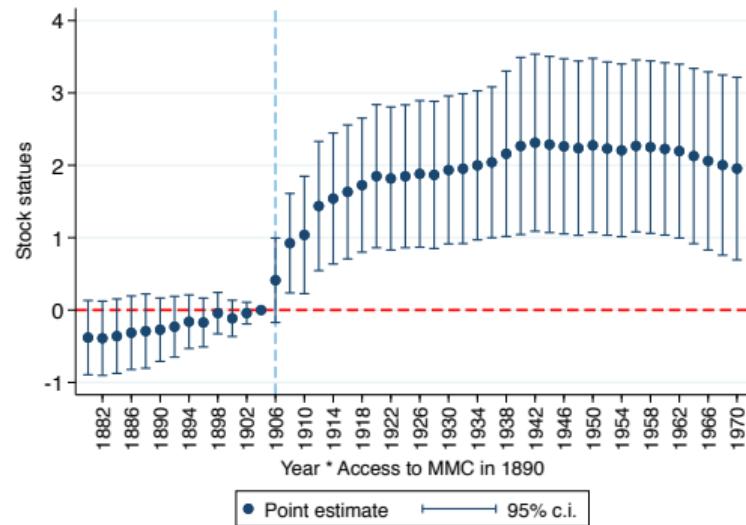
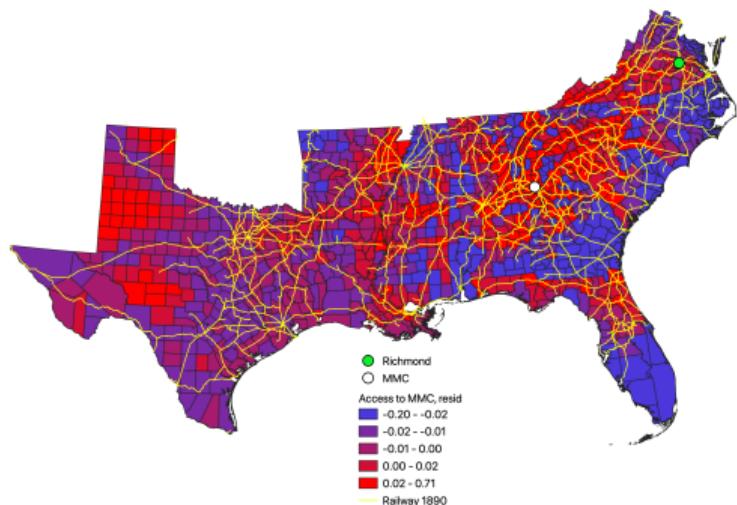
Statues vs other dedications (e.g schools) per county by quartile of access to Marietta



Geographic and time variation in the instrument

Access to Marietta 1890, residuals on access to
Richmond and NYC, population 1880, state FE

McNeel produced first confederate monument
for UDC ▶ Access*year: reduced form



IV results: first stage and second stage

	(1) Stock statutes First Stage	(2) Black share Second Stage	(3) Stock statutes First Stage	(4) Black share (IV) Second Stage
Access to Marietta 1890*post1905	1.849*** (0.519)		4.874*** (1.028)	
Stock statutes		-0.134*** (0.044)		-0.039*** (0.013)
Access to Richmond 1890*post1905	0.435 (0.865)	-0.127 (0.150)	-2.830 (2.222)	-0.060 (0.104)
Access to NYC, yearly	-0.790 (0.820)	0.454*** (0.151)	-1.353 (1.554)	0.302* (0.154)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7,989	7,989	2,450	2,450
R-squared	0.713	-1.041	0.979	-0.210
Unit FE	County	County	Subregion	Subregion
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster	County	County	Subregion	Subregion
F-stat	12.89		14.4	

In columns 1-3 the unit of observation is the county. In columns 4-6 the unit of observation is a subregion constructed by defining for each state 8 equal groups by county centroid's longitudinal value and 8 equal groups by latitudinal value, generating up to 64 spatial cells per state. Collapse units within a cell: obtain "subregions". Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

► Discussion ► Great Migration ► Land value ► Mechanisms

- ▶ Effect is large: 2-3 times that of the raw data
- ▶ Possible issue: IV spatially correlated → larger unit of analysis to alleviate

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What is the effect of a divisive monument?

Imagine two very similar counties want a Confederate monument, but only one gets it

1. Indirect **causal** effects of the monument (induces change in context → outcome)
 - ▶ Shapes local narrative: crystallizing it in favor of dominant group (harder to deviate)
 - ▶ Gathering point: dominant group's rallies next to their monuments, or protests
 - ▶ ...
2. Direct **causal** effect of the monument (monuments alone is sufficient)
 - ▶ Monument used as signal (for ideology, power imbalance, ...) [Rozenas and Vlasenko (2022)]
 - ▶ Oppressed group perceives differential hostility across locations Salience [Bordalo et al (2022)]
 - ▶ Memory-reactivation, via connection to slavery Ochsner and Roesel (2017)

Mapping in my identification strategies:

- ▶ Exogenous shock from IV → both causal channels are open
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Present-day effect: online experiment, sample and set up

- ▶ Sample: 330 respondents on Prolific. African Americans and whites (stratified)
 - ▶ All from US South, between 18-50
 - ▶ All “looking for a job”
 - ▶ Summary Stats
- ▶ Ask if they would accept jobs located in hypothetical cities in the South
- ▶ Hypothetical city described with a slideshow of images (randomization here)
- ▶ Incentive compatible, standard IRR method by Kessler et al. (AER, 2019)
 - ▶ Respondents told they'll get name of real city (+ job list there) matching answers
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Design

- ▶ Randomization: city depiction be w/ or w/o image of Confederate monument
- ▶ Each respondent sees 5 cities → N=1650 (city-respondent level)
- ▶ Within-subject design: can add city and individual fixed effect



Randomization: hypothetical city's description

Control version



Treatment version



Exact view



Outcomes

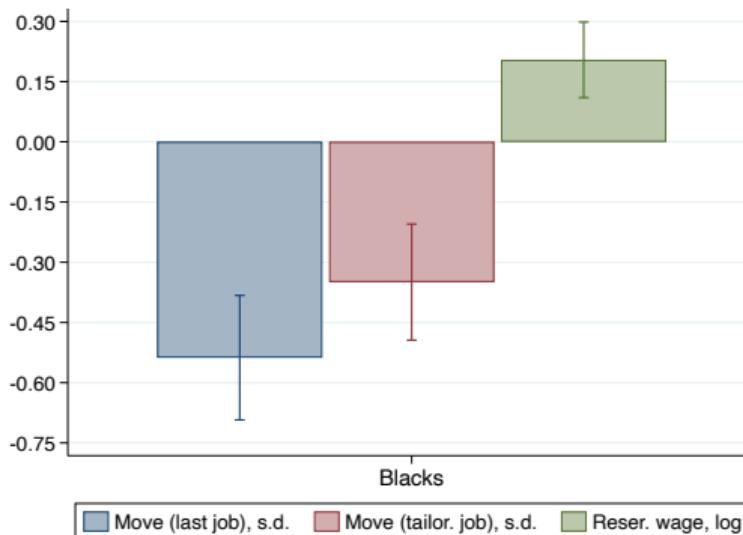
- ▶ If offered job X in the depicted city, would you accept it and move there?
 - ▶ Job offer 1: “similar to your most recent job”
 - ▶ Job offer 2: more detailed (wage, hours, sector)
- ▶ Also ask reservation wage a job should pay to be move to the city

▶ Questions

Treatment effect

$$Y_{i,c} = \beta T_{i,c} + \chi_i + \gamma_c + \epsilon_{i,c}$$

- $T_{i,c} = 1$: if respondent i has monument-version of city c Table Heterog. Raw means

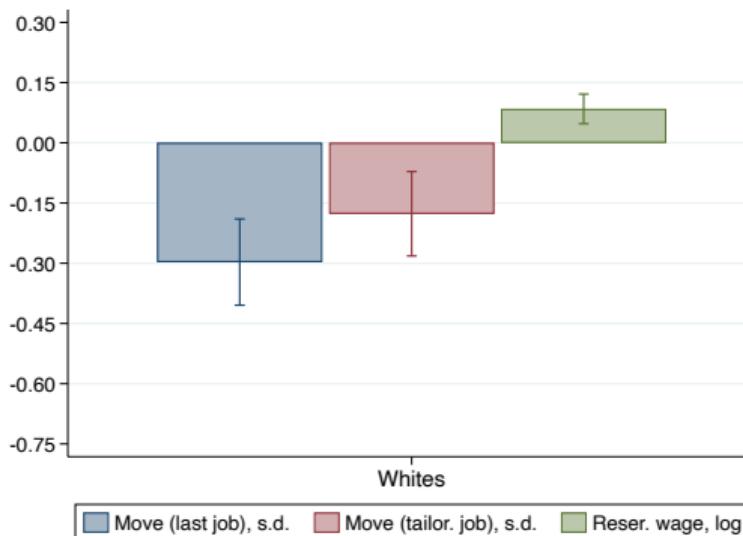


- Monuments significantly reduce acceptance (0.4-0.6 s.d.) & raise res. wage (20%)

Treatment effect

$$Y_{i,c} = \beta T_{i,c} + \chi_i + \gamma_c + \epsilon_{i,c}$$

- ▶ $T_{i,c} = 1$: if respondent i has monument-version of city c ► Table ► Heterog. ► Raw means



- ▶ Effect also for whites (change in attitude), but significantly smaller (half)

What is there in a Confederate monument?

- ▶ How do you feel when you think about or encounter a Confederate monument?

Southern Blacks



Southern Whites



Conclusions

- ▶ This paper studies whether divisive public symbols affect migration patterns of groups with opposite views on them
- ▶ Combination of quasi-experimental and experimental evidence
 - ▶ Construction of Confederate monuments fostered African-Americans' outmigration
 - ▶ Still today, monuments affect relocation choices, especially for African-Americans
- ▶ Results imply that failing to shape inclusive public spaces has crucial effects on a territory's attractiveness across social groups, shaping racial segregation
- ▶ Especially relevant in light of recent waves of multi-cultural migration

Thank you!

For any comment feel free to contact me at:
francesco_ferlenga@brown.edu

Appendix

(k) Mussolini's statues in Libya



(I) Stalin's statue in Berlin



(m) Spanish civil war franquist memorial



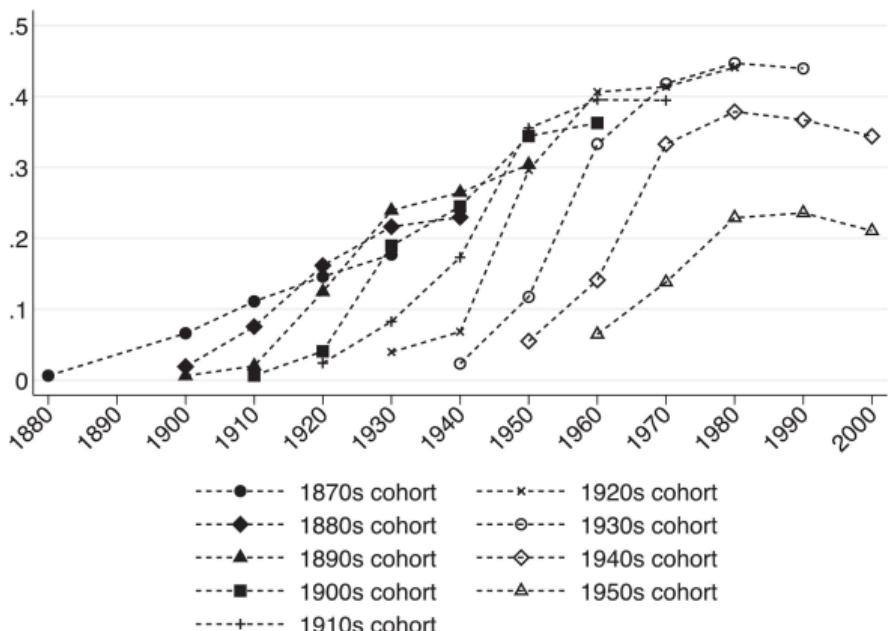
(n) Estonian pro-soviet-statue riots



Historical context: The Great Migration

- ▶ North-South economic gap and racial hostility → Northward migration.
- ▶ 1879: first exodus of 20,000 African-Americans towards Kansas.
- ▶ 1900-1910: 200,000 moved North
- ▶ 1910-1940: 1.7 millions
- ▶ 1940-1970: 3.6 millions
- ▶ In addition: substantial migration within South.

Figure 1: % of Southern-born Black popul. residing outside the South, by birth cohort. Collins (2021)

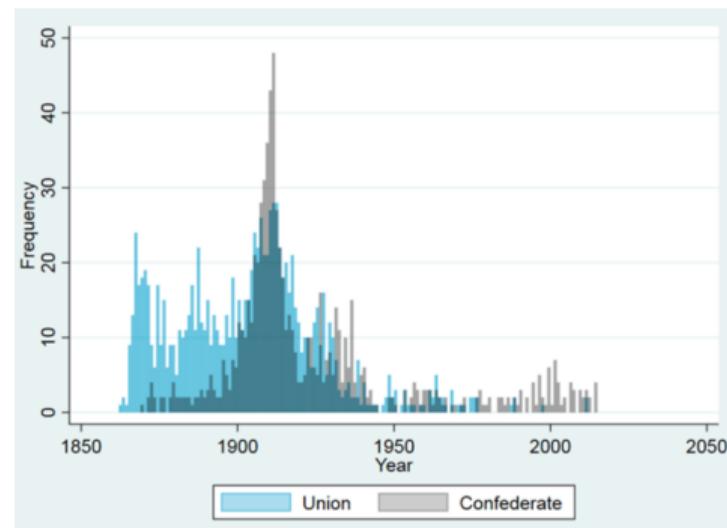


▶ Back

Time distribution of statues' construction

'When we restrict to physical statues and plaques, we find clear parallels between the construction patterns of Union and Confederate monuments. The peak year for the construction of both types was 1911, the beginning of the 50th anniversary of the war'.

Magness (2020), American Institute for Economic Research.



% newspaper pages with: confedera*+monument*+(honor* or respect*)

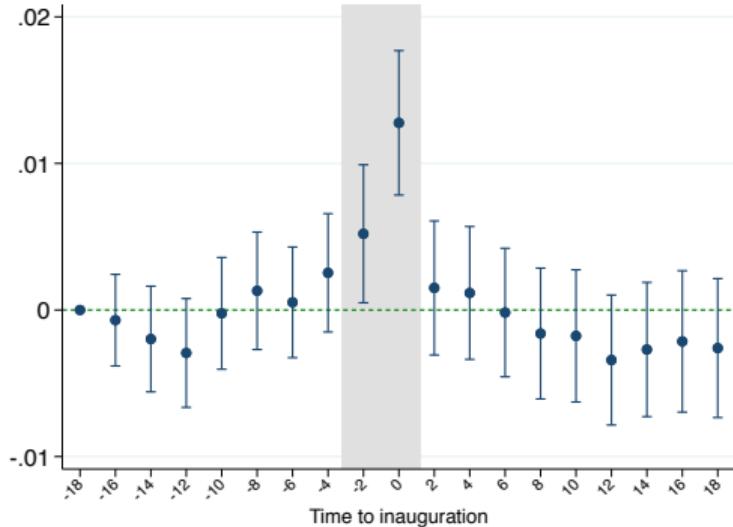


Figure 2: Counties with statues and 100+ article pages per year.

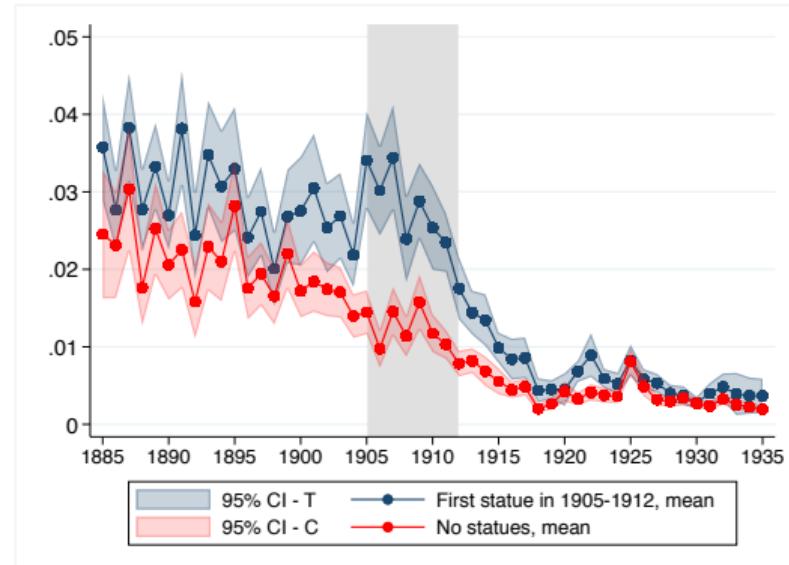


Figure 3: Counties with 1st statue in 1905-12 or no statue. 100+ article pages per year.

→ Newspaper data (newspaper.com) confirm salience of event and positive coverage

Back

Which counties?

		C: Counties without Confederate monuments by 1950							
		1890				1950			
	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Total population	602	11112.37	8562.44	3	77038	21987.86	31747.78	227	495084
Black population	602	3751.87	5447.82	0	47739	4393.37	6485.90	0	64947
Black share	602	.257	.248	0	.940	.197	.203	0	.830
		T: Counties with Confederate monuments before 1950							
		1890				1950			
	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Total population	417	21566.75	17864.61	21	242039	49651.78	82024.25	1672	806701
Black population	417	9245.16	8674.85	0	64491	13693.98	22064.71	1	208459
Black Share	417	.413	.222	0	.934	.313	.195	.000	.843
		T2: Counties with first monuments built in 1909-1912							
		1890				1950			
	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Total population	111	18277.61	12501.56	3835	108174	38425.73	45200.96	3452	321758
Black population	111	8112.16	7398.68	149	41315	10778.93	10325.23	16	64381
Black share	111	.420	.212	.039	.879	.330	.189	.005	.761

Empirical approach 2: event study around first construction

$$Y_{c,t} = \sum_{j=-5}^{+5} \gamma_j \mathbb{1}_{DCt=j} + \beta X_{s,c,t} + \chi_c + \gamma_{s,t} + \epsilon_{c,t} \quad (1)$$

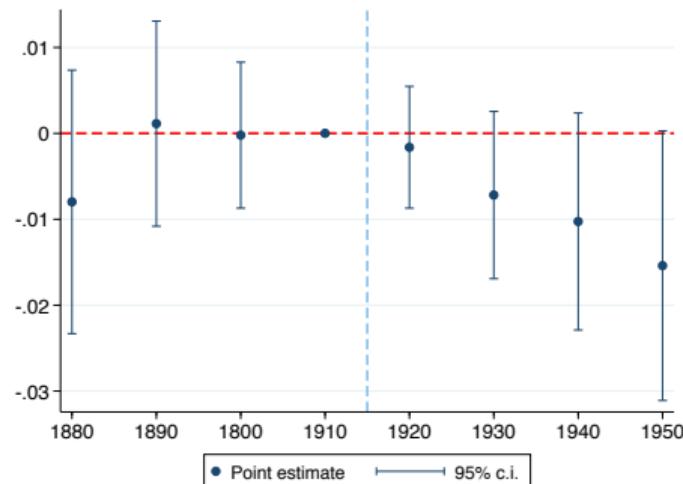
- DC_t decade relative to the construction of the first monument.
- All never-treated counties are among reference group at $j = -1$.

First Construction Year	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1870- 1880	19	4.56	4.56
1881- 1890	17	4.08	8.63
1891- 1900	38	9.11	17.75
1901- 1910	169	40.53	58.27
1911- 1920	112	26.86	85.13
1921- 1930	36	8.63	93.76
1931- 1940	25	6.00	99.76
1941-1950	1	0.24	100.00
Total	417	100.00	

Diff-in-Diff: Effect on share of African-Americans

Diff-in-Diff:
$$Y_{c,t} = \sum_{t=1880}^{1950} \gamma_t Treated_c * Decade_t + \beta X_{c,t} + \chi_c + \gamma_{s,t} + \epsilon_{c,t}$$

- ▶ $Treated_c$: 1 if first monument built 1909-12; 0 if never treated



Standard errors clustered at county-level

Diff-in-Diff: Black population change and growth

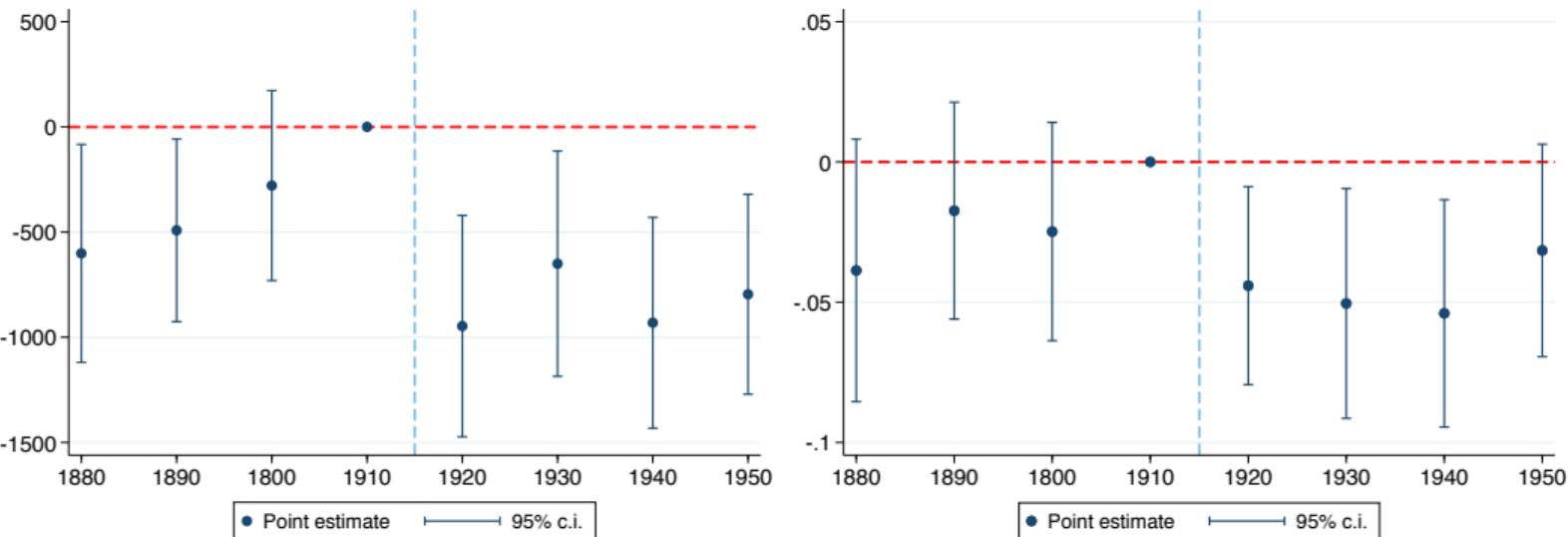


Figure 4: DID specification. Outcome: Black population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

Diff-in-Diff: White population change and growth

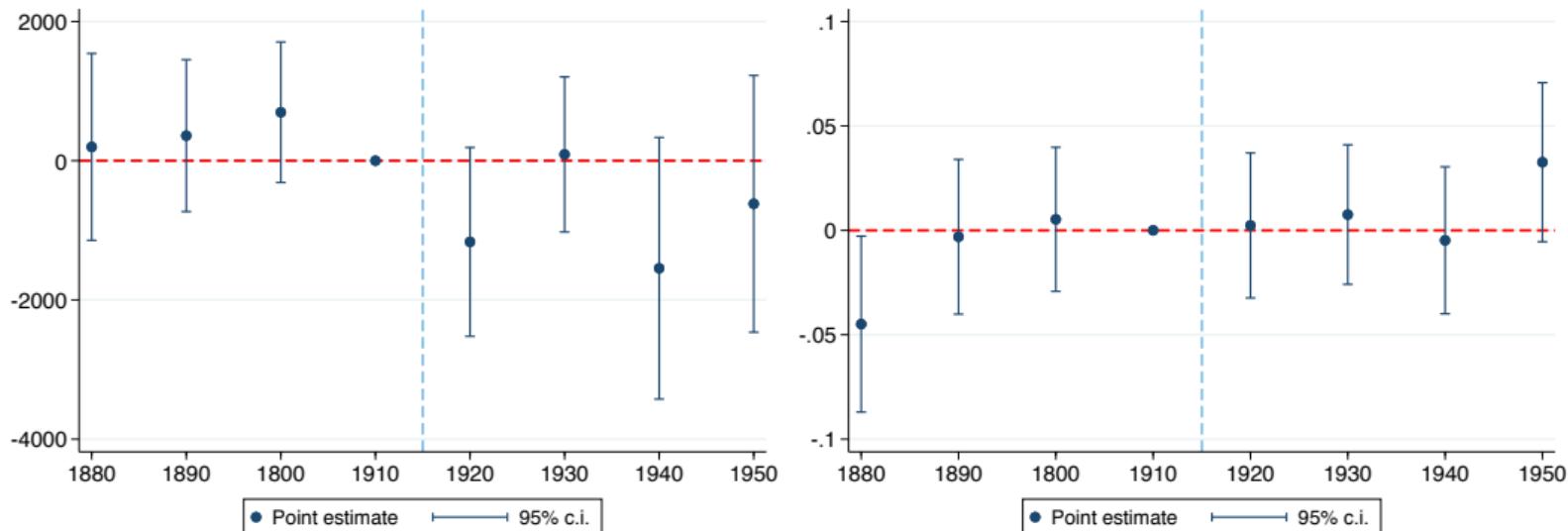


Figure 5: DID specification. Outcome: White population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

Event study: excluding first dedications in 1905-1915

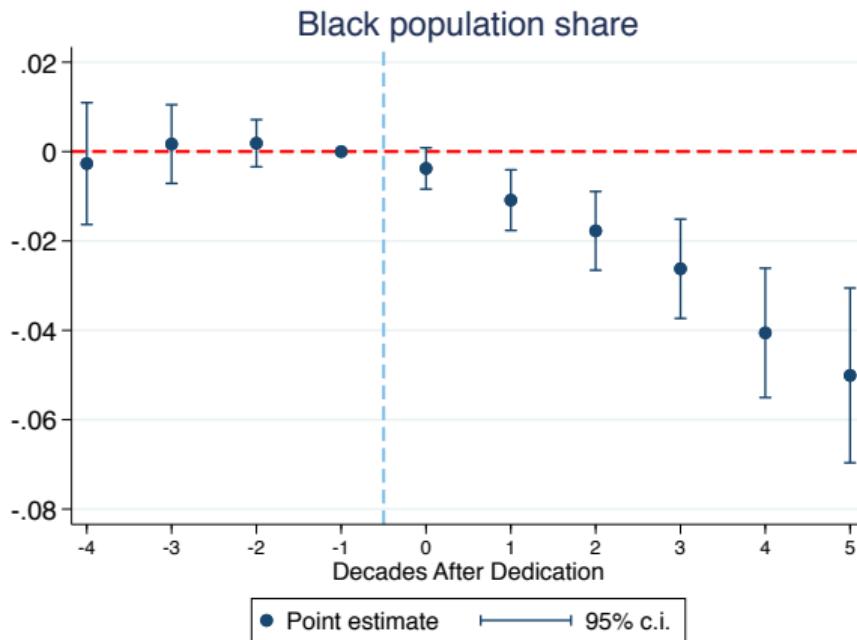


Figure 6: County and State by Year FE. Former Confederacy.

▶ ES full sample

Event study: No compositional change

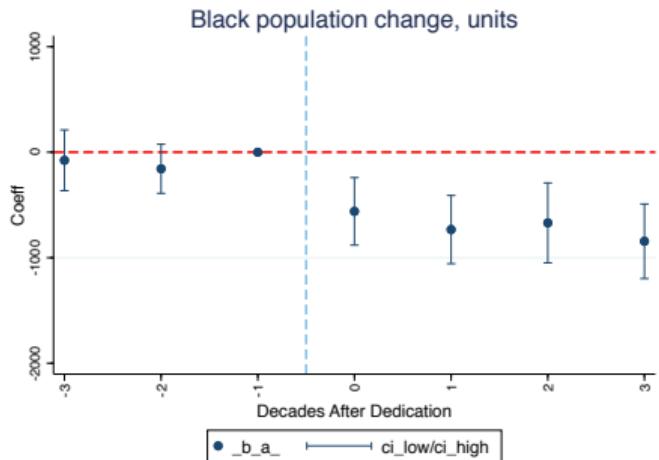


Figure 7: County and State by Year FE.
Confederacy.

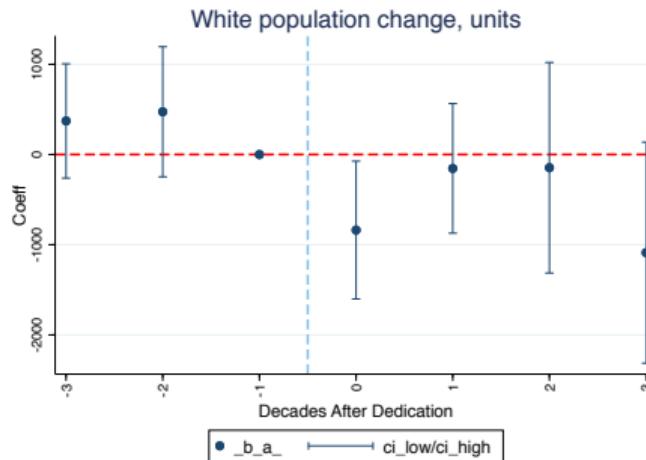


Figure 8: County and State-by-Year FE.
Confederacy

Main

Event study: Black population change and growth

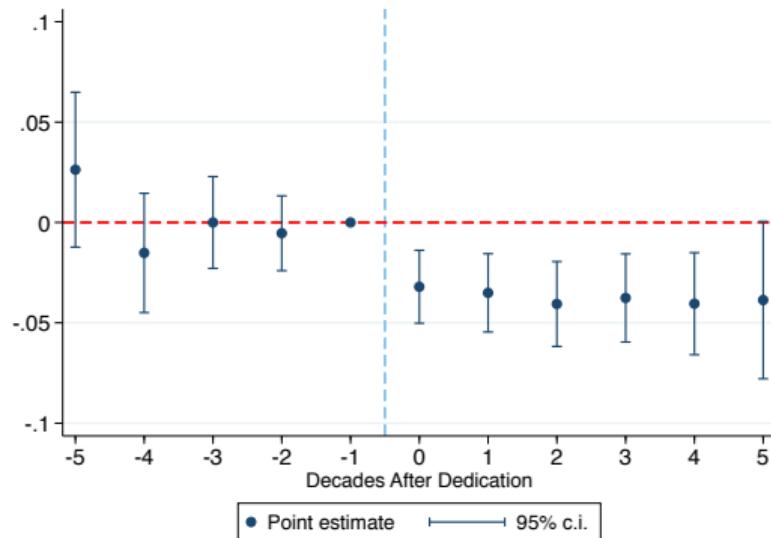
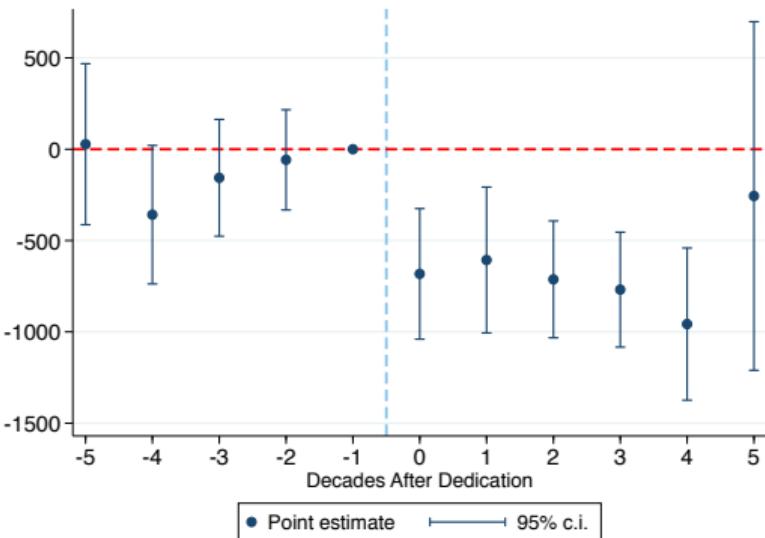


Figure 9: ES specification. Outcomes: Black population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

Event study: White change in units and growth

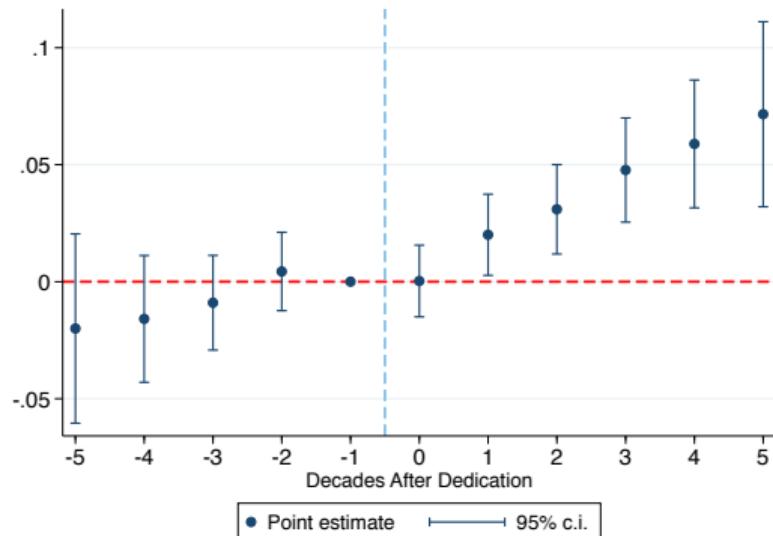
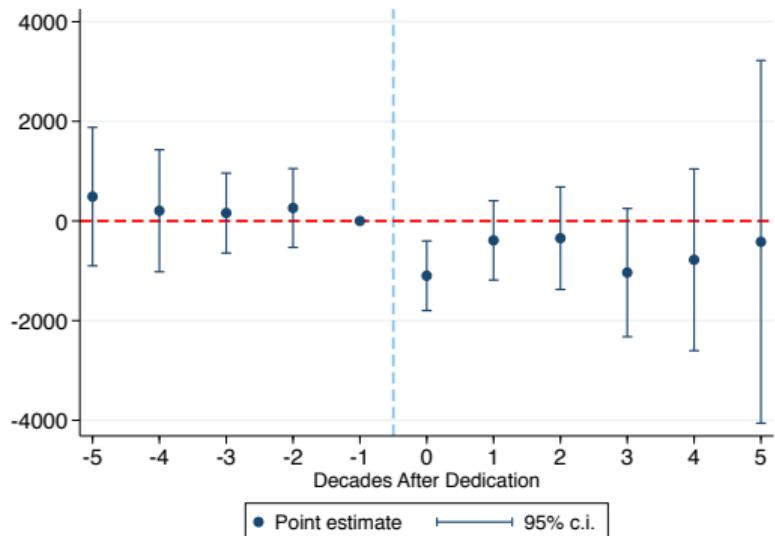


Figure 10: ES specification. Outcomes: white population change and growth. The latter is 15% winsorized. Controls: lag of population, state-by-year and county FE. Cluster level: county

Staggered diff-in-diff: share African-American population

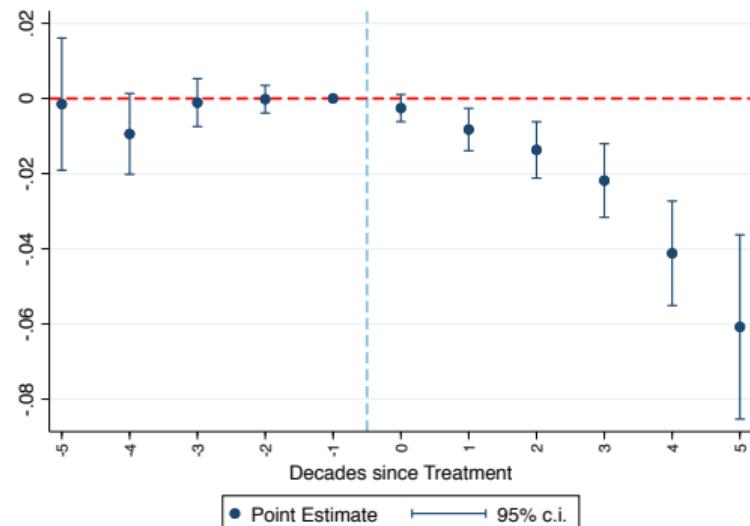


Figure 11: Sun and Abraham (2021).
Controls: lag of population, county FE,
state-by-year FE. Cluster level: county

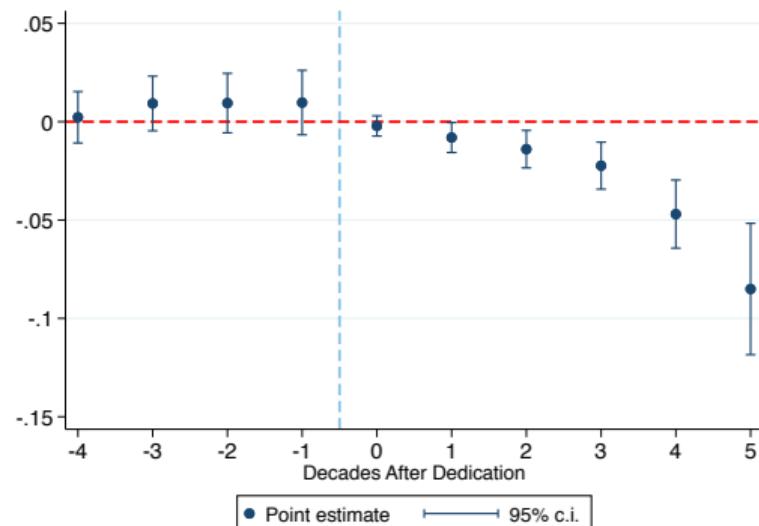


Figure 12: Borusyak et al. (2023). Controls:
lag of population, county FE, state-by-year
FE. Cluster level: county

Digging into population changes with individual-level data

- ▶ Track 20% of southern males from census t to $t+1$: repeated cross-section
- ▶ See if individual changes county between decades t and $t+1$
- ▶ Investigate in and out-migration separately for blacks and whites

$$Y_{i,c,t} = \sum_{t=1880}^{1940} \gamma_t Treated_c * Decade_t + \beta X_{i,c,t} + \gamma_{s,t} + \gamma_c + \epsilon_{i,c,t} \quad (2)$$

- ▶ $Decade_t$: indicator for decade of origin.
- ▶ $Y_{i,c,t}$: indicator if individual i in county c found in other county next decade
- ▶ $Treat_c$ indicator for counties with first monument built in 1909-12
- ▶ $X_{i,c,t}$ individual education, occupation, age, urban status
- ▶ **Advantages:** individual controls; make sure it is migration

Digging into population changes with individual-level data

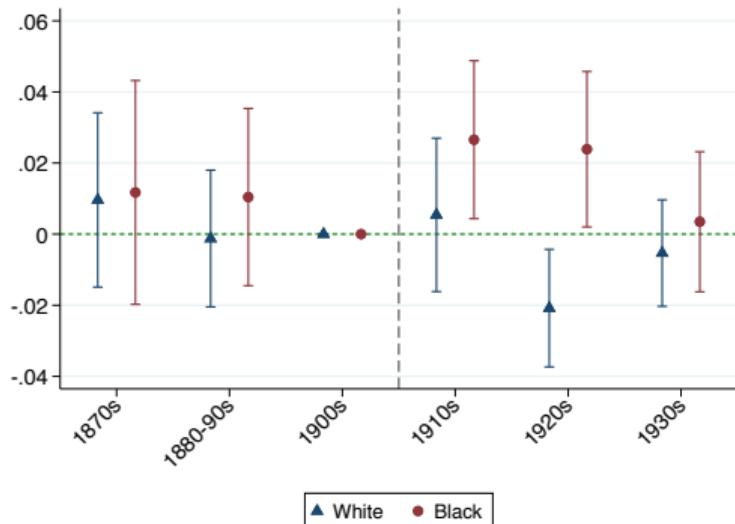
- ▶ Track 20% of southern males from census t to $t+1$: repeated cross-section
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$$Y_{i,c,t} = \sum_{t=1880}^{1940} \gamma_t Treated_c * Decade_t + \beta X_{i,c,t} + \gamma_{s,t} + \gamma_c + \epsilon_{i,c,t} \quad (2)$$

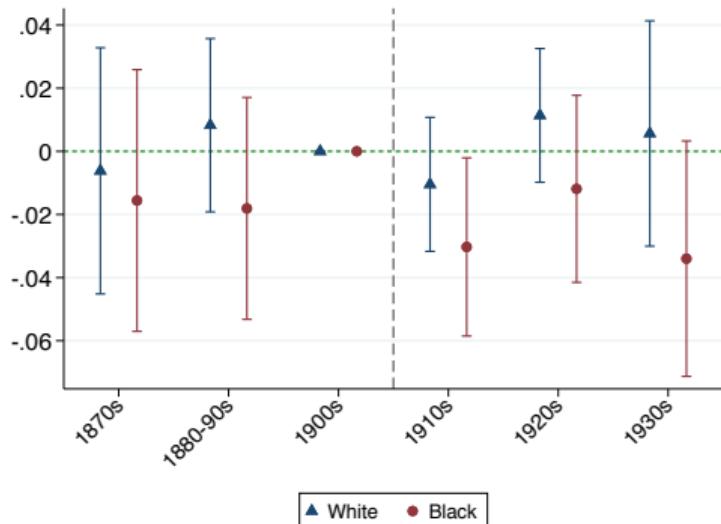
- ▶ $Decade_t$: indicator for decade of origin.
- ▶ $Y_{i,c,t}$: indicator if individual i in county c found in other county next decade
- ▶ $Treat_c$ indicator for counties with first monument built in 1909-12
- ▶ $X_{i,c,t}$ individual education, occupation, age, urban status
- ▶ **Advantages:** individual controls; make sure it is migration

Outmigration and immigration: results

Outmigration



Immigration



Probability that person at census t leaves the county in t+1

Probability that person at census t was in other the county in t-1

Individual data

$$Y_{i,c,t} = \sum_{j=-2}^{+2} \gamma_j \mathbb{1}_{DCt=j} * Treat_{i,c,t} + \beta X_{i,c,t} + \gamma_{c,t} + \epsilon_{i,c,t} \quad (3)$$

- ▶ $Y_{i,c,t}$: indicator for whether individual i is found in another state next decade.
- ▶ $Treat_{i,c,t}$ indicator if individual lives in same city as the monument
- ▶ DC_t decade relative to the construction of the first monument.

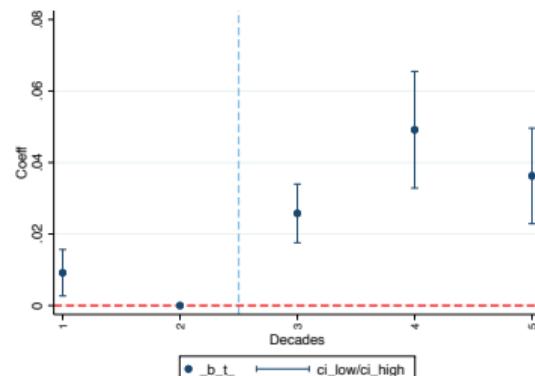


Figure 13: Individual level data: treated in urban areas with statues, control all rest.

Phenomenal Record OF THE McNeel Marble Company

LARGEST MONUMENTAL DEALERS IN THE SOUTH



NO TABLE among the achievements of the year that has just closed, and a matter that will no doubt be of interest to the readers of the VETERAN, is the fact that more Confederate Monuments have been erected throughout the South by the United Daughters of the Confederacy during the past year than during any previous ten years since the war, and the indications are that the new year will see still greater work accomplished along this line.

We have received orders from Chapters in practically every State south of the Mason and Dixon line, a great many of which we have already erected.

We have on file orders for twenty-four Confederate Monuments and Memorial Fountains that are to be delivered in the spring in time to be unveiled on April the 26th, next.

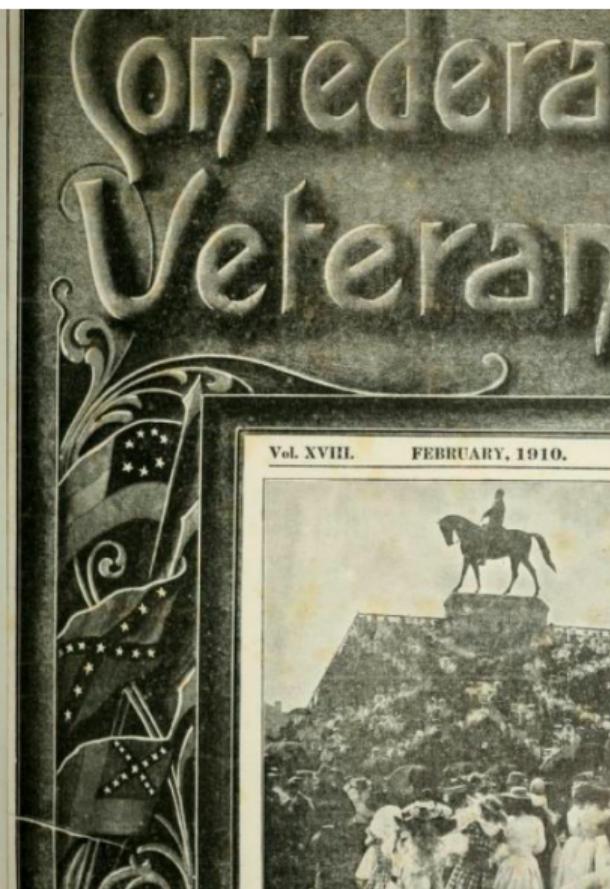
An investigation of the records will show that **THE MCNEEL MARBLE CO.** has been entrusted with the execution of more than 95% of all orders for Confederate Monuments that have been given in the South during the year 1909. This is a record which we have made upon merit alone, and one of which we are justly proud.

The phenomenal increase in this line of work is easily understood by Chapters who have used our plans for raising funds and acquainted themselves with our liberal terms. The uncertainty of being able to raise sufficient funds to pay for a monument has heretofore prevented many Chapters from undertaking the work. The use of our plans removes this obstacle and puts a Confederate monument within the reach of every Chapter. It's no trouble to raise funds if you know how. We have solved this problem, and the solution is yours for the asking.

We furnish our plans for raising funds, also designs, prices, terms, and full information, to any Chapter upon application. Your acceptance will place your Chapter under no obligation whatever to our Company.

Why not begin the new year with a letter to

The McNeel Marble Company?



- ▶ Confederate Veteran magazine, 1914: McNeel Marble claims to have created “thousands of artistic memorials dotting all sections from Maryland to the Mexican line”
- ▶ “There’s no evidence that the company made “thousands” of monuments. Historians and the family, however, don’t have a full accounting of what McNeel built in its nearly 70 years”
- ▶ “By 1924, the McNeel Marble Co. had already distributed 140+ monuments throughout the US, according to a catalog from the time”.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 2017

SUPREMACY

The thousands of artistic memorials dotting all sections from Maryland to the Mexican line represent the effort of an organization of twenty-three years under one management. These, with the kindly and deeply appreciated indorsements of our patrons, have made for us the name Premier Builders of artistic memorials.

We wish to thank our patrons for all the kind words said, the result of which has been the building of the South's largest factory.

Our policy shall continue to be such as we hope will merit the same confidence and result in the same satisfactory relations that we have enjoyed so much.

Col. V. Y. Cook Dec. 1914

The McNeel Marble Company

THE SOUTH'S LARGEST PLANT

Marietta, Georgia

First Stage: Timing

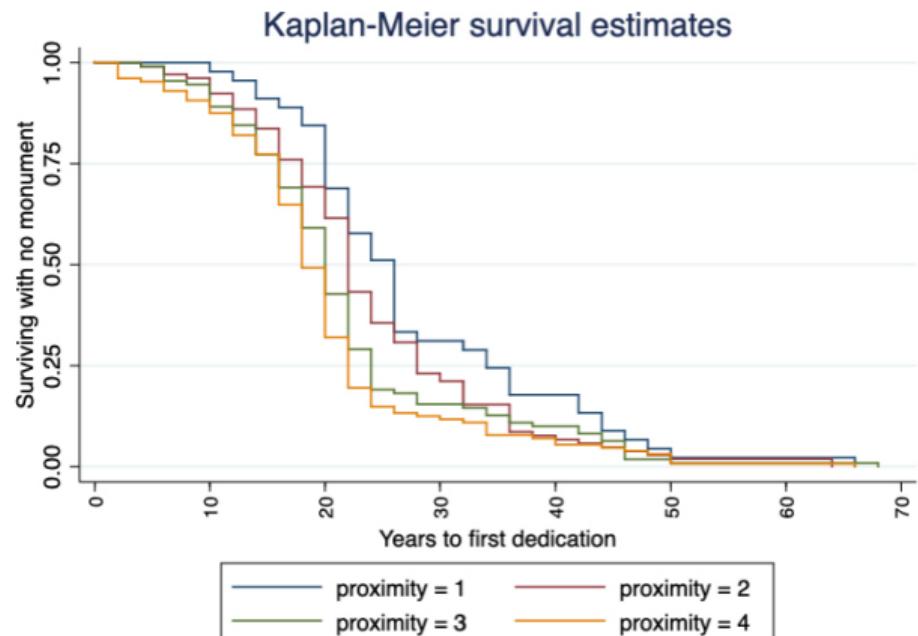


Figure 14: County survival before first dedication, by “proximity”. Starts at 1890; former Confederacy. Only eventually treated counties

Reduced Form: population share and market access

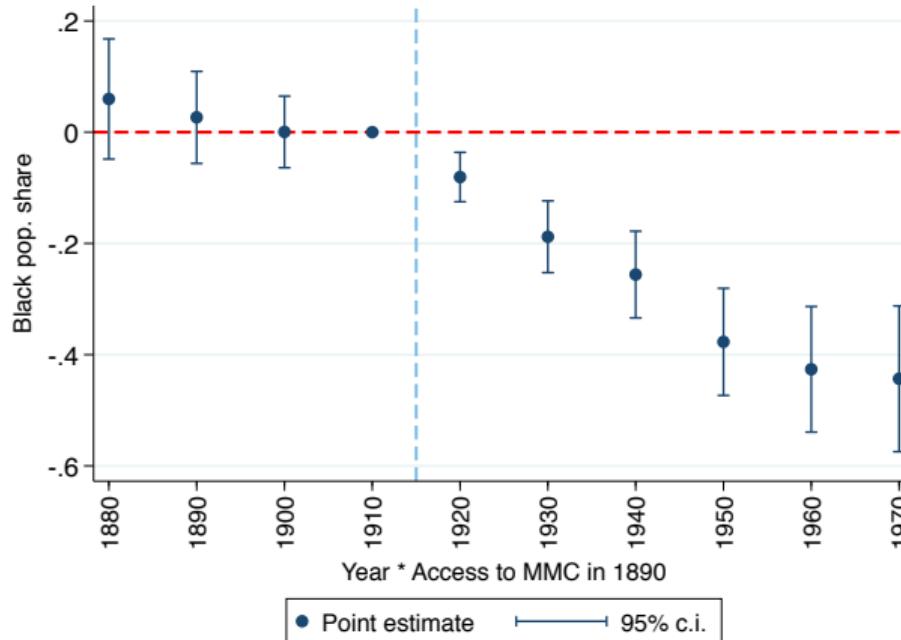


Figure 15: Dynamic reduced form. Coefficients of the regression of the interaction between access to MMC and decade on Black population share. Same controls as in main table.

First Stage

	(1) Stock place names	(2) Stock place names	(3) Stock lynchings	(4) Stock lynchings
Access to Marietta 1890*post1905	0.533** (0.268)	-1.221 (0.900)	1.870 (1.545)	-0.314 (1.575)
Access to Richmond 1890*post1905		4.847 (3.332)		2.761* (1.566)
Access to NYC, yearly		0.181 (0.995)		-3.043 (3.186)
Stock of lynching		-0.003 (0.005)		
Lagged population		0.000*** (0.000)		0.000*** (0.000)
Observations	7,989	7,989	7,989	7,989
R-squared	0.678	0.712	0.826	0.829
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State*Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County cluster	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Dependent variable: existing stock Confederate-named places (schools, parks, buildings, etc.) at time t (col 1,2); cumulative number of lynchings in the county until year t (col 3,4). *Access to Marietta 1890*post1905* measures the county to county 1890 minimum transportation cost when it became relevant for monuments. *Access to Richmond 1890*post1905* measures the county to county 1890 minimum transportation cost to Richmond when it became relevant for monuments. *Connection to (NYC)* is a yearly estimate of the access to NYC. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Discussion

- ▶ Spacial correlation of instrument, no spacial correlation of statues
- ▶ Migration from treated to control areas (violation of SUTVA): effect is inflated
- ▶ Effect is driven by small counties

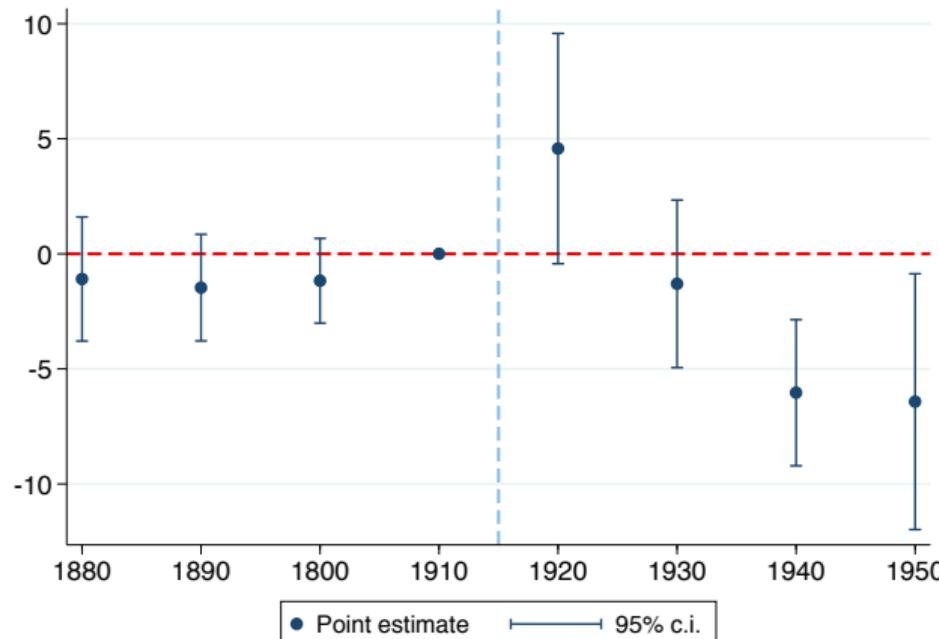
→ **Choosing a larger unit reduces all these issues**

- ▶ OLS magnitude possibly downward biased:
 - ▶ Counties affording costly monument likely in positive economic trend: immigration

▶ Back

Economic consequences: effect on farmland

- ▶ African-American outmigration drove total population and agricultural labor down
→ (lagged) effect on farmland value



Mechanisms

1. Shaping local narrative

- ▶ No evidence of differential increase in praising Confederacy or anti-black propaganda
 - ▶ Newspaper narrative

2. Gathering point and mobilization

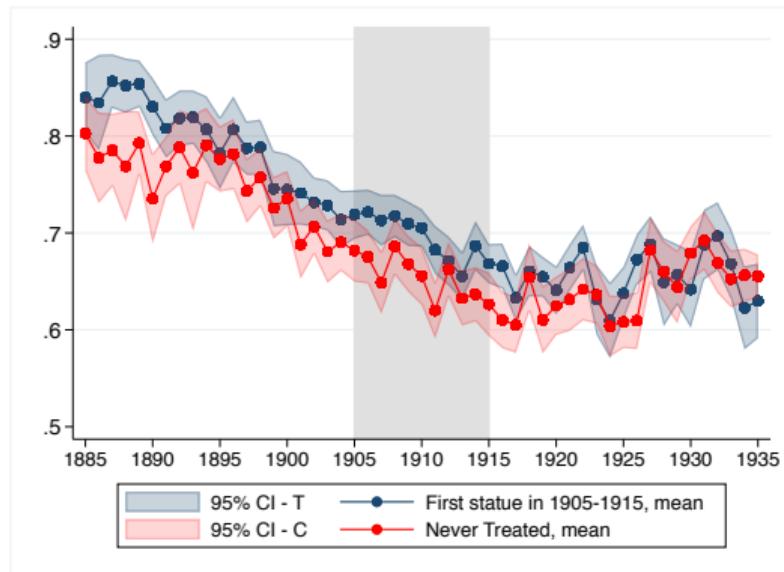
- ▶ No evidence of Confederate parades or white supremacist
 - ▶ Gatherings
- ▶ No evidence of increase in lynchings
 - ▶ Lynchings
- ▶ Weak evidence of increased Democratic (segregationist) vote
 - ▶ Voting Democratic

3. Increase salience of hostility across locations

- ▶ Cannot test in real world: need shock in exposure, all else fixed → experiment

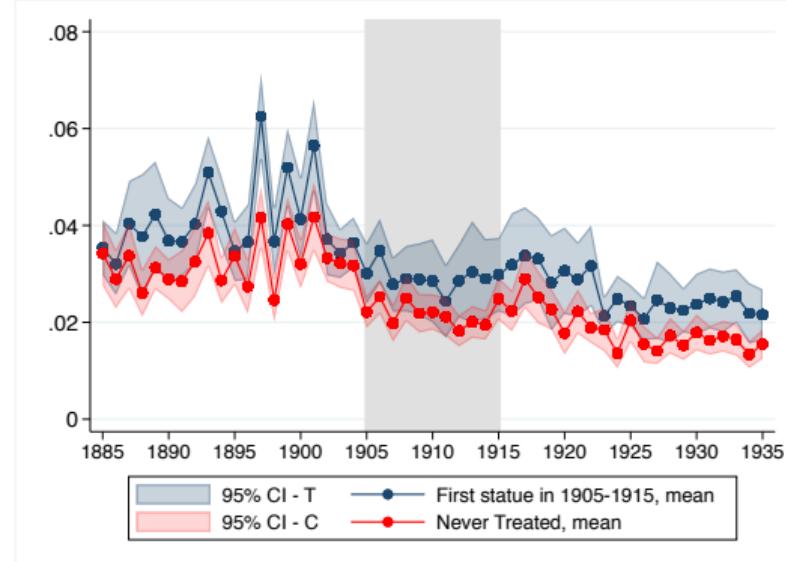
▶ Back

Mechanisms: Rhetoric on newspapers



Pages with: Confederacy* and (honor* or respect*) over Confederacy*

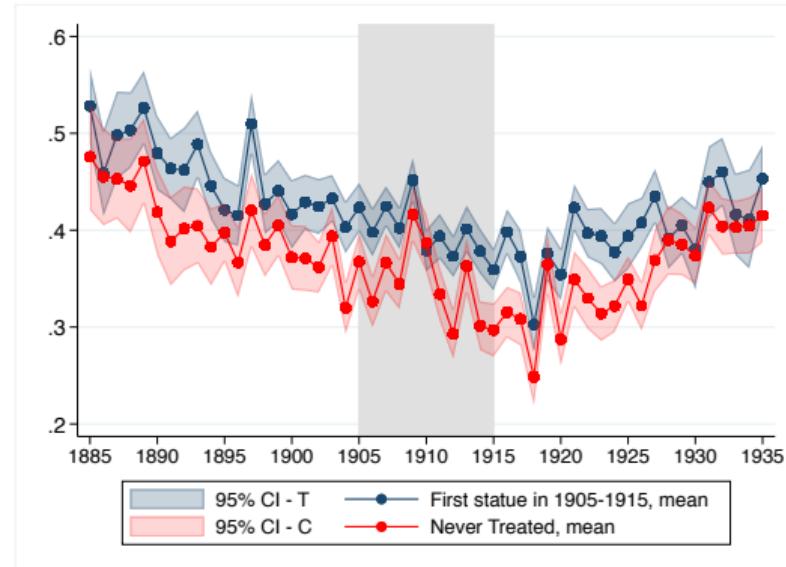
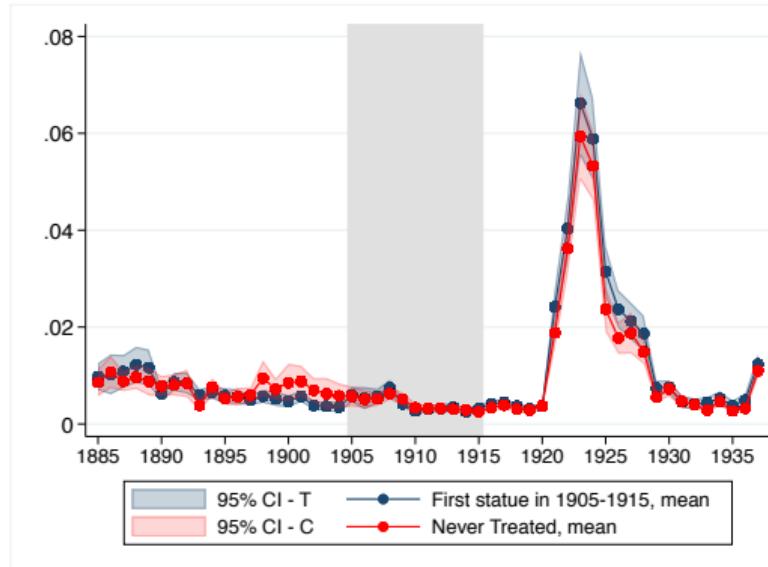
Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year. The sample includes a minimum of 96 counties in 1885 to a maximum of 220 in 1920.



Pages with: (colored or negro*) and (rape* or rapist*) over pages with (colored or negro*)
[Ottinger and Posch (2022)]

Back

Mechanisms: Gatherings on newspapers

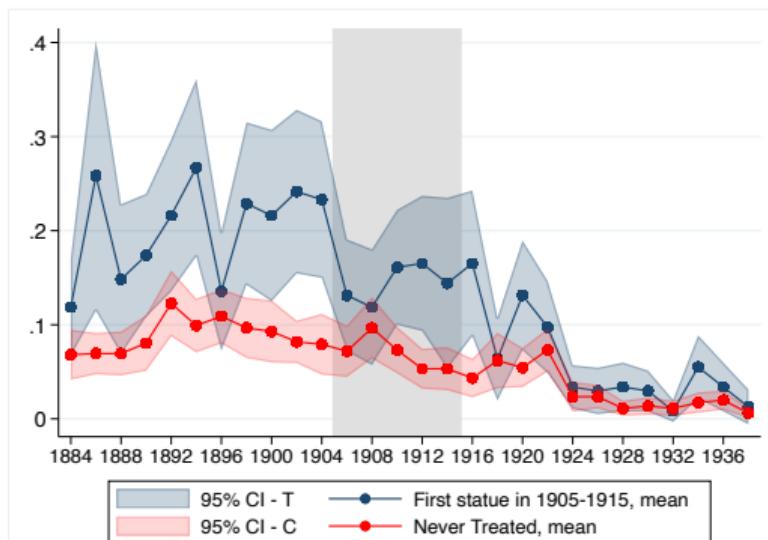


Sample: counties with at least 100 article pages per year. The sample includes a minimum of 96 counties in 1885 to a maximum of 220 in 1920

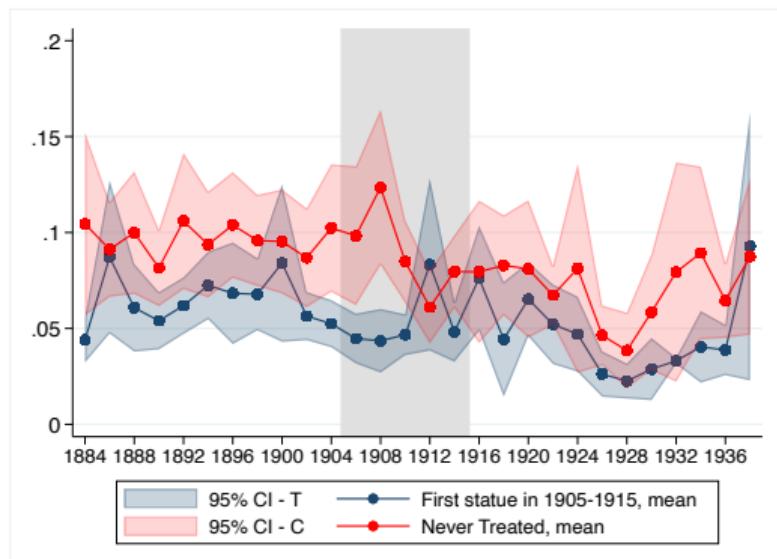
Back

Mechanisms: Violence [Seguin and Rigby (2019)]

Total lynchings with African-American victim



African-American victim per 1000



► Back

White mobilization?

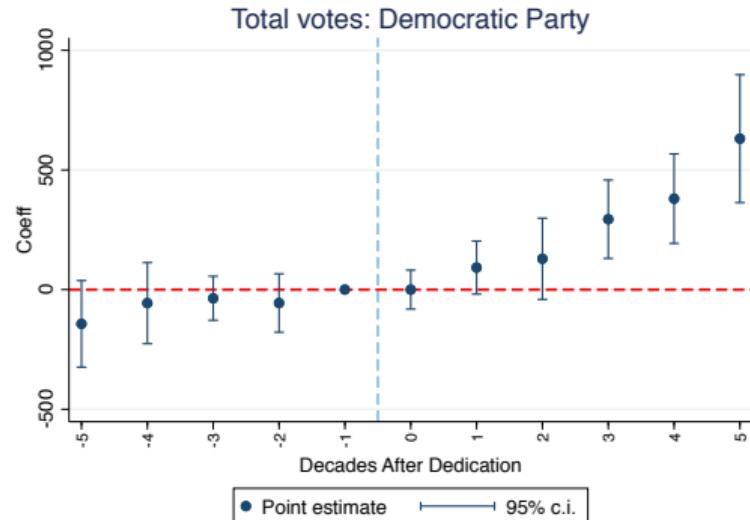


Figure 16: County and State*Year FE

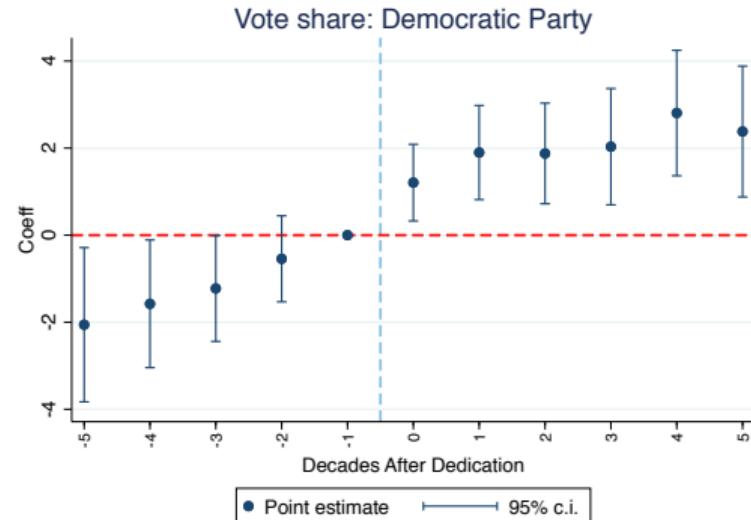


Figure 17: County and State*Year FE

- ▶ Diff-in-Diff. Treated in peak years (1910-1913) VS never treated counties.
- ▶ Total votes consistent with mobilization of whites
- ▶ Unclear how to normalize for population if voting right were changing over time

Recruitment text



Preferred city characteristics (4)

By brown.edu

 \$2.17 - \$13.02/hr  10 mins  100 places

Hello! This study aims to investigate which characteristics of a city citizens care about the most, especially when choosing to relocate. You will encounter 35 questions. You will be asked to provide basic information about yourself and to evaluate the characteristics of an ideal city (described to you with words or images). You will also be asked to rank cities' amenities and negative features (available services, buildings, and geographic characteristics) by importance to you. Your responses to the survey will be used to provide you with a recommendation for an actual city in the US South that is a good fit for you, along with a list of publicly accessible jobs in that city. The more carefully you complete the survey, the better we will be able to match you with the city that is a good fit for you.

Once the survey is complete you will receive the Completion Code to manually enter on Prolific to receive the payment.

Thank you very much for participating in the study.

This is a Brown University research study.

Eligibility: American citizens identifying as African-American or White, who are between 18 and 50 years old.

Contact: Francesco Ferlenga (francesco_ferlenga@brown.edu). Protocol number: STUDY00000115

Devices you can use to take this study:

- Desktop Mobile Tablet

[Open study link in a new window](#)

▶ Back

Summary statistics

Demographics	Southern Whites			Southern Blacks			Diff
	n	mean	sd	n	mean	sd	
Female	198	0.55	0.50	132	0.67	0.47	0.121**
Age	198	33.96	8.70	132	33.71	9.33	-0.247
Years of Education	194	14.34	2.14	132	14.36	2.12	0.016
Democrat	198	0.41	0.49	132	0.50	0.50	0.086
Republican	198	0.23	0.42	132	0.10	0.30	-0.129***
Annual Income (wins. 2%)	195	35384.62	28037.36	130	38107.69	34703.45	2,723.08
Bothered by monuments	198	0.52	0.50	132	0.71	0.45	0.197***
New monument motivates leaving	198	0.55	0.50	132	0.66	0.48	0.109**

Demographics	Southern Whites: non-treated			Southern Blacks: non-treated			Diff
	n	mean	sd	n	mean	sd	
Would move: No	509	0.29	0.45	337	0.29	0.45	0.001
Tailored offer: No	509	0.47	0.50	337	0.42	0.49	-0.047
Reservation Wage (wins. 2%)	509	74851.32	75416.14	337	81862.52	97995.04	7,011.20

Observations are at the city-participant level. Annual income and reservation wage winsorized (2%) by race. Standard errors in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Precise respondents' view

The Confederate monument



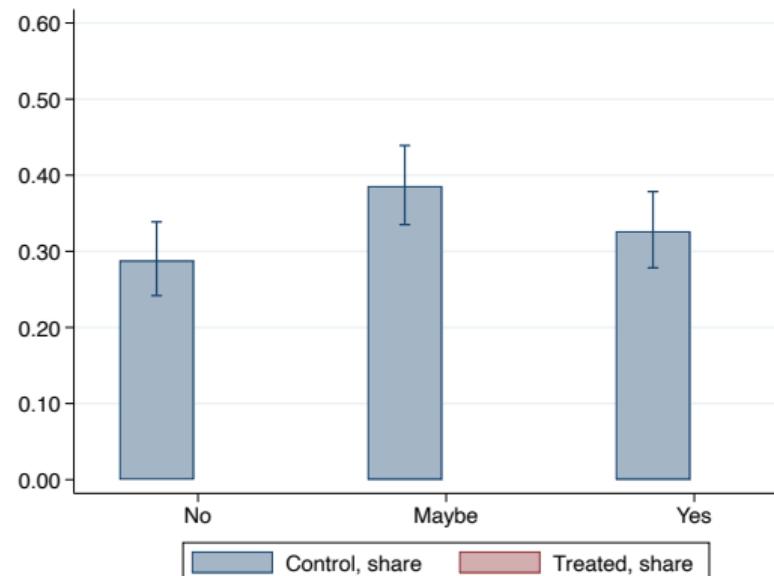
Outcomes

- ▶ Willingness to relocate for job like most recent one
 - ▶ *If offered a job similar to your most recent one, would you be open to the possibility of relocating in the depicted city?*
- ▶ Willingness to relocate for tailored job offer
 - ▶ *E.g. Consider a job with the following characteristics, located in the depicted city. Sector: education; hours per week: 40h; pre-tax yearly wage: 43500 dollars. Would you accept the job (and move to that city) if it were offered to you?*
- ▶ Reservation wage
 - ▶ *What is the minimum annual income that would convince you to accept a job and relocate to the depicted city?*

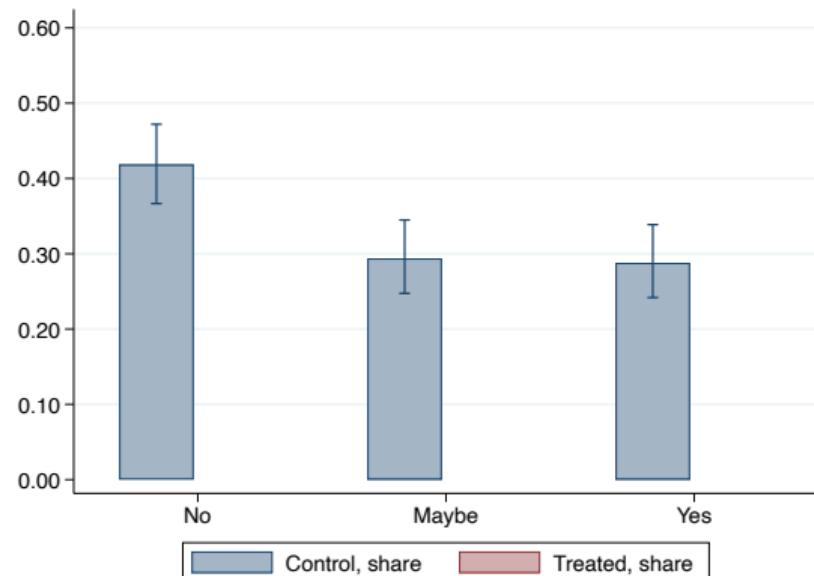
▶ Back

Raw distribution for African-Americans by treatment status: relocation

Would move (for offer similar to last job)

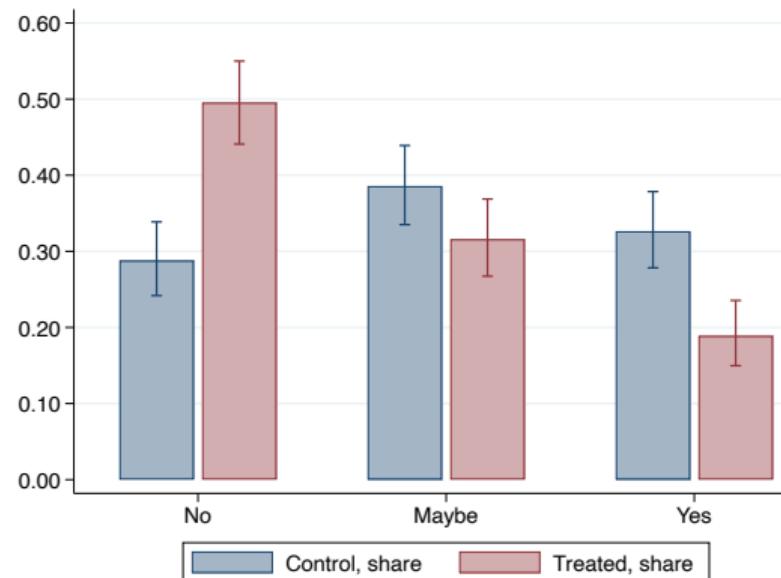


Would move (for tailored job offer)

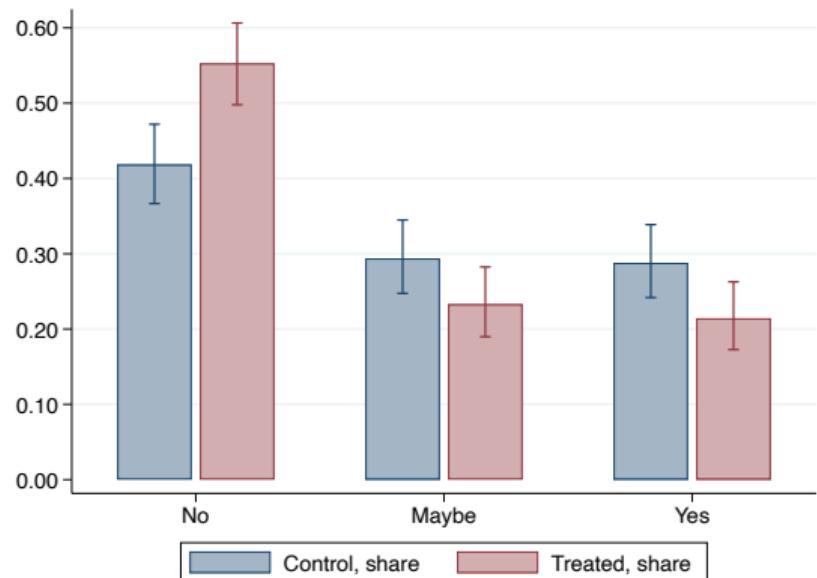


Raw distribution for African-Americans by treatment status: relocation

Would move (for offer similar to last job)

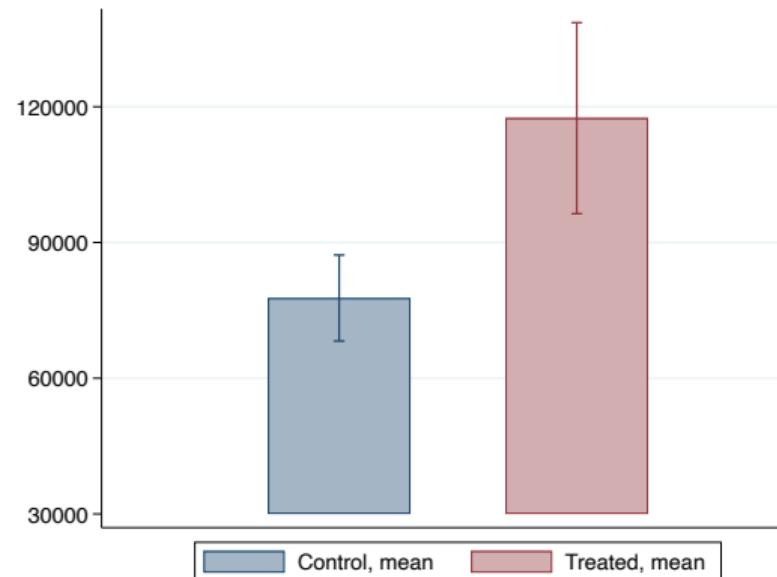


Would move (for tailored job offer)

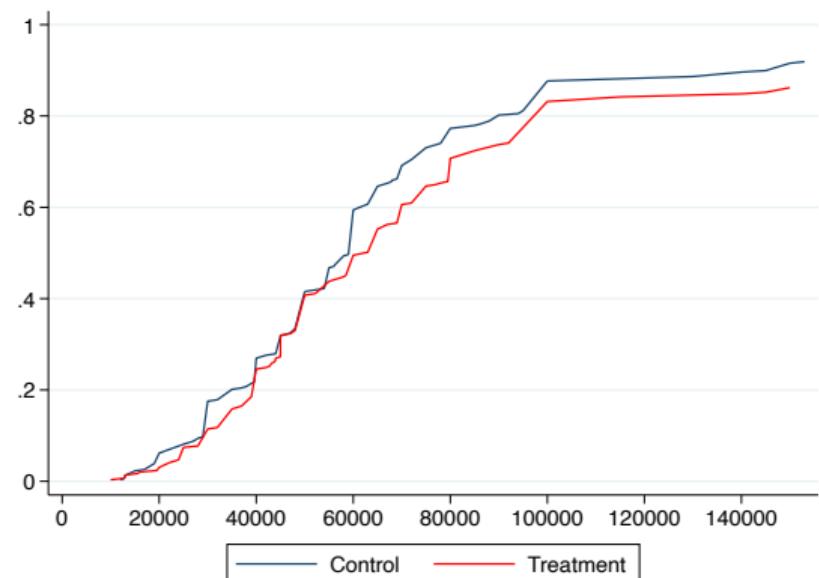


Raw distribution for African-Americans by treatment status: reserv. wage

Reservation wage



Reservation wage, CDF



Treatment effect

All Southerners			
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log
Treat	-0.301 *** (0.055)	-0.189 *** (0.052)	0.083 *** (0.019)
Monument*Black	-0.232 ** (0.096)	-0.144 * (0.087)	0.124 ** (0.051)
High Offer		0.498 *** (0.044)	
Observations	1650	1649	1650
R ²	0.577	0.622	0.868
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

The outcome captures whether the respondents want to move to the specific city for a job similar to their most recent one (column 1 and 4), for the tailored job offer (column 2 and 5), and what would be their reservation wage for relocation (column 3 and 6). Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Experiment: heterogeneity by political views and monuments' approval

	All Southerners			All Southerners		
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log	(4) Move (s.d.)	(5) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(6) Res. wage, log
Treat	-0.453*** (0.051)	-0.297*** (0.048)	0.159*** (0.027)	-0.076 (0.061)	-0.021 (0.066)	0.009 (0.015)
Monument*Republican	0.329*** (0.109)	0.281*** (0.105)	-0.148*** (0.031)			
Monument*Against Monument				-0.536*** (0.086)	-0.381*** (0.086)	0.209*** (0.038)
Observations	1650	1649	1650	1650	1649	1650
R ²	0.578	0.573	0.868	0.588	0.578	0.871
Respondent FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
City FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The outcome measures respondents' willingness to move to the city for a job like their most recent one (column 1 and 4), for the tailored job offer (column 2 and 5), and what would be their reservation wage for relocation (column 3 and 6). *Republican* and *Against Monument* are respectively indicators for whether the respondents openly state at the end of the survey that they are Republicans or that they dislike Confederate monuments. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

▶ Back

Experiment: priming control group about racism

	All Controls			Primed Control		
	(1) Move (s.d.)	(2) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(3) Res. wage, log	(4) Move (s.d.)	(5) Move, tailored (s.d.)	(6) Res. wage, log
Treat	-0.318* (0.176)	-0.091 (0.186)	0.155 (0.129)	-0.436* (0.220)	-0.342 (0.293)	0.113 (0.176)
Observations	132	132	132	74	74	74
R ²	0.025	0.002	0.012	0.032	0.017	0.004

The unit of observation is the city-per-respondent. The outcome captures whether the respondents want to move to the specific city for a job similar to their most recent one (column 1 and 4), for the tailored job offer (column 2 and 5), and what would be their reservation wage for relocation (column 3 and 6). **This only includes the first presented city: between subjects.** In columns 4 to 6 the control group is primed on racism, by showing them an fake captcha containing the confederate flag and the symbol of BLM. Standard errors clustered at the participant level in parentheses. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

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